

ARRIVAL CITY HAMBURG



**Multi-dimensional
opportunity structures
for migrant integration
in German cities**

**Master Thesis
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MSc Urbanism
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ARRIVAL CITY HAMBURG

Multi-dimensional opportunity structures
for migrant integration in German cities

Arrival City Hamburg -
Multi-dimensional opportunity structures for migrant integration in German cities

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P5 Report

4th November 2019
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Planning Complex Cities

Keywords

Arrival cities in Germany; migrant integration, empowerment and interaction; self-organization of migrants; urban opportunity structures; urban transformation and development



Arrival City

An arrival city is an urban or suburban neighbourhood where high percentages of migrants tend to settle due to low housing prices or pre-existing migrant communities. This is where newcomers look for opportunities in space to develop and partake in society. The arrival neighbourhoods serve as a first support network and as a gate to the local society.

Opportunity structures

A set of interventions on various scales, that facilitate arrival cities and integration. The opportunity structures provoke self-organization and engagement of newcomers as well as the receiving society by addressing the legal-political, socio-economic and cultural-religious dimensions of space.

Migrants (also referring to as newcomers)

Foreigners as well as people with a migration background (migrants) that have migrated themselves or whose parents have migrated to Germany after 1955. More generally speaking, this term refers to all newcomers in cities looking for a sense of home.

Integration

“The process of becoming an accepted part of society” (Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2016:14) through the long-term course of interaction

between newcomers and the receiving society (Heckmann, 2006). In particular, the interaction between local and new organizations, groups and individuals on a legal-political, socio-economic and cultural-religious dimension.

Dimensions of integration

Each of the dimensions of integration represents an important pillar of integration: the state, the market and the nation (Entzinger, 2000). When analysing opportunities and space within the integration process, it is suitable to use the three dimensions proposed by Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas (2016) that have the highest influence on space: the legal-political, socio-economic and cultural-religious dimensions.

Receiving society (also referring to as host society)

A construct of norms, values and rules within the destination country. In a wider sense, the receiving society and its systems are providing the conditions under which integration has to take place. The receiving society is asked to adjust their norms, rules and values in order to make integration work. Most importantly, this refers to the adaptation to diversity of the receiving society and its systems.

Social Clusters

Lose conglomerations of the actors, inhabitants and organizations that share similar daily life patterns, interests or backgrounds.

To my mentors,

Wil Zonneveld for trusting in my capabilities from the start,

Birgit Hausleitner for endless input and inspiration

And Rodrigo Cardoso for being there in the last minute.

To my family and friends,

Christine, Jürgen and Leo for always supporting me to find my way,

Vera, Lisa, Gabi, Felipe and Preetika who made this journey a pleasure

Flo, Anna, Michal and Mahaut for numerous inspiring discussions and advice.

To Simon, my loyal and above all patient companion, who always believes in me.

• abstract •

Integration as one of the major paths to social cohesion is a task of urban development and restructuring (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2009). A growing number of scholars refer to the importance of urban opportunities that facilitate integration processes via the empowerment, interaction and participation of social clusters (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2009; R. Kloosterman, 2010; Kurtenbach, 2013; Rächle & Schmitz, 2018). Arrival cities, viewed as the key intersection between migration, integration and urban development, are the subject of this study. Borrowing theories, methods and interventions from different disciplines, this project designs opportunity structures for migrant integration within the intersection of space and the legal-political, socio-economic and cultural-religious dimensions of integration. Following an introduction on arrival cities, this project examines how opportunity structures facilitate the integration process in Hamburg and how a strategic design approach can generate new opportunity structures. By viewing migrants as place-makers, this project is driven by a positive view on arrival neighbourhoods and migrants' self-organization.

Research Question

How can the phenomenon of arrival cities be used to design spatial opportunities for an improved migrant integration in German cities?

Keywords

Arrival cities in Germany; migrant integration, empowerment and interaction; self-organization of migrants; urban opportunity structures; urban transformation and development

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introduction

FROM MIGRATION TO INTEGRATION

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This introduction briefly explains the phenomenon of arrival cities and the problem field of migration in a German context. The new definition of arrival cities given in this chapter, builds the base for the research, analysis and design. As arrival cities are a global phenomenon, this introduction serves to contextualize and adjust the definition to a German context. The problem field captures the main difficulties related to arrival, migration and integration in Germany, touching upon urban poverty, segregation, urban growth and other major urban issues.

On arrival cities

While the study of arrival cities started already with the Chicago School in the early 20th century, the research on arrival cities in Germany was rather limited until after the second world war, when high numbers of guest workers migrated to industrial areas. Today, the phenomenon of arrival cities is widely represented in research and shows different faces in every country. The phenomenon bears many names, such as arrival cities, migrant neighbourhoods, ethnic colonies and numerous other related terms. The study stretches across numerous disciplines and perspectives and is represented in geography, sociology, architecture, politics, urbanism and many more.

An arrival city is best described as an urban or suburban neighbourhood where high percentages of migrants tend to settle due to low housing prices or existing migrant communities. These neighbourhoods function as a first support network for newcomers. Functioning arrival neighbourhoods show significant similarities in networks and functionalities worldwide (Saunders, 2011) and are a demonstration of the transformative power of migration.

Global context

The worldwide movement of rural-to-urban migration causes the phenomenon of arrival cities. Urbanization and international migration result in arrival cities as a gate to the city and its society. A large percentage of (poor) migrants that migrate to the West tend to settle in affordable neighbourhoods looking for new opportunities. The places that they choose are often located on the edges of larger urban areas and show already a high concentration of migrants (Saunders, 2011). These neighbourhoods have a dominating role in the success of the integration and upward social mobility of newcomers. Arrival cities that do not facilitate social exchange, networks

or physical flexibility, quickly turn into problematic neighbourhoods and are the source of radicalization and segregation of migrants. Successful arrival areas allow newcomers the transition from urban poverty to the middle class and integration in the host society. The functioning arrival city is a complex composition of legal-political, socio-economic, cultural-religious and spatial factors. These factors range from global generic to local specific.

An arrival city shows strong bounds of migrants to their countries of origin (Ceylan, 2006). The network of relatives and acquaintances established through chain migration in the destination country helps migrants to start a new life even without any savings. In the emigration countries on the other hand, poor cities or rural areas, in Europe and abroad, remittance payments are being received. In some cases, remittance flows are higher than the local economy (World Bank Group, 2016). These payments support the relatives and transform or maintain the rural areas, most likely in a more efficient way than international development aid funds.

The contradiction of arrival

The concept of arrival cities describes arrival areas as a transition space, which supports arrival and gives newcomers the chance to settle elsewhere in the city. An arrival city that functions mainly as a transition area, shows high percentages of migrants, low income average and high fluctuation rates. The low rental prices result from the spatial and social segregation from the city. Looking at the statistics, arrival areas seem highly problematic due to the overlay of social, ethnic and demographic concentrations (Kurtenbach, 2015). And yet, it is exactly these conditions that support the arrival-transition process (Saunders, 2011).

A functioning arrival city is likely to result in upward social mobility, while trapped arrival cities



Indian family walking past a range of indian shops and restaurants in Hamburg St.Georg, photo taken by author

even provoke a downward mobility. Both examples can result in the formation of ethnic communities and thereby the stagnation of integration process (Portes & Zhou, 2010).

Idea and literature

The phenomenon of arrival cities has many names in literature, such as arrival neighbourhoods, zones in transition, ethnic colonies etc. This project approaches the phenomenon from two extremes: the perspective of urban restructuring and transition as well as the migrant's perspective. The former describes arrival neighbourhoods in the struggle of gentrification, transformation and segregation (Friedrichs & Triemer, 2009; Gans & Schlömer, 2014; Park et al., 1967). The second stream describes the perspective of the newcomers and their way into a new society (Ceylan, 2006; Saunders, 2011).

Saunders describes the Arrival City as a place that is taken over by migrants and their own networks, systems of trade and community management as a stepping stone into the host society and to counteract discrimination. The main purpose of these places is to provide access to the social ladder of the city or host society and to move up to middle class.

In the German Pavilion of the Architecture Biennale in Venice 2016, Saunders described the Arrival City with eight different characteristics, focussing on Germany (Figure 1). According to Figure 1, an arrival city can be identified via the concentration of migrants or even a specific ethnic community and low rental prices. The importance of the ground floor or open space for economic activity and interaction is an important characteristic of a functioning arrival area. Good transport connection to the rest of the city (shown in figure 1) connects migrants to job opportunities outside the neighbourhood.

Three of the panels require a critical consideration: 'the city within a city', 'the self-built' and the 'informal' characteristic given to arrival areas. When talking about European arrival cities, the term of 'informality' has to be used carefully. What is actually meant by informal is described below as the tolerance of semi-legal practices that benefit the process of settling, such as semi-legal jobs and housing. A second point is the self-built aspect of arrival. The authors (Scheuermann, Schmal, Elser, & Saunders, 2016) witnessed the need for small transformations of buildings like balconies and gardens to enlarge the living space. These small self-built solutions, however, do not make an arrival city self-built as a whole.

A third characteristic describes 'the city within a city'. Urban density in the arrival context is an opportunity for social interaction and businesses. Yet, most European cases do not show the characteristics of a small city in itself and are rather highly dependent on a larger urban area. The microcosm of arrival serves the whole city and takes on an integration task for the whole urban area.

The functioning arrival city

The affordability of housing is the main location factor for migrants, that often start with a limited budget and unstable jobs. Access to job opportunities, education and markets determine the first step of arrival. Chain migration often leads to homogeneous migration patterns. This enables a better networking and community building among migrants, which can facilitate the tasks of authorities. These are first indicators of arrival cities.

A functioning arrival area is dense. High density neighbourhoods support networks, commercial activities and facilitate social exchange. Notably ethnic economies rely on customers from the same community. The built environment of a functioning arrival city is described as a dense urban structure with small units for shops and living. Small units allow lower investments and more flexibility.

Ethnic economies and small businesses form the centre of each functioning arrival city, possibly in form of a centre or high street (Hall, 2010; Saunders, 2011). Especially for the first generation, these businesses built the base for economic success. Depending on the spatial composition and the legal framework, it can be nearly impossible to found a business. These businesses are opportunity structures that support the needs of specific ethnic minorities or the arrival process in general (Kurtenbach, 2015). Newcomers can profit from occasional jobs and shop owners' profit from cheap labour.

Public spaces can function as open markets or job centres (Saunders, 2011) and may be utilised for informal gatherings. In some cases, a public space replaces the living area, since migrants live denser than the average population and especially in the beginning of arrival might share rooms in high numbers.

Network structures are another important value of a functioning arrival city. Internet cafes, phone shops and banks serve to keep the contact to relatives in the home countries or other arrival cities. Banks enable the transfer of remittances payments even without bank accounts. Public

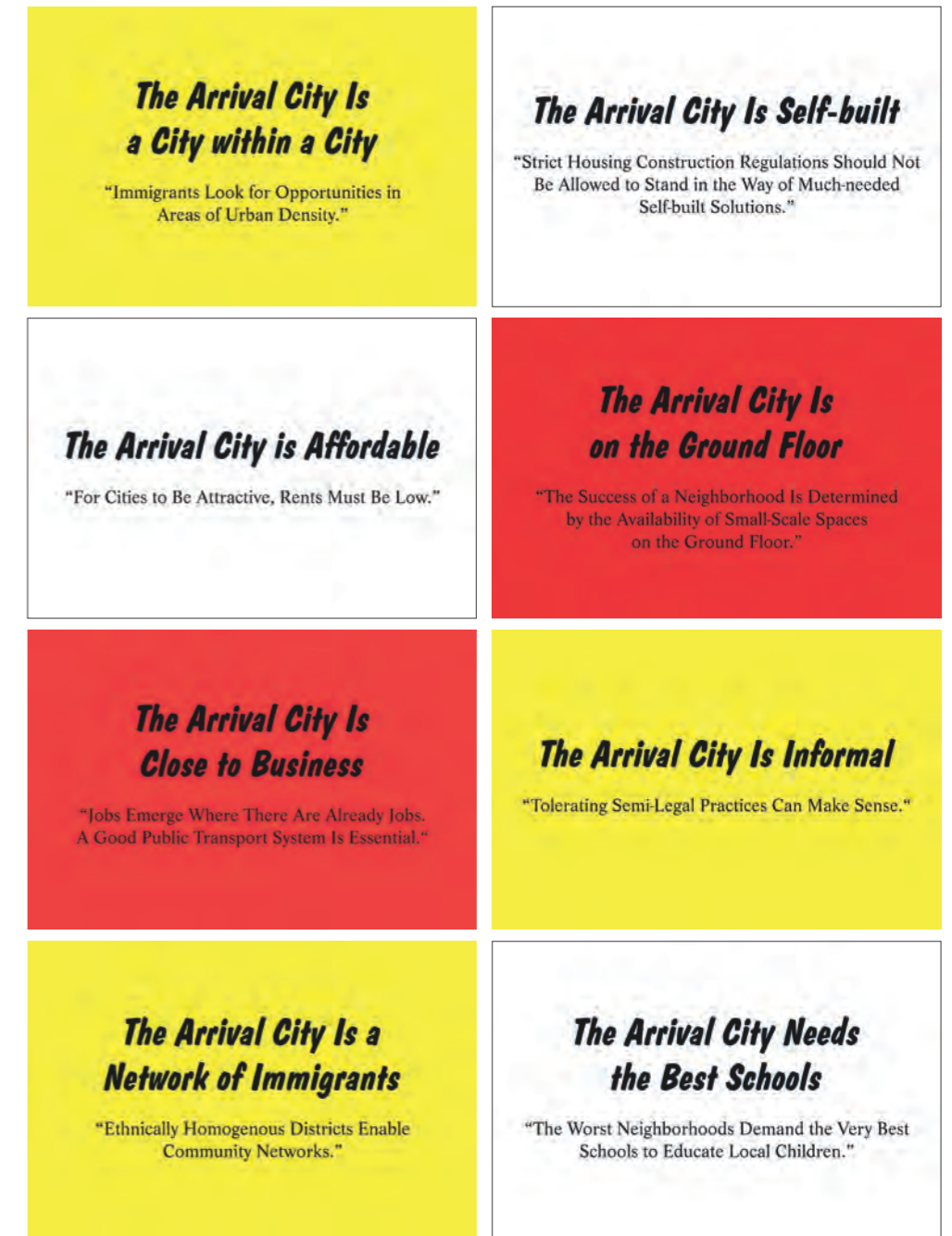


figure 1 • Arrival City Panels, German Pavilion at Biennale 2016, source: makingheimat.de

transport connects migrants with each other and with job opportunities around the city. A functioning arrival city is not only a place to transfer to other neighbourhoods. On the contrary, the networks of migrants who have been living in the area for years help newcomers to manage the first weeks of arrival. In some cases, when migrants are able to invest in housing or a business, they are likely to stay within their own community and engage in the development of the neighbourhood (Saunders, 2011). Beyond the ethnic population, a successful arrival city facilitates the interaction with the receiving society and generates social capital (Farwick, 2011).

The trapped arrival city

The location of arrival cities in Europe is strongly influenced by the gentrification of city centres, which leads to the suburbanization of arrival (Friedrichs & Triemer, 2009). The most common examples for trapped arrival cities can be found in the outskirts of large urban areas. The housing prices in the city centres are so high, that the majority of migrants is forced to live in disconnected neighbourhoods. These arrival cities suffer from spatial segregation through rivers, industrial areas, long distances etc. and from social segregation through monotonous housing and demographics.

In many cases the affected areas were built in a post-war reconstruction style (Eichener, 2001), which is characterized by strict zoning, few community spaces and undefined open space. These huge developments contain mainly rental flats and offer few spaces for individuality. If strict zoning was applied, the area is dominated by housing and offers only few shops or business opportunities. For migrants this means commuting long distances and few chances to invest into property or business. The diversity of the inhabitants and the mono-functionality limits community building and engagement. Simultaneously the low density of these neighbourhoods makes business unprofitable. The areas are mostly inhabited by migrants and low-income nationals with families. The lack of spatial, social networks and the heterogeneity of the inhabitants causes isolation. A typical outcome of isolation and social segregation is the radicalization of the second-generation migrants.

The newcomers

The majority of migrants and newcomers that settle in arrival cities are people coming from rural or urban poverty. The motivation to leave the home country is deriving from the hopelessness of the

rural origin, the perspective to send remittances or the prospect of improved social mobility.

Poverty migration is characterized by economic vulnerability and an educational disadvantage compared to the host society.

Germany used to receive high numbers of migrants from Turkey, Italy and Greece, and nowadays from Eastern European countries, such as Romania, Poland, Croatia, Bulgaria etc. These migrants show strong connections to their home countries and clear tendencies of concentration due to migration programs and chain migration networks. Demographics show that there is a pronounced overlay between migrant groups and families with more than one child. It can be assumed that (poverty) migrants tend to have more children than the aging host society.

Challenges and potentials

The challenges of the development of arrival cities lie in understanding the processes of arrival and targeting the contradictions of concentration and segregation. The design for a neighbourhood that is meant to be a temporary place to stay requires a completely different approach than to design a neighbourhood, where people are meant to stay. The challenges in the first case are to design for an ever-changing population and a permanent population at the same time.

Especially in urban areas, the upgrading of an arrival area brings gentrification, which again counteracts the arrival. Therefore, urban areas challenge the economic power of arrival in order to compete with other urban functions.

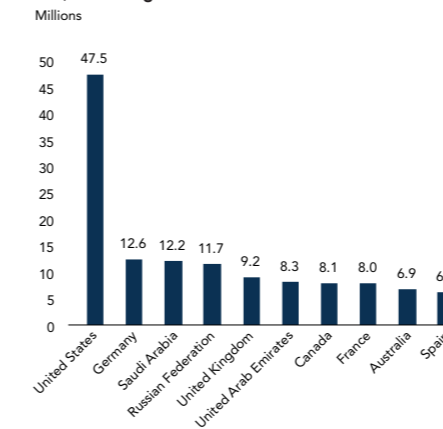
In suburban areas, the challenge is the strategic balance between concentration of migrations and the socio-spatial segregation of these vulnerable groups. New challenges are the heterogeneity of migrants, which leads to smaller community networks and lower levels of identification (Wacquant, 2008).

The aim of an arrival city design is to strengthen the process of arrival and integration. The long term goal is to avoid poverty traps and problematic neighbourhoods, since these areas are where the future population is growing up.

Germany - arrival country

This project is based in Germany, one of the main migration countries in Europe, alongside the UK and France. According to the World Bank, Germany ranked third in the top immigration countries 2017 (World Bank Group KNOMAD,

Top ten destination countries for international migrants in 2017, according to World Bank



2018)(see figure 2). Since the end of the second world war, Germany has been receiving large streams of refugees and labour migration. Germany has profited from migration by balancing the high demand for workers and counteracting the aging of society.

The current shift of the economy towards service and knowledge economy causes a need for knowledge and service workers. Both fields required language skills or even a higher education and therefore are only suited for a small group of migrants. The new need for skilled labour in Europe changes the face of labour migration programs and has the potential to intensify social segregation of poor migrant groups (Ceylan, 2006). In Europe, the border agreements of the European Union simplify the administrative process of migration and promote labour and educational

migration actively. For this matter the German state makes use of the European Blue Card to attract international high skilled labour. However, the European Union loses this competition of attracting high skilled labour against North America and China (European Political Strategy Centre, 2017). Instead, Germany is characterized by groups of temporary workers and high poverty migration from South-Eastern Europe as well as international poverty migration.

Integration policy and strategies

While countries such as the USA, Canada and Australia see themselves as immigration nations, states such as Germany regard outsiders as outsiders and follow an ethnic identity (European Commission, 2016). This institutional understanding of migration predicts conflicts regarding the growing amount of people with migration background. Since the refugee crisis in 2015, the problems with integration and the political attention towards the topic have increased dramatically. Many of the recent problems have been growing for decades and are now being discussed.

Until the 1980s Germany did not have a political concept for migration and integration and the nationalization quota was remarkably low until the 1990s (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2017). The image of and attitude towards migration that has been transferred from the government to the local level has not been able to evolve into one that addresses and promotes the need for integration for society and economy.

Statistics show that until today migrants have a higher unemployment rate, are overrepresented in social housing, reach a lower education qualification and show a higher crime rate. In sum, the social mobility for migrants is lower. Nationalist parties have taken this as an opportunity to inflame the political discourse and

figure 2 •
Top ten destination countries in 2017,
Source: World Bank

DEFINING ARRIVAL CITY



Arrival City St. Georg:
the Lampedusa Tent
as a demonstration
of a refugee group
protesting against
asylum law,
photo taken by author

in some places succeeded with their antiquated ideas. Immigration policies and political attitudes have an enormous effect on local integration issues and municipalities often need to compensate for a missing national support. Only a few cities and countries have managed to develop a coherent policy programme (International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2015). The communication, agreement and support throughout administrative scales is one of the most challenging tasks of integration. Many organizations also complain about a lack of support by the local administration. Integration is a long and continuous process, that requires reliable support and networks among the administration, organizations and companies.

Social and ethnic segregation

The structural change of economy in Germany produces a higher social inequality in cities. Rising top incomes and increasing migration are reasons for the decrease in social cohesion and larger social

differences (Friedrichs & Triemer, 2009). This social gap is mirrored in the unequal distribution of social clusters in neighbourhoods. Social and ethnic segregation is the result that can be observed in many large German cities. An increase of urban poverty in Germany can be observed since the 1980s. The economic crisis caused a fundamental reallocation of social clusters. This movement is explained by three factors: the selective outflow of higher income groups, the inflow of low-income groups and the increase of poverty among these inhabitants (Friedrichs & Triemer, 2009). . Between the 1960s until the 1980s this shift is taking place in the run-down inner-city neighbourhoods. A shift, which is in turn being reversed from the 1990s until today. As the city centres become more attractive, the poverty groups are repressed and move to the suburbs. Especially arrival cities are affected by this shift today. The suburbanization of arrival leads to an intensification of problems, due to the lack of network structures (Eichener, 2001).

Reflection

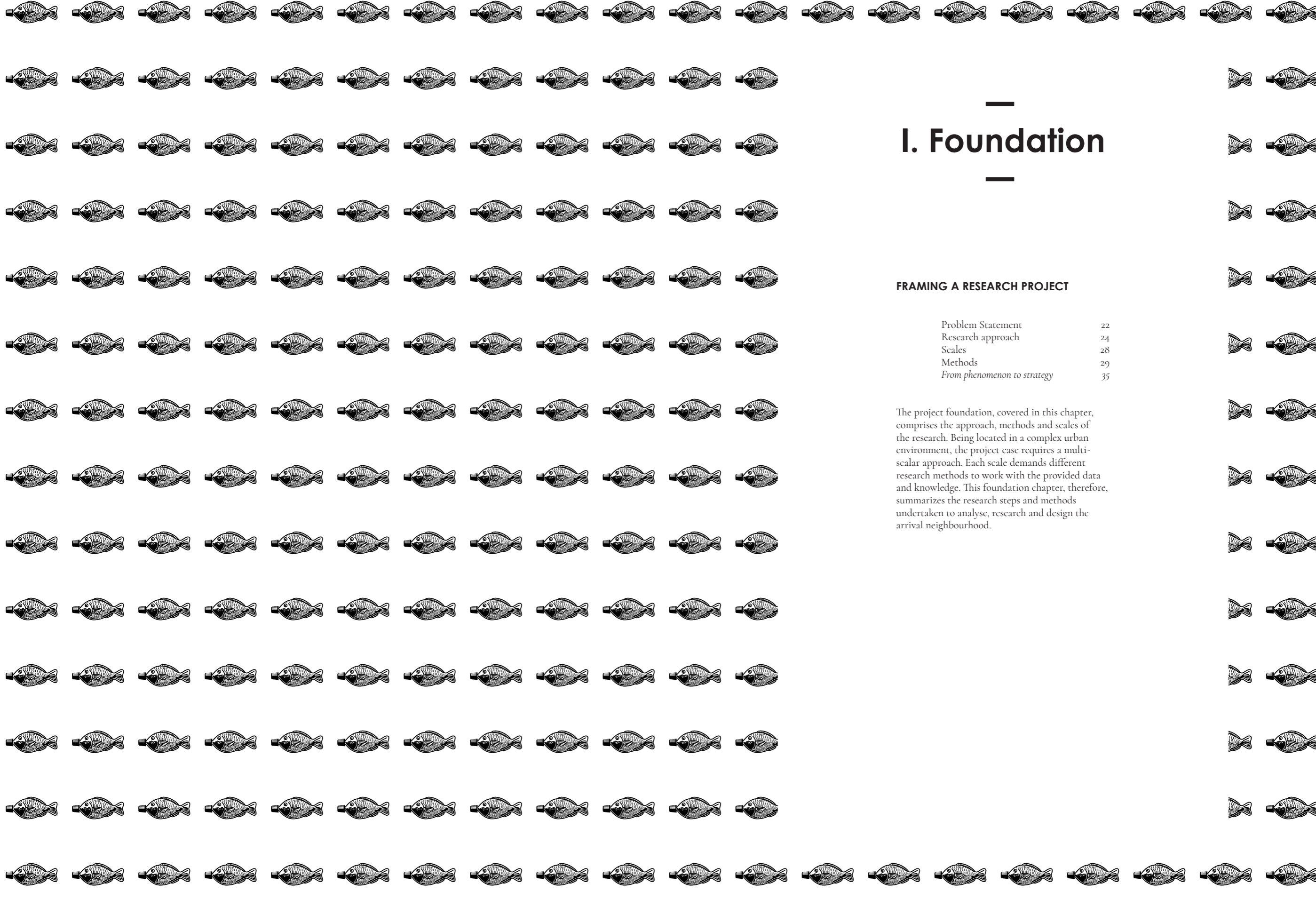
Arrival cities are a complex field of research due to the multi-dimensional and multi-scalar influences and opportunities involved, both for the success of the arrival city as a whole as well as for its newcomers individually. Thus the research on arrival cities requires a strategic approach that deals with this complexity. A detailed analysis and understanding of networks and dynamics of the arrival city build the base for a strategic layering of interventions.

The multiple dimensions influencing the success of arrival cities should be analysed with regard to their spatial perspective in order to understand how space can serve as a facilitator. Key aspects to deal with are the balance of concentration and segregation of newcomers, the approach from a municipal as well as individual perspective and the exploitation of opportunities in the design process. The multi-scalar approach to arrival cities implies a multi-method analysis. The methodological framework needs to address various dimensions and scales. As a result, these multiple methods should be merged into a single strategic model.

Sub research question

What is an arrival city within a German context?

An arrival city in a German context is fundamentally different from an arrival city in the Global South. There are no ghettos or parallel societies in Germany. Germany as a welfare state offers institutions and systems that support structural integration and social cohesion. These systems are however still a source of discrimination and can sometimes represent structural barriers. Poverty migration has helped to improve economic markets and balance demographic changes for decades even though the German state does not necessarily see itself as a migration country. Arrival cities are spaces in formal neighbourhoods that show a high density of ethnic groups or ethnic economy and most likely high migration rates. Common ethnicities are former guest worker nationalities as well as Eastern European migration. Due to the asylum procedures, it is likely that not all newcomers are free to settle where they want. A focus on arrival cities implies therefore a focus on migrants that are free to choose their location and not obliged to live in asylum accommodations. Neighbourhood effects, such as poverty traps, trading-down effects and signs of structural discrimination are commonly found in statistics on arrival cities. Due to low economic power, newcomers are forced to settle in disadvantaged areas. Within these areas, there is most likely a population that succeeds in its arrival and moves somewhere else, while there is also a population that is forced to stay. This permanent population is confronted with an international, ever changing population that uses the arrival city as a stepping stone. Each city has a different economic and structural potential to integrate newcomers. Opportunities in economy, welfare etc. support or hamper the success of arrival cities and newcomers.



I. Foundation

FRAMING A RESEARCH PROJECT

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The project foundation, covered in this chapter, comprises the approach, methods and scales of the research. Being located in a complex urban environment, the project case requires a multi-scalar approach. Each scale demands different research methods to work with the provided data and knowledge. This foundation chapter, therefore, summarizes the research steps and methods undertaken to analyse, research and design the arrival neighbourhood.

Problem Statement

Migration and integration are important parameters of urban development and urban growth. Whilst migration is a global phenomenon, integration is predominantly a matter of municipal scale. The growing global dynamics of migration have led to a complex structure of origins, contexts, statuses, generations and cultures in the receiving societies. A phenomenon that represents these tensions of migration, arrival and integration processes, are arrival neighbourhoods. This is where integration processes of the entire urban area begin.

However, in the last decades, arrival neighbourhoods are challenged by the gentrification of city centres and the growing diversity of migrants. Gentrification causes the repression of poor inhabitants and migrants to the suburbs, where arrival neighbourhoods suffer from spatial and social segregation (Janßen, & Schroedter, 2007) and where the integration processes have to work in extreme poverty contexts (Kurtenbach, 2015). This demographic homogeneity combined with ethnic heterogeneity threatens community networks and social mobility (Wacquant, 2008; Janßen, & Schroedter, 2007). Ethnic and economic segregation decreases the possibilities of newcomers to engage with the receiving society and vice versa, which limits the chances to social capital and social mobility.

More and more integration concepts suggest the facilitation of the interaction, empowerment and participation of newcomers. Nevertheless, these approaches are often not incorporated in urban development and often fail to reach disadvantaged groups.

These pressing challenges of migration suggest a spatial perspective on the integration task and specifically on arrival cities.



Group of men gathering at Hansa square next to love hotels, photo taken by author

Research approach

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

This graduation project will study the relation of space and integration processes in arrival cities, through investigating legal-political, socio-economic and cultural-religious conditions in space. The research aims to understand how space, arrival and integration are related and how space can influence integration positively.

Furthermore, this project is characterized and inspired by a positive approach to arrival neighbourhoods and hopes to transmit this positive view to other projects and scholars. Bridging an important gap between sociological and urban research, the project hopes to contribute to current integration practice and discourse. Especially through the concept of opportunity structures, the project aims to inspire urban planners and designers to explore new solutions to neighbourhood development.

To follow the aims specified above, the primary objective of the project is to develop planning tools (opportunity structures) that can span across disciplines and link theory to concrete design proposals. These opportunity structures are derived from theory and analysis and can potentially accelerate the integration process.

To find and develop these opportunity structures, the secondary objective is to carry out careful and elaborate research on arrival cities and generate local knowledge through a case study.

The third objective is then to develop a design proposal which applies the acquired knowledge as well as the opportunity structures, that have evolved, in space. Reflecting on these opportunity structures and the design process will finally lead to answering the research question.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

How can the phenomenon of arrival cities be used to design spatial opportunity structures for migrant integration in German cities?

Sub research questions

1. What is an arrival city within a German context?
2. How could a spatial perspective on integration contribute to integration processes?
3. How do arrival cities occur, and what is their national/municipal role?
4. How do arrival cities work, and which spatial features are required for a functioning arrival city?
 - a. How does the process of arrival work?
 - b. How do migrant individuals, communities and organizations use space?
5. Which (spatial) opportunities could enhance arrival and integration processes?
6. Which forms of planning and governance are necessary to organize integration spatially?

The main research question refers to the phenomenon of arrival cities as the starting point of the project and the intended outcome, the opportunity structures.

A definition of arrival cities within a German context is the initial step of the project and helps to contextualize the problem statement (RQ1). The research is structured into two perspectives on analysing arrival cities: the metropolitan role of arrival cities on the one hand and their role for migrant individuals, groups and organizations on the other. Research question 3, therefore, is addressed to the metropolitan processes (RQ3) while the fourth research question targets the neighbourhood level (RQ4).

Since the project aims at a spatial concept and spatial interventions, the role of space in integration is an important question (RQ2) to be answered prior to the design. Only then, a sustainable spatial planning and design can be proposed (RQ6) which elaborates on the opportunity structures (RQ5).

The sub research questions each refer to specific chapters of this report and are answered and reflected upon at the end of each chapter.

RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

Approach

The research project is based on a mixed-method and a multi-scale approach. By using several methods on two main scales, the project develops a multi-dimensional understanding of integration and opportunity structures. Throughout the graduation period, the project evolved from discourse to a concept to a strategy and design (figure 3).

The multi-scale approach serves to order structures and influences on space (see paragraph scales). Already the introduction has revealed that the issue of migration and integration is a matter of scales. The layers follow the administrative scales and transfer the aspects of one layer to the next. Heckmann (2006) describes these levels with the relevant determinants of integration as macro, meso and micro scale.

Multiple specific and general methods are applied to analyse the three dimensions of integration in space. The project combines spatial analysis methods with methods derived from the fields of economics and sociology (see methods).

Research process

The development process of the project can be understood as an iteration of research, analysis and design. Each research step reveals a new need for analysis, which again triggers a design. The research framework hereby only depicts the linear process of the approach, while the research remains explorative in character. The term design, in this case, is understood as the production of new interrelations, visions and ideas and their visualization through mappings, schemes and structures. The results and findings of each research step is evaluated and incorporated within its subsequent research step.

Research steps

The overall research of the project can be divided into the definition, detection, case study, design and the assessment of arrival cities (figure 6). The integration concept and concept of opportunity structures with spatial and non-spatial components depict the main outcome of the project. These concepts along with the problem field represent a work in progress, while each research phase contributes to the problem and concept definition. The detection of arrival cities targets the municipal scale. The statistical and morphological analysis

build the base for the detection of arrival areas. In the following phase, the chosen arrival areas are studied in order to find opportunities that are facilitating the arrival process. The case study phase consists of a desk analysis and a fieldwork part. The findings of this phase are then translated into strategies and design interventions. In the final phase, the design is assessed and improved according to the assessment outcomes.

INTENDED OUTCOME

The main outcome of the project is the matrix of opportunity structures. These planning elements combine the generated knowledge on the three dimensions of integration and their spatial character. The opportunity structures are a concept that can be redeveloped in different contexts or augmented with further opportunity structures. In that sense, the concept is a product which can inspire planners and researchers to further explore arrival cities.

The second outcome is a strategy and design proposal for a specific arrival neighborhood case. The strategies address different focus groups and the dynamics of the neighborhood. Translated into a design proposal, the strategies propose a flexible planning process, a network of small and larger design interventions and new ways of participation, empowerment and interaction of the actors involved.

The design, therefore, demonstrates how the opportunity structures find application in a concrete case.

Thirdly, the design guidelines which are a reflective outcome of the design process can serve as an inventory of inclusive urban development and together with the opportunity structures, diversify the existing planning tools.

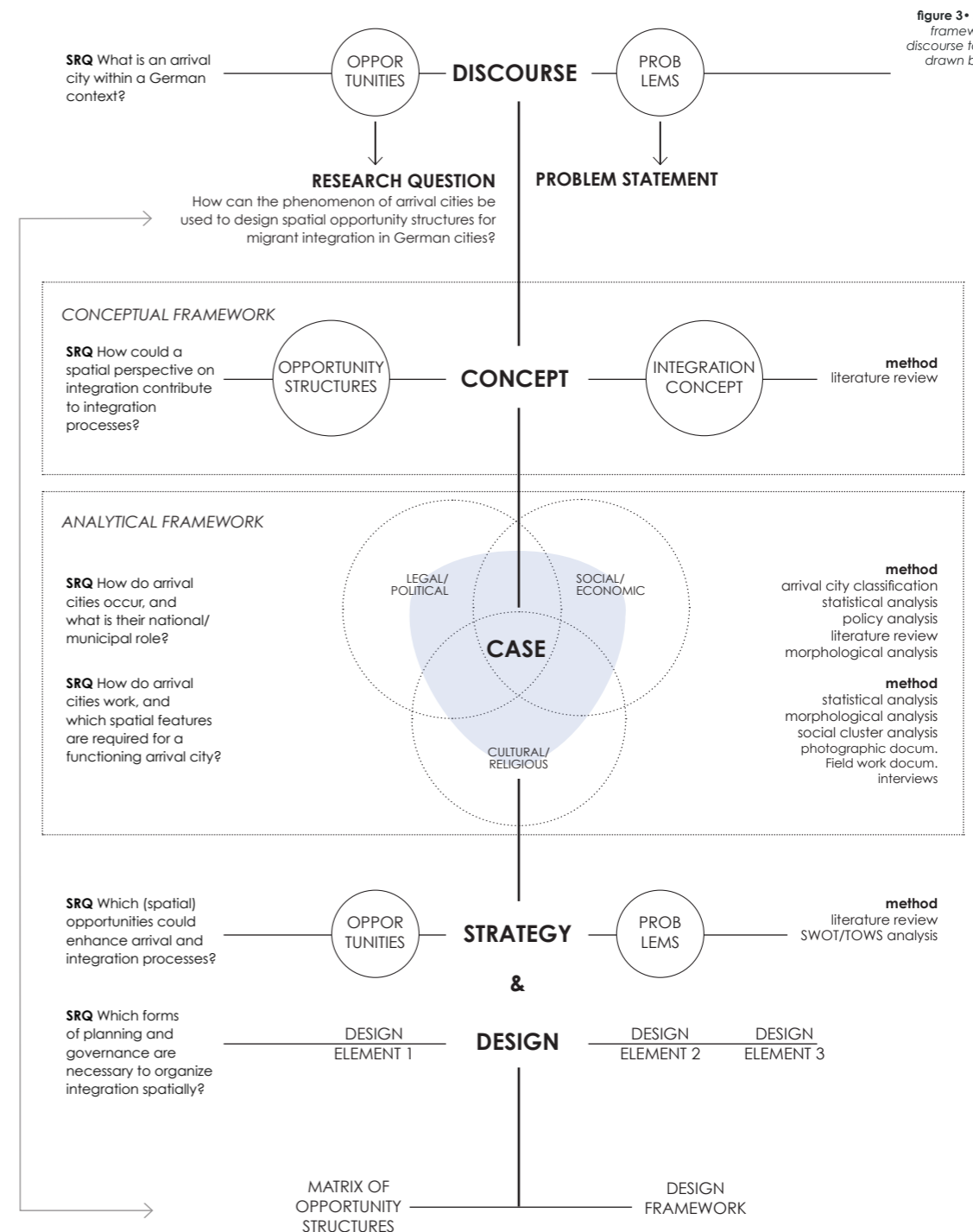
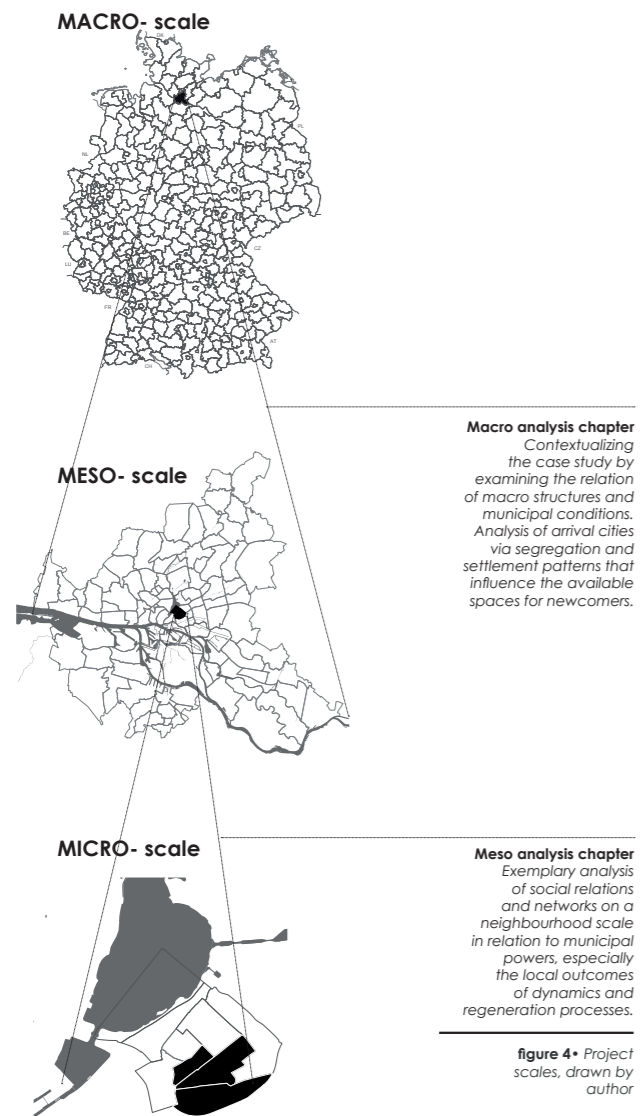


figure 3 • research framework from discourse to design, drawn by author

scales



To find determinants and opportunities in integration processes, this project proposes a multi-scalar analysis on three main scales (see figure 4). The aim is to identify the forces and dynamics that influence migration and integration on a macro-meso relation and meso-micro relation.

Firstly, the national scale sets the base as it defines the legal-political context in which migration and integration proceed. Legal-political, socio-economic and cultural-religious macro structures produce conditions that influence the opportunities and limitations of an individual's or group's integration process (Heckmann, 2006). Especially the quality of economic development and differentiation as well as the quality of political, legal and cultural institutions are an important determinant for integration processes (ibid.). Spatially, the national scale shows signs of segregation and imbalances that influence the municipal conditions.

Secondly, the meso scale represents the market place in which newcomers move and create their living environment. Relevant are social networks, functional distributions in space and patterns of segregation. Legal-political and socio-economic conditions define where migrants find space for development and where opportunities are located. Physical and social networks on this scale define a newcomer's social capital.

Thirdly, the micro scale, administered by municipal powers, shows the concrete outcomes of the interaction between newcomers and natives. The power of migrants as urban agents of transformation become visible in space and reflect needs, interests and opportunities for integration. The scales follow the administrative scales due to the availability of data and legal-political structures that influence the process of integration. The scales further on refer to the societal units from national society to individuals in order to understand integration processes in between space and society.

methods

GENERAL METHODS

The project works with two types of methods; general methods and specific methods. The general methods do not have a specific time frame, starting or end point. Instead, they serve as tools to gather, arrange and communicate knowledge in all stages of the research process. The specific methods, on the other hand, are applied at particular research steps.

Case study

The project aims to analyse the role of space in integration processes via opportunity structures. To find, priori-tize and develop opportunities, the project uses a case study in Germany that can be defined as 'average'. The city of Hamburg is the second-largest city in Germany, directly followed by Munich, Cologne and Frankfurt. The history of migration and the morphology of Hamburg resemble the history of other European cities. Approximately one-third of the inhabitants of Hamburg have a migration background, which is similar to many other municipalities in former Western Germany (see 'territorial imbalances' for more information). The integration strategy of the municipality shows wide similarities with the integration concept of Stuttgart and Cologne (see appendix 'migrant integration in German cities'). Hamburg serves as a case to observe and develop an arrival city strategy. The case study is constructed through three steps: the analysis of Hamburg, the analysis of the case and lastly the design interventions. Following the definition of Yin (1994), this case study is defined as a single case with multiple units of analysis. Therefore, the socio/economic, legal/political and cultural/religious dimensions are analysed. In the context of integration, mapping serves to spatialize findings, interventions and to locate problems. It is the most important tool for

showing the impact of a spatial consideration of integration.

Mapping

Mapping can be seen as one of the main methods in the field of urbanism. Mappings are characterized by the potential to include complex information and interpretative elements simultaneously. The process of mapping is a repetition of collection, interpretation and revision of data, design and ideas. James Corner describes mapping as follows:

"...Thus, the various cartographic procedures of selection, schematization and synthesis make the map already a project in the making. This is why mapping is never neutral, passive or without consequence; on the contrary, mapping is perhaps the most formative and creative act of any design process, first disclosing and then staging the conditions for the emergence of new realities". James Corner in 'The Agency of Mapping: Speculation, Critique and Invention' (Corner, 2011, p. 216)

In this project, the method of mapping is used in every chapter to assemble assumptions, ideas and visions. Firstly, in order to detect arrival cities and understand dynamics, mapping is applied to combine social, economic and political data (see statistical analysis). The selection of relevant data is made according to the objective of each research step. Secondly, the morphological analysis of the neighbourhood implies mapping to locate potentialities. During the fieldwork mapping helps to conclude observations into tangible findings. Mapping can be illustrated through collages, sketches, maps and schemes to show complex interrelations. Each mapping process is described more detailed in the actual chapter. In the context of integration, mapping serves to spatialize findings, interventions and to locate problems. It is the most important tool for

the most important tool for showing the impact of a spatial consideration of integration.

Literature review

The literature review serves as a tool to build the bridge to the academic community and embed the project within a field of scholars. The topic of arrival requires interdisciplinary sources that are interpreted from an urbanist's perspective. The relevant disciplines represented in integration studies are sociology, human geography, politics, economics, urbanism and planning. Since the whole project is based on the iteration through research, analysis and design, the method is applied in every chapter. Most importantly, the method serves to construct the integration concept, the concept of opportunity structures, the problem statement, terms and definitions. Secondly, the methodological framework derives from literature review and forms an interdisciplinary collection of methods.

In order to guarantee the actuality of the research, only newer integration concepts will be considered, although former integration ideas will be briefly described. Integration is a complex field of research, that changes constantly, which is why this study mainly considers literature sources from a similar time and geographical (European) context.

SPECIFIC METHODS

The following methods are specific research methods which are applied at particular research phases. Each method addresses a specific research scale, dimension and sources (see figure 6).

1 Statistical analysis

The statistical analysis serves to locate and relate social and economic statistics on a meso scale. In order to detect arrival cities, relevant social data is extracted from Hamburg's statistical bureau ('Melderegister') and imported into Geographic Information Systems (GIS). Via mapping, the GIS program is able to locate and overlay demographic, ethnic and structural segregation. These segregation patterns can be combined with spatial segregation patterns and deliver the most problematic and disadvantaged residential areas.

The data used for this analysis is related to ethnicity, employment, demography, households and education. To further improve the analysis, social and educational monitoring statistics for Hamburg are taken into account as a source for smaller statistical areas than the neighbourhood scale.

2 Arrival city classification

In order to better understand the dynamics that characterize arrival cities, the detection and classification of arrival neighborhoods is necessary. The project uses a method developed by Poulsen, Johnston, & Forrest (2001) which classifies statistical areas according to their share of inhabitants with a migration background. A tree diagram indicates the rules for classifying a city's neighborhood step by step (figure 5). This multi-attribute classification considers the 'degree of residential concentration, residential assimilation, group encapsulation and group isolation' (Poulsen et al., 2001, p. 4).

Since the project focuses on dynamics that influence arrival cities, the classification is conducted using municipal statistics from 2013 and 2017. These statistics consider the share of inhabitants with a migration background as well as the share of the three most dominant ethnic groups (Turkish, Polish and Russian Federation). Compared to many other countries Germany shows lower residential segregation and does not have ghettos (type 3 and 4). With the proposed classification almost two-thirds of the areas were classified as the same type. Therefore, the method from Poulsen, Johnston, & Forrest has been further adjusted to allow a more differentiated observation

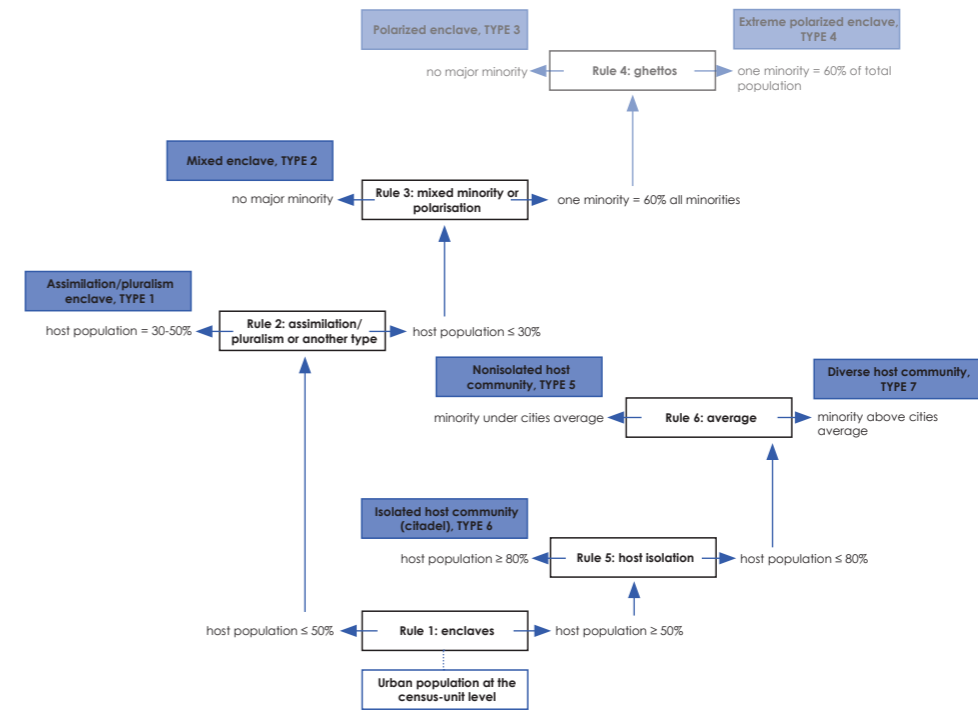


figure 5 • classification tree diagram for arrival cities by Poulsen, Johnston, & Forrest (2001), drawn and adjusted by author

of urban dynamics.

The classification, therefore, considers the following types:

1. 'an associated assimilation - pluralism enclave, where the host society is a large element in the population (but does not form a majority)
2. a mixed-minority enclave, shared by two or more minority groups;
3. a polarized enclave, with one minority group substantially encapsulated, that is, not sharing the area with significant numbers from other minorities; and
4. a ghetto, which satisfies two criteria a high degree of concentration of the minority group; and a high percentage of the group's population living in areas with that level of concentration. (b) A host community, which may be either:
 5. a nonisolated host community, where minority groups form a significant minority of the area's population; or
 6. an isolated host community, with minority groups largely absent.' (Poulsen et al., 2001, p. 4)
 7. a diverse host community where no ethnic group predominates, and it's share is above the cities average (2013: 30,8%; 2017: 34,9%)

The classification process followed the tree diagram and the rules shown in figure 5. The resulting classification can be found in an excel sheet in the appendix. The generated types were imported into a GIS program to generate maps, which can be found in the macro analysis chapter.

3 Morphological analysis

Urban morphology refers to the study of the urban fabric, its formation and transformation. The morphological analysis relates the logic of urban tissue with the socio-economic, legal-political and cultural-religious conditions. It is the main method used to analyse and demonstrate the role of space within the integration process.

Firstly, the method serves to understand the formation of segregation patterns on municipal scale. It gives insight into the formation of Hamburg and why certain areas are considered disadvantaged.

Secondly, the method is used on a neighbourhood scale to understand the relation between the urban fabric and the activities of social clusters. The analysis is coupled with mappings and photographic documentation (see method 8) as a possible visual representation. The elements

analysed are, for example, street networks, land use patterns, functional distribution, building types and many more.

The method is applied in the case study phase via desk research and fieldwork. The fieldwork deepens the understanding of networks and small scale, invisible connections. The base of the study consists of public documents, current and historical maps and open-source geographical data. All relevant elements will be mapped and described according to their potential and relation to the arrival process. This research overlays spatial analysis with historical analysis, planning perspectives and architectural knowledge.

4 Social cluster analysis

The social cluster analysis is accomplished on a neighbourhood scale and serves to study the predominant social clusters in the area. The integration concept refers to two parties, the newcomers and the receiving society. In reality, the situation is more complex and numerous social clusters and actors are present. This method identifies the most prominent social clusters via observation, interviews and literature review. Each cluster is described with its places, organizations and street life and is documented in a profile that contains photography of places, maps of community spaces and information on interests, statistics etc.

The analysis aims to show the differences in the power of the clusters or actors and to find potential points of connection between the clusters. In the design, these clusters are referred to as stakeholders and owners of spaces.

5 Policy analysis

The policy analysis serves to assess the legal-political environment of the case study. The analysis is part of a separate paper that has been written as a byproduct of this graduation project. The full paper can be found in the appendix. The subject of this study is the integration concept of the city of Hamburg and the attitude towards integration and migration.

Integration policies are aiming to guide and support the integration process. Whilst policies are primarily made on the national, regional and municipal level, the outcome of policies does affect the local scale. This method, therefore, serves to analyse the influences of policies on the local integration process.

According to Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas (2016) the analysis of integration policies should be done in three steps. Firstly, the perception of

the integration problem is studied. This implies the definition of the problem, whether it is considered a problem or potential and whether or not the migrant is appreciated (Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2016). In the following step, the authors propose to analyse the planned actions in the legal-political, the socio-economic and the cultural-religious dimensions. Each of these dimensions represents an important pillar of integration: the state, market and nation (Entzinger, 2000). It is most likely that not all dimensions will be addressed equally. Finally, Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas propose to analyse which focus groups are targeted by these policies. The knowledge gained through this analysis is later complemented through expert interviews and the approach of local development programs.

6 Interviews

The project implies two types of interviews: formal and informal interviews. While the formal interviews target experts, the informal interviews are directed to inhabitants. Both types are meant to bridge knowledge gaps and accomplish the research on a neighbourhood scale.

The formal interviews are directed towards organizations that are dealing with the issues of integration and migration daily. The interviews aim to find out what issues they are coping with and how they prevent problems and face integration.

The project aims at organizations that work with newcomers to understand how support is organized.

Since the graduation project does not aim at a representative number of informal interviews, the knowledge collected through expert interviews is important, as it is considered more reliable for research purposes than the opinions of individual migrants. The interview questions aim to bring to light the challenges, networks and support of migrant organizations. The interviews were taking place between the P2 and P4 period as an ongoing process.

The informal interviews are conducted during the fieldwork and help to understand the public interactions and relations of migrants or inhabitants in general. These interviews go along with the journal documentation and photographic documentation. The aim is to understand how migrants settle, organize themselves, utilize space and which challenges or problems they may face. Interviews of individuals can only exhibit subjective opinions, but still, bring a lot of value in combination with quantitative research and the formal interviews.

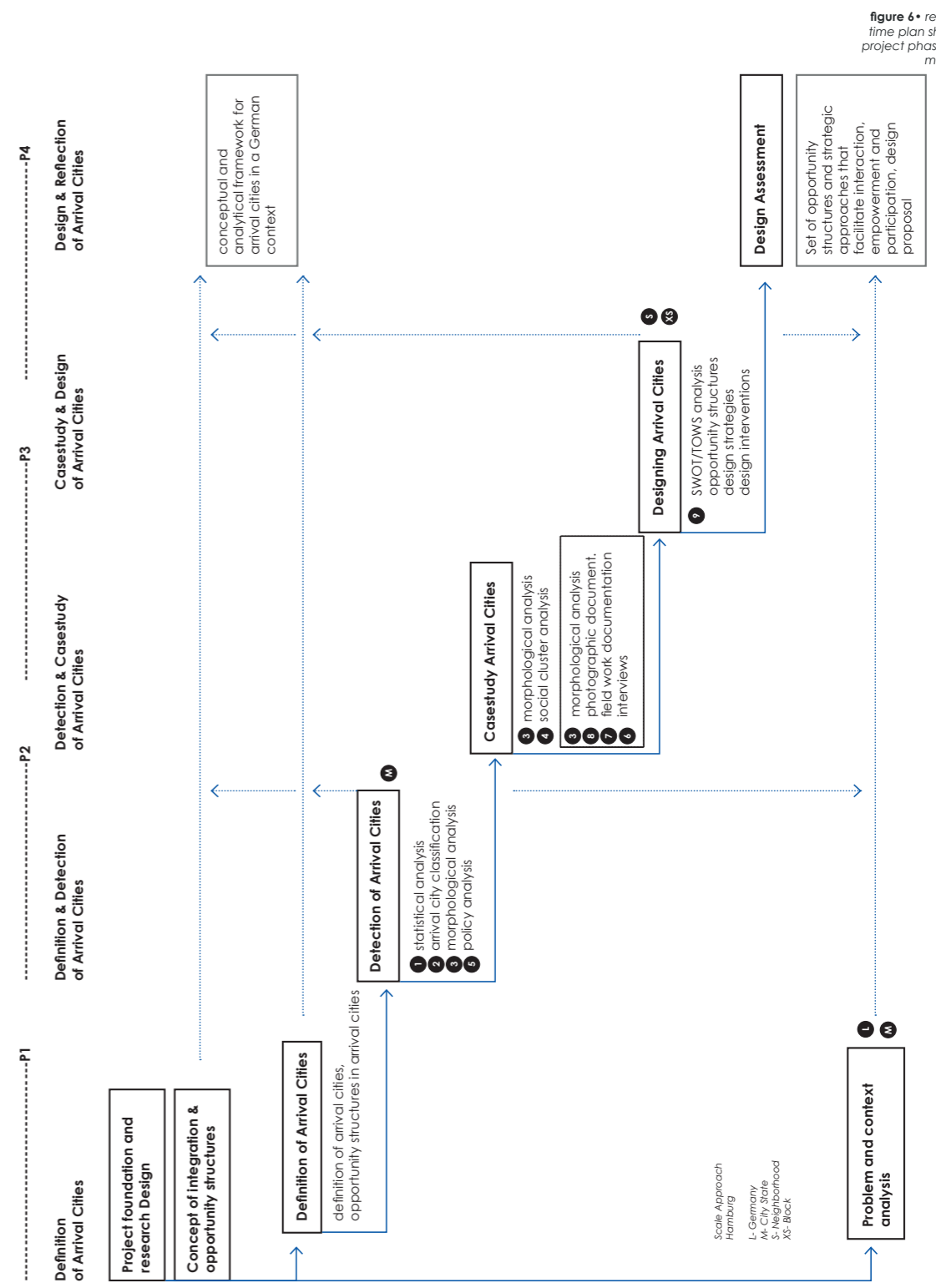


figure 6 • research time plan showing project phases and methods

7 Field work documentation

The fieldwork documentation is a combination of small methods to observe and analyse the situation on-site. The methods included in the fieldwork documentation are:

- sketching of impressions and atmospheres
- correction of plans
- documentation of social cluster activities
- mapping of gatherings and movements in open space (snapshot analysis)
- informal interviews

The purpose of the documentation is the preparation of the fieldwork and the optimization of the work on site. To ensure that the analysis on-site complements the desk research and can be mastered within a short amount of time, the preparation requires the purchase of all materials as well as the maps that should be created.

The site visit is documented in several ways, by pictures, sketches, notes and maps. All these serve to collect and record first impressions and interpretations of the site. The observations made on-site are: the public life throughout day and night, the use of public space, ethnic economies, informal interviews with passers-by and signs of functional transformation. The method also tries to capture the abstract elements of an arrival city, such as atmospheres, short moments and interactions.

This method is prepared after the P2 presentation during the case study phase. The fieldwork concludes this phase and the findings build the base for the design interventions. In case that information was missing or incomplete, the method will have to be iterated on several times.

8 photographic documentation

Photography as a medium allows not only to capture moments but also to provide material that can be reanalysed during desk research. Still, the method of photography is questionable as a research method. Like many other research methods, photography is sensitive to the influence of the photographer, therefore the methods are only valuable in combination with other documentation media. Thus, this method is combined with fieldwork documentation and mapping.

On-site, photography helps to capture short moments, atmospheres and the behaviour of people. The photographs are arranged into collections or types. A famous example of photographic documentation clustered in types is

the works of Bernd and Hilla Becher (figure 7). The technique helps to objectify and thereby isolate subjects for analysis. A similar collection will be made for ethnic economies on high streets in the arrival neighbourhoods and the public life. This is done in three steps: the preparation of the types and the locations, the actual photography along with the fieldwork documentation and the image editing.

The objectification of ethnic shops shows their expression of culture, hybridity and differentiation (Hall, 2010). The arrangement in types helps to understand local dynamics and roles of ethnic businesses.

9 SWOT/TOWS analysis

The SWOT and TOWS analysis will be used to generate design strategies, which build the bridge between the analysis and design.

The SWOT analysis will summarize identified strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats in a layered mapping. This step gathers the identified knowledge from previous chapters and bundles the space with the three dimensions of integration.

The TOWS analysis relates the identified strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats to generate four possible strategies, ranging from defensive to attacking. This relation of factors helps to optimize resources and prepare future dynamics. The strategies further help to generate ideas as they trigger creative measures. Further information about the generation of strategies can be found in the synthesis chapter.



figure 7 • Photo Water Towers, 1965 by Bernd and Hilla Becher, source: artnet.de

FROM PHENOMENON TO STRATEGY

Reflection

The foundation has presented the aims of the research, the approach and the methods. The complex phenomenon of arrival cities will be approached via a multi-scalar and multi-method analysis. A network of methods helps to accomplish each research step: methods to gain and collect knowledge, methods to assess the findings and methods to turn findings into interventions. Each chapter of this report generates knowledge about arrival cities. This knowledge is turned into products that summarize, conclude and make use of the previous findings.

Two concepts serve as a starting point for the analysis: the concept of integration and the concept of opportunity structures. While integration represents the aim, opportunity structures provide the tools for arrival cities. Both concepts require aspects of analysis which are collected in the analytical framework. According to this framework, the macro and meso analysis are executed. Within the synthesis chapter, all products are related in order to generate strategies. The strategies incorporate the values of integration and the opportunities that facilitate integration processes. The design products reflect the strategies on a micro scale and show relations between opportunities, qualities and the design approach itself.

The interrelation of these research steps and products is reflected upon in the conclusion. The defined approach and the concepts limit the sphere of this project and simultaneously generate innovation.



II. Theory

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR INTEGRATION

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<i>Spatializing integration</i>	50

This chapter evaluates on existing integration concepts and combines theories in order to create a spatial viewpoint on integration. Discussions on space and time and the process of arrival finally lead to the concept of opportunity structures, which is a central product of this study. Both concepts, the concept of integration and opportunity structures are merged into an analytical framework for arrival cities.

Time and space

This project builds on the assumption that the overall aim of arrival cities should be the final integration or inclusion of newcomers in the receiving society. Since arrival cities serve as a gate to the receiving society, they should facilitate the process from migration to integration and help newcomers to overcome disadvantages. The integration of newcomers benefits the newcomers themselves as well as the society as a whole. This project uses the definition of integration proposed by Heckmann:

'integration as 'a long-lasting process of inclusion and acceptance of migrants in the core institutions, relations and statuses of the receiving society. For the migrants, integration refers to a process of learning a new culture, an acquisition of rights, access to positions and statuses, a building of personal relations to members of the receiving society and a formation of feelings of belonging and identification towards [that] society. Integration is an interactive process between migrants and the receiving society, in which, however, the receiving society has much more power and prestige' (Heckmann, 2005: 15).

The arrival city supports integration in several ways. Migrant neighbourhoods help newcomers to orientate and have quick access to the information they need. This information is provided by other newcomers' experiences. Even though the first concentration of migrants helps to overcome discrimination and empowers the groups, the final aim should be to 'become an accepted part of society' (Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2016). Nevertheless, arrival cities are likely to become mobility traps (Heckmann, 2005). In order to understand how a specific arrival city might support or hamper the integration process, the project analyses the integrative power with the aim to improve integration processes spatially. The following conceptual framework serves to develop

categories to analyse integration processes and their spatial expression.

TIME AND SPACE

Integration and space

Migration changes the home and destination country simultaneously. Newcomers change the receiving society and are important parties of urban restructuring (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2009). In arrival cities, these global and local influences meet and create spaces for progress or stagnation. Arrival cities as a spatial phenomenon are the product of migration and social-economic, legal-political or cultural-religious conditions that shape the receiving society and their cities. Newcomers chose their place in the new environment according to the prevailing spatial, socio-economic and cultural-religious opportunities. Location factors such as affordable housing, transport links and social networks are particularly important for newcomers with low economic power. The act of claiming or taking up space for activities is the starting point of an arrival city. The availability of affordable space is therefore of crucial importance and enables, in particular, poverty migrants to set up their own networks and their own economy. The conditions of the chosen spaces have a large impact on the success of an arrival city and its inhabitants. The arrival city as living space determines the accessibility of services and social networks for newcomers. The residential area is the most important social network, especially for children. Furthermore, the arrival city as an economic area influence the social and cultural networks of newcomers. If the arrival city becomes a long-term location, this also affects the identification of newcomers with the destination country or city.

Since space and the role of space in integration are the main theme of this study, the case study analyzes the three dimensions of integration and their relationship to space. Compared to the three dimensions of integration, space plays a more supportive role.

'Space as physical space and social construct relates to three of the above categories: In structural integration as housing, in interactive integration as an opportunity for interaction and social relations, and in identificational integration as a spatial reference system to which place one belongs or wants to belong.' (Heckmann, 2006: 18)

Space has a great influence on the organization of everyday life and on the interaction of individuals. The aim of this project is to explore the spatial potential of integration processes and to find ways to improve integration through spatial design. As the integration process cannot be directly influenced, the project will facilitate the interaction, empowerment and exchange of social clusters in space as a prerequisite for improved integration.

The project extends the integration concept to include space and uses a definition of spatial integration by Buhr (2014), which proposes a definition of spatial integration as 'the development and maintenance of relations of use and knowledge over the practiced space' (Buhr, 2014: 12). This means that integration processes take place in all dimensions in space and improve the spatial knowledge and understanding of a newcomer. In this way, the project can not only examine the living space of a migrant, but also movement patterns and behavior in space. This understanding of arrival cities connects the spatial arrival city and its network of integration processes, since the very existence of the arrival city is proof of the spatial knowledge generated by disadvantaged newcomers. The use of space for their own networks and activities of newcomers is therefore at the heart of all cities of arrival.

Integration and time

Integration is not a linear process and does in some cases take several generations of newcomers. Time, as an essential element in process affects both the receiving society and the newcomers. Heckmann describes integration processes as a learning process and a second socialization, that takes time to evaluate, learn and experience (Heckmann, 2006). The long-lasting process of integration requires a constant engagement and evaluation of integration processes. The common parallelism

of new arrivals and older migrants, statuses and migrant generations questions attempts to measure integration.

Individual qualities as well as integrative conditions within the receiving society can accelerate the integration process. Conditions within the receiving society that benefit integration are the accessibility of housing, employment and services as well as a welcoming culture (Heckmann, 2012). Individual characteristics and soft skills of migrants influence their capability to integrate. Similarities between the home and destination culture ease the integration task. The effort of the receiving society to participate and engage in integration also improves the conditions.

There are also conditions that may slow down the process of integration, such as 'legal regulations, prejudice and discrimination may block the access of the immigrants to the core institutions of labour market, ethnic entrepreneurship, education and qualification system, welfare systems, citizenship, housing and private relations' (European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia 2004).

'Integration thus progresses at a different pace between the dimensions' (Heckmann, 2006) and does strongly depend on the situation that a newcomer arrives in. While the apartment hunting might take several weeks, identification with the new culture can take generations. It is therefore important to consider time as a main factor in integration processes and to take measures that prevent setbacks and accelerate integration.



German woman buying groceries in an Indian shop close to Hansa square, photo taken by author

Arrival

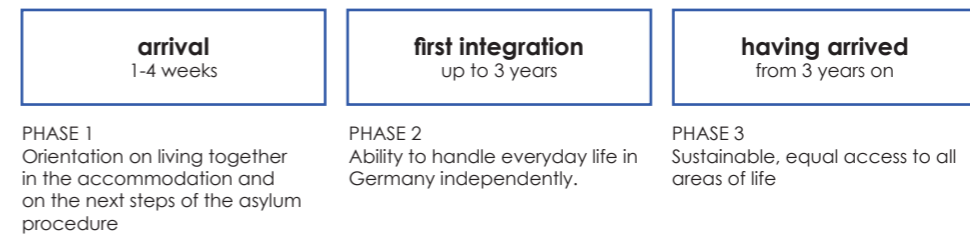


figure 8 • Phases of arrival; source: Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (BAMF), Behörde für Arbeit, Soziales, Familie und Integration (BASFI)

The process of arrival varies between individuals. Newcomers with a strong economic stance or employment opportunities have easier access to housing and social networks. Anyone who comes without precautions is dependent on savings, friends or relatives as an entry point. The city of Hamburg describes the process of arrival of asylum seekers in three phases (figure 8): arrival, first integration and having arrived (BASFI, 2017).

The first phase of arrival includes the first orientation in the receiving country. For asylum seekers, this means orientation in the accommodation and in the asylum application. For European newcomers, this phase would mean finding accommodation or a first job. In the second phase, the newcomer should be able to cope with everyday life in the new country. This phase lasts up to 3 years until the newcomers have reached the 'having arrived' phase. In-project interviews with two organizations dealing with the integration and care of new arrivals have shown that new arrivals do not necessarily feel that they have arrived just because they have achieved a certain level of self-organization. One organization has indicated that the second phase often takes much longer than three years due to long asylum procedures. Many asylum seekers have been stuck in crowded accommodation for years.

Planners cannot change the conditions for newcomers to migrate. However, it is crucial to remove structural barriers such as lengthy procedures or non-transparent government services. Access to housing, health, work and education is the starting point for integration, and only when the first measures have been taken can a newcomer arrive properly and focus on e.g. language learning.

Integration

CONCEPT OF INTEGRATION

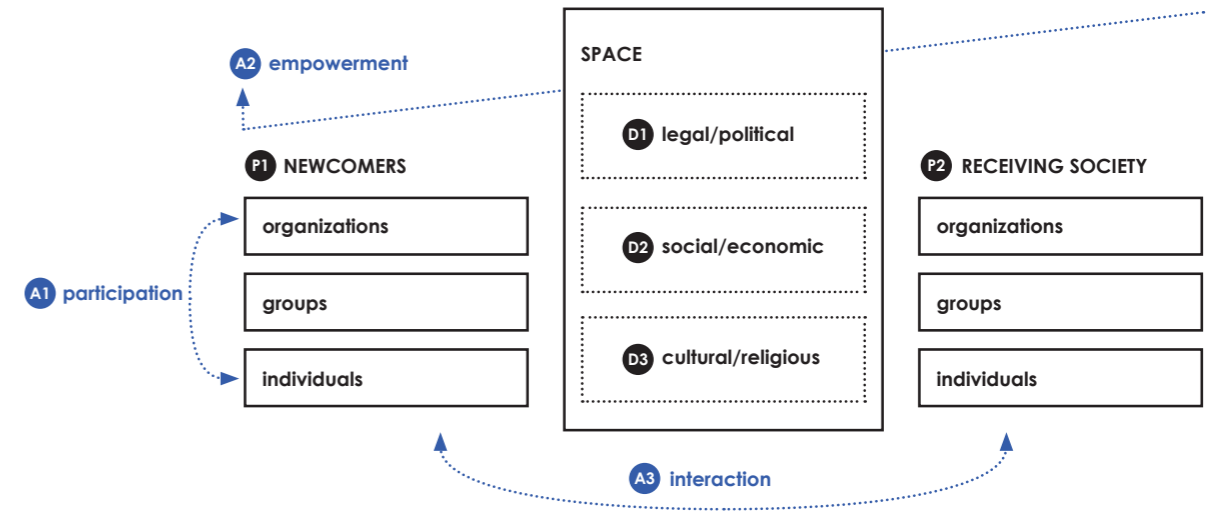
The understanding of integration provided by this project capitalises on the concept of Penninx and Garcés-Masareñas (2016) as its base and foundation while additionally integrating elements of Ager and Strang (2004) and Heckmann (2012). The resulting framework is then combined with spatial theories in order to generate a more tailored analytical framework for arrival cities. All the integration concepts used are based on two thoughts: the understanding of integration as a complex, multi-dimensional process and the integration as a task of two groups, i.e. the newcomers and the receiving society. This approach incorporates the possibility of multiple reference groups and a differentiation of the processes in each dimension (Brubaker, 2001). Integration processes are context-specific and may vary within the dimensions or relevant social clusters. Therefore, the concept proposes a clear and open structure that can serve as an analytical tool in many different contexts. The concept defines integration as the “the process of becoming an accepted part of society” (Penninx & Garcés-Masareñas, 2016). Therefore, the interaction between the newcomers and the receiving society is the centre of observation.

The parties

Integration as a two-sided process, includes newcomers and the receiving society. Neither one of these groups is a homogeneous social entity. The receiving society, after many years of migration is just as multi-cultural and diverse as the newcomers. In order to design for integration, both groups must be studied. As defined above, integration is a learning process that concerns both parties. In this model, newcomers undergo a second socialization process and are expected to ‘obtain the cognitive, cultural and social competences for

achieving positions and playing roles in the socio-economic institutions and organisations of society’ (Heckmann, 2006, p. 15). In return, the receiving society is required to reduce discrimination and prejudice as well as to open up their institutions. Each party is represented by three levels: individuals, groups and institutions (see figure 9).

P2 Receiving society as a term does not refer to society as a homogeneous group, but rather as a construct of norms, values and rules in the destination country. In a wider sense, the receiving society and its systems are providing the conditions under which integration has to take place. The receiving society is asked to adjust their norms, rules and values in order to make integration work. Most importantly, this refers to the adaptation to diversity of the receiving society and its systems. The two parties are unequal in power and prestige. ‘The receiving society, especially its institutional structure and reaction to newcomers, is far more decisive for the outcome of the process than the immigrants themselves are’ (Penninx & Garcés-Masareñas, 2016, p. 17). Of high importance to integration is the openness of organizations and institutions of the receiving society to newcomers. Especially institutional provisions responsible for housing, labour, education, health but also cultural-religious arrangements play a major role in integration processes (Penninx & Garcés-Masareñas, 2016). If these institutions produce equitable outcomes for migrants, all other dimensions profit simultaneously. When these institutions rely on their historical arrangements and hamper structural opening, all dimensions are affected. Throughout this project, the receiving society is structured into social clusters according to lifestyles, interest and organizations, in order to detect difficulties and potential for interaction. It is analysed whether the institutions support migrant organizations and facilitate integration.



P1 When talking about newcomers, the project refers to migrants or people with a migration background. The term migrant or immigrant refers to those who experienced migration themselves, so-called first-generation migrants. The German state uses the term migration background to describe migrants and children of migrants. The term was introduced to track naturalized migrants in statistics. However, not all federal states offer data for this category. According to the German ‘Zensus 2011’ people with migration background:

- I. are foreigners (without German citizenship)
- II. or born abroad and migrated to Germany after the 31 December 1955 (with German citizenship) or
- III. have a parent that was born abroad and migrated after the 31 December 1955 to Germany

This term serves to differentiate between nationals and migrants even after the naturalization.

Michael Krummacker divides migrants into four categories. The first category relates to the intention to stay, i.e. whether the migrant wants to stay in the country permanently or only stays temporarily. The intended duration has a major impact on an individual’s motivation to integrate (Heckmann, 2006). Second, he names a majority of migrants with low economic potential and lower-class character, and a minority of migrants with high social mobility. As a third category, he refers to the status of a migrant that enables political participation. Currently, around 50 percent of people with a migration background living in cities do not have

German citizenship and are therefore restricted in their political and legal representation. The third category deals with the integration processes of individuals, ranging from isolation in ethnic colonies to great advances in integration (Krummacker, 2000). Second generation migrants develop a lifestyle between the receiving society and the adapted culture of their parents, which leads to a further differentiation of the lifestyle within the immigrant group (Penninx & Garcés-Masareñas, 2016). In combination with the city of arrival, four characteristics of newcomers are particularly important: their ethnicity, their economic potential, their status and their social milieu. In 2008 the SINUS study was able to show the remarkable diversity of the migrant milieu in Germany. The identified lifestyles range from bourgeois to traditional, religious, intellectual and precarious (SINUS Institute, 2018). Together with these milieus, the economic potential and behavior of the individual vary. Ethnicity is becoming a more complex factor in integration research due to growing multiculturalism and increasing internationality. In this project, however, ethnicity only becomes relevant if it implies a certain spatial pattern. The status of a migrant can be relevant for the arrival city, for example, as soon as it prevents migrants from e.g. the establishment of a company or participation in politics. Asylum seekers are excluded because they are usually located in a special center and therefore cannot settle freely in an arrival city.

The project is located in an arrival city that deals

figure 9 • concept of Penninx & Garcés-Masareñas, 2016, drawn and adjusted by author

with transnational migrants of mostly Islamic background. The settlement in an arrival city indicates that the migrants most likely have lower economic power than the average receiving society. Newcomers settle according to their economic potential in areas with affordable housing (Kurtenbach, 2015). Especially the Turkish population in Germany shows higher social disadvantages, such as high poverty risk and higher segregation rates (Ceylan, 2006) than other immigrant groups.

The dimensions

Each dimension of integration stands for an important pillar involved in integration: the state, market and nation (Entzinger, 2000). Related integration concepts propose the dimensions of structural integration, cultural integration, interactive integration, and identificational integration (Heckmann, 2006) or such as Esser (2001) cultururation, placement (position in society), interaction, and identification. When analysing opportunities and space in integration, it is suitable to use the three dimensions proposed by Penninx and Garcés-Masareñas (2016) that have the highest influence on space: the legal-political, socio-economic and cultural-religious dimension.

D1 The legal-political dimension represents the political rights and status of an immigrant in the receiving society (Penninx & Garcés-Masareñas, 2016). More precisely what extend newcomers are considered equal members of the 'political community' (ibid, 14) This is described in two extremes of the illegal migrant and the migrant who became a national citizen. Depending on the processes of naturalisation in a country, this dimension of integration can be impossible to achieve. An immigrant who has been living in a foreign country for years and cannot achieve the citizenship, has difficulties to participate in institutions and has limited rights compared to a citizen. This legal-political limitation may have impacts on the other dimensions, such as the economic stability as well as educational achievements or accessibility to (social) housing. European citizens have less legal-political barriers to overcome and yet, even their participation is limited.

In reversion, the legal-political dimension reflects the attitude of a national state towards migration and integration processes. Countries that see migrants and newcomers as a potential will move from government to governance and facilitate the integration of newcomers within its political systems. This requires the systematic degradation

of structural discrimination within the national systems and institutions.

Indicators of a positive attitude are application rates for the citizenship of newcomers and, in return, the number of applications accepted as well as naturalization campaigns. Other indicators include migrants' voting permits and their proportion in unions or political parties (Ager & Alison Strang, 2004). For asylum seekers, the duration and procedure of the asylum applications serve as an indicator for the institutions.

D2 The socio-economic dimension represents the integration of the newcomer in the social and economic sphere. This dimension is the widest as it ranges from structural needs such as employment, housing, health and education to socio-economic organizations. Employment is key to integration processes as it establishes social roles and serves indirectly to develop social connections and language skills. Jobs further on represent safety and stability for newcomers, especially families. The economic standpoint of an individual often relates to the chances to achieve residents permits or citizenships and is therefore a key aspect of future perspectives of newcomers.

Another important integration and stability factor is housing. The location of affordable housing links the newcomers to social networks and opportunities and represents the new living environment, especially for less mobile groups, such as children, elderly and sometimes women. Education prepares newcomers and especially second-generation migrants to participate and be successful in society. Additionally, education 'creates significant opportunities for employment, for wider social connection and language training' (Ager & Alison Strang, 2004, p. 16). A lack in integration in the social and economic dimension often results in social segregation of migrants, which is caused by the lack of access to (affordable) housing, jobs, education, health care, etc. Indicators therefore are: employment rates, annual earnings, rates of self-employment, school qualification of second-generation migrants, attendance in kindergarten and other programs, housing ownership rate, household size per area and many more.

D3 The cultural-religious dimension relates to the practice of different cultures and religions. It is crucial whether different cultures are tolerated in a society or perceived as alien (Penninx & Garcés-Masareñas, 2016). In addition, the dimension deals with the acquisition of knowledge about the culture of the receiving society, its norms, values

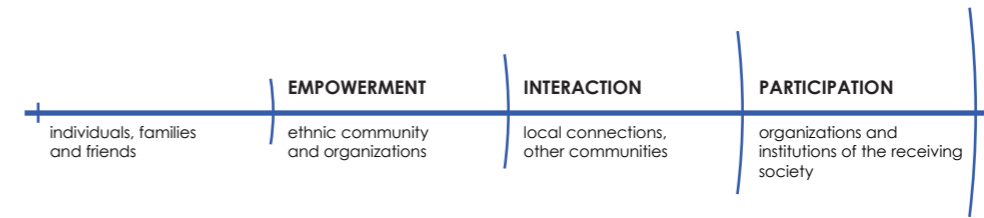


figure 10• scheme showing the levels of actions from private to public, scheme by author

and language (Heckmann, 2006). The acquisition of bicultural skills from both parties is an enrichment for the integration process. Although 'bicultural and bilingual qualification on a comparable level and sufficient for social mobility in the immigration country will be extremely difficult to achieve' (Heckmann, 2006, p. 16). In an ideal integration process, the host society learns and relates to the new cultures and 'draws cultural richness from this interaction' (Heckmann, 2006) which could become a marketable asset (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2009). Maintaining culture and religion in the destination country helps newcomers to arrive abroad and feel at home. The presence of open cultural of religious organizations from both parties allows intercultural interaction and thereby facilitates integration. Indicators are the openness of cultural institutions, participation in language courses (Ager & Alison Strang, 2004), cultural marketing and intercultural discussions.

The relation between the parties and their levels is divided into three important action (A) in the adjusted model: empowerment, interaction and participation. Empowerment, which tries to balance disadvantages, interaction between the two parties and participation that refers to the vertical levels of the parties. Figure 10 shows how these processes relate to a radius from private to public and how newcomers integrate by enlarging their radius of social connections. Most newcomers do have existing connections such as families or friends that they relate to immediately. The first integration process starts when newcomers integrate in the (ethnic) community and organizations. Social bridges to the receiving society enable relations with other communities or national individuals. The act of participation is the most public representation and requires social connections and knowledge about the systems. The scheme portrays the levels of publicness within the actions but does not necessarily show an order. It is however a reminder to address the missing levels within in the actions, if necessary.

A1 The political participation of newcomers within their own institutions or organizations of the receiving society supports their integration. In particular, participation in democratic processes and in the formulation of integration policies is of crucial importance for integration processes. Membership of new arrivals in host society organizations or migrant organizations that are open to the host society facilitates migrant representation and social interaction. Especially at local level, participation in decision-making and advocacy for newcomers can lead to changes in local politics and planning. In this context, only participation can lead to the necessary support and recognition of migrants as urban agents. The formation of migrant organizations is more likely among migrants with the same ethnicity, cultural background or religion. In fact, heterogeneity challenges social networks and representation. In the long term, therefore, it is necessary to facilitate participation beyond ethnicity. In the arrival city, participation means active commitment to participate in decision-making, to get informed about projects and discussions. Participation requires interest and knowledge about local networks and is linked to identification with a place. Institutions and organizations have the power to motivate their communities to participate.

A2 The term empowerment refers to the disadvantage of newcomers in a society. Newcomers tend to have less social bounds and prestige in the new society. The majority of newcomers begin in a lower position and with a lack of human capital in a new country (Kristen & Granato, 2004). Insufficient language skills and (in case of poverty migration) low economic power hinder the integration process and possibilities of participation. Knowledge about institutions and social systems has to be acquired in a long process. Empowerment in integration serves to compensate for disadvantages and thus accelerate integration. Empowerment therefore also means recognizing

newcomers to society.

In some cases, empowerment also serves to compensate for the earlier discrimination and oppression of migrants. Studies have shown that the former German guest workers still arrived with the idea that they had to adapt completely to local conditions and should not behave differently (Ceylan, 2006). With a new understanding of integration and acculturation, modern cities embrace multiculturalism and try to empower migrants to establish their cultures and represent themselves.

In the arrival city, empowerment refers to the representation in space and in the culture of a neighbourhood. Empowerment can be channeled through policies, funding, collaborations, partnerships, etc. and facilitates the establishment of newcomers in society.

A3 The third and most important action is the interaction between newcomers and the receiving society. Integration, as defined in this project is related to the intensity of interaction between the newcomers and the receiving society. Interaction is understood as a social connection in the three dimensions and on different levels. The interaction between the parties serves the 'acquisition and building up of various kinds of social capital' (Heckmann, 2006) and is therefore a 'fundamental mechanism for integration' (EC 2014, p.2). Ultimately, this should lead to the participation and acceptance of immigrants in the networks and systems of the host society (Heckmann, 2006).

Connections and relations with members of other communities 'support social cohesion, and open up opportunities for broadening cultural understanding, widening economic opportunities etc' (Ager & Alison Strang, 2004, p. 18). Interaction at a particular level is heavily influenced by cultural and language skills that need to be acquired. Frequent interaction between the two parties can 'shrink the differences and social distance between them' (Alba, 1999, p.6).

Indicators for interaction are friendships, memberships in clubs and organizations as well as partnerships and marriage (Heckmann, 2006). At higher levels, cooperation between organizations from both parties is an indicator of integration, as it stimulates interaction at all levels.

In the arrival city, interaction refers to the interaction of different social clusters of individuals in space. The spatial organization of the city of arrival is of central importance as it organizes and facilitates encounters.

The theoretical end of integration

According to the integration concept by Ager and Strang (2004), an individual or group is integrated, when they:

- 'achieve public outcomes within employment, housing, education, health etc. which are equivalent to those achieved within the wider host communities;
- are socially connected with members of a (national, ethnic, cultural, religious or other) community with which they identify, with members of other communities and with relevant services and functions of the state; and
- have sufficient linguistic competence and cultural knowledge, and a sufficient sense of security and stability, to confidently engage in that society in a manner consistent with shared notions of nationhood and citizenship.' (Ager & Alison Strang, 2004, p. 5)

Heckman refers to the success of total integration, when the disadvantages in statistics disappear and can no more be traced back to ethnicity (Heckmann, 2006).



Detail in the streets of St. Georg referring to migrant milieus, photo taken by author

Opportunities

CONCEPT OF OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURES

The concept of opportunity structures is developed and applied throughout this research project. Numerous authors in the field of integration and migration studies refer to the importance of opportunities for the development of ethnic economy or try to assess arrival cities according to their economic opportunities (Kloosterman, 2010; Kloosterman, 2003; Kurtenbach, 2015; Räuhele & Schmitz, 2018). Glick Schiller and Çağlar point out the distinct relationship between the global positioning of cities and their opportunities for migrants, saying that 'the relative positioning of a city within hierarchical fields of power may well lay the ground for the differential life-chances and incorporation opportunities of migrants locally and transnationally (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2009)'.

However, there is no network of multi-scalar spatial opportunities that benefit migrant integration. Studies and urban scholars have either been focusing on opportunities for migrants in three dimensions or on the interaction and space in general. Opportunity structures combine both pathways into a framework for empowerment, participation and interaction of newcomers.

As the formation of arrival cities is characterized by a voluntary nature (Ceylan, 2006), a forced development and control of arrival cities would not be feasible. Due to the lack of controllability of arrival cities and migrants' settlement patterns, this project suggests facilitation via the proposed opportunity structures. A set of opportunities give new stimuli to claim space and develop, expand, connect and facilitate integration in arrival cities. Rather than forcing regulations upon the social clusters, the project proposes to address the adaptability of arrival cities.

This perspective puts migrants in a more prominent position and acknowledges the

transformative power of newcomers in cities. Newcomers evolve into agents of urban development, while cities, by implication, transform into a more accessible environment. The arrival process is already linked to the search and use of opportunities at the new destination and more opportunities will lead to a faster integration process. Since the opportunity structures are designed based on the analysis of arrival cities, but are not bound to ethnic indicators, the interventions will benefit the whole neighbourhood or city.

The matrix of opportunity structures forms the core product of this research project. Developed through literature review, field work and design, the structures combine a network of sources, scales and dimensions in order to cover the complexity of arrival cities. The first set of structures evolves from the study and consideration of existing theories on both economic opportunities as well as social interactions in open space. Secondly, case study field work reveals pre-existing opportunity structures in the arrival city of interest and thirdly, a SWOT analysis suggests and reveals future opportunities. The matrix follows the integration concept in three dimensions and three scales. The proposed opportunity structures facilitate interaction, empowerment and participation.



Delivery problems of ethnic supermarkets on the busy Steindamm high street, photo by author

SPATIALIZING INTEGRATION

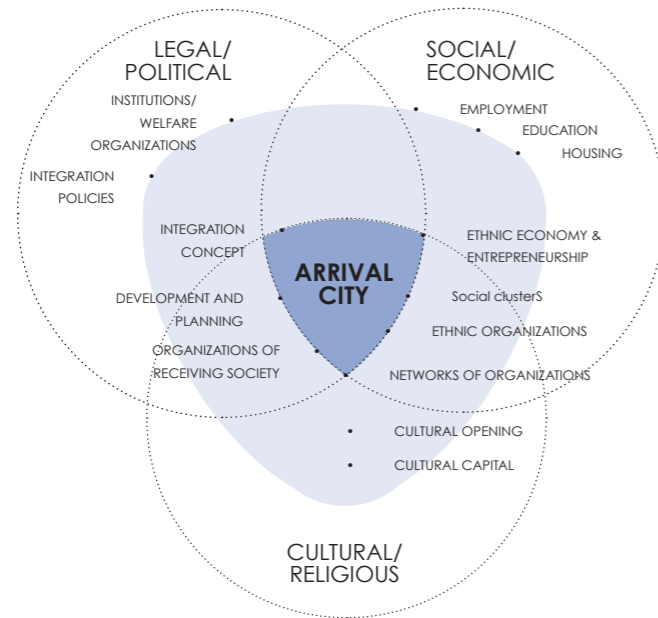


figure 11 • Aspects of analysis in three dimensions, by author

The following aspects (figure 11) have been identified as important when looking at the integration process on a macro to micro scale (Ager & Alison Strang, 2004; Heckmann, 2006; Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2016). Each of these aspects will be spatialized during the analysis and assessed according to spatial opportunities and dynamics. Space is seen as the canvas for interaction, participation and empowerment within integration processes. The analysis is structured in scales and dimensions.

The legal-political dimension refers to institutions and systems, mainly on a macro scale. Important determinants are the attitude of the host state towards integration and the opening of institutions. This influences the integration policies and rights of newcomers, the naturalization procedures as well as the funding and support systems. On a meso scale, the municipalities and their institutions set the base for the participation and empowerment of newcomers in planning and politics. In urban development, the design and restructuring of neighbourhoods can directly influence how disadvantaged groups are being addressed. In addition, the political orientation of the government parties, trade unions and welfare organizations affect the arrival process.

The socio-economic dimension has the most influence on the reproduction of space. Macro determinants are the labour market, the education system and the housing market. The accessibility

of these markets and services has great influence of the arrival of newcomers. Additional aspects on a meso scale are the situation of ethnic economy, the predominant social clusters and organizations as well as their networks within a city. The attitudes and social capital of these groups influence the acceptance of newcomers.

The cultural-religious dimension is influenced by the national discourses and cultural proximity. The presence and representation of cultural and religious organizations play an important role in the newcomer's identification process. Networks between these organizations and the public representation as well as the cultural opening of religious organizations are signs of conscious integration work.

All aspects will be analysed in relation to their spatial impact and symptoms. There are multiple interrelations between the dimensions, which will be partly explained. The analysis will focus on aspects with a high influence on spatial planning and development and may only slightly touch up on aspects that do not show a clear relation to either of the two.

Reflections

The integration concept, in theory, entails clear mechanisms of integration. Nevertheless, there are relations and adjustments to be considered for the analysis. All three dimensions are intertwined and not to be seen completely independent from each other. Aspects that consider several dimensions will be mentioned within the analysis. The relation between the two parties are characterised by two dynamics: the interaction between the two parties in space and their power relationship. The receiving society benefits from the home advantage and is more familiar with rules, norms, language etc. Most integration concepts facilitate these two dynamics: the facilitation of the migrants themselves, to help them gain power and the facilitation of the interaction between the two parties in general. However, when taking into account the spatial concentration of migrants and multiculturalism of cities, the question of how this interaction between the two parties should be provoked turns out to be quite challenging. Some areas show a percentage of 70 per cent of people with migration background. This raises the question of who the receiving society actually is.

The arrival city raises another problem, which is that while arrival cities do offer opportunities for empowerment and participation, they sometimes offer less opportunities for economic integration and interaction. Wiley refers to it as the ethnic mobility trap: 'Immigrants control fewer resources and want to improve their lives by getting incorporated and by participating in the major institutions of the receiving society. The acquisition of cultural and social competences and capital relating to the immigration society is a necessary condition for being able to realize these goals. Ethnic colonies of communities, which are institutions of transition, could only offer very limited opportunities and present an ethnic mobility trap (Wiley 1970)' (Heckmann, 2006, p. 14).

The theoretical concept of integration helps to understand integration processes and identify missing fields or dimensions in order to allow the improvement of integration in practice. Nevertheless, the spatial perspective can be limiting in the application of the proposed integration concept. This project might therefore have to look for alternative solutions to enable empowerment, interaction or participation of migrants.

Answering a sub research question

How could a spatial perspective on integration contribute to integration processes?

Reasoning for a spatial perspective on social issues can be found in the concept of a 'spatial turn', an idea that originally stems from cultural and sociological studies. This paradigm shift acknowledges space and time as a central element of research. Even though this theory goes back to the 1980ies, space is not necessarily considered a facilitator for integration.

A spatial perspective to integration allows to understand how cities hamper or facilitate integration and how social differences are produced through space. Space is central to the organization of cities and influences our activities directly and indirectly.

On a larger scale, space allows to determine places of segregation and imbalance. On a local scale, space is closely connected to values and opportunities. Furthermore, space is especially relevant when it comes to planning. Municipalities and administrations need spatial knowledge and reference points to target existing problems and reorganize cities.

This project, which takes arrival cities, a spatial phenomenon, as a starting point and integration as the end goal, considers space to play a central role in the integration process. Space serves to locate opportunities, understand networks and optimize resources.

III. Macro Analysis

RELATING MIGRATION AND SPACE

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The macro analysis deals with the national and municipal scale of arrival cities. A short introduction in migration patterns in Germany and the tools of restructuring embed Hamburg within a national frame. The research on Hamburg is structured in the three dimensions of integration and space. Final outcome are the detection arrival cities and an assessment of spatial integration. The macro-meso analysis embeds the case study neighbourhood into a network and helps to grasp the metropolitan role of the case arrival city.

Migration and space

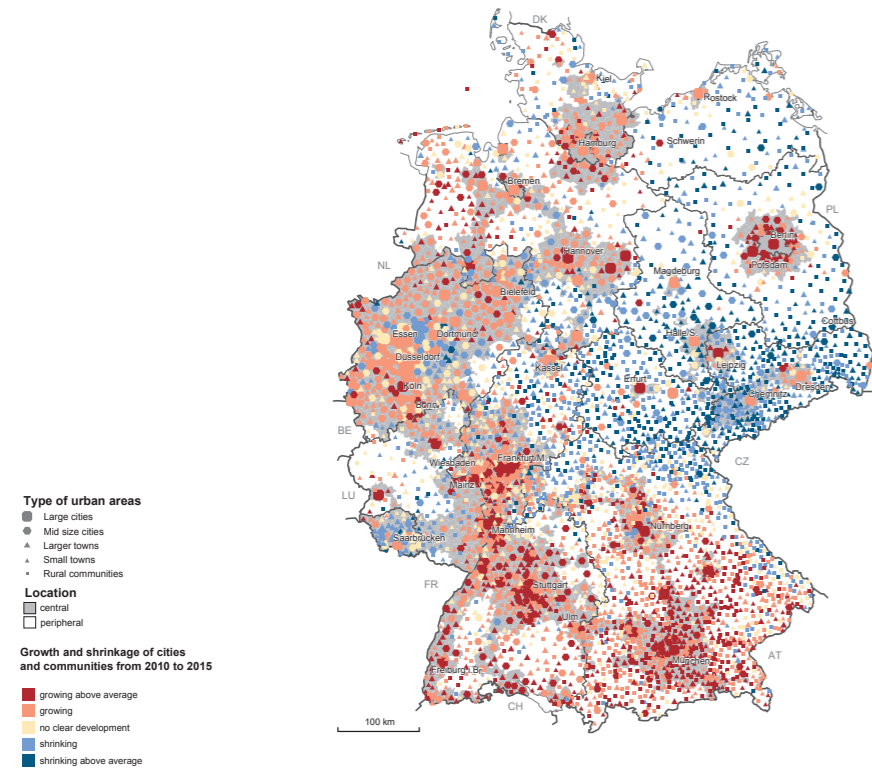
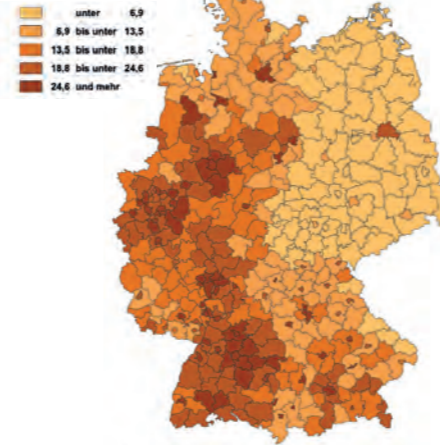


figure 12• - Map showing growing and shrinking cities in Germany, source: BBSR, map A. Milbert

Germany is characterized by territorial imbalances in migration patterns. The main reasons for unequal distributions are economic development, migration policies and political history. The most striking source of territorial imbalance is the former separation of Eastern and Western Germany, which can still be seen in maps and statistics. The former GDR (German Democratic Republic) states suffer from population shrinkage and lower economic power (see figure 12). Small communities in particular are shrinking demographically and aging. While the West and South are growing due to migration and urbanization, the East is not benefiting from economic growth. Only few major cities are developing. The spatial distribution of migrants in Germany is also unbalanced. The so-called new federal states have an underrepresentation of migrants, while

middle-size to big cities in the West are migration hot spots (see figure 13 percentage of people with migration background). European migrants tend to settle in borders regions while foreigners from outside the EU dominate in the central and Northern part of the country (Gans & Schlömer, 2014). Economic differences can be identified by looking at the unemployment and employment rates. The statistics show that the employment rate is significantly high in southern Germany, while more foreigners are unemployed in the North. The employment rates of migrants are therefore comparable to the employment rates of the entire population.

percentage of people with migration background



percentage of foreigners

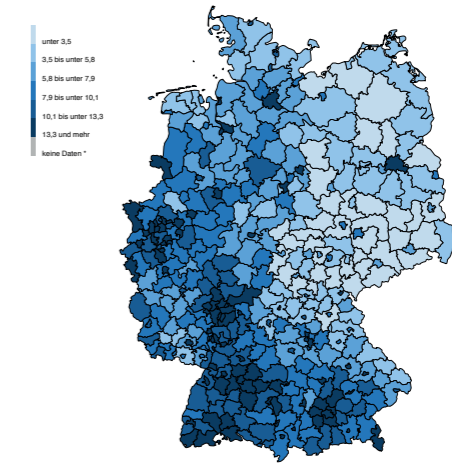
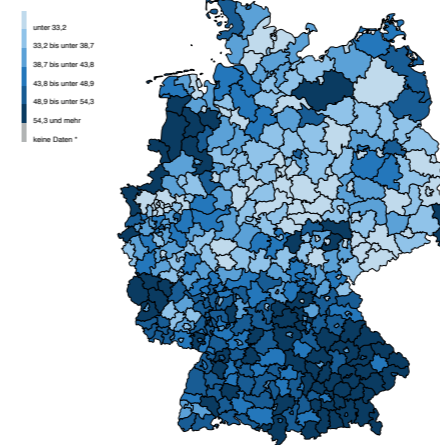
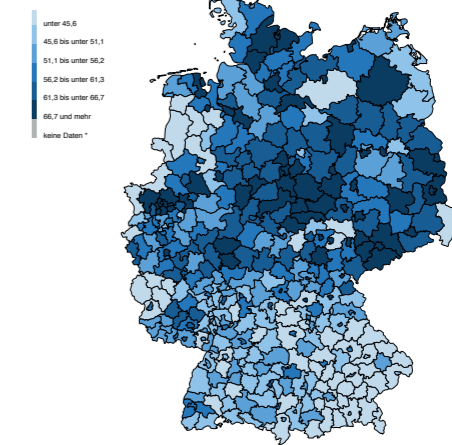


figure 13• - Statistics on foreigners in Germany Source: Bundesagentur für Arbeit, Statistisches Bundesamt

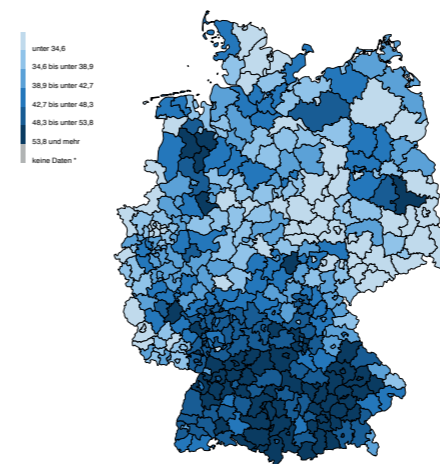
percentage of EU foreigners of all foreigners



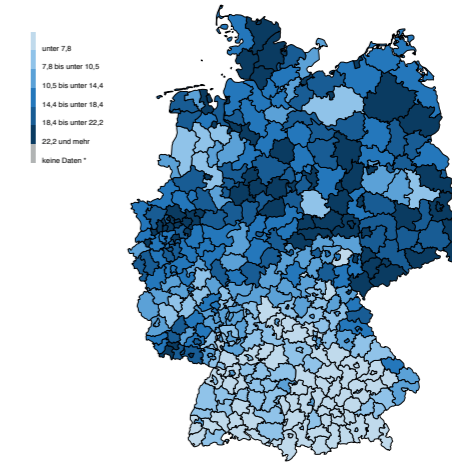
percentage of foreigners from outside EU of all foreigners



employment rate of foreigners

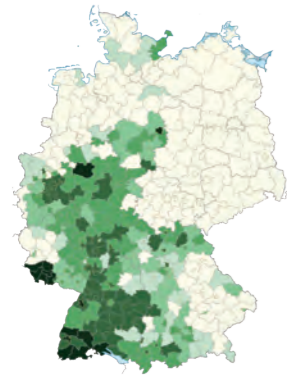


unemployment rate of foreigners

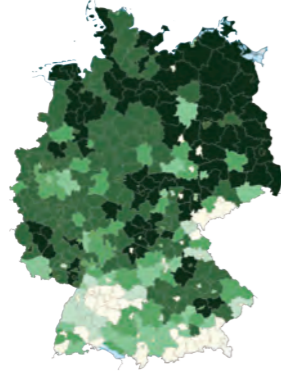


CONTROLLING IMBALANCES

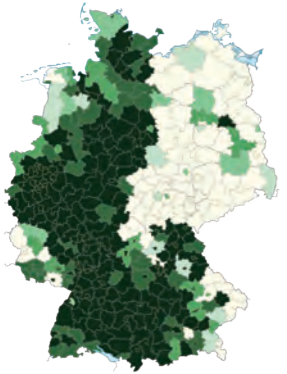
Italian nationality in Germany



Polish nationality in Germany



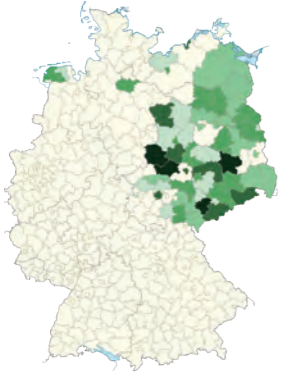
Turkish nationality in Germany



Dutch nationality in Germany



Vietnamese nationality in Germany



Hungarian nationality in Germany

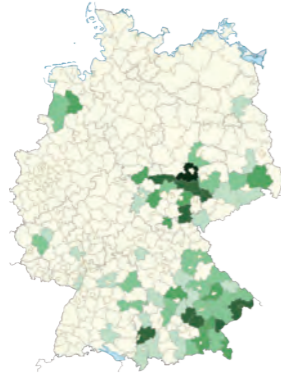
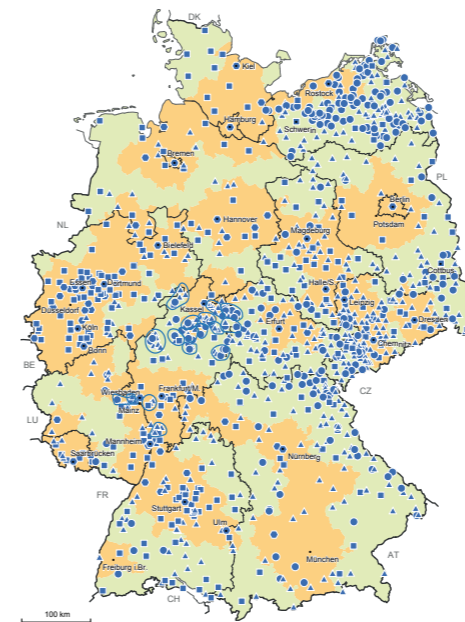


figure 14• - Statistics on foreigners in Germany 2014 Source: Ausländerzentralregister, maps drawn by Michael Sander

sixt and less frequent nationality Main foreign nationality

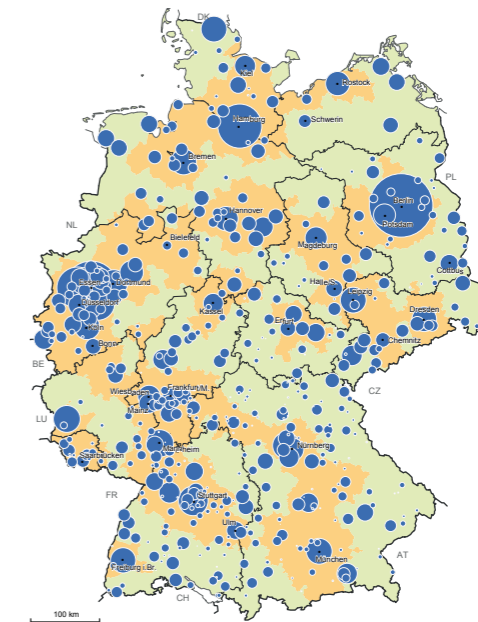
Migration is a predominantly urban phenomenon, as large cities offer a wider range of opportunities for new arrivals (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2009). In addition, the concentration of nationals in metropolitan areas is increasing due to migration and urbanization. Settlement patterns are visible across the country (see figure 14). The concentrations come from chain migration, guest worker policy and border settlement patterns. European nationalities with borders to Germany tend to settle near the border, as the examples of the Dutch nationality show. The border regions have stronger cultural ties to the neighbouring country or even facilitate exchange. Chain migration dominates the chases of Turkish, Polish, Hungarian, Italian and Vietnamese migrants. These settlement patterns can mainly be traced back to the integration policy between 1945 and today. The first guest worker agreements were made in Baden-Württemberg with mainly Italian workers. Italy is therefore one of the dominant nationalities among migrants in southwest Germany. The next guest worker agreements were made with the Turkish workers and the radius for guest worker programmes increased to northern Germany (Gans & Schlömer, 2014). In the context of Hamburg, we are therefore dealing with a high concentration of Polish and Turkish migrants. Some of these Turkish migrants can be traced back to the guest worker agreements to support the port of Hamburg and its industries.



Development program 'Stadtumbau'

Cities and communes in the program 'Stadtumbau', in the year 2016

- Big city
- mid-size city
- small town
- rural community
- intercommunal measure
- Big city regions
- Areas outside big city regions



Development program 'Soziale Stadt'

State subsidy per City/commune in the program 'Soziale Stadt' from 1999 until 2017 in Euro

- 50 Mio.
- 10 Mio.
- 5 Mio.
- 1 Mio.
- Big city regions
- Areas outside of big city regions

The German federal government is pursuing several attempts to avoid and develop areas with a concentration of migration. Refugees are divided in accommodations all over the country according to a distribution system ('Königsteiner Schlüssel') in order to avoid concentration and simplify management. In addition to the national integration concept, which is intended to support regions and municipalities in facilitating integration, two state programs are concerned with the urban development of arrival cities, the programs 'Stadtumbau' and 'Soziale Stadt'. The program 'Stadtumbau' pursues the modernization of city and village centers, the revitalization of brownfield sites, the qualification of neighborhoods and the improvement of infrastructures. The program facilitates the improvements of old buildings and keep the historic cityscape.

The development program "Social City" has been supporting the development of neighborhoods since 1999. Investments in infrastructure, quality of life and living environment should help to improve the disadvantages of spatial and social segregation. The main goal is to improve conditions, engagement and integration of citizens to strengthen social cohesion. Both programs target disadvantaged neighbourhoods and facilitate exchange between different administrations. When dealing with arrival cities and redevelopment, the experiences from these programs are important parameters for the design.

The case of Hamburg

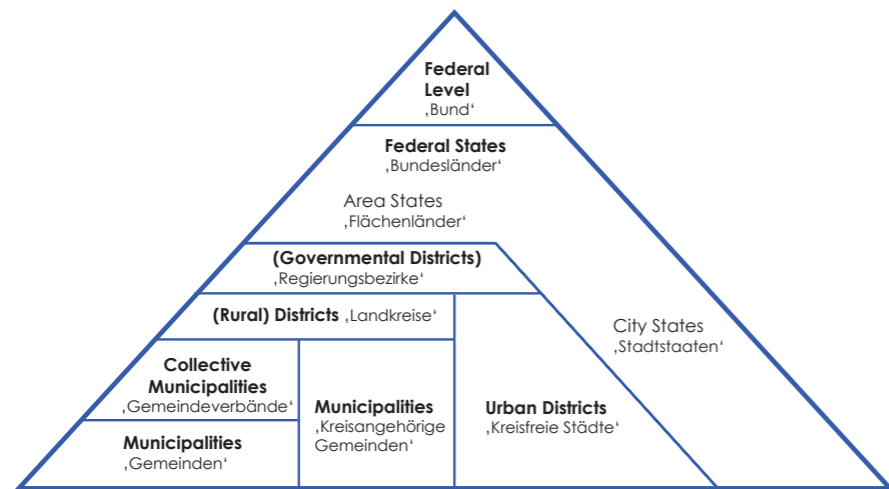


figure 15 Administrative organization in Germany, source: Bundesministerium adjusted by author

As a German port city, Hamburg has a long history of migration. The structure of the city is shaped by the port and its development (figure 16), although the city has become more independent of the port economy today. As the port moves from the city to the west, new opportunities for urban development open up. Hamburg is divided into two parts due to the river Elbe and the port. The harbour development has shaped and redeveloped the city in various phases and huge masterplans. Like many harbour cities, Hamburg has a history of enormous development projects. Nowadays, the port plays an important role in the city's innovation and cultural branding. Numerous companies have settled in the area as a pull factor due to the port. At the same time, the port stands for Hamburg's identity because it represents the history of the city, the social structures and has shaped the built environment. To this day, Hamburg is caught between the tensions between rich and poor. The rich quarters

along the Alster represent the city as well as its poor quarters. Hamburg has a history of working-class neighborhoods known for their specific style and politically committed residents. This tension is regularly reflected in protests and political engagement. The Free Hanseatic City of Hamburg is one of the three German city-states, along with Bremen and Berlin. This means, that the administration of the city-state combines the competencies of a municipality and federal state (figure 15). The simplified government structure enables a faster and easier planning process and direct exchange between administrative scale.



figure 16 Hamburg metropolitan area, drawn by author

Detecting arrival cities

According to the previous definition of arrival cities, arrival areas can be detected using municipal statistics. The project uses a classification method developed by Poulsen, Johnston & Forrest (Poulsen et al., 2001), that divides neighborhoods into different types of enclaves according to their proportion of minorities and nationals. A detailed description of the methods can be found in the paragraph methods.

The classification considers the following types:

1. 'an associated assimilation - pluralism enclave, where the host society is a large element in the population (but does not form a majority)
2. a mixed-minority enclave, shared by two or more minority groups;
3. a polarized enclave, with one minority group substantially encapsulated, that is, not sharing the area with significant numbers from other minorities; and
4. a ghetto, which satisfies two criteria a high degree of concentration of the minority group; and a high percentage of the group's population living in areas with that level of concentration. (b) A host community, which may be either:
 5. a nonisolated host community, where minority groups form a significant minority of the area's population; or
 6. an isolated host community, with minority groups largely absent.' (Poulsen et al., 2001, p. 4)
 7. a diverse host community where no ethnic group dominates, and the share people with migration background is above the cities average (2013: 30,8%; 2017: 34,9%)

Contextualization

The classification numbers for 2013 and 2017 show positive results overall. The city's average of people

with migration background rose from 30,8 % to 34,9 % within 4 years. Overall, this was a result of the refugee crisis with peak values in 2015 and 2016. The number of isolated host communities (type 6), so areas with almost no inhabitants with a migration background, decreased significantly (figure 18). On the map (figure 17), the total proportion of people with a migration background rose in almost all parts of the city. Particularly in the north, many areas that were classified as an isolated community (type 6) in 2013 turned into a non-isolated municipality (type 5), which means that more and more newcomers settled in these neighbourhoods. In the west, traditionally richer areas were slowly becoming more multicultural. In the South and East, the percentage of inhabitants with a migration background increased, particularly in sparsely populated areas. These areas became the newest arrival cities and are the most problematic areas due to a lack of infrastructure and a high concentration of newcomers.

The general increase in people with a migration background in more affluent and central neighborhoods is a positive sign of integration processes within the city. At the same time, the concentration of newcomers in the outskirts of Hamburg increases and challenges urban development even more.

In order to take a closer look at newcomers' settlement patterns, I used statistics from municipal education monitoring, as these statistics are available in smaller units. Arrival cities tend to be younger since migrants tend to have more children than the native-born population, which leads to a natural growth of arrival neighborhoods (Zwiers et al., 2018). The statistics (figure 19) show the percentage of children with a migration background. The suburbanization of migrant families shows even stronger signs than the previous neighborhood classification. Given that

Classification in neighbourhoods per type

classification	2013	2017
type 1	6	10
type 2	3	3
type 3	-	-
type 4	-	-
type 5	35	38
type 6	28	19
type 7	27	29

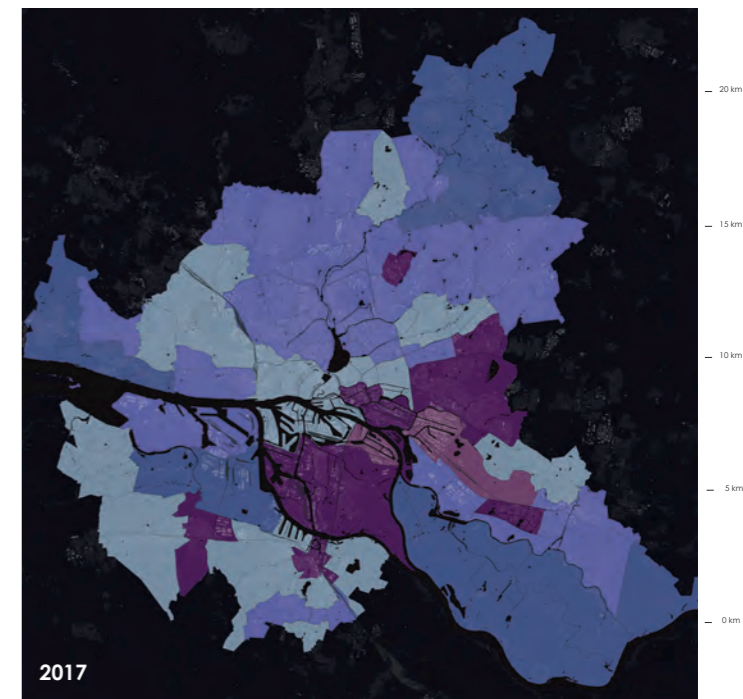
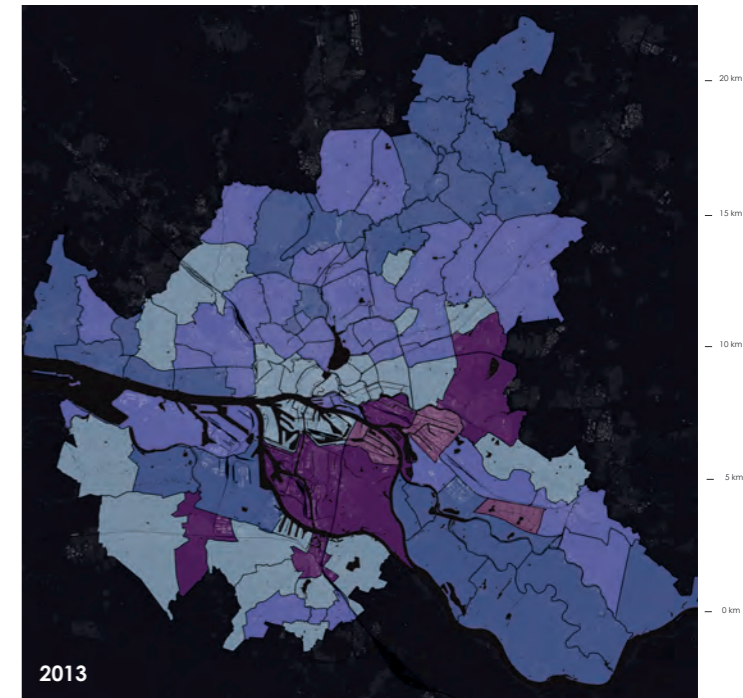
figure 18 • Table showing number of intraurban ethnic enclaves per type according to Poulsen, Johnston & Forrest (2001), drawn and adjusted by author

migrants tend to have more children, a large percentage of children and youth grow up in remote areas and disadvantaged suburbs.

To further specify the arrival city detection, the mapping (figure 20) only takes into account the populated spaces of each statistical area. The map shows the locations of the detected arrival cities. Data for determining these arrival cities were the statistics of migration background, children with a migration background, high migration balance and low income. Large arrival neighbourhoods are located in the southeast of the city between harbour and logistics structures. These areas are spatially segregated and offer more affordable housing than the northern part of the city. Historically, the south is a place for guest workers and, due to its fragmentation, detached from the rest of the city. The east, however, is a new arrival area.

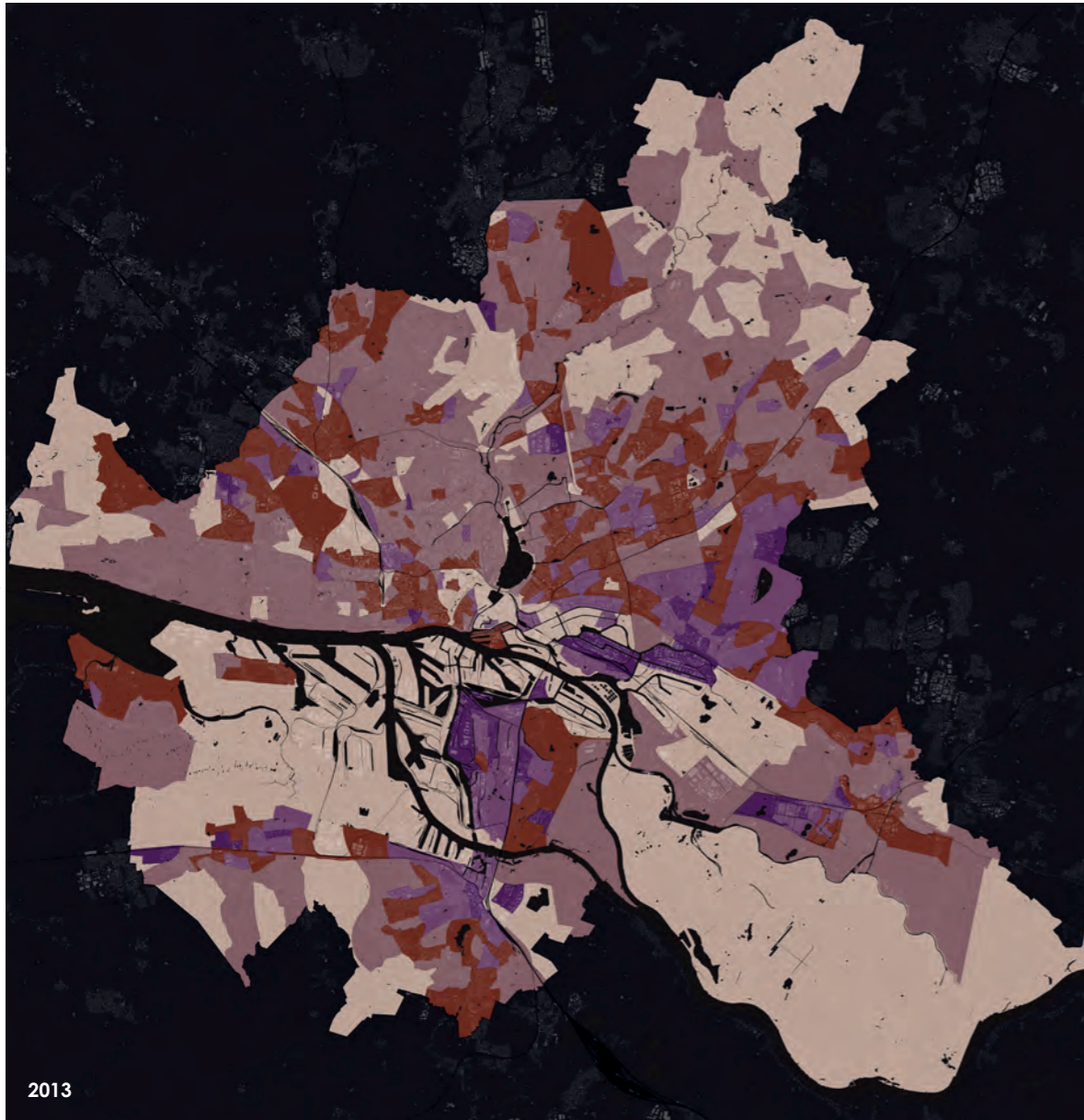
Children statistics revealed an evenly distributed pattern of ethnic concentration throughout the northwest of the city. These settlement patterns are related to social housing developments or general low-quality post-war housing, which lead to cheaper housing prices. Aside from the living situation, these areas are most likely less problematic, since they are embedded in more mixed and well-connected neighbourhoods.

However, statistics only represent residential patterns and do not show the greater dynamic of arrival. The following section gives a brief overview of the spatial conditions of the detected arrival neighbourhoods and their dynamics.



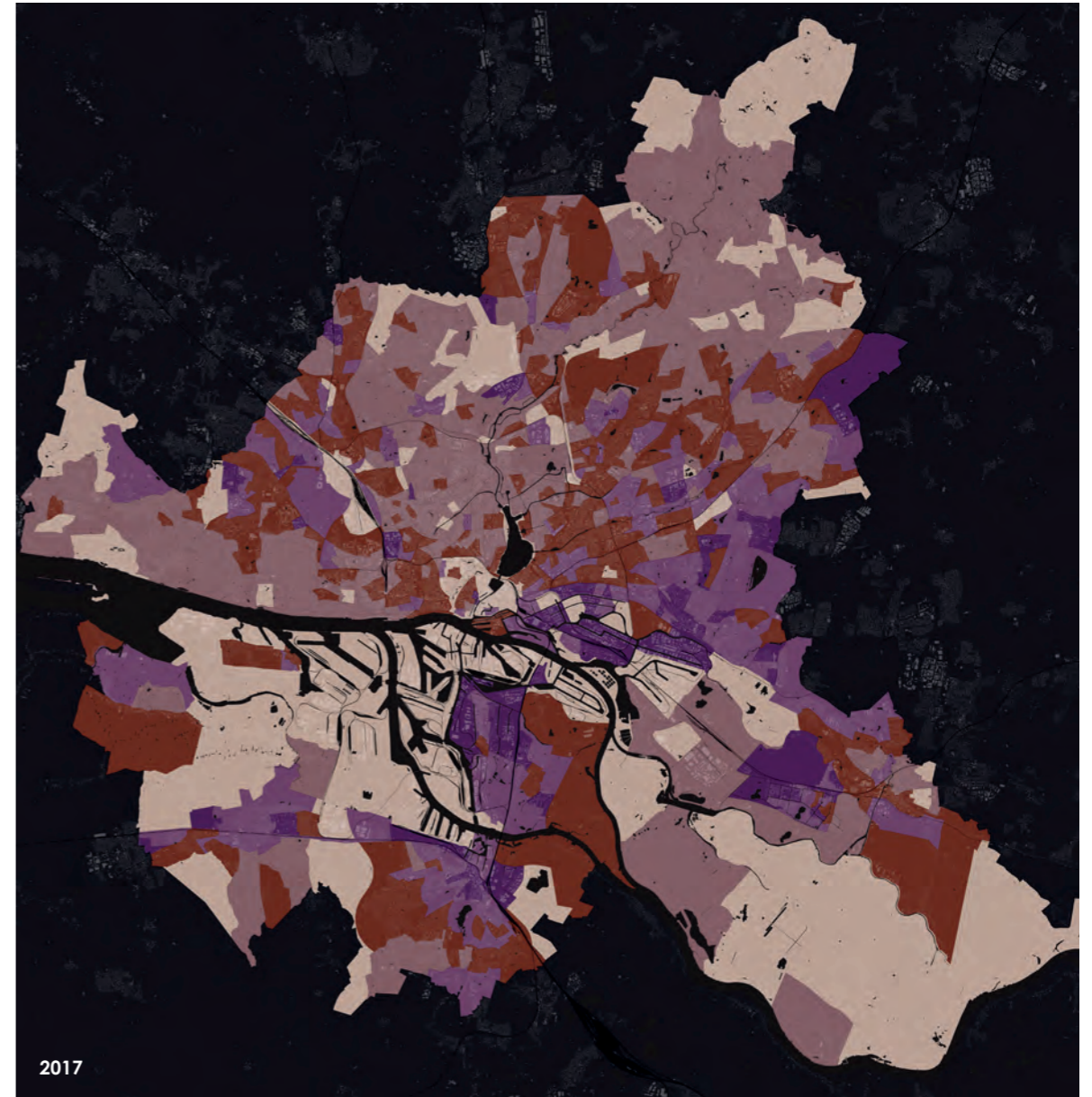
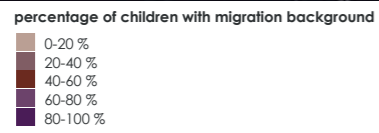
Legend for Figure 17:
 Type 1: Assimilation/pluralism enclave
 Type 2: Mixed enclave
 Type 5: Nonisolated host community
 Type 6: Isolated host community
 Type 7: Diverse host community

figure 17 • Hamburg 2013 + 2017: Classification of intraurban ethnic enclaves according to Poulsen, Johnston & Forrest (2001), drawn and adjusted by author

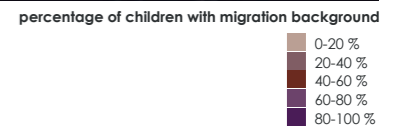


2013

figure 19 • Hamburg
 2013+ 2017; percentage
 of children with migration
 background; source:
 Stadt Hamburg; drawn
 by author



2017



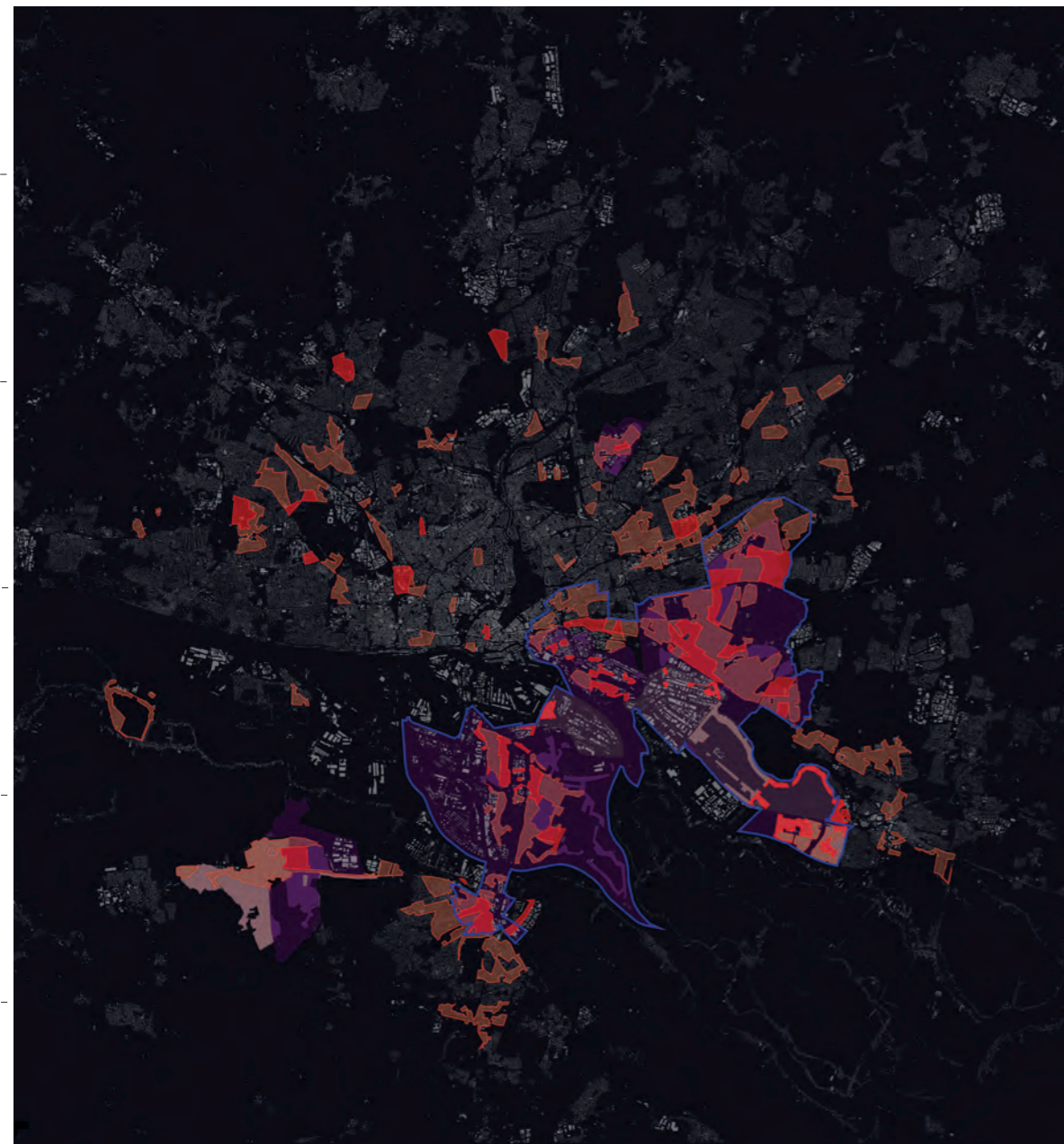


figure 20• Detected arrival cities, source: Statistikamt Nord, Bildungsatlas Hamburg, map by author

- 80-100% children with migration background
- 60-80 % children with migration background
- Type 1: Assimilation/pluralism enclave
- Type 2: Mixed enclave
- Larger area of arrival neighbourhoods

The spatial arrival city

As the previous definition of arrival cities shows, arrival neighborhoods are places characterized by low property prices and existing migrant communities. These two factors are the main reasons for migrants to settle. Low real estate prices are a product of urban structures such as infrastructure connections, quality of living, proximity to public transport, services or their lack. As a result, most arrival cities today lack in these spatial qualities. However, it is especially newcomers who are dependent on good public services, public transport connections and employment opportunities (Scheuermann et al., 2016).

The following analysis serves to understand how arrival city contexts arise in Hamburg as a city. This starts with a spatial analysis of networks, functions and open spaces. Furthermore, the legal-political, socio-economic and cultural-religious dynamics are observed.

Networks

As mentioned in the previous paragraph, Hamburg has developed around the river and the port. To date, the port areas are undergoing a transformation and development process that affects the entire city.

The network analysis (figure 21) shows the street network and the angular integration of streets at a radius of 10 kilometres. While the north of the city has a dense network that regularly extends from the center to the suburbs, the south of Hamburg lacks network quality. The port infrastructure separates the southern networks and bridges over canals are rare. A strong north-south connection of the main roads contrasts with the less integrated east-west connections.

Centralities

The main centralities are located along with the dense network structures (figure 22). The central

neighbourhoods benefit from a dense structure of centralities which follows the main streets to the suburbs. The suburbs have a rather central concentration of centralities attached to the railway and street network. Few exceptions like Harburg in the South, Neugraben in the South-West and Bergedorf build small centres around the city. These areas were formerly independent villages and became part of Hamburg.

Architecture and land use

The restructuring of the harbour, industrial areas and water landscapes characterizes the fragmented southeast of the city. These large urban structures disassemble the neighbourhoods and challenge urban development (figure 24). Prioritizing economic development over neighborhood development has created a patchwork of land use patterns that doesn't seem to match. Suburban neighbourhoods are significantly larger, though less dense than the central neighbourhoods, making development and administration difficult. The areas with a large number of children in particular are characterized by large housing estates. The post-war car-oriented housing estates (figure 23), which are based on the idea of a separation between work and life, allow little economic activity. Large, undefined open spaces do not create a human-scale environment and opportunities for playing or hiding.

Open space

The open space analysis of the municipality (figure 25) of Hamburg shows that the disadvantaged areas have a sufficient amount of open space. In comparison, the central neighbourhoods lack recreational space. However, this assessment does not provide an overview of the quality of the open space.

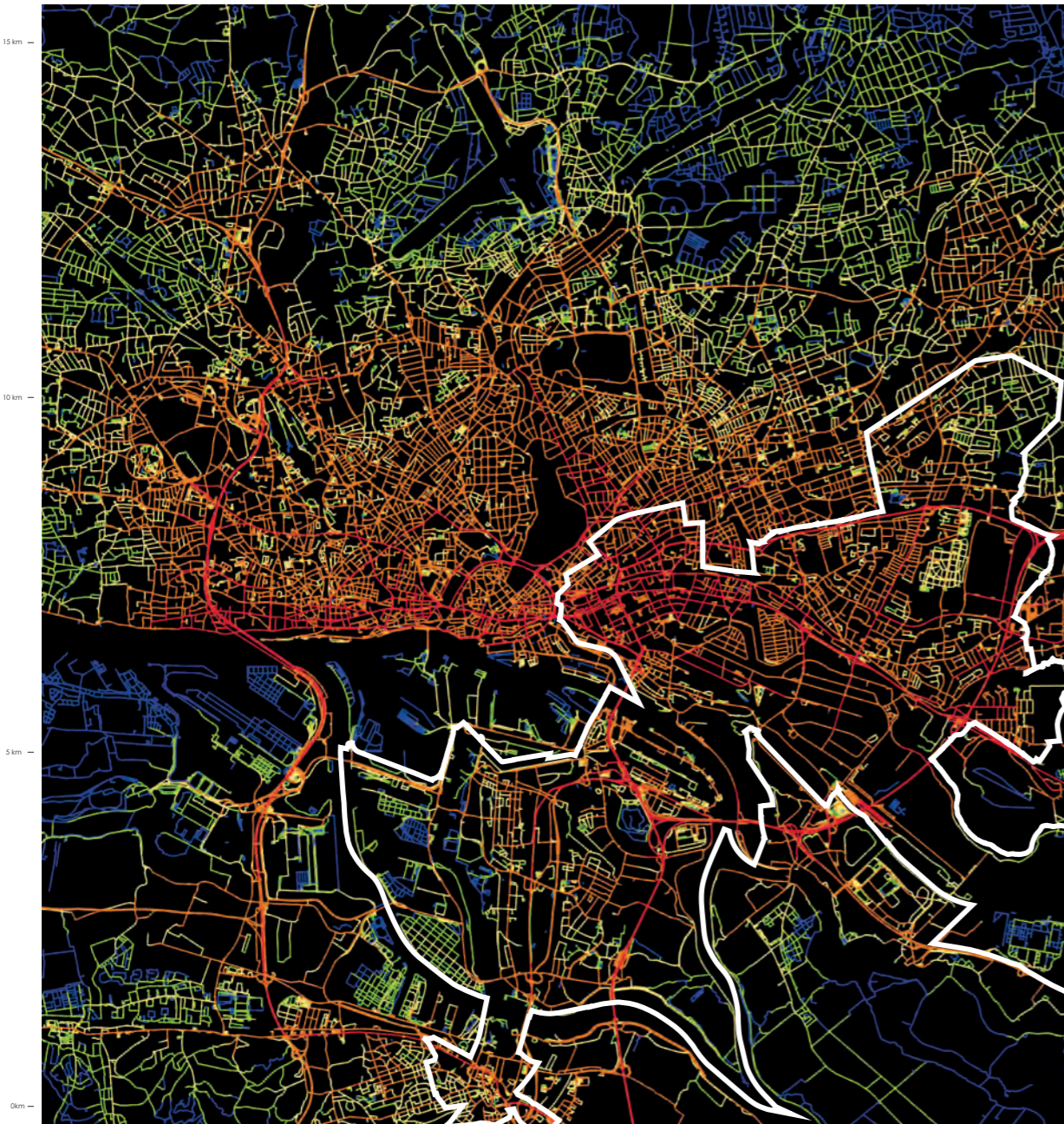


figure 21 • network analysis, angular integration 10000m, map by author

Angular integration 10000m

- low
- medium low
- medium
- medium high
- high



- centralities
- primary and secondary road network
- Larger area of arrival neighbourhoods

figure 22 • network analysis, angular integration 10000m, map by author



figure 23 • Above: examples for large housing developments with undefined open space in the arrival city Wilhelmsburg
figure 24 • Below: infrastructural barriers separating the arrival neighbourhood Wilhelmsburg, photos by author

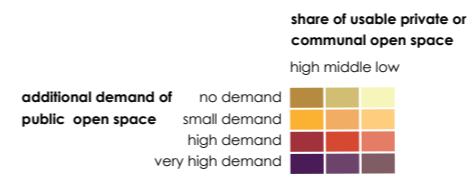
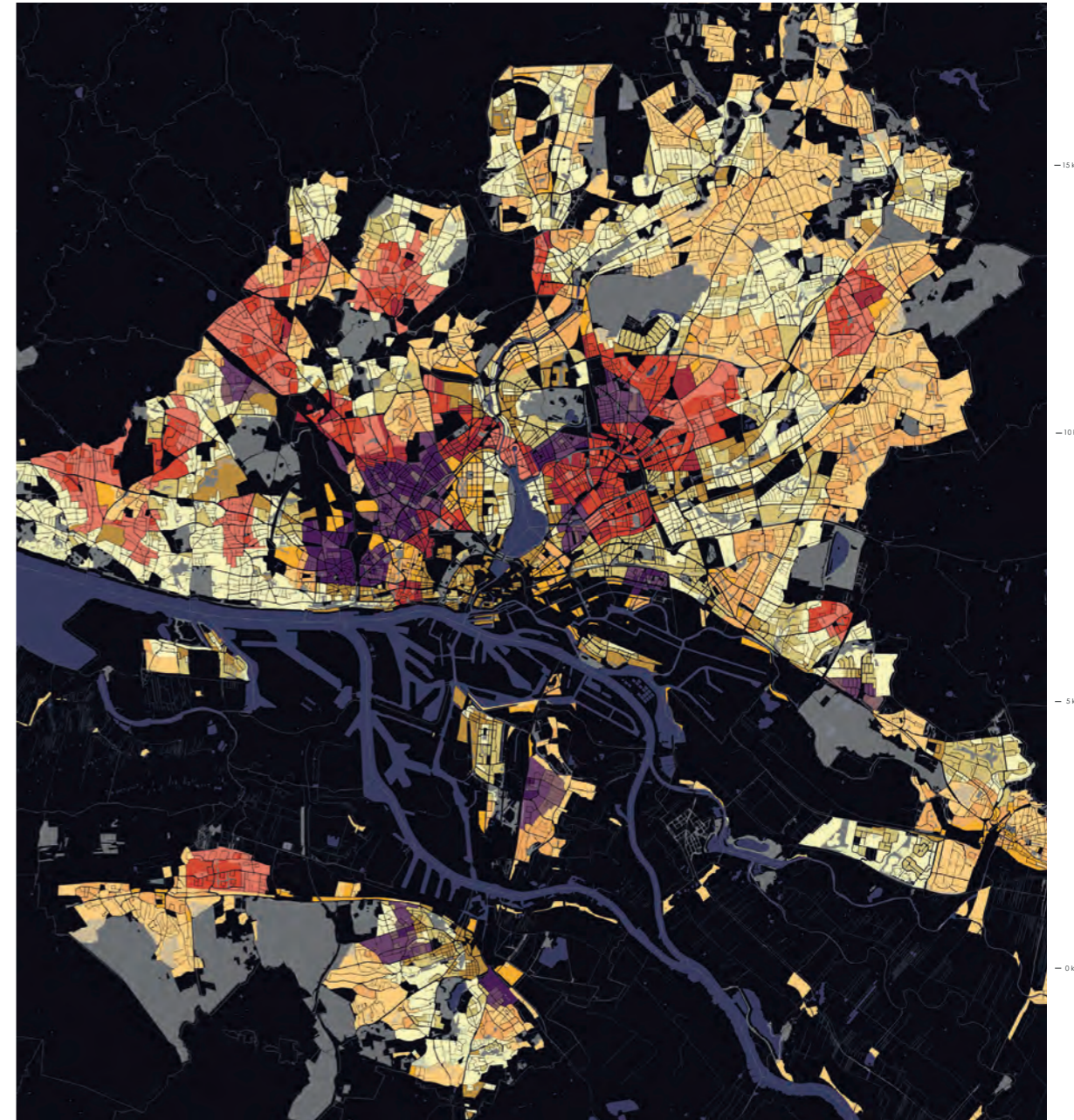


figure 25 • Hamburg green space analysis, source: Stadt Hamburg, map adjusted by author

The dynamic arrival city

The paragraph on static (spatial) elements has shown that the spatial state of an uneven development forms the basis for the location of the arrival neighbourhoods. However, one of the most important aspects of the cities of arrival is their legal-political, socio-economic and cultural-religious dynamics. In the following, the dynamics typical of Arrival Cities are overlaid with statistics from Hamburg in order to show how this dynamics affects arrival quarters.

Urban development and planning

As already mentioned in the static paragraph, there is a close connection between the conditions of the detected arrival neighbourhoods and the priorities of urban development. The focus on economic development, competitiveness and growth has led to a focus on the development of the city center. The city of Hamburg developed the new business and housing district Hafencity and the renovation of central neighbourhoods. The general decline in welfare systems during the neoliberal opening of the economy has accelerated a process of segregation and social polarization. Migrants were particularly affected by the resulting reduction in social housing and the shift to the service sector (Ceylan, 2006; Häußermann & Kapphan, 2002). Luxury renovations and the expansion of business areas in the central districts lead to their gentrification and thus to a suburbanization of poverty (Kurtenbach, 2015). The spatial segregation therefore reflects the social inequalities of the city (Friedrichs & Triemer, 2009). This affects migrants in particular due to their disadvantages in economic and social capital. Since the late 1990ies, the nationwide development program 'Soziale Stadt' and the municipal program RISE have focused on facilitating deprived neighborhoods and slowing gentrification processes.

The most important instrument for Hamburg to measure inequalities is the Social Monitoring Index (figure 26). The target areas for the RISE and Social City development programs are selected based on this index. An annual report 'Sozialmonitoringbericht' (Freie Hansestadt Hamburg, 2017) shows the social segregation based on 7 main factors:

- children with migration background
- Children with single parents
- people receiving social assistance
- unemployed inhabitants
- Children with parents that receive social assistance
- social assistance of elderly
- school-leaving qualifications

The result once again underlines the southeastern area of the city. The analysis also takes into account positive and negative dynamics for observing and measuring the outcome of interventions.

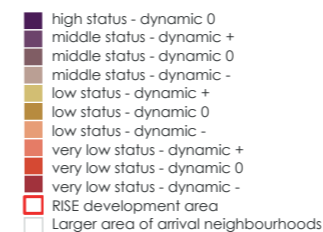
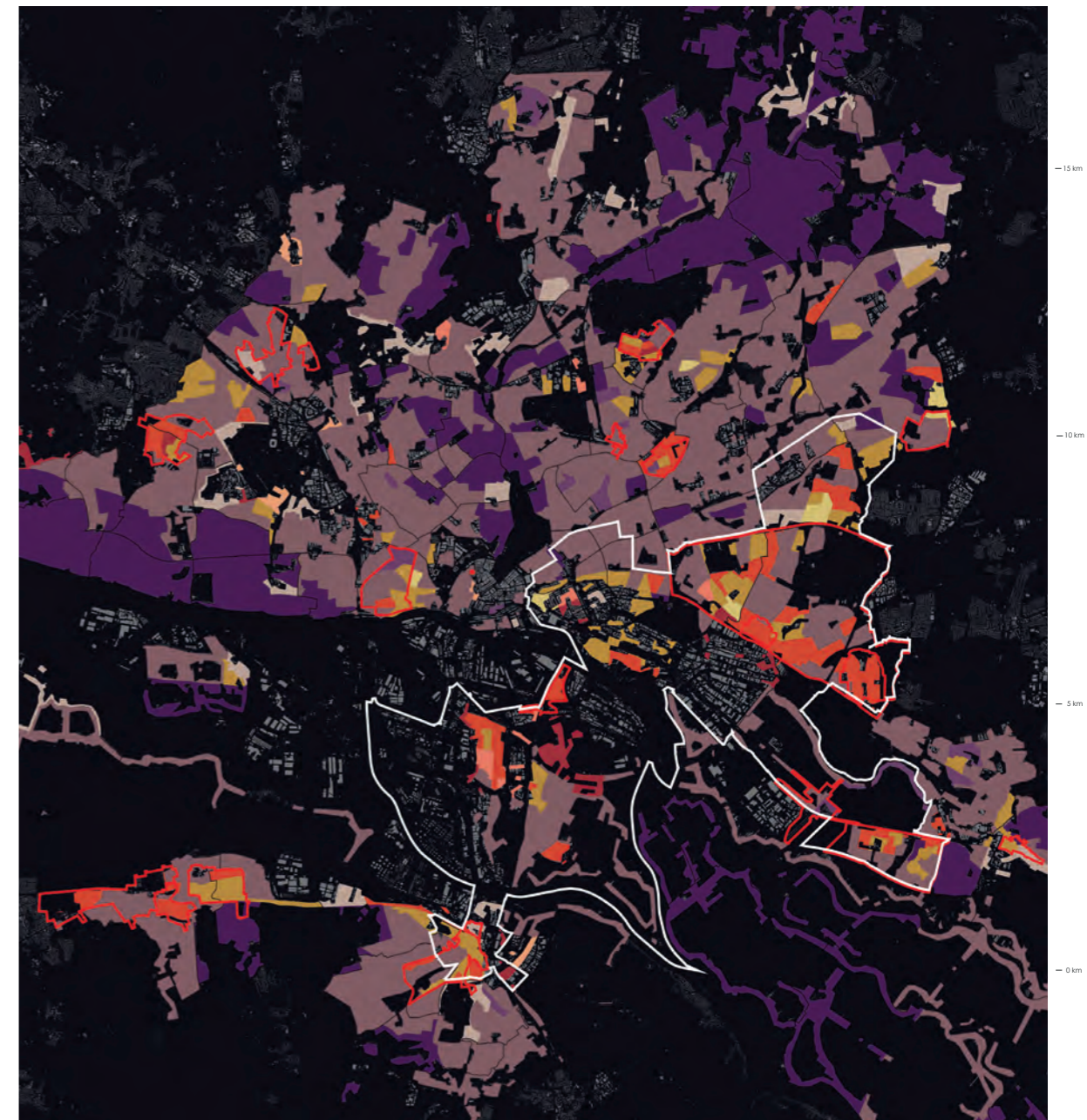
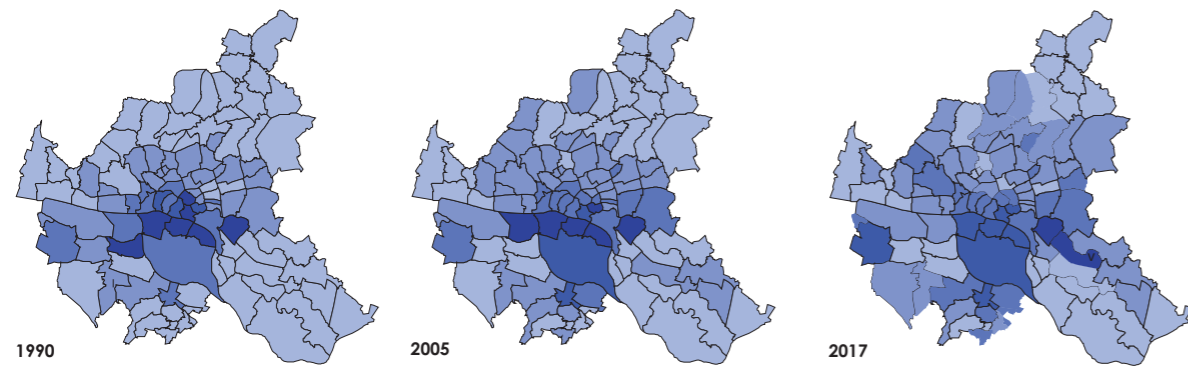


figure 26 • Social monitoring index 2017, source: Stadt Hamburg, adjusted by author



Share of foreigners
 3-11%
 11-18%
 18-29%
 29-46%
 46-78%

figure 27 • share of foreigners 1990, 2005 and 2017, source: Statistisches Amt für Hamburg und Schleswig-Holstein, 2017, map by author

Trading down effects and 'underclass'

The neglected urban development of the residential areas with a lack of social housing, poor infrastructure and lagging local economy has led to a deterioration in living conditions in the arrival neighbourhoods. As a result, wealthy residents move to other parts of the city with a higher quality of life. With these residents, a high percentage of purchasing power is dwindling and local businesses are at risk.

In addition, deconcentration statistics show that even successful newcomers tend to leave the arrival area while more newcomers arrive. This constant transition leads to 'winners' and 'losers' (see chapter theory, newcomers). 'Winners' were able to integrate successfully and possibly move to other parts of the city. "Losers" have not been able to improve their status and are trapped in disadvantaged areas (Krummacker, 2000). This process accelerates the segregation of arrival neighbourhoods (Heckmann, 2006). The 'trapped' inhabitants compete for resources and the prevailing living conditions make it more difficult to generate social or economic capital, thus a neighbourhood develops from a working-class neighbourhood to an unemployed neighbourhood (Häußermann, 2000).

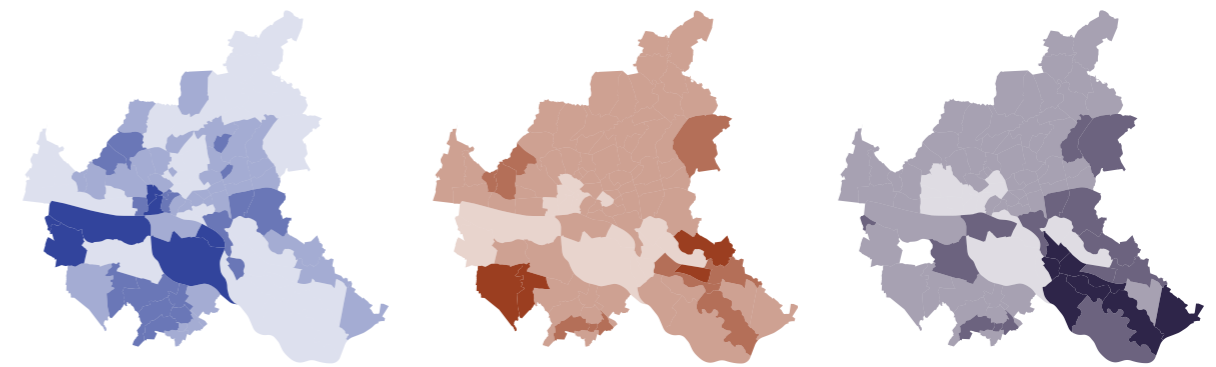
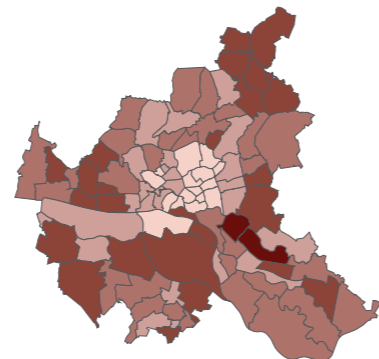
The districts in the south of the Elbe benefited from the economic growth of the port and emerged as a working-class district. With the de-industrialization, the working-class neighborhoods and the social ties between the dock workers disappeared. Today, these areas are characterized by lower real estate prices due to the fragmented land use and the transport distance to the city. While the former villages (e.g. Harburg) offer good transport links and local downtown, other suburbs are fragmented. A large number of former dockers are caught and unemployed (e.g. in the Wilhelmsburg district).

Share of children
 6 - 13%
 13 - 16%
 16 - 19%
 19 - 24%
 24 - 31%

figure 28 • share of children under 18 years, source: Statistisches Amt Hamburg, 2017, map by author

A second effect leads to the stagnation of some arrival areas in the cycle, while other areas show a positive dynamic (see social monitoring index). Ethnic minorities tend to have more children than the native-born population, which means that 'share of ethnic minorities in a neighborhood increases irrespective of mobility patterns' (Zwiers et al., 2018, p. 2). According to Zwiers, van Ham, & Manley (2018), this tendency reinforces the segregation of minorities in the most isolated arrival neighborhoods.

This is the case in Hamburg's traditional arrival cities, such as Wilhelmsburg and parts of Harburg, where guest worker families have lived for generations. Other arrival neighborhoods in the east also have an above-average number of children (figure 28), which means that not only are there a high number of children with a migration background, but also a large percentage of the city's overall children grow up in disadvantaged neighborhoods. The education monitor shows (Hamburger Bildungsmonitor) that these children have less chances to finish school and receive a school leaving certificate. A large number of children do not speak German when they start school and grow up in poverty.



People with Turkish migration background
 1 - 7%
 7 - 15%
 15 - 25%
 25 - 40%

People with Russian, Polish and former Soviet Union migration background
 1 - 7%
 7 - 15%
 15 - 25%
 25 - 40%

People with Polish migration background
 1 - 7%
 7 - 15%
 15 - 25%
 25 - 40%

figure 29 • share of turkish, polish and russian people with migration background, source: Statistisches Amt Hamburg, 2017, map by author

Ethnic segregation

The ethnic segregation in the Hamburg's district becomes particularly clear when one looks at the three main minorities, the Turkish, Polish and Russian population with a migration background. figure 29 shows the concentration of these minorities in the outskirts of Hamburg and confirms the dynamics of chain migration. Newcomers are more likely to come to ethnically concentrated areas where friends, family member and other contacts already live. The reasons for this are financial aspects (Clark & Ledwith, 2007), discrimination on the housing market (Ceylan, 2006) and the proximity to networks. In addition, migrants tend to pay more rent than the national population and live closer together (Die Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Migration, 2016).

Ethnic segregation changes over time as new groups come and other groups deconcentrate. This is a permanent transition with no end point (Johnston, Poulsen & Forrest, 2010). Heckmann argues, that successful integration would mean that ethnicity no longer plays a role in the statistics. The function and relevance of an arrival neighborhood would therefore only be temporary (Heckmann, 2006) until the need for migrants self-organization decreases and migrants are an established element of society. At this point, only 'fresh' newcomers would rely on existing networks.

Deconcentration

Hamburg, as mentioned in the previous section, shows a trend of ethnic deconcentration. Apart from that, the main arrival neighbourhoods have remained relatively stable since 1990 (figure 27), especially the traditional areas of Wilhelmsburg and Harburg. The gentrification of the central districts has led to a deconcentration of the

counteracting disadvantages

The following paragraph explains how the municipality and the newcomers counter disadvantages of arrival neighbourhoods.

THE MUNICIPALITY

As already mentioned, the city of Hamburg has developed various political instruments to monitor and improve the situation in the arrival neighbourhoods. The most relevant instruments for this project are the integration concept, the RISE development projects and the general district organization. Hamburg is working on improving the economic centers in various focus areas and developing living space for a social mix. Renovation programs help improve the condition of particularly large post-war developments. The large neighbourhood of Wilhelmsburg has become part of the central district in order to build a closer relationship with the north of the city. To strengthen participation and local engagement, each neighbourhood received a local office for urban planning and neighbourhood concerns. Marketing campaigns and developments should help to improve the image of the target neighbourhoods. The following chapter will take a closer look at how the municipality manages neighbourhood development.

The following text gives a brief introduction to the integration concept of the city. As part of a separate research paper that was written during this degree, the following abstract evaluates the attitude and content of the integration concept to understand how the municipality refers to its newcomers. The complete paper can be found in the appendix.

The integration concept

The harbor and trade history of Hamburg is responsible for its urban growth and for the independence of the Free Hanseatic City. As a city state, Hamburg has an advantage in administration as the municipality and federal state is one. The harbor has led to national and now international migration. Currently, the percentage of people with migration background is about 34% of the total population. The top countries of origin are Poland, Bulgaria, Romania, Spain and Turkey. The first integration concept of Hamburg was adopted in 2006 and reviewed in 2013 and 2017. Hamburg defines integration as the equal and measurable participation of people with migration background in the central aspects of social life. It is built upon the thought of inclusion, which describes that all people should be part of society (BASFI, 2017). This definition functions along with measurable indicators as the main aim of the integration strategy. The concept is aligned with three phases of integration: the phase of arrival in the first weeks, the basic integration in up to three years of stay and lastly the phase of having arrived. According to these phases, the municipality tries to provide acute and long-term support for newcomers.

The integration-related problems are perceived as challenges for the entire city and society. The integration concept is formulated rationally and states challenges along with possible solutions. Migration is rather seen as a matter of fact than an opportunity, although advantages of migration are mentioned, such as the balance of demographic change and a possible positive effect on economy and innovation (BASFI, 2017). Immigrants are neither wanted nor unwanted as they have been part of the city's history since 1950 (BASFI, 2017). The main strategies of Hamburg are the intercultural opening of the administration itself, the reduction of structural discrimination and the

management with the help of indicators (BASFI, 2017).

Specifically, the refugee crisis in 2015 has brought up civil engagement among inhabitants and established a welcoming attitude towards the topic. Therefore the integration concept of 2017 emphasizes a participatory process more than ever. The concept focuses on seven main action fields, most of them located in the legal/ political and social/economic dimension.

In the legal/political field, the city promotes naturalizations and higher political engagement among people with migration background. The base for this political participation form language and orientation courses, in which the basic values and political systems are introduced. As a subsequent help, the migration counselling and 'Welcome Centers' help migrants with their problems and needs. The aim of these measures is the strengthening of democracy and higher participation and political education.

The social/economic dimension is represented by several action fields. The first field targets education and aims at a good educational network from the start. The municipality tries to put more effort in the promotion of kindergartens and provides preparation classes for migrant children before school. Parents shall also be more engaged in the daily school life of their children.

After school, the transition into a practical vocational training or dual curriculum shall be assisted with. In addition, the international opening of universities and schools is planned to be improved.

The second field deals with professional integration. The municipality focuses on women with migration background as they are still underrepresented in the economy. Further on, Hamburg offers more support for professional development and highly promotes self-employment among people with migration background. The third field 'arriving in society' deals with the empowerment and engagement of migrants and possible integration factors such as culture, sports and other leisure activities.

The fourth field is about the housing market. The municipality has access to initial reception, social housing and subsidized housing. Since the housing market in Hamburg has gotten very expensive and competitive, the city is constantly developing new social and subsidized housing. Several urban development programs are dealing with problematic and segregated neighborhoods. The last field addresses the health system and tries to provide fair and affordable access to health insurance and treatments.

The cultural/religious dimension is not addressed sufficiently. The city of Hamburg made agreements with major religious institutions, in which the municipality declares their acceptance and support and the institutions in exchange guarantee the respect of the societal norms. Due to the separation of state and religion, the city of Hamburg does not further engage in the religious dimension. Yet, the Academy of World Religions of the University of Hamburg discusses critical religious issues within a board of scientists and religious representatives. The target groups of the integration concept are mainly people with migration background, but also the host society. Migrants are divided into age or status groups, depending on the intended measure. The educational and professional action field targets almost all age groups. Since a few years, even refugees without permission to stay can attend an educational or professional program (BASFI, 2017). The integration concept from 2017 is mainly dealing with the integration of refugees since it deals with the consequences of the refugee crisis. Old groups of migrants are specifically targeted with the naturalization campaign and job programs.

In general, the integration concept show a positive recognition of migration and integration and make integration one of the prioritized topics on their agenda. Positive is also the multi-scalar and multi-dimensional approach to integration and the growing efforts in monitoring and evaluation. The focus on a participatory and collaborative process makes integration a matter of society as a whole. The cultural/religious dimension needs further exploration and research on how culture and religion can be part of the integration process instead of being perceived as a segregative element.

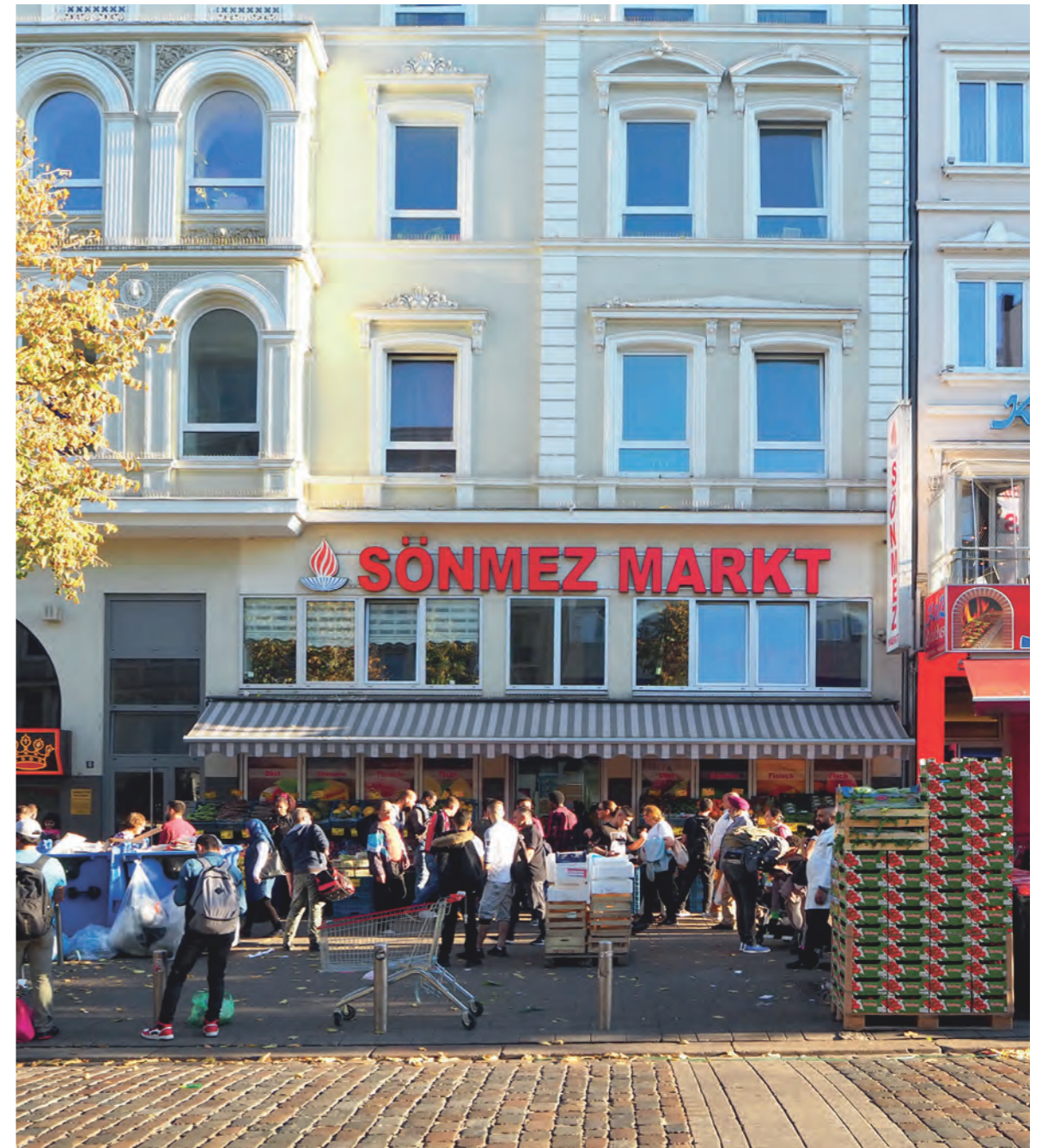
MIGRANTS' SELF-ORGANIZATION

Although the previous analysis showed that a large number of newcomers settle in arrival neighbourhoods with a small percentage of native-born inhabitants, the integration processes show positive results overall. This is also thanks to the self-organization of newcomer communities. Due to historical planning policies and chain migration, large ethnic communities live in the same neighbourhoods where they built a community-specific arrival infrastructure. This infrastructure the arrival process, because it helps newcomers to orient themselves and at the same time reduces the cultural shock of migration (Heckmann, 1992). In this way, migrants actively counter the spatial disadvantages of arrival areas and the burden of being a newcomer. Researchers who believe in the concept of a multi-cultural society therefore see a need for ethnic segregation, as this provokes the strengthening of migrant communities in society. Recognizing the potential of this self-organization means supporting the arrival cities through planning. Therefore, this project focuses on St.Georg, a central arrival city that serves the entire metropolitan area and forms the most central edge of the detected arrival city patch. Due to gentrification, St.Georg is no longer a residential arrival city, but plays a metropolitan role in the self-organization of migrants. The greatest aspect of migrants' self-organization is their networks, ethnic economies and organizations. Newcomers, who arrive in a city immediately reach out to their contacts, looking for housing, job opportunities and social contacts (Ceylan, 2006). An integration bureau in Wilhelmsburg has confirmed that the newcomers arriving in the remote area, immediately move through the entire city, to generate knowledge and compensate for disadvantages. During this process, migrants generate spatial competences and become familiar with their new living environment, which leads to their spatial integration (Buhr, 2018).

Dynamics of Movement

figure 30 shows a study that carried out throughout this research project. The study shows the radius of movement of native-born and inhabitants with migration background. The interviews were conducted during the fieldwork in two neighbourhoods, the central neighbourhood St.Georg and the suburb Wilhelmsburg. The respondents marked the districts they were familiar with. The reasons for visiting other areas were mostly work (opportunities), free time or

visits to friends. The study shows how male and female interviewees are familiar with Hamburg. The following findings were made:
 A girl of the age of 15 has the smallest radius. She said she had never been to downtown Hamburg and only went to other areas with her parents. She spends most of her time in her neighborhood, where she also goes to school. This finding is in line with other studies on the mobility of children, which show that children have a small range of movement and are therefore strongly dependent on their neighborhood.
 Second, 5 interviewed women selected a total of 49 areas, while the four male interviewees said they knew 99 areas. Studies on gender and mobility have shown that men tend to have a larger radius of movement.
 Thirdly, the comparison of the movement of nationals and people with migration background showed no remarkable difference. It was impressive that newcomers who had been in Hamburg for less than two years showed a very high level of mobility. In an interview with an official from the local integration office in Wilhelmsburg, it was found that particularly arriving men immediately connect to different locations in the city looking for work. As a result, the opportunity to compensate for disadvantaged locations is only available for men. Women and children are more dependent on their neighborhood and therefore cannot compensate for disadvantages in the same way.



The high street of St.Georg, photo taken by author

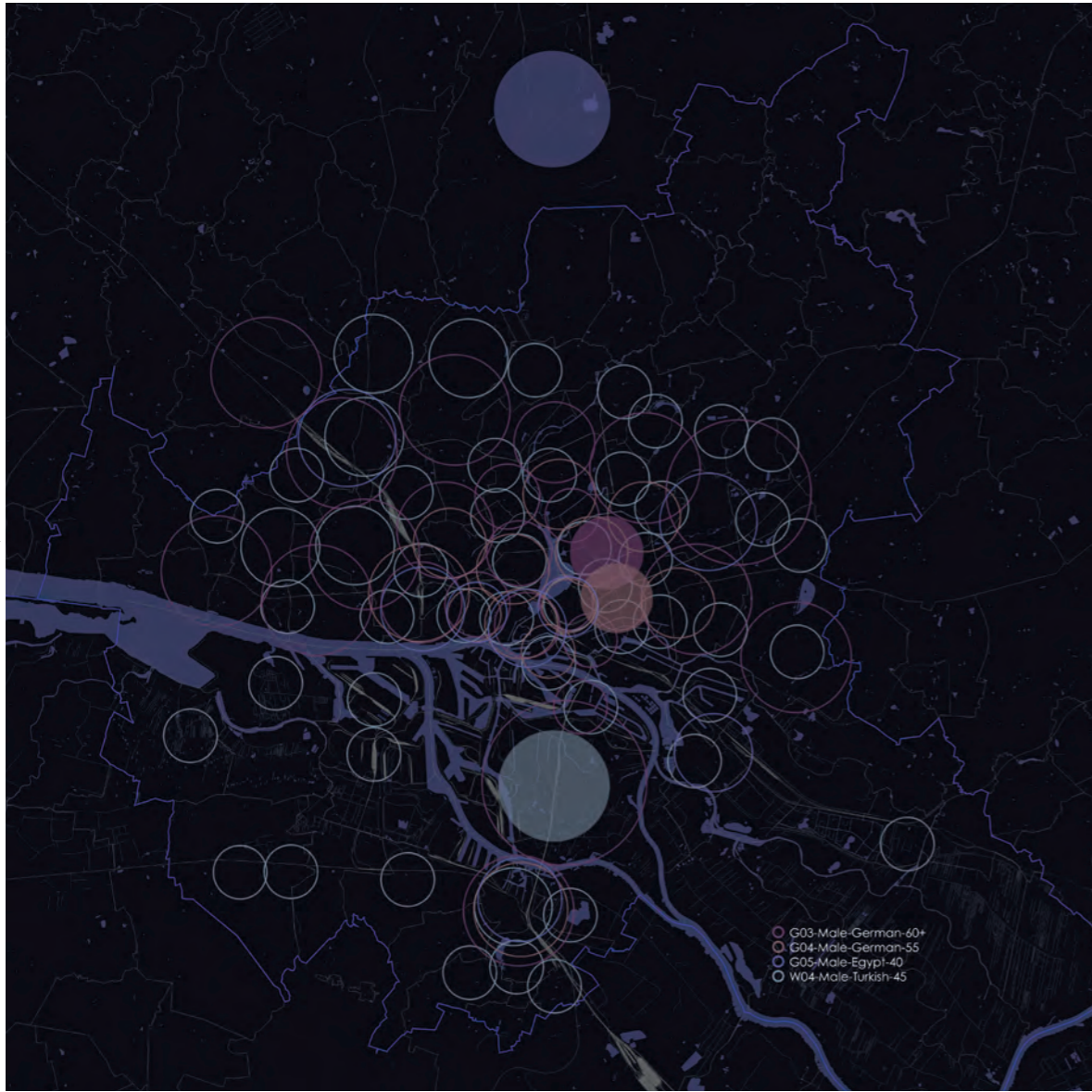
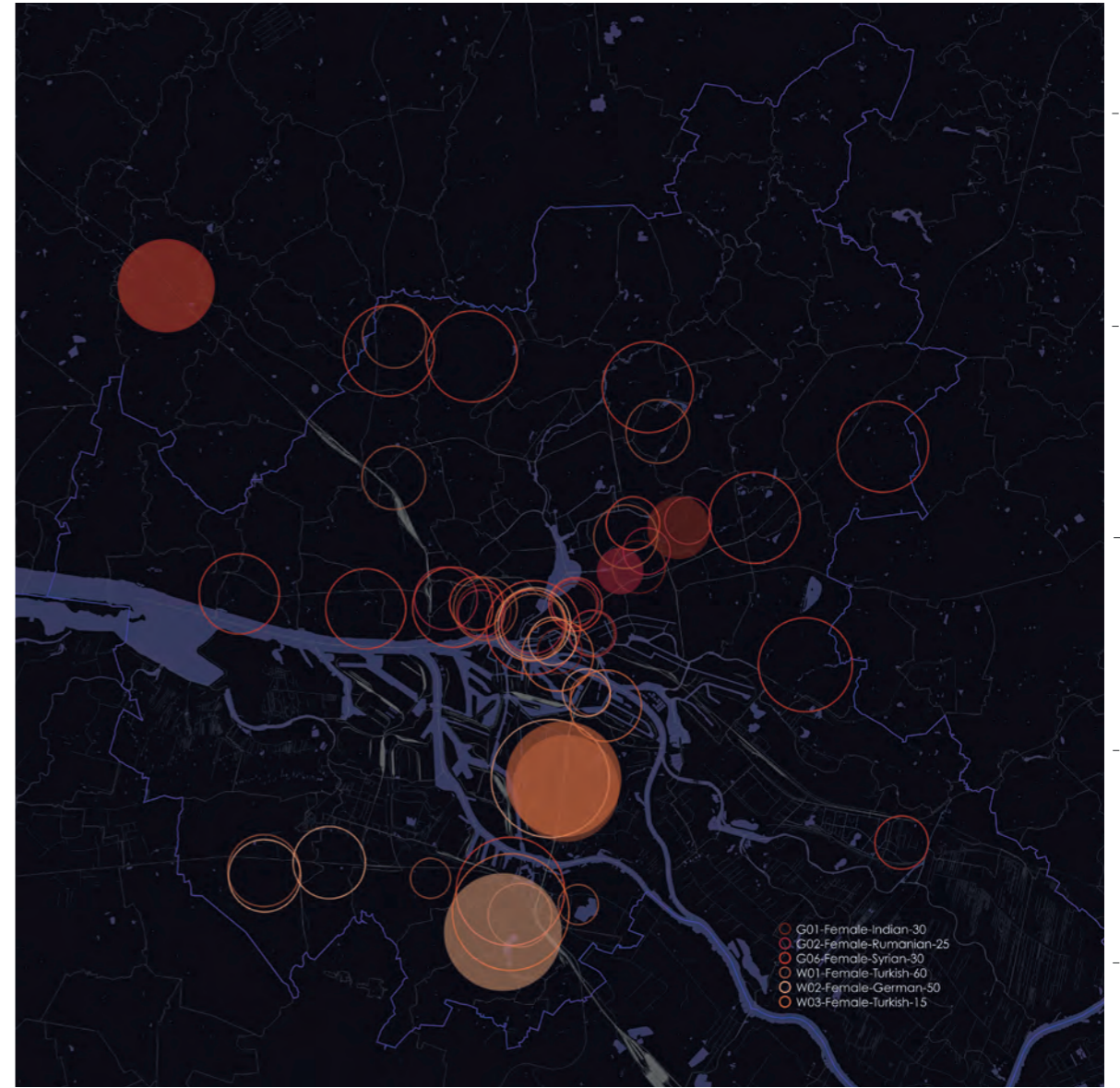


figure 30• map showing the spatial movement of male (left) and female (right) interviewees, map by author



DETECTING ARRIVAL CITIES



Street life on Steindamm high street between hotels and ethnic shops, photo taken by author

Reflection

In this chapter, the most important arrival neighbourhoods in Hamburg were detected through statistical analysis and the arrival city classification method. Further statistical analysis has revealed common arrival city dynamics within the main ethnic concentrations. Overall, Hamburg shows positive dynamics of deconcentration, however, the poorest arrival neighbourhoods do not profit from these tendencies. The negative dynamics of the poorest arrival neighbourhoods are a product of urban development. These structural disadvantages are difficult to overcome by place-making or migrant self-organization, especially when urban restructuring hampers migrants' self-organization. The results of the movement analysis and the high concentration of children within the suburban arrival neighbourhoods indicate the need for careful observation of the social hierarchies within disadvantaged areas. Dynamics between inhabitants, such as gender differentiation, competitiveness, discrimination and conflicts are likely. Especially for women, the elderly and children, the daily living environment of the arrival neighbourhood is of major importance, since it is sometimes the only contact zone (Die Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Migration, 2016). When looking at St. Georg, it is important to understand how the studied disadvantages and dynamics affect the local scale and how migrants manage and organize themselves despite their vulnerable situation.

How do arrival cities occur, and what is their national/municipal role?

Arrival cities are the product of international poverty migration to (mostly) urban areas. Due to low housing prices and existing migrant communities, newcomers tend to settle in arrival neighbourhoods. The low housing prices most likely indicate other negative effects, such as poor housing and open space quality, or low proximity to services and public transport. In short, poverty migrants are forced to settle in the weakest urban areas. Chain migration causes the concentration of minorities, which facilitates community building and self-organization. Arrival cities fulfill an integration task for the whole city. Their role is to transform newcomers into citizens and members of the receiving society. As a gate to the city, arrival neighbourhoods should give newcomers access to opportunities in the city and potentially provide a new experience to the receiving society in the city.

IV. Meso Analysis

RELATING INTEGRATION AND SPACE

St.Georg	84
Spatial composition	86
Socio-economic dimension	98
Legal-political dimension	118
Cultural-religious dimension	122
Case studying arrival cities	128

This chapter starts with the spatial observation of St.Georg, the case arrival neighbourhood. After a short introduction on the neighbourhood, this chapter presents the spatial benefits of a central arrival city. Afterwards, the three dimensions of integration are presented, always considering their spatial consequences.

St.Georg

The neighborhood of St-Georg is a thriving arrival city with no residents. In the 1990s, St.Georg was the stereotype of an arrival city with over 50% of foreigners and accommodation for asylum seekers (District Office Hamburg-Mitte, 2011). Since the 1970s, mosques and ethnic shops have shaped street life around the main train station. Although most residents with a migration background have moved away, the neighborhood is just as important for the arrival processes of newcomers today.

The area is framed on all sides. To the east, the main train station and the railways separate the neighborhood from the city center. This railway line continues east and separates St.Georg from the adjoining neighbourhood of Hammerbrook. The St.Georg hospital and the university campus draw a clear line to the east, while the Alster forms the northern border of the neighbourhood. The north towards the Alster is characterized by expensive apartment blocks and the 'Lange Reihe' shopping and restaurant street. The south, on the other hand, is characterized by multicultural shops, the sex industry and dilapidated side streets.

Metropolitan functions

St.Georg is one of the oldest quarters in the Hamburg metropolitan area around the former center. The expansion of Hamburg was planned in strict city blocks, some of which still exist. St.Georg was one of the first extensions of the city center as early as the 19th century.

As a central neighbourhood, St. Georg houses metropolitan functions such as a hospital, a business district, a museum and theaters, a university and the central bus station (figure 31). Most recently, the south of the district has been transformed into a business district that can be seen as an extension of the southern Hammerbrook business district. The northern area with hotels

and boutiques functions as an alternative shopping area to the city center. There is a close relationship between the residents of St.Georg and the neighboring Borgfelde residential area.

The central location and the integration of the neighborhood make St.Georg a heterogeneous and multicultural place.

The area can be divided into two parts: the trendy area towards the Alster and the multicultural area towards the south of the neighbourhood. These two parts do not have much in common (District Office Hamburg-Mitte, 2011), since both areas attract completely different population groups.

The following chapter contains the analysis of the area according to the three dimensions of integration in order to assess the potential and problems of the arrival city. A general spatial analysis of St.Georg gives an insight into the structure of the district and its location in the center of Hamburg. Then the socio-economic, cultural-religious and legal-political dimension of St.Georg is presented. The topics to be analyzed were selected according to the relevant factors identified in the theoretical framework. When analyzing the neighborhood, a focus is placed on the area of ethnic concentration and the ethnic economy. Most of the analysis shown will target St.Georg as a whole and draw specific conclusions about ethnic concentration or specific spaces.



1. University of Sciences
 2. Hospital St. Georg
 3. Job Centre Hamburg
 4. Theatre Schauspielhaus
 5. Art museum Kunsthalle
 6. Museum for art and crafts
 7. Hansa Theatre
 8. Main station
 9. Central bus terminal
- neighbourhood border
 ■ public buildings
 ■ private buildings

figure 31 • St. Georg and its metro functions, map drawn by author

Spatial composition

The chapter spatial composition serves as a spatial introduction to how the neighbourhood is built up and which urban structures dominate St.Georg. The analysis will take up architecture and urban layout, functional distribution, networks and barriers and open space. Every aspect of the spatial composition is presented in general and then assessed according to its advantages or disadvantages for the city of arrival. The aim of the spatial analysis is to understand to what extent the spatial composition of St.Georg creates opportunities and facilitates the city of arrival and the integration processes.

attracts hotels, which is the main reason for the decline in inhabitants. Apart from ethnic shops, the 'Steindamm' and the Hansa square behind it attract sex shops, betting offices, prostitution and drug trafficking. This heterogenic appearance reflects on the multicultural street life. Both high streets show high car traffic and pedestrian usage.

St.Georg can be divided into three main residential areas that are separated by larger streets (see figure 33). The first residential area is located next to the railways within the business area. These are the most disadvantaged housing locations in the neighbourhood. The second residential area is the most central, between the two high streets. And thirdly, the most expensive residential plot towards the North.

Most of the functions in the historical block structure are layered horizontally (figure 32). The map shows the ground floor function. Numerous of the high street buildings host agencies, hotels and offices on the first floor.

The distribution of functions shows a strong diversity and results in a high street vitality. Offices, schools, shops and services attract around 50.000 people per day and target a high range of social clusters. The way these functions are distributed in the area relates to the surrounding neighbourhoods and therefore contributes to numerous larger networks. 'A key quality of an urban high street is that it is central to the local life of an area, but it also travels past the area, linking it to other places and people. An urban high street situates and connects, both focusing and extending the possibilities for contact between different people.' (Hall, 2010)



figure 32• Photos showing the horizontal layering of functions on Steindamm, photo by author

DISTRIBUTION OF FUNCTIONS

Two high streets cross St.Georg and form the two centres of the small neighbourhood. The Northern street ('Lange Reihe') used to be a street with small businesses and craftsmen. Today, the area is famous for its restaurants, cafes and for the gay scene in Hamburg. The second high street in the South ('Steindamm') starts at the main station and is the multicultural street of St.Georg. A combination of ethnic supermarkets, utility shops, restaurants and fast food line this street. The area around the station



- cultural institutions
- hospital
- university
- schools
- foundation
- religious Organizations
- businesses
- commercial functions
- hotels

figure 33• Map showing the functional distribution in St.Georg, source: Open Street Map, Stadt Hamburg, map by author

ARCHITECTURE AND LAYOUT

During the time of the great expansion (around the beginning of 20th century), St.Georg's historical block structure was built. The historical street networks and architecture are still visible.

Due to its long history, St.Georg owns a high variety of architectural types from half-timbered houses to modern high-rise office buildings. The following selection shows the dominating architectural types and urban layouts. Main focus points are the urban layout, the facades and flexibility of an architectural type.

1 closed block structure

The historical block structure (figure 34, 1.1) is predominant in the North-West of the area and characterized by small parcelling of land and clear lines. The business streets are framed by five to six story buildings with decorated facades and large windows. The side street buildings are smaller and less decorated.

After the war, the fragmented blocks were redeveloped with Hamburg's typical post-war architecture with brick facades. Common for this development are large buildings with collective

entryways and sometimes collective gardens. The few recent developments in the urban block structure follow the historical block design. Parking garages optimize the space and often allow small gardens or terraces in the courtyards. This picture (figure 34, 1.2) was taken on Steindamm street and shows that the new buildings offer small shop units that were immediately taken up by ethnic shops. The design is made for small housing units and a mix of businesses.

A strong division between private and public is common in all closed block structures. Windows do not allow passers-by to look inside and the thresholds between inside and outside are minimized. Only the shops open up to the street. The layout of the blocks follows a clear edge towards the streets, while the backyards are rather unorganized. Apart from a few exceptions, the buildings are deep and the small parcel size allows exclusively small storage backyards. Only some larger post-war blocks draw clear lines and open collective gardens.

The flexibility of the urban block is demonstrated within most of them. Single houses can be replaced easily, and the urban type allows functional

flexibility. The ground floor can be divided into small and larger shop units, in some cases, the backyard extends into shop space. Especially, this transformative quality enables small investments of ethnic shop owners (Scheuermann, Schmal, Elser, & Saunders, 2016) and make the area less attractive for large companies and chain stores.

2 open block structure

A few old and new developments have an open block layout. Two foundations for elderly form an open system of yards that are connected. In between are community gardens and small squares. One large new development towards the Western riverfront has an open block structure with medium to high-rise buildings. The yards serve as internal infrastructure network and open space for the adjoining apartments. The transparency of the block allows pedestrians to walk around. Mixed functions such as businesses, housing and hotels ensure the liveliness of the court. Although the urban layout is attractive, the development is located in the most expensive area of St.Georg and seems exclusive to outsiders.

The open block structure has the potential to connect the street activities with the local yards and to enable further exchange between the global and local. A larger surface for interaction within the network of streets and yards creates more shades of publicness.

3 campus area

The campus-like areas in St.Georg are the hospital and the university campus, both designed to more or less exclusively serve their visitors and employees. The hospital and university frame the neighbourhood towards the East with two large semi-permeable areas. The open space between the large buildings is used for internal infrastructure and social activities. The hospital is framed by walls and parking lots. The external street network stops in front of the area. As a large, only semi-permeable structure the campus areas hamper the connectivity to the adjoining residential neighbourhood Borgfelde. The urban design serves the institutions and does not facilitate interaction with the external, and therefore hampers the interaction between different social clusters.



figure 34 • map and photos of architectural types, map and photo by author

- closed block structure
- open block structure
- campus area
- office complex
- single buildings



- state owned with leasehold
- state owned without leasehold
- state owned schools
- state owned services
- state owned others
- state owned- streets, squares, paths
- private 0-1000 m²
- private 1000-2500 m²
- private 2500-10000 m²

figure 35 • St. Georg by state land ownership, source: Stadt Hamburg, map by author

4 office complexes

The business district is marked by offices blocks and wide street sections. The architecture is representative and mostly monofunctional. The ground floor contains the entrance area, or large commercial functions, such as banks or cafes. Most of the office complexes in St.Georg follow the block structure. The large blocks have internal courtyards and parking areas. A few of the office complexes instead are high-rise buildings with large ground floor plinths. Since these complexes serve primarily a business purpose, they do not play a large role in the arrival city. Although some public services are located in these complexes, there are rarely any inviting urban features, such as benches, art or green that could serve as meeting places. The buildings do not facilitate interaction between the inside and outside nor host different social clusters.

5 single buildings

The majority of single buildings in St.Georg are representative buildings of institutions or services. Due to the high density and block structure, there are only a few single residential buildings in backyards. Most of the single structures are museums, the station or churches. The representative character of the urban layout varies significantly between the buildings.

Plot size and ownership

The parcel size varies strongly across the neighbourhood (figure 35). Larger parcels host public buildings, churches and large hotels. Smaller parcels in block structure concentrate the centralities and townhouses. The business district and the hospital are placed on large parcels, which are more likely to be less permeable. The open space on these parcels is administered by the owner and does not necessarily serve the majority. Figure 35 shows, that there are still some infrastructural wastelands that belong to the municipality and could potentially be developed. The rest of the area belongs to private owners. Due to the rising real estate value, St.Georg has been part of real estate speculation for decades. The state of the newly (re)developed housing and other privately-owned plots, varies significantly.

Almost all predominant types of architecture and urban blocks are characterized by a strong division between public space and private space. Large types, such as the office complexes and campus

areas have a sharp transition between building and open space and lack interaction possibilities. The urban block types create a functional mix that is beneficial for interaction and street life. Yet, these types show insufficient thresholds like front gardens, balconies, terraces etc. The open block potentially connects visitors and inhabitants and presents an alternative to the historical closed block structure, although the predominant type does still not display a high level of architectural detailing.

FUNCTIONAL MIX

Functional mix as a combination of functions and activities distributed in urban areas generates street-life. The urban mix mapping (figure 36) shows the functional mix concerning three main activities: living, visiting and working proposed by Dovey and Pafka (2016). The activity of living includes residential functions and hotels. Visiting refers to commercial activities, cultural institutions and public services, while working describes universities, schools and businesses. The mapping activity serves to better understand 'productive alliances between attractions' (Dovey & Pafka, 2016). St.Georg as a central neighbourhood is characterized by a juxtaposition of functions as well as a vivid street life between visitors, workers and inhabitants.

A functional mix increases proximity, therefore, enhances walkability and provokes vivid street life (Dovey & Pafka, 2017). As a result, a higher functional mix causes more opportunities for social interaction than monofunctional areas.

St.Georg is framed by mono-functional working or visiting campuses in the South-East. Both high streets attract visitors in a combination of living or working. The main function of the high streets is continuous commercial activity on the ground floor. The side streets and backyards host a combination of working and living. Only a few areas are mono-residential.

In terms of integration, the high streets seem to be excellent business locations for commercial purposes, while the residential quality might be reduced. The calm side streets, on the other hand, give a good residential surrounding in combination with small businesses. The high vitality and high amount of visitors in the high street are suitable for short-term encounters and interaction, while the side streets could potentially connect actors on a permanent level.



figure 36 • functional mix mapping St.Georg, source: Esri.com, google.com/maps, method from Kim Dovey and Elek Pafka, map drawn by author

NETWORKS AND BARRIERS

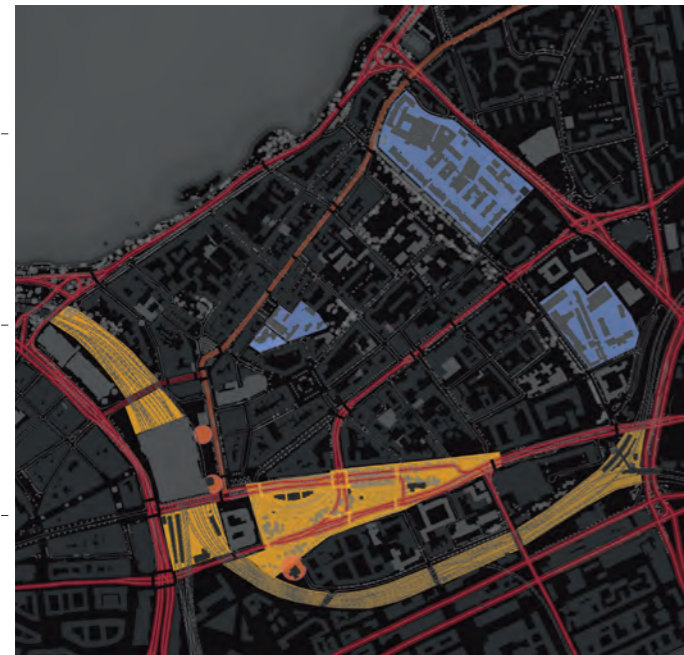


figure 37• Map showing the main borders and barriers in St. Georg, map by author

- impermeable campus situation
- spatial and visible border
- spatial border
- primary roads
- secondary roads
- places of unpleasant encounters

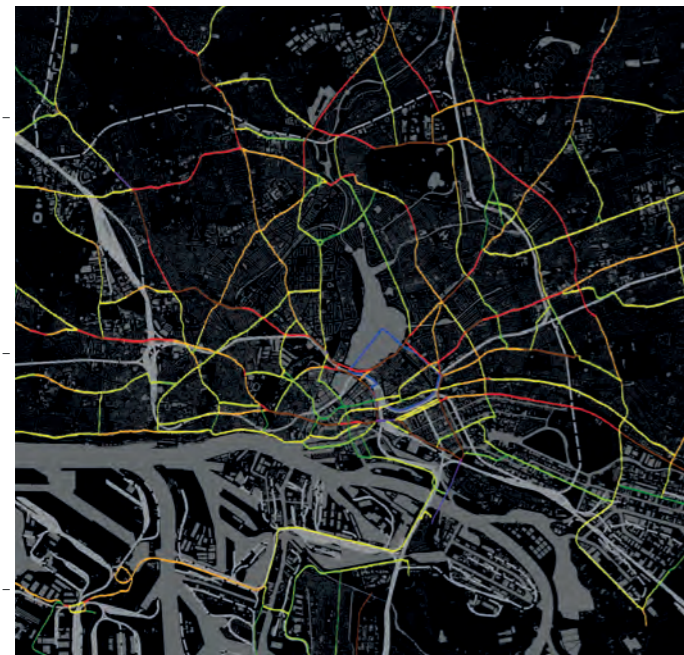


figure 38• traffic amount (car/24h), source: Stadt Hamburg, map by author

- up to 10,000
- 10,001-15,000
- 15,001-20,000
- 20,001-30,000
- 30,001-40,000
- 40,001-50,000
- 50,001-75,000
- over 75,000

St. Georg is located between important street axes that cross the station and the city centre ring. The former city wall, which is now the main station and railway line, separates the neighbourhood from the centre. The railway line can be crossed via several bridges.

The street network is a dense network around block structures. During the reconstruction after the World War II, some streets were closed to make room for public schools and other large buildings. In recent years, the streets around Hansaplatz have been closed to avoid night traffic. Due to the lack of connections to the main streets and one-way streets, traffic in the side streets was reduced. With the creation of the Lohmühlenpark, the streets parallel to the park became pedestrian paths only. This has led to a new street hierarchy with busy primary and secondary streets as well as quiet service and residential streets.

Borders and barriers

The borders of St. Georg are not just administrative borders, since the area is separated by infrastructural and urban barriers. figure 37 illustrates the main types of barriers in the area. The rail network clearly separates the area from the city center and the neighboring area Hammerbrook. Large bridges and underpasses connect the areas, but with very little spatial quality. Drinkers, homeless people and drug users tend to gather in these areas. The street interviews revealed that these areas are considered 'unsafe' and avoided by inhabitants.

As already mentioned, the large campus areas such as the hospital, the schools and the university interrupt the regular road network and produce urban "islands" that are less accessible for the residents.

The two large streets 'Adenauer Allee' and 'Kurt-Schumacher-Allee' almost merge into one large street and leave behind an infrastructural wasteland. Although these streets offer numerous pedestrian crossings, it takes a long time to cross. The streets 'Adenauer Allee' and 'Steindamm' in particular are major obstacles for older people and children and hinder contact between other parts of the neighborhood (Bezirksamt Mitte, 2011).

Traffic

As the traffic analysis (figure 38) shows, the main and side streets of St. Georg are heavily frequented. Due to the Alster and the waterfront, St. Georg is the main connection east of Hamburg. Corporations and industrial areas flank the neighborhood to the southeast. Traffic affects the connections between the neighborhood center and the recreational riverside, as well as the connection to the southern business district. Traffic on the main street Steindamm impairs the walkability of the shopping street and the connection between the residential areas.

Network performance

The street network analysis shows in figure 40 how well the streets of St. Georg are integrated into the overall network. St. Georg is connected to the inner city ring and an important east-west connection. The integration of a street is defined by the number of streets in the network to which it is connected. The second network analysis (figure 39) shows the roads with the best connections at a distance of 800 meters. The highlighted paths (orange and red) provide the most direct connections without turns. Important streets within walking distance are therefore the main streets, the Steindamm and the parallel street Bremer Reihe.

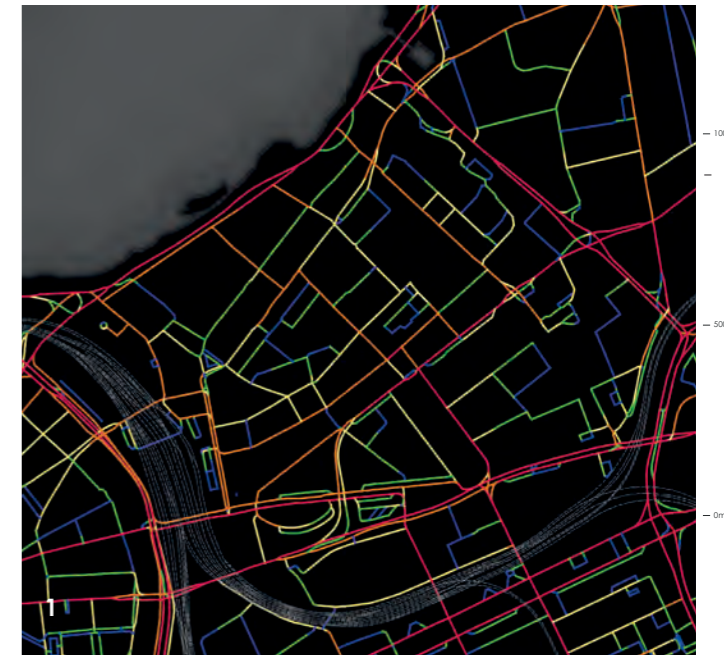


figure 40• network analysis, angular choice, map by author

1 Angular choice 800m

- low
- medium low
- medium
- medium high
- high



figure 39• network analysis, angular integration, map by author

2 Angular integration 10000m

- low
- medium low
- medium
- medium high
- high

OPEN SPACE

The following paragraph deals with open spaces according to their potential for interaction, empowerment and participation. Green spaces and squares that are used for resting and playing are evaluated according to their position and quality of recreation, rest and interaction. Streets are judged on their position and vitality. Stationary items on the street, such as furniture, shop fronts and greenery, help passers-by engage with the open space. Encounters become more likely the longer or more regularly people stay in one place. These open spaces, located between communities and social clusters, are particularly suitable for facilitating integration and are analyzed in more detail.

GREEN SPACE

figure 42 shows the predominant open spaces in St.Georg. In addition to the river bank, there is the Lohmühlenpark as a second recreation area, which extends from north to south of St.Georg. A study by the municipality has shown that St.Georg has a sufficient number of larger public recreation areas, although the study considers some green fields as parks. These areas might serve as infrastructure space, but do not offer any recreational qualities. The SCHORSCH, a Christian organization, manages three playgrounds with childcare and equipment in the area. The playgrounds are only for children and are not necessarily open to the public. In general, public green spaces are sparsely equipped with benches and other facilities. Private green spaces are rather hidden and mostly very small. Most larger hotels offer patios or gardens to their guests, and some kindergartens, home

communities, and foundations have gardens in their backyards.

STREETS

Due to the central location of St.Georg, the street network has a hierarchy from busy main roads to quiet service and residential streets. The streets and squares are mainly paved and decorated with trees. Most squares and streets have a low percentage of permeable materials and almost no green other than trees. Open space furniture or permeable sidewalks are also rare. Only a few corners indicate the commitment of residents or organizations to transform spaces. The parking spaces seems to dominate several squares and streets.

SQUARES

The squares in the area are concentrated towards the East and well integrated into the urban network. Most of the squares, however, do not offer possibilities to rest, hide from the sun, or play. Two squares, Steintorplatz and Spadenteich serve as parking lots, while the Hansa square and Carl-von-Ossietzky Square serve as market squares and are therefore paved and without installations. Apart from these large squares, there are hardly any small corner or pocket squares that could serve as an alternative.

figure 41 • Hamburg green space analysis, source: Stadt Hamburg, map by author

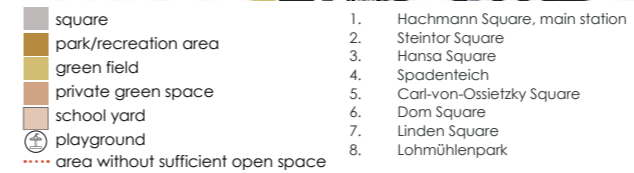
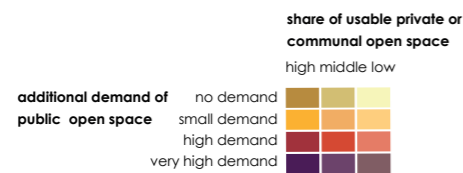


figure 42 • predominant open space, map by author

figure 43• Collections of streets in St.Georg, photos by author



STREETS

The primary and secondary streets in the area clearly follow the west-east direction and connect the centre to the eastern neighbourhoods. Service and residential streets are orientated in north-south direction.

1 Secondary street

The Steindamm is divided into two parts, a one-way service street and secondary street. The secondary street (figure 43) that connects to the primary route, comprises 4 lanes, bike lanes and separate parking streets. The intersections of this street become expansive and challenging for the large amount of pedestrians on the ethnic street. Along the street, a separate parking street extends the street section and creates waste space. There are no benches or greenery along the busy street that would allow pedestrians to sit down and talk or rearrange groceries.

2 High street

Both high streets in the area, the Steindamm (lower part) and the Lange Reihe are walkable streets with 1-2 lanes. Due to low volume of traffic, the streets can be crossed at any time. During rush hour, the sidewalks are full of pedestrians that shop and pack their groceries. These streets also do not offer places to rest. Many shops and restaurants extend to the sidewalk and limit the space for pedestrians.

3 Side and service streets

The contrast between the busy secondary street and the side streets is strong. The side streets are home to few shops and often serve as backstreets for the larger streets. Therefore, most of these streets are packed with parking cars and do sometimes not even have trees.

4 Residential street

The few residential streets in St.Georg are quiet and similar to the service streets. The facades do not reveal much about the functions and only newer buildings have balconies to the street or small front gardens. Here, too, the separation between public and private space is fairly strict.

In summary, it can be said that most of the street does not have facilities such as street furniture or green spaces. Parking and car traffic dominate the streets and leave little space for pedestrians.

SQUARES

1 Hachmann Platz, main station

The east side of the station is an attraction for 'lost souls' such as homeless, alcoholics and beggars, who gather under the large roof. The square does not offer seating, but constant music to keep people calm. The rest of the square serves as a parking lot and taxi rank.

2 Steintorplatz

Steintorplatz is part of a network of squares that serve the station area. Steintorplatz connects the main train station with the central bus station and is still the gateway to St.Georg. What used to be the moat surrounding the city is now the railway network. The place is purely infrastructural and offers no accommodation. A large area is used as a parking space.

3 Hansa square

The Hansa-Platz with the elegant fountain and the street lighting is the largest square in St.Georg. The Hansa-Platz lies between the most important social clusters and is the center of the conflicts in the neighborhood. The residents say that the square is divided in half: the north-east side with cafes, restaurants and organizations and the south-west side with hotels used for prostitution, small ethnic shops and corner bars.

4 Spadenteich, Church Square

The old square in front of the St.Georg church forms several corners because it is separated by streets. The central area and the side streets serve as parking spaces. Several restaurants and hotels use the edges of the square for outdoor seating.

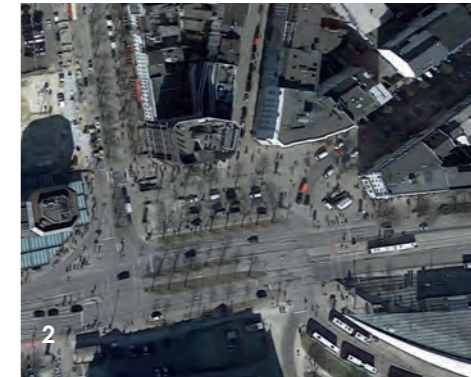


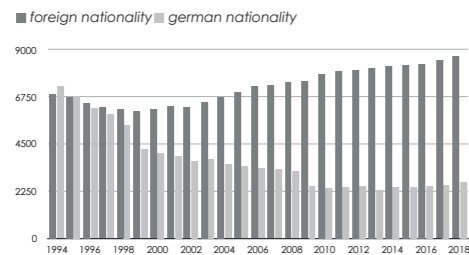
figure 44• the main squares in the arrival area in St.Georg, photos by author

Socio-economic dimension

St. Georg is a diverse district, the social composition of which has changed considerably since the 1980s. The neighbourhood is famous for an absurd coexistence of social clusters, such as ethnic minorities, gays, religious organizations, prostitution and drug circles as well as first-class hotels and offices.

In addition to the 10,000 inhabitants, around 40,000 people come to work in the district every day. St. Georg now has a high proportion of individual households and a comparatively high average income. Gentrification of the neighborhood has led to a general population decline due to rising property prices and hotel development. The proportion of people with a migration background (figure 45) has been falling since 1990 (Bezirksamt Hamburg-Mitte, 2011). As a result, the social cohesion in the area is suffering from the decline of inhabitants, among all many families, and the high migration balance of one third.

figure 45 • diagram showing number of inhabitants, source: Statistikamt Nord



The following paragraphs provide an overview of the different social clusters and their dynamics. In order to facilitate the integration and exchange between the clusters defined in the integration concept, group spaces and relations are identified. The various social clusters were defined according to social statistics and reports by the municipality, street interviews as well as the spatial analysis. Based on these findings, the project tries to enable synergies between the clusters through urban

design.

INHABITANTS

The population has declined significantly in the past two decades. Hotels and other businesses, as well as single households, replaced families. Today, two-thirds of the inhabitants live in single households. Approximately one-third of the inhabitants are exchanging every year (Statistikamt Nord).

In comparison to other neighborhoods, St. Georg shows a large number of working-age residents (age 20-60) and thus a comparably low number of elderly and children. The dominating gender is male (60%) and the income per person is average. The social monitoring index of Hamburg gives insight into the most striking social data (see figure 46). The statistical areas to the south show significant data, while the north has no remarkable numbers. Statistics therefore confirm the differences between the 'two sides' of St. Georg.

Based on the data provided, it was not possible to trace the residents with a migration background. Therefore, the social clusters are categorized into inhabitants and ethnic street life, which mainly refers to the economic and social activities of visitors and inhabitants.

Around 23 per cent of St. Georg's inhabitants are currently foreigners. According to the district office, the dominating ethnic groups are from Turkey (17%), Portugal, Italy and Poland (each around 6%) and Serbia and Montenegro (4,5%) (Bezirksamt Hamburg-Mitte, 2011). Until 1996 asylum seekers were accommodated in hotels in St. Georg. Although the number of inhabitants with migration background decreased in the area below average, one-third of the elderly above 60 has migration background (compared to Hamburg with 12%). Compared to other areas, a many of foreigners receive state support (ibid.).

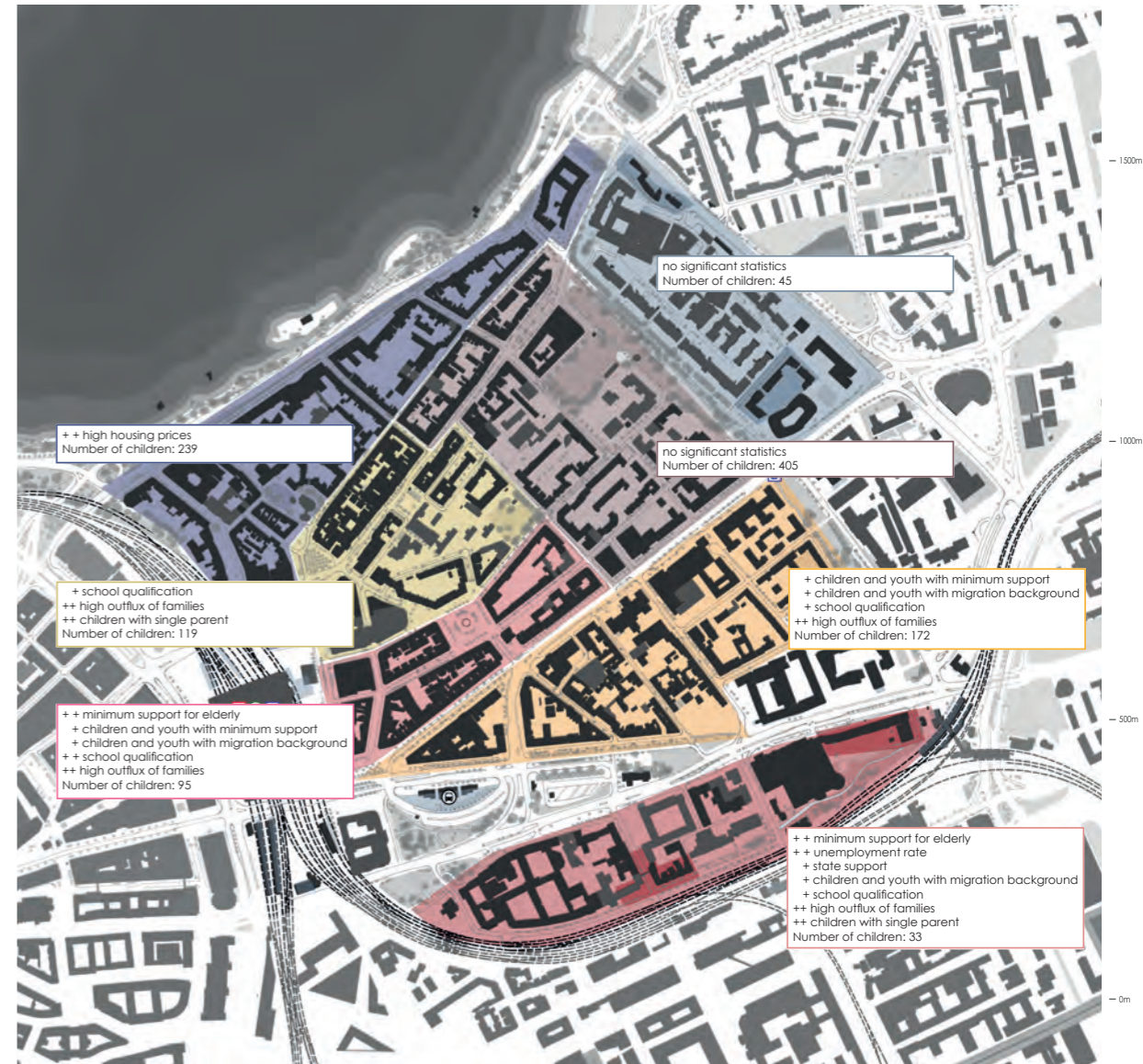


figure 46 • Map showing statistical areas in St. Georg, map by author, source: Bildungsatlas Hamburg, Hamburger Sozialmonitoringindex

METRO-LOCAL RELATIONS

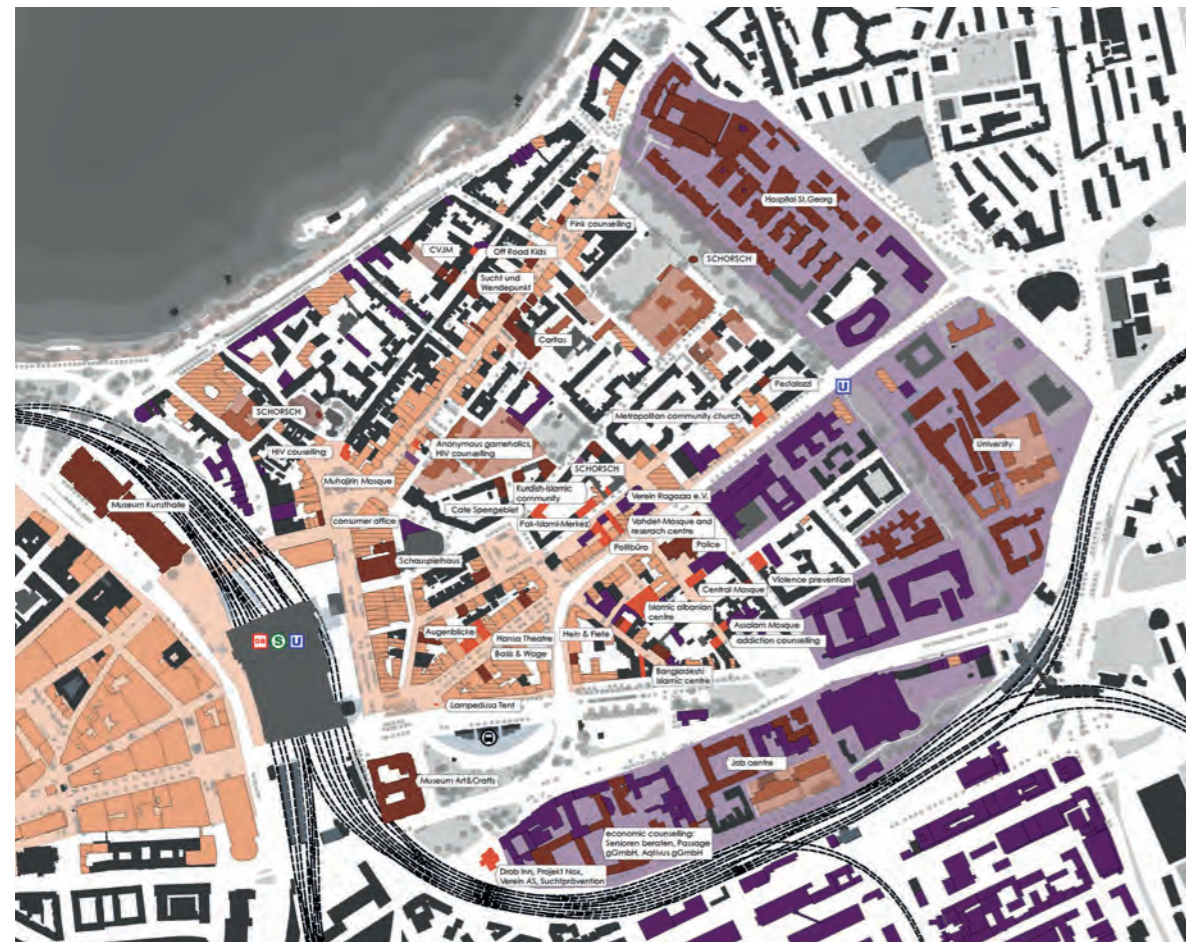


figure 47 • places for Hamburgers, map drawn by author, source: Bezirksamt Mitte

Metropolitan St.Georg

Similar to the city centre, St.Georg is a neighbourhood with numerous metropolitan and commercial functions as well as businesses. In addition, the trade-down effects made it a place for “lost souls”.

Around 40.000 people come to St.Georg every day to work, which is four times the number of inhabitants. Almost all services and centralities are utilized by inhabitants and Hamburgers. St.Georg is therefore more a neighbourhood for Hamburgers than for its residents.

This level of metro-local relations is shown in figure 47. The figure shows actors, streets and locations that mainly serve the entire metropolitan area and attract visitors more than locals. The

liveliness of these places is related to (work) schedules and traffic volume.

St.Georg’s changing metropolitan position changes the district quickly and opens it up to Hamburgers and thus also to gentrification, speculation and loss of locality.



figure 48 • places for inhabitants, map drawn by author, source: Bezirksamt Mitte

Local St.Georg

According to the district office, there are only a few services and areas that are exclusively intended for inhabitants (figure 48). The high level of migration dynamic and the high percentage of visitors can affect the local networks and engagement of inhabitants. Mainly the ‘Kulturladen’, ‘Geschichtswerkstatt’ and ‘Bürgerverein’ are long-standing associations that represent the local culture and interests of inhabitants.

STREETLIFE AND ENVIRONMENTS

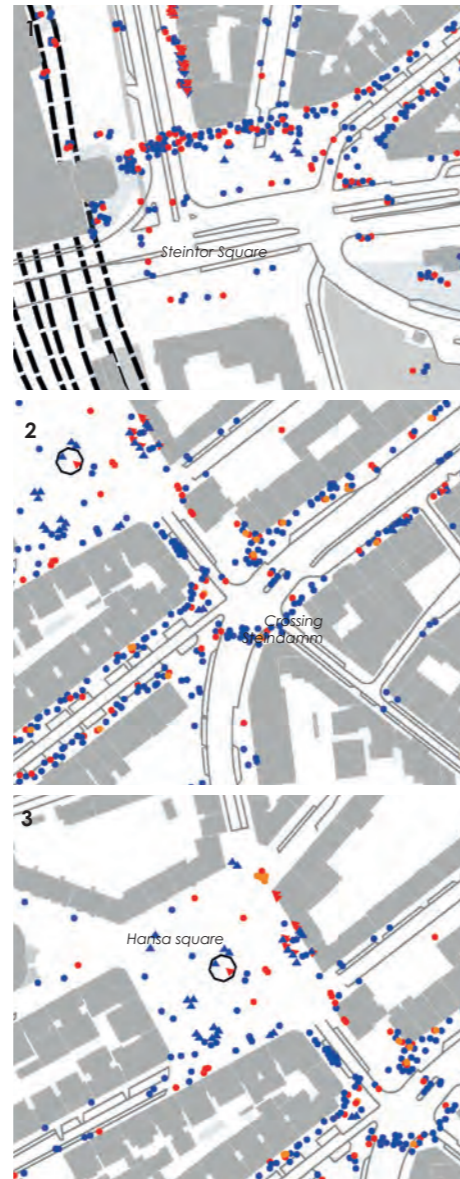
In addition to the residents, St.Georg is a platform for many different interests and target groups. The different groups stand for the metropolitan position of the neighbourhood and the complexity of comers and goers. Since the inhabitants are only a small share of people who use the neighbourhood, visitors also have a major impact on the image of the area.

The snapshot analysis (figure 49) shows the street life intensity on June 3 and 4 between 12 p.m. and 4 p.m. The whole neighbourhood is very crowded with people running errands, going to work or having lunch. The analysis shows women, men and children and observed people who were sitting. Interesting focal points are the Steintorplatz next to the station. This square, that serves as a parking lot, is used by pedestrians who arrive at the train station and enter the neighbourhood. The pedestrian crossing is very busy and the small rooms almost do not accommodate the crowds during rush hour. The Steintorplatz next to the train station is probably equally important for all social clusters, although it does not offer seating or other activities. Nevertheless, many people tried to sit and wait on pillars and poles.

The second interesting location is the large intersection of Steindamm and Kreuzweg. The large crossing connects the two sides of the high street and is one of the main connection points between the north and south of the neighbourhood. A large number of pedestrians are constantly trying to cross and others are trying to sit and watch. A group of men that has been observed several times gathers around a shop in the connecting street between the crossing and Hansasquare. Thirdly, the Hansasquare, which is the central square of this part of the neighbourhood. The busy life of the side street somehow does not come to Hansasquare. Few people stay and rest in cafes or sit on the large fountain. Most people cross the square on their way.

In general, street life in and around the ethnic street is dominated by men. Woman do only come in small groups and do not gather in space for a long time. It seems that while St.Georg is a meeting place for men, it is only a place to walk by for women. In other areas, street life is more mixed.

The following analysis gives a reinterpretation of the neighbourhood for each identified social cluster. The clusters are represented by their organizations and institutions as well as their predominant open space. The social clusters should be understood as groups of interest and lifestyles. The clusters were selected based on reports from the district office as well as own research and observations. The clusters are a



combination of visitors and inhabitants that are present in St.Georg and shape the neighbourhood. Each cluster is represented by individuals, groups and organizations. There are of course, gradients and interrelationships between the social clusters that are being considered. And yet, the social clusters represent the majority of lifestyles, values and interest within the group.



figure 49 • snap shot analysis made June 3/4 in 2019 between 12am and 3pm , map by author

figure 50 • Museum for Arts and Crafts, source: Hamburg.de



figure 51 • Alster river front as a main recreation area for tourists and visitors, photo taken by author



figure 52 • Street section with luxury hotels facing the central station, photo taken by author



TOURISTS AND VISITORS

In and around Hamburg, St.Georg is known as an alternative shopping area to the city centre. It is promoted by the city of Hamburg and in tourist guides as the 'Gay Area' and is famous for the small restaurants and boutiques.

Tourists and visitors come to enjoy a walk on the river Alster (figure 51) and stroll through the street Lange Reihe. Also, museums and cultural highlights attract visitors in their free time. Apart from attractions, St.Georg is the neighbourhood with the highest density of hotels in Hamburg (Bezirksamt Hamburg-Mitte, 2011). The accommodations range from hostels to luxury hotels. The main station, metro, bus lines and tourist busses are the starting point of each touristic activity in the area.

Streellife and observations

Most tourists are just visiting St.Georg for a limited amount of time, either by staying in a hotel in St.Georg or by visiting the neighbourhood on a tour. In both cases, the sightseeing and strolling take place in the Northern high street with bars, cafes and boutiques. This high street 'Lange Reihe' is well connected to the river Alster other tourist destinations.

Most of the tourists that explore the area come in groups either during the day for sightseeing or at night to go out.

Visitors, on the other hand, could come to St.Georg on a more regular basis on the weekends as they might live in other areas. Towards the East of Hamburg, St.Georg is one of the main nightlife and shopping areas. Due to the predominant restaurants and bars, most of the visitors in 'Lange Reihe' are middle-class inhabitants. Other destinations, such as the, for example, the Hansatheatre and the Museum for Arts and Crafts (figure 50) do not have the same proximity to the 'Lange Reihe'.

Organization and representation

Tourists and visitors are represented by organizations that entertain this social cluster. Tourist businesses, busses, taxi, hotels (figure 52) provide everything that this group needs. The high economic power of this group is reflected by the high number of restaurants and hotels in the area. Local businesses profit from the high number of visitors and compete with each other. The arrival city does not offer much for this social cluster and does not have strong relations.



figure 53 • open space dominated by tourists and visitors, map drawn by author, source: Bezirksamt Mitte

Integration potential

Due to the temporary character of this social cluster, the role in integration is very little (see figure). Only a few visitors come to St.Georg regularly. Tourists might rather have the opposite effect on integration as they accelerate gentrification processes. Even regular visitors from adjoining neighbourhoods might miss the connection to migrant individuals or organizations in St.Georg. Besides, the concentration of tourists and visitors in the 'Lange Reihe' challenges a spatial connection between the social clusters (see figure 53). Observation has shown that this social cluster is mainly present in groups, which reduces the chance of interaction between individuals. Also, organizations for tourists do not focus on interaction with locals, but rather on promoting exclusive activities.

Therefore, tourists and visitors are a social cluster that fit neither the category of newcomers nor the receiving society. There is, however, the chance of

winning tourist as clients of ethnic businesses and thereby promote socio-economic exchange.

figure 55• rainbow pedestrian crossing 'Danziger Straße', photo taken by author



figure 54• cafe culture in 'Lange Reihe', photo taken by author



figure 56• Hamburg pride starting in St.Georg, source: typisch-hamburg.de



GAY SCENE

Since the 90ies, St. Georg is famous to be the gay neighbourhood of Hamburg. Numerous Gay Bars, community places and rainbow flags mark the communities' territory (figure 54). Street interviews revealed that the (gay) inhabitants are being displaced by the gentrification of the neighbourhood. Especially the high street 'Lange Reihe', which is the heart of the gay community is affected by the rising housing prices. Interviewees stated that former inhabitants moved to the bordering areas of Borgfelde and Hohenfelde. Apart from the high street, the gay community places are scattered over the area. Some spots interfere with the ethnic community and compete over rental space and clients. According to the street interviews, the gay and cultural scene does not appreciate the development of the high street 'Steindamm', because they feel, that 'they do not belong there'.

St.Georg is sold as the gay area in several tourist guides as well as on the website of the municipality, where the gay flair is treated as an attraction for party tourism. The scene is strongly overlapping with the cultural institutions (Schauspielhaus, Politbüro and the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe) and the trendy shopping area along the high street 'Lange Reihe'. Several organizations serve as meeting points for the community, deal with problems such as HIV prevention and discrimination and represent interests.

Street life and observation

The gay scene is a combination of people that do act around the gay bars and street life of St.Georg. The scene overlaps with the cultural institutions, events, bars and restaurants that associate with the gay scene. Several bars and restaurants serve as daily meeting places, where people greet each other on the street. The scene is representing itself visually by the flags, rainbow colours (figure 55) and events such as the Hamburg Pride Parade (figure 56).

Interviews

Informal interviews have confirmed that the ongoing segregation processes force the inhabitants of the scene to leave. Yet, many come daily to meet friends and visit organizations.

One of them is an around 60-year old man that was born on Oldenburg, Germany and came to Hamburg in 1993. After moving several times in Hamburg, he lives currently in Borgfelde, the



figure 57• Open spaces in St.Georg dominated by gay scene, map drawn by author, source: Bezirksamt Mitte

adjoining neighbourhood of St.Georg. As a former teacher, he works now self-employed in the area. He enjoys the proximity of functions and comes to St.Georg to do groceries, goes to the pharmacy or cleaning company. In his free time, he strolls around the Lange Reihe or goes out for dinner.

In a further conversation, he mentions that when he arrived in Hamburg in the 1990ies, 'one could not really go to St.Georg or Borgfelde- it was dangerous'. He confirmed that the area has changed a lot, became safer but also gentrified. 'The gay scene decreased a lot in the last years and if I go to the 'Steindamm' I feel like I don't belong there anymore', is how he refers to the growing ethnic street life. He liked the former Hansa square more and said that it is less inviting to rest.

Organization and representation

A number of organizations represent the interest of the social cluster towards the outside and support their members. The organizations range from HIV counselling to a metropolitan church,

a sports club and the support of male prostitutes (see figure 57). Each organization has a long history and experience in the neighbourhood and serve as metropolitan functions.

Integration potential

Due to gentrification processes, the neighbourhood has become a meeting place for this social cluster rather than a place to live. The actual inhabitants seem to appreciate the gay scene for its liveliness and openness. Concluding from the street interviews, the ethnic street life and the gay scene do compete for housing and rental space and do lack in common values. While the gay scene celebrates its openness and freedom, the religiously influenced ethnic street life follows rather conservative values. However, the scene is well integrated with the inhabitants and profiting from tourists and visitors.

figure 58• daily police patrol in front of the prostitution hotspots, photo taken by author



figure 59• men meeting and waiting in front of the prostitution hotel Universum, photo taken by author



figure 61• Flyers of police control (right) and initiative against police control (left), photo taken by author



figure 60• drunk man sleeping in front of a supermarket, photo taken by author



DRUG AND PROSTITUTION

Due to the central location, the neighbourhood is a point where several 'lost souls' strand, such as homeless, drug addicts and alcoholics. Sex shops, porno cinemas, cheap hotels and drug centres mark the streets in the South West of St.Georg. Prostitution often serves the drug addict prostitutes to finance drug consumption (Bezirksamt Hamburg-Mitte, 2011). While the police estimate that around 450 prostitutes work in the area, the local consultation for prostitutes estimates that around 800-1000 prostitutes work in St.Georg (ibid.). Migrants and especially Eastern-European are common among sex workers. Most of them face a problem such as homelessness, drug addiction and violence (Bezirksamt Hamburg-Mitte, 2011).

Streellife and observation

The municipality of Hamburg has tried to ban the prostitution from St.Georg by turning it into a restricted zone. Prostitution is now illegal but still partly visible. Women are standing in entry zones of cheap hotels (especially in Bremer Reihe and Hansaplatz) waiting for clients. Some women react annoyed and aggressive if another woman gets into their 'territory'. Clients carefully sneak around the prostitution hotspots. Opponents of the restricted zone argue that the sex workers will now have to find customers in the outskirts of Hamburg, where they are less safe (Initiative 'Recht auf Straße'). The municipality has established so-called 'free drug consumption rooms' in two locations in the city. One of them, the 'Drob Inn' is located next to the central bus terminal. The institution allows drug addicts to consume drugs in a safe environment along with consultation and accommodation. Around 50-150 people come daily to make use of the service. Despite the attempts of the municipality to relocate the drug centre outside the living area, the drug crowd still creates a space of fear in the 'August-Bebel' park. Interviewees and own observations confirmed that the mainly male and often drunk crowd in front of the drug centre is avoided by passers-by. St.Georg offers several other institutions that support prostitutes and drug abusers in their everyday life, especially youth. Furthermore, inhabitants complain regularly about heavy drinkers (figure 60). On the Hansaplatz, preferably in the late afternoon, drunk men shout around. According to the municipality, this number of extreme drinking could be reduced by the renovation of the square in 2011.



figure 62• Open spaces of drugs and prostitution, map drawn by author, source: Bezirksamt Mitte

Organization and representation

Numerous organizations and associations offer counselling and support for sex workers and drug addicts. Due to the location next to the station and in the hotspot for illegal prostitution and drug abuse, the institutions are well received. These services have led to an easing of tension between the inhabitants and visitors.

Integration potential

This social cluster is tied to the arrival city since a large number of prostitutes and drug addicts have a migration background. Although these effects are not pleasant to have in a neighbourhood, they are bound to large cities. Systematic repression and discrimination of this social cluster do not solve the problem (figure 58 and 61). Rather, it would be pleasant to find ways in which these social clusters can co-existing or even co-create.

figure 63• photo of Eastern Steindamm street, photo taken by author



figure 64• photo of Eastern Steindamm street, photo taken by author



figure 65• photo of Eastern Steindamm street, photo taken by author



BUSINESS DISTRICT

While the beginning of the ‘Steindamm’ is characterized by small ethnic shops and historical housing blocks, the Eastern part is marked by large office buildings and hotels (see figure 63). The area developed as an extension of the adjoining neighbourhood Hammerbrook. This area hosts large companies, agencies, the hospital and university as well as public services (e.g. police station and job agency). Along with the change of the urban structure the attraction of the area for small businesses on the ground floor decreases and the large streets become unattractive for pedestrians (figure 64).

Streellife and observation

Besides a small number of inhabitants, the area is almost entirely used by visitors and businessmen/women. Small groups of business people use the lunch offers of restaurants in the historical part of the ‘Steindamm’, but apart from that the areas do not seem to have much in common. The Lohmühlen park in this area is mainly frequented by students or business people.

Interviews

A 65-year-old man, who was there with his wife to meet friends in a café on Hansa square, called the ethnic street ‘autonomous part for migrants’. He said that this part only belongs to migrants and does not offer any shops for him. The most dangerous area, according to him, is the drug center in the South of St. Georg. Instead, he likes the river front and the Hansa square. As a long citizen and politician, he knows the city quite well, works self-employed in the Schanzenviertel and lives in his own flat in Uhlenhorst.

Organization and representation

Some of the large offices engage in partnerships with the university that is just next door. Also, some of the large companies are part of the IG Steindamm, where they share and represent their interests.

Integration potential

The integration potential of this social cluster could be much larger than it is at the moment. The business district could be an ideal customer base for ethnic businesses. The collaboration of large and small business in the IG Steindamm could be fruitful for the development of the street and its economic development.



figure 66• Places of businesses and facilities, map drawn by author, source: Bezirksamt Mitte

figure 67• photo of a playground in Danziger Straße, photo taken by author



figure 68• photo of a playground in Danziger Straße, photo taken by author



figure 69• photo of a playground in Danziger Straße, photo taken by author



CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

Children and families are among the social clusters with the highest outflux in the area. Already since the 1990s, St.Georg faces problems with drugs, prostitution and criminal activity, which have led to a trading-down effect (Bezirksamt Hamburg-Mitte, 2011). All these aspects transformed the area in a rather child-unfriendly environment. Only recently, the district office and several organizations have collaborated for a more family-friendly environment and more activities for kids. As a central neighbourhood, St. Georg offers a diverse educational program. The neighbourhood has many schools that serve children across Hamburg. The diversity of schools allows a high differentiation and a social mix. One school in St.Georg offers a bilingual Turkish-German track for children and language courses for mothers. Other schools cooperate with institutions for all-day schools and cheap lunch meals. Also, higher education for youth is covered with several schools for economics and evening schools. It has been discussed that the neighbourhood offers good playgrounds for young children but is lacking indoor sports halls. Several churches and mosques offer programs for children and youth beyond St.Georg.

Streetlife and observation

During the day, children from St.Georg and children from other areas come to the schools and kindergartens in the neighbourhood. The central location and good transport connection allow parents to drop off their children on their way to work. In the afternoon, the playgrounds of SCHORSCH (figure 69), the integration and family organization, are full of playing kids.

Organization and representation

The social engagement for children and families in St.Georg is mainly managed via SCHORSCH, a joined project of associations, the district bureau and the church. The organization combines places for encounters, education and counselling. One of their main ideas is to integrate people across cultures, religions, nationalities and milieus (Bezirksamt Hamburg-Mitte, 2011). Since 2017, the new 'integration and family centre', that combines several institutions, was finished.

Integration potential

In the last years, St.Georg gained attractiveness for families through child-friendly planning. Especially



figure 70• Map of St.Georg showing places for families and children, map drawn by author, source: Bezirksamt Mitte

the creation of the integration and family centre was a large step. The fact, that the cooperation works with several schools and is not a private institution, makes it accessible for all children and families. The main church and mosque organize a joined program for children to stimulate friendships and tolerance.

figure 71 • photo of high street 'Steindamm', photo taken by author



ETHNIC STREET LIFE

Unlike the gay scene, the ethnic street cannot be summarized as one scene or community. The ethnic economies and institutions do not form a closed social cluster that identifies as such. Rather, the ethnic high street is a coexistence of multiple ethnic communities (figure 72), that benefit from each other by attracting customers. The variety of tenders ranges from supermarkets to luxury products and is therefore not tied to a specific milieu.

The area is commonly known as 'little Istanbul' due to the mosques, Turkish shops and banks. Nowadays, the area is much more multicultural than it used to be, although, the Turkish origin still makes up the majority of migrants. In the 1990s, during a larger migration of Southern-European and Asian asylum seekers, the migrants opened businesses in the area.

The ethnic street life developed around the 'Centrum Moschee' (Central Mosque) and was meant to serve as a religious space for the entire metropolitan area from the beginning. The mosque itself contains a travel agency, a book shop, a barbershop and a cantina. Therefore, the mosques are irrevocably linked to the ethnic economies. Every day, migrants from all over the city visit the shops, restaurants and mosques in the area as a connection to their home country.

According to the district office, these ethnic economies face gentrification processes. Larger companies are expanding while small businesses can only be found in the side streets. The competition for a shop on the main high street 'Steindamm' is great (Bezirksamt Hamburg-Mitte, 2011).

Interviews

The informal interviews of this social clusters were mainly conducted in and around Steindamm high street. Most of the respondents have indicated, that they came from other neighbourhoods to visit, shop or do other activities, such as church groups or meeting friends. Those interviewees who would consider themselves part of the ethnic street life enjoyed the area while outsiders criticized the ethnic street. The following paragraph gives insight into these personal perspectives. Due to language difficulties and the high numbers of non-Hamburgers, the interviews were often short conversations and only a few interviews could be generated.

One interviewee, a 27-year-old Indian woman described that she moved to Hamburg three months



figure 72 • Map of St. Georg showing the ethnic street life, map drawn by author, source: Bezirksamt Mitte

ago and one year after her husband. They found their apartment in Wandsbek via an 'Indians in Hamburg' facebook group, that is now their social centre. She is currently planning to learn German and find a job in Hamburg. While she comes to St. Georg every two weeks for groceries or other activities, she has never been to the city centre of Hamburg. Instead, she goes out in neighbourhoods around the centre and refers to Indian shops in her own neighbourhood Wandsbek.

A second interviewee, Mu from Egypt (30-40 years old), came to Hamburg in 2017 and found an apartment with the help of an Egyptian friend. He lives on the edge of the city of Hamburg, in Norderstedt, a city in Schleswig-Holstein where he sells cars from a warehouse. Because of his work, he has been in many neighbourhoods to buy and sell cars. St. Georg is part of his commute and so he buys groceries, meet friends or goes to the mosque. Participation in two mosques is important to him and he finds it interesting to see other Muslim communities. Although he regularly comes to St. Georg, his favourite place is the riverfront and

the shopping centre in the city centre, where he attends a German language course.

A young Syrian woman between 25-30 years who fled Aleppo where she studied pharmacy. She found her first apartment through an online platform and the second one where she lives with her siblings via the Youth Welfare Office. Due to her language skills she found a job in an oriental minimarket in St. Georg, where she works to save some money for future studies. Compared to other interviewees, she does not like the ethnic street life and prefers to be part of the Kampnagel theatre, go to bars with German students or attend private book clubs.

All interviewees are connected to the ethnic street life by their ethnicity and visit St. Georg regularly even though they do not live in the neighborhood. It is remarkable that none of the three respondents considers St. Georg their favorite place, but all considered it important for their everyday lives. The visits result solely from a need to attend mass, meet friends or for running an errand.



- cameras
- 👮 police patrol
- 🗑️ trash in the street
- WC public toilet
- 🚚 traffic problems due to delivery
- 👥 group of men
- 👤 people trying to sit without seating
- 👤 recruitment Jehovah's Witnesses
- 👤 homeless people
- 👤 people packing groceries on the street
- 👤 prostitutes waiting for clients

Streetlife and observations

The ethnic street has side effects, such as conflicts and other problems that are manifested in the open space. As soon as these problems become visible to the inhabitants, conflicts arise. figure 73 shows observations made in open space that were striking and tied to the ethnic street life and its economy.

The arrival city has become a meeting point for people with migration background from the entire metropolitan area, especially men. Large groups of men gather in streets, in front of shops or on Hansa square, for drinking or networking. Inhabitants and women feel threatened by these, often drunk and loud groups. Next door, prostitutes are waiting in hotel entrances for clients, always on the lookout for the next police patrol. The police recently set up cameras on the Hansa square to be informed of any disturbances on the square. To prevent men from urinating on the street, the municipality established two public toilets. However, the lockable one is used for prostitution or as a place to sleep.

Many visitors waiting in the area, try to sit down on any available facility. Since there is no seating on any of the squares and streets, bollards and bike racks serve as seating instead. As mentioned before, this part of St.Georg is a place for 'lost souls', which is why beggars sit in streets and corners. On busy days, Jehovah's Witnesses try to recruit some of these 'lost souls' or offer a new community to newcomers.

As a result of the small shop units, the stores have almost no storage space. The deliveries take place

from the front and create traffic problems and confusion on the sidewalk. A large amount of trash from these deliveries often stays on the street. All these observations are linked to the trading down effect of the area and affect the image of the ethnic economy.

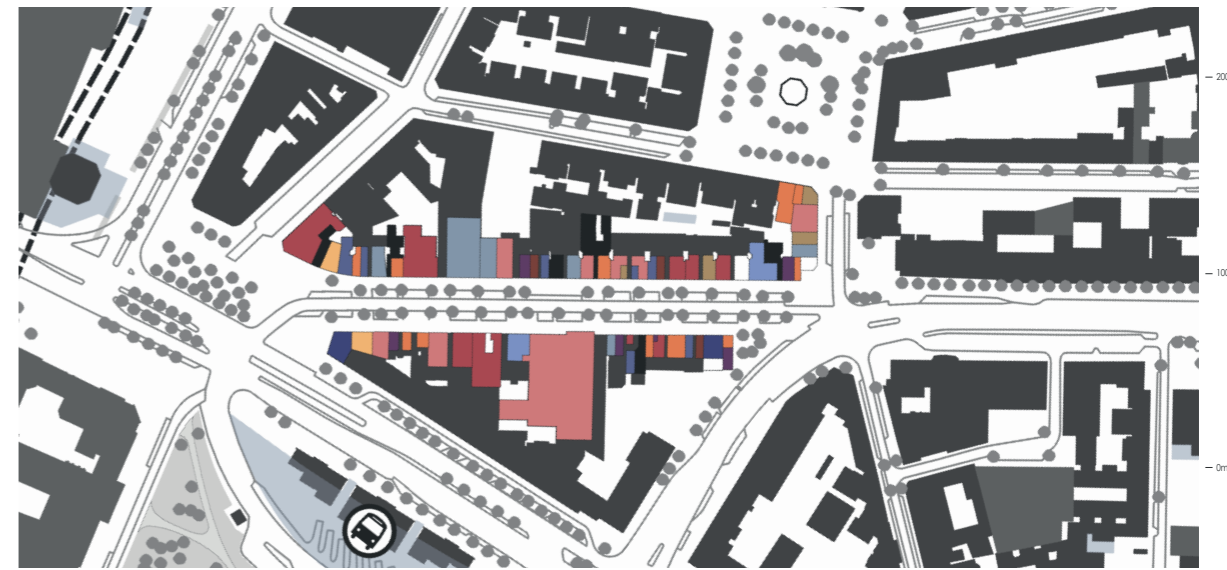
ETHNIC ECONOMY

The ethnic economy is an important part of the arrival city, as it is the centre of interactions between shop owners and customers (Hall, 2010). Simultaneously it portrays the connection between home and destination country.

Within the metropolitan region, the ethnic street contributes to the differentiation of the economy, as it is a niche market. The central location enables a high density of shops and a further differentiation within the ethnic street. In the last decades, several organizations have dealt with the 'Steindamm' such as the IG Steindamm, an interest group of shop owners and politicians. The IG Steindamm wants to improve the area and open it for inhabitants and visitors.

The shops on Steindamm street are regularly distributed according to their function (figure 74). The map was drawn according to personal knowledge and the evaluation of the shop fronts, the inner floor plan is based on exemplary buildings.

The high street is mainly in the hands of Arab and Turkish shop owners, while the corner to Hansaplatz is managed by Indian and Pakistani



- Supermarkets
- Gaming halls
- Bank
- Electronics
- Imbis or restaurant
- Stores
- Jeweller
- Hairdresser
- Kiosk
- Sex shop
- Pharmacy

figure 74 • Map of the first part of Steindamm high street showing the shop functions in small shop units, map drawn by author

businesses. The small shop units are often subdivided and share the building with cheap hotels. Because of the narrow front and the lack of access to the back yard, logistics is a challenge. Most stores are forced to deliver goods on the sidewalk between their clients.

For some years now there has been a large supermarket in the middle of the street, which competes with the local supermarkets and kiosks. The supermarket attracts even more drinkers, since it is the only cheap discounter that sells alcohol in the area.

The following photo story gives an impression of the shops and the implications of ethnic street life. The collection of shop fronts intends to show the high competition for the attention of the small shop fronts and the degree of inside-outside activity. The following text describes the observations made on networking and street life. The second photo collection shows a set of implications of the ethnic street that cause conflicts with inhabitants and other businesses.

Interviews

The interviews with shop owners in St.Georg were difficult to undertake. Potential interviewees referred to illegal activities in the neighbourhood and did not want to get in trouble. Some shop owners in the side streets did neither speak English or German and could not answer questions.

An Indian fashion store located on Hansa square

for 15 years was willing to answer some questions. The shop owners were not available, and a young Indian woman tried to answer questions instead. The family business was founded without any previous knowledge or education in marketing, sales, etc. The Indian couple chose to open the shop in St.Georg due to the central location without any help of other businesses. Until this moment, there is no advertisement apart from word-of-mouth advertising in Indian communities. The business suffers from the loss of clients through online trade and the decrease of inhabitants in the area, which is why they hired the young Indian woman. She studied business and should help the owners to change their business strategy.

The interview and informal conversations have shown that especially the shops on the side streets are struggling. They suffer from losing clients and do often not have the skills to improve their situation on their own. The existence of some shops is based on the exploitation of family members.

legal-political dimension

The neighbourhood St.Georg is part of the central district of Hamburg and therefore administered by the 'Bezirksamt Hamburg-Mitte'. The neighbourhood has its own 'Stadtteilbeirat', a council that represents the local needs and is a combination of inhabitants, professionals and representatives of associations. Since a few years, the Stadtteilbeirat is located in the 'Büro-Vor-Ort' on Hansaplatz. This council holds monthly meetings to discuss the current matters.

St.Georg has been part of several redevelopment programs in the last years, such as the national program 'Soziale Stadt' and the municipal program 'Integrierte Stadtteilentwicklung'. The main neighbourhood development concept 'St. Georg Mitte' includes two renovation zones and several action fields. The concept was developed in participation with inhabitants, actors, house owners and investors.

Development concept St.Georg Mitte

The main aim of this program (figure 79) was to agree on action fields that can then be transferred into workgroups. The main action fields were:

- local economy
- open space, squares and paths
- Housing and living environment
- social and cultural infrastructure
- image, active neighbourhood life and integration
- safety and traffic

Within the last 10 years, the development concept has only been partially applied. The area around the schools, backyards and the 'Lohmühlenpark' was realized, while the traffic problems in the South have not yet been solved. This project can therefore be seen as an alternative continuation of the existing development concept.

St.Georg S2

As early as 1995, the area around Böckmannstraße was considered part of the city's and national program of renewal.

St.Georg already showed the first signs of the gentrification of its inhabitants and a poor condition of the built and urban structure. Prostitution in the area has increased. The original goal of the renovation was to improve the position of the neighbourhood as a housing and office location (Bezirksamt Hamburg Mitte, 2008). The plan (figure 80) provides areas for housing renovation and development as well as public space renewal. To date, only a few of these elements were realized, and some projects are still ongoing. The new buildings in the Steindamm area are being developed in small shop units and successfully taken over by migrant businesses.

Political tools

The district developed some of the new building complexes as part of a public-private partnership and was thus able to ensure a rent control for trainee apartments. In order to counteract gentrification, a maintenance regulation ('Soziale Erhaltungsverordnung') was introduced in 2012, which implies the limitation of luxury renovations, changes in use and the sale of buildings or apartments.

Further on, the district tries to involve the predominant interest groups in the development. IG Steindamm, an interest group for the high street Steindamm, is a collaboration of large and small businesses with the common interest in improving the high street.

Since a few years, there are micro funds ('Verfügungsfonds') that can be used by different groups for public events or small projects. However, the protocols of the 'Stadtteilbeirat' reveal, that these funds are not used in the same



figure 75 • Map emphasizing conflicts and intersections, map by author

figure 76 • local office that supports communities and organizes participation



figure 77 • daily police patrol in front of the prostitution hotspots, photo taken by author



figure 78 • Flyers of police control (right) and initiative against police control (left), photo taken by author



way by ethnic organizations or inhabitants with migration background.

Conflicts and actions

The opinions of inhabitants and actors on how to deal with the conflicts on Hansa square are varying (Bezirksamt Hamburg Mitte, 2011). Interviews showed that residents have little understanding of the ethnic street and its effects. As a first action, the police set up cameras on the square to be up to date if any disturbances happen and problems occur (figure 76 and figure 77). Another interest group tries to act against that, calling it a violation of rights (figure 78).

Similar reactions can be found concerning the prostitution conflict. The majority of participating inhabitants wants to 'get rid' of the prostitution to make the neighbourhood a safer place, while some institutions perceive this as 'racism and discrimination of the middle class' (www.feministisches-rechtsinstitut.de).

Overall, the legal-political dimension shows positive tendencies, such as growing participation and empowerment of actors as well as attempts to limit gentrification processes. Nevertheless, discriminatory effects are visible. The police and inhabitants are actively taking measures against poorer groups and try to 'get rid' of them. The involvement of these group in criminal activities makes it easy for inhabitants to take actions.

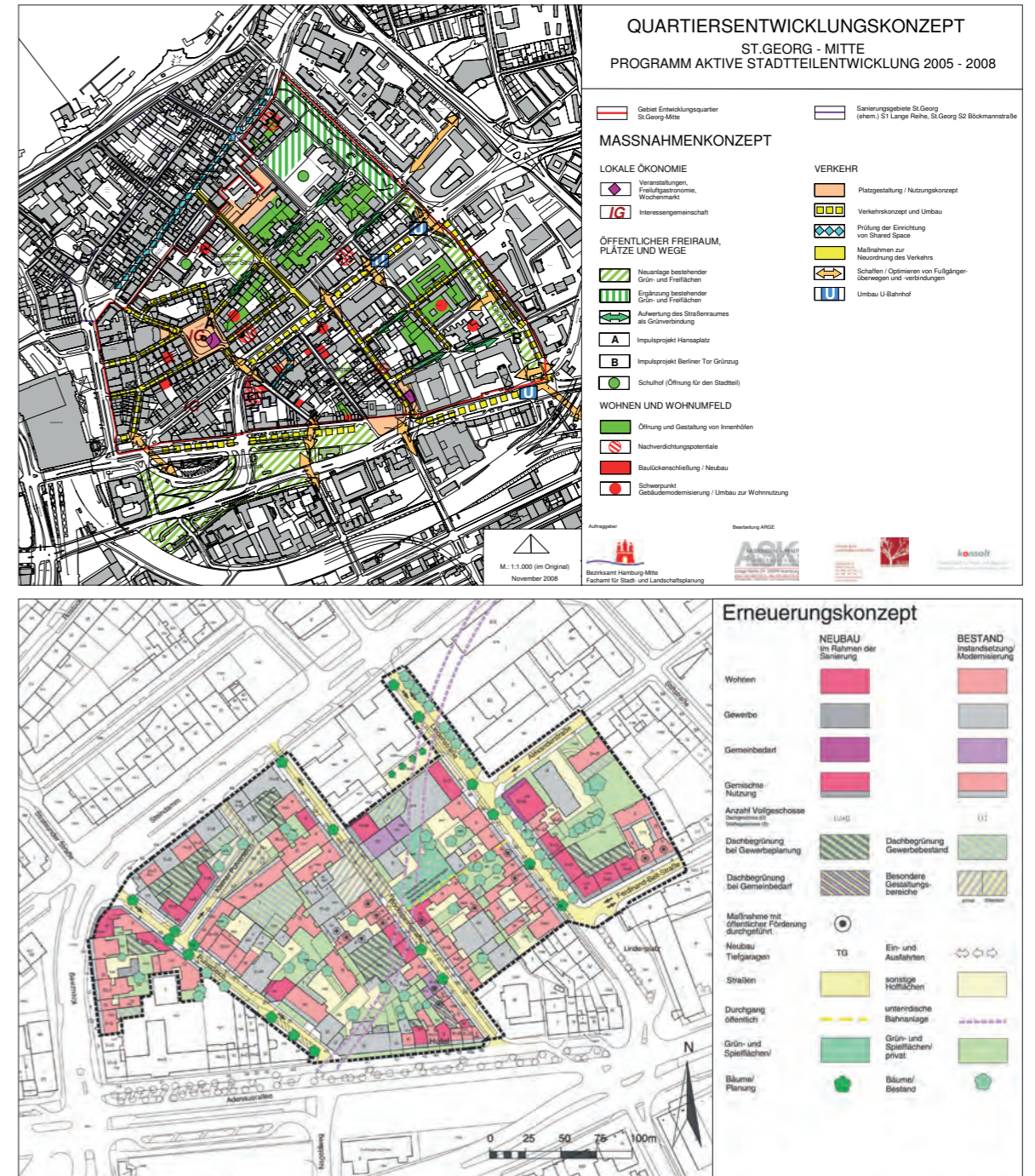


figure 79 • Development concept St.Georg Mitte, source: Bezirksamt Mitte
figure 80 • Project St.Georg S2, source: Bezirksamt Mitte

cultural-religious dimension

figure 81 • Upper photo showing the Central Mosque, lower photo shows Pak-Islami Merkez Mosque, photo by author

Religion and culture are central to the integration of newcomers. In the case of St.Georg, the formation of the Central Mosque has caused the development of the arrival city. The multicultural composition of St.Georg is expressed by numerous cultural, social and religious organizations.

Predominant religions

The main predominant religions are Christianity and Islam. In addition to the two main churches, Mariendom and St.Georg Church, there are several other, well-known Christian organizations in St.Georg. Around a quarter of all mosques in Hamburg can be found in St.Georg. The Central Mosque and the Muhajirin Mosque have the most public appearance and can therefore be compared to the two main Christian churches.

Religious representation

St.Georg offers religious services for many different interest groups. Nevertheless, only the two main churches are really visible and represented in open space. Many mosques are hidden in old office buildings or even cellars. Only the Central Mosque tries to communicate via minarets and murals (figure 81). The institutions organize open days and events in order to educate inhabitants about the Muslim traditions and believe. Both institutions cooperate with many other actors to promote diversity, fairness and tolerance (Geffers et al., 2014).

Some institutions participate in important intercultural discussions or research on the topic.

Radicalization

The radicalization of Islamic groups has been a huge problem in St.Georg for several years. Members of some Islamic communities have been

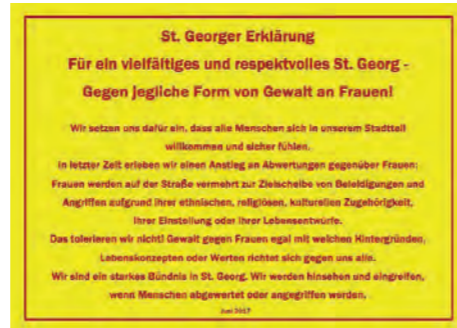


figure 82 • Declaration for a diverse and respectful St.Georg, source: www.vielfalt-stgeorg.de

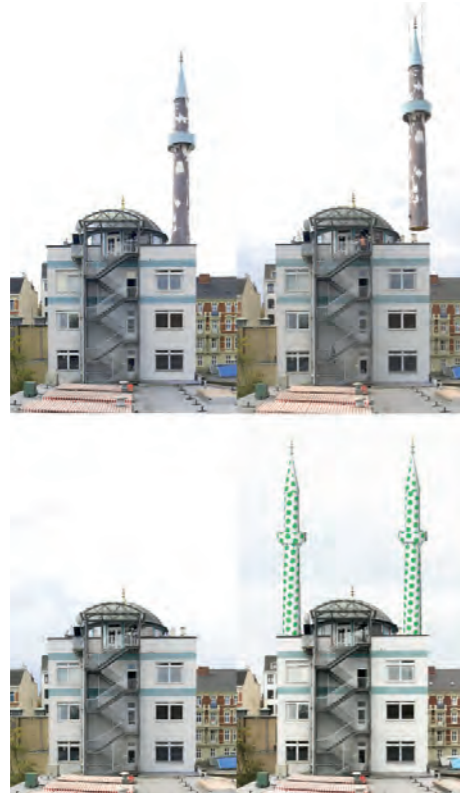


figure 83 • Map emphasizing conflicts and intersections, map by author

figure 84• Poster and photo of the Ramadan Pavilion, source: hh-rp.de, almanar-hamburg.de



figure 85• Transformation of minarets, Centrum Mosque, source: www.minare.de



connected to attacks, hate crimes and war. The crime investigation was forced to close several mosques in the area. Since then, organizations offer prevention courses and counseling and the police runs a prevention program for radicalization.

Culture

St.Georg has organizations that generate cultural programs and cultural confrontations with the neighbourhood. The 'Geschichtswerkstatt', 'Kulturladen' gives tours and organizes small community events. The museum and theatre are involved in children programs and events. Since a few years, the Muhajirin Mosque along with several religious and cultural organizations organizes the 'Ramadan Pavilion' on the Spadenteich Square in St.Georg (figure 84). The main purpose is to open an inter-religious dialogue and give cultural insights, similar to the 'Kirchentag' which is a common open event of catholic churches in Germany. The visitors listen to discussions, music and have workshops until the dawn, when food is served. The event is strengthening the relationships between the institutions and individuals at the same time. As the event is held on a public square, the organisers also promote the use of public space. Apart from a religious dialogue, the event serves to discuss discrimination against ethnicities and gender as well as difficulties of arrival and integration. The 'Ramadan Pavilion' is an excellent example of an inclusive, community-based initiative.

Through SCHORSCH, the children and youth centre, Christian and Muslim organizations invite their communities to trips and excursions. The main organizations have created an action plan for cultural, social and religious exchange with the motto 'Diverse St.Georg and Borgfelde'. With shared resources and municipal support, the action plan became an important element of St.Georg.

Cultural opening

The cultural opening of the institutions of newcomers and the receiving society is an important step towards integration. The main religious and cultural organizations in St.Georg are a leading example of this process. Thanks to the central location of St.Georg, the institutions have large communities and are supported by the central district office. While the institutions are opening up, the ethnic street is still perceived as inaccessible for national born inhabitants.



photo of a shop in Steindamm, photo taken by author

SOCIAL CLUSTER INTERSECTIONS

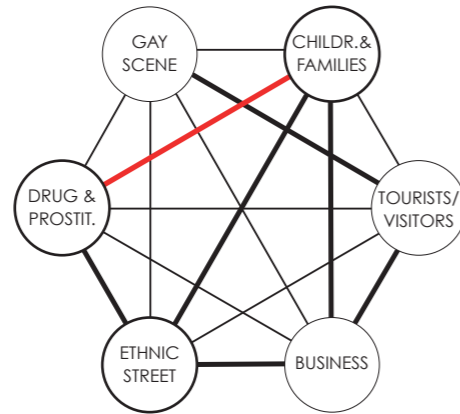


figure 86 • Scheme of social cluster relations in St. Georg, by author

The categorization of the social clusters was based on their needs, interests and the use of space. However, there are numerous relationships and dependencies as well as some conflicts between them (figure 87). Some of the predominant social clusters in St. Georg have close relationships, while others live side by side. Potential conflicts of interest between the clusters relate to the transformation of the neighbourhood.

SYNERGIES

Synergies, so relationships or collaborations between the social clusters, are a matter of time and/or regularity. Only functions that enable interactions between users can potentially be integrators. The more time people spend in these places, the more likely they are to interact.

Ethnic street - business area

Since the ethnic street is also a business area, the two clusters, ethnic street and business area have interrelationships and fluid transitions. Business people take advantage of the lunch options on 'Steindamm' street. During working days, the cantina of the Central Mosque is full of business people. However, these two clusters are also competing for space and interests on the high street.

Ethnic street - drug & prostitution

The prostitution as part of the trading-down effects, allowed ethnic shops to settle down due to low rents. Prostitution, which is dominated by Eastern Europeans, is in a way part of the city of arrival and a different way of generating money in a new country. In terms of social connections, the prostitution and drug scene overlaps with local bars and hotels.

Ethnic street - children & families

Many of the children and families living in

St. Georg have a migration background, some of them owning family businesses. Schools also attract students through bilingual programs, and many children find their way to mosques and organizations related to the ethnic street.

Business area - children & families

The schools and kindergartens in the area are not only used by the inhabitants. People who work in the area take their children to kindergartens nearby. The hospital even has its own kindergarten.

Business area - tourists/visitors

The main intersection between the business district and the tourists/visitors are the hotels. Large hotels have been built near businesses for several years.

Gay scene - tourists/visitors

St. Georg is famous for the gay scene and the bars and restaurants on the high street 'Lange Reihe' and the reason for many tourists to visit the neighbourhood.

CONFLICTS

Conflicts between the social clusters in the area are rare considering the heterogeneity of inhabitants and visitors. However, there are conflicts regarding the transformation of the area, the radicalization of religious groups as well as about drugs and prostitution.

Drug & prostitution - children & families

The largest conflicts in the area arise from the tension between inhabitants with families and prostitution. Inhabitants strongly demand to fight prostitution in order to have a safer environment for their children. This includes the complaints about the prostitutes themselves, their clients and sometimes even organizations.

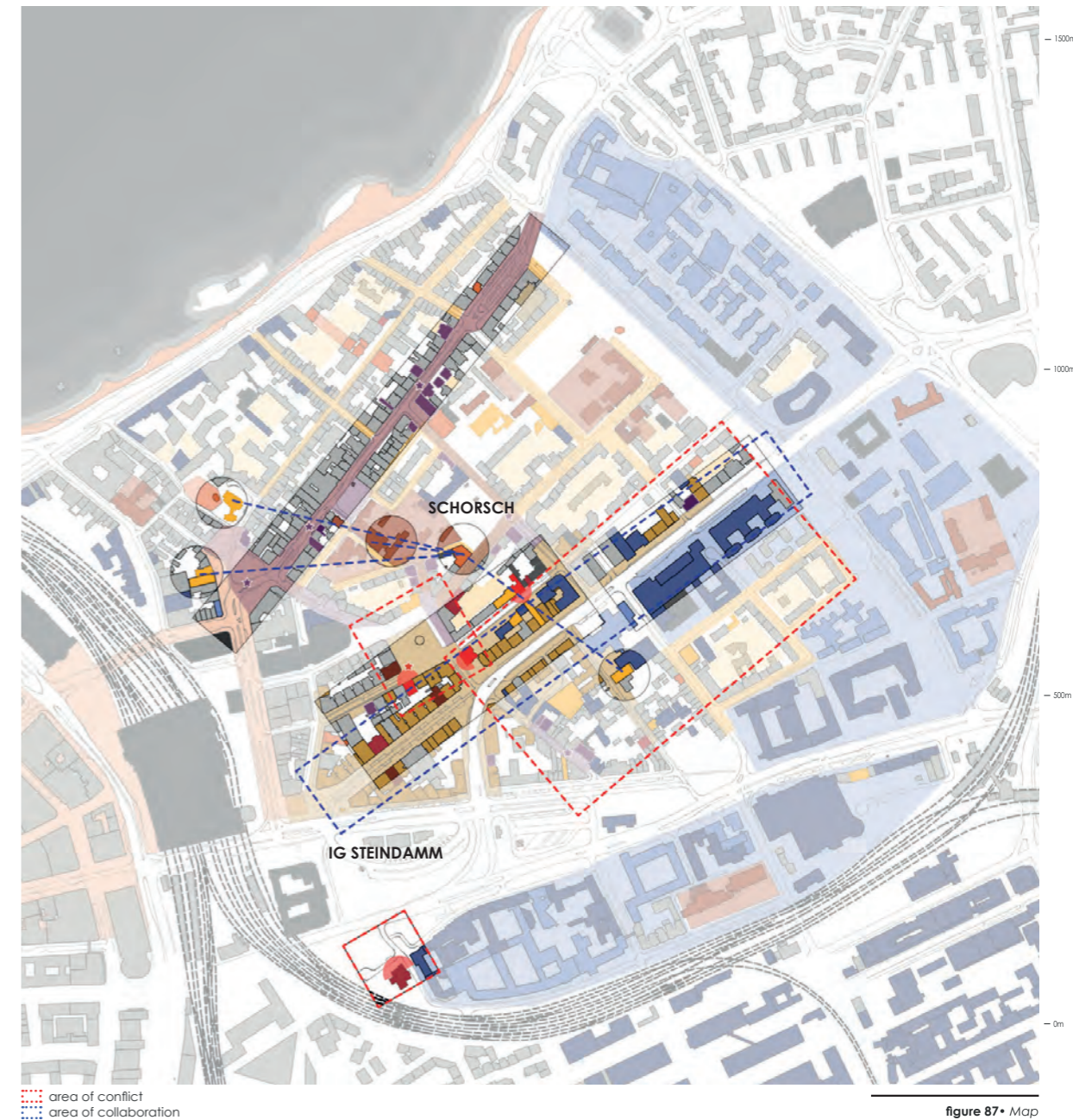


figure 87 • Map emphasizing conflicts and intersections, map by author

CASE STUDYING ARRIVAL CITIES

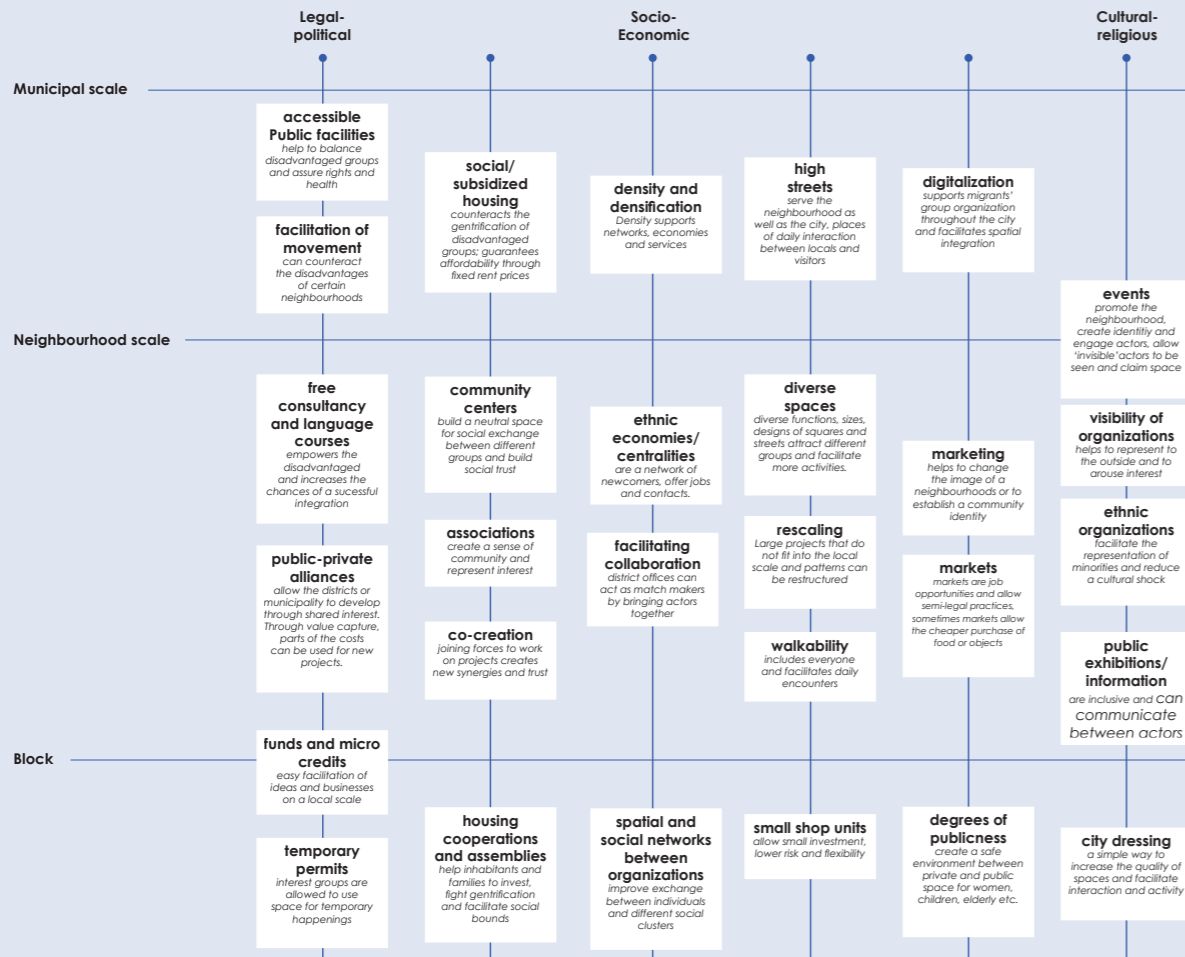


figure 88 • Multi-dimensional and multi-scalar matrix of opportunity structures developed by author

The previous analysis is a snapshot of the current situation. However, there are long-term processes behind the changes in St.Georg.

Gentrification

As already mentioned in former paragraphs, the process of gentrification caused the displacement of numerous groups and changed the demographic composition of the neighbourhood radically. The housing prices rose immensely due to the growing attractivity of St.Georg and renovations. Mainly families, elderly and structural disadvantaged were pushed out of the area. Statistics show a high migration balance in general, around one-third of the population changes yearly (Bezirksamt Hamburg Mitte, 2011). Especially families and migrants are forced to leave and replaced by male-dominant single households (ibid.).

The competition among shops in high streets is

rising and changed the Steindamm quickly. The shop becomes more elegant, advanced in marketing or target a higher class of clients. By now, the arrival city has almost pushed out all former corners bar and shops of the locals. Some ethnic shops have grown to chains and even own several shops in the street.

Another factor that causes gentrification is the hotels, which increased lately. Especially smaller hotels have difficulties to compete with the new, large chain hotels (Bezirksamt Hamburg Mitte, 2008).

Social engagement

The social engagement in the area is high and since a few years, very successful in connecting institutions and groups. St.Georg has many institutions of various sizes that serve the metropolitan area, partnerships and cooperations are growing each year. Almost all larger institutions

declare diversity and integration as their main goals.

Digitalization

Digitalization improves the network of newcomers in the destination country. Interviews have shown that the asylum seekers and other newcomers immediately connect to the local networks and find their points of interest online. Therefore, digitalization somehow counteracts the gentrification process, in which the newcomers are pushed out of the city. St.Georg is a great example of these processes, as it is an arrival city without inhabitants. Newcomers from all over the metropolitan area come to make business in St.Georg with the help of fast communication.

Answering a research question: How do arrival cities work, and which spatial features are required for a functioning arrival city?

St.Georg is a very complex neighbourhood that is the living or working environment of many different interest groups. By now, St.Georg is home for important businesses, the gay scene, families and the ethnic street. Each social cluster dominates different spaces, although the visibility in open space is decent.

The built environment, such as streets and blocks support the vitality by a high variety of functions and a horizontal mix. The social composition reflects this diversity. Noticeable tensions lie within the local-metropolitan importance of St.Georg and the fact that some groups are not familiar with others. Some groups are advanced in representation and engagement, which leads to inequalities in decision making. Especially woman and elderly are underrepresented in population and therefore do not have enough attention.

St.Georg as a central neighbourhood is linked to numerous opportunities. The history of the area creates a base of the dense urban tissue and social mix. The largest benefit of the arrival city is the high street Steindamm around which the ethnic street life circulates. The combination of businesses, organizations, inhabitants and public services makes the arrival cities in many ways a destination for visitors and ethnic inhabitants from other neighbourhoods. Spatial aspects that benefit the arrival city are the small shop units and the walkable street network, which allow visitors to come with public transport and do groceries within short distances.

The ethnic businesses developed into fast services

that differentiate the predominant economy.

Dynamics such as gentrification processes among businesses are common and space for new stores is limited.

Open space in the area is rare and the available space has low interactive qualities. There is a lack of activities and spaces that can be used to rest, play, talk etc. The variety of open space lacks only in the arrival city area. Visitors are mainly walking along the high street and do not explore the rest of the area. Open space could be redesigned for a range of activities.

In terms of integration the ethnic street serves more its community and does not attract other social clusters. Other social clusters are concerned by the safety in the area, the prostitution and the criminal activities. An opening of the area could help to turn it into a gate for both parties.

a. How does the process of arrival work?

Newcomers, that come to Hamburg now, will most likely move to an interim location in suburbs. When linked to the community or culture of the ethnic street on Steindamm, a newcomer may find his way to St.Georg for shopping, networking or community reasons. Apart from the needs that drive the newcomers to come to St.Georg, they might not consider it beautiful or 'a place to stay'. Friends and family networks form the first social connection and most men will quickly explore various neighbourhoods and locations while looking for jobs, visiting friends or running errands. Social networks have been proven of equal importance in finding an apartment or arranging needs.

b. How do migrant individuals, communities and organizations use space?

Individuals, communities and organizations use space very differently. The observed space in the ethnic street is used by individuals in a need-driven way. The high numbers of visitors make use of the infrastructure and functions, but do not engage with open space. Unlike other groups, the act of claiming space is rare. The high street is mainly frequented by men, especially at night. Women and children are mainly seen with family member or friends.

Communities in the area use space for representation and activities, along with their organizations. The organizations in St.Georg increased their collaboration in the last years, driven by development programs. Conflict management and event organization is part of these new networks.



V. Synthesis

PAVING THE WAY TOWARDS DESIGN

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The synthesis chapter serves to bridge the gap between analysis outcomes and design. It contains the formation of strategies via the SWOT and TOWS analysis and the concentration on focus groups. Most importantly, the chapter specifies on the design objectives for integration and elaborates further on the opportunity structures.

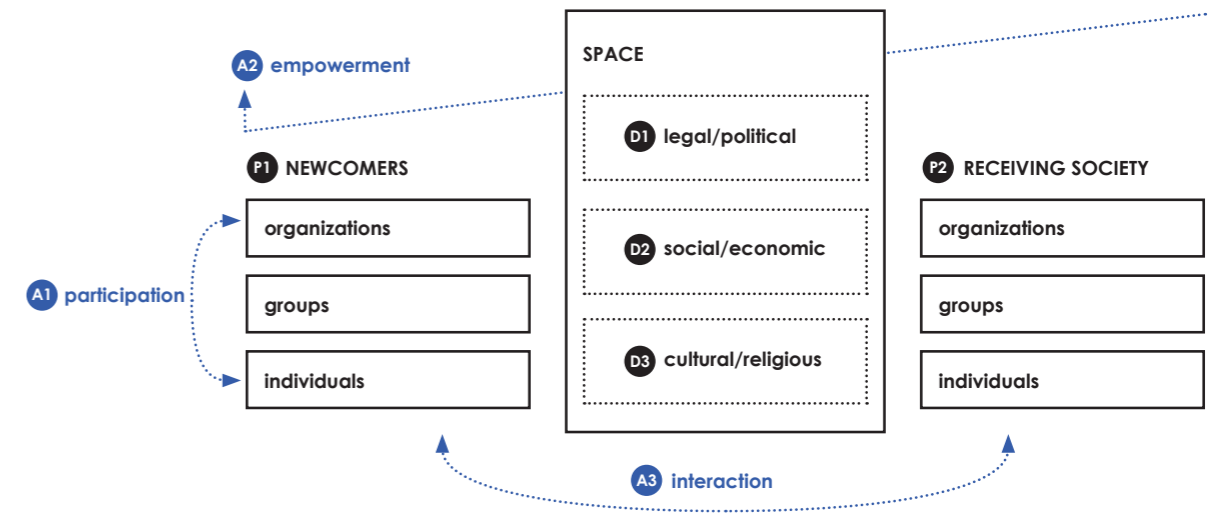
Integration assessment

In order to get a coherent image of how integration works in St.Georg, an integration assessment is carried out (see chapter research foundation) (figure 89). The knowledge used to assess the integration was obtained by reading reports by the district office (Bezirksamt Hamburg Mitte), desk research, fieldwork and interviews.

The definition of integration used in this project refers to the extend of interaction between newcomers and the receiving society. This requires firstly the participation of newcomers, secondly empowerment of these and thirdly interaction with the receiving society on all dimensions.

A1 Participation

Interviews with the organizations showed that newcomers immediately succeed to connect with other newcomer groups and organizations. Groups of family and friends are one of the first connection points. Because of the long history of (Turkish) Muslim communities, the exchange for Muslim newcomers works well. In addition, the ethnic street is very practical because one can network, do grocery shopping and attend the mess at the same time. Although the presence of newcomers within their organizations seems to work well, political participation is lacking. Expert interviewees have found that the presence of inhabitants with migration background for participatory neighborhood development meetings is extremely low.



A2 Empowerment

National and municipal organizations try to overcome basic cultural and language barriers of newcomers with integration and language courses. Apart from that, there are organizations, that empower e.g. women or youth for higher education or jobs. Especially since the refugee crisis, numerous organizations for refugee integration emerged, while other migrant groups (e.g. Eastern Europeans) are not addressed in government programs or by private organizations. In St.Georg, organizations of the receiving society generally promote empowerment and give practical courses on e.g. the formation of associations or businesses. The growing diversity of migration improves their empowerment since former migrants integrated successfully and create infrastructures for newcomers.

A3 Interaction

Informal interviewees showed little involvement in organizations or associations of the receiving society. St.Georg has a solid group of inhabitants that know the area well and are engaged in social projects. However, due to the high migration dynamic and heterogeneous social clusters, the social interaction of individuals from different clusters is low. The growing collaboration between newcomers' organizations and the receiving society -especially cultural-religious organizations- creates interaction through cultural projects. Events such as the Ramadan Pavilion in particular manage to cover the exchange and interaction in all dimensions.

The relation to space

Since the focus of development in recent decades has been on social development, the spatial perspective has hardly changed. Instead, the area is characterized by metropolitan transition processes. The potential of space as an inclusive medium for placemaking and community building has not yet been exhausted. The following paragraph will give insight into the spatial potential and possible design strategies.

figure 89 • concept of Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2016, drawn and adjusted by author

Focus groups

The most vulnerable groups in the area are families and children as well as the ethnic street. The ethnic street is an important element of integration and arrival. The ongoing dynamics in the neighbourhood raise concerns about the future of the ethnic street. The second social cluster that is heavily affected by gentrification, is families and children. The disadvantaged area in the south of the neighbourhood shows high migration dynamic of families, single parents and state support. In order to maintain social stability and empower women, children and families are the second target group for this project. The two groups overlap due to children with migration background in the area and ethnic family businesses.

CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

The social analysis has shown that high family outflux and the growing number of single households are the results of gentrification processes. St.Georg is suffering from rising rental prices and a lack of family-friendly environment. Families are important for the social cohesion of a neighbourhood. Designing for families means to design for children. Neighbourhood statistics have shown that St.Georg still has a respectable amount of children with migration background, therefore this focus group overlaps with the focus on arrival cities.

Child-friendly design

Child-friendly areas are considered places “where children’s rights to a healthy, caring, protective, educative, stimulating, non-dis-criminating, inclusive, culturally rich environment are addressed” (Riggio, 2002, p.45). This requires a balance between freedom and protecting children in their living environment. Safety and trust in the living environment oblige the parents to let their children explore a neighbourhood on their own. Children are given the freedom ‘to explore their community, which in turn provides safe, welcoming, and diverse settings for their preferred activities’ (Loebach & Gilliland, 2019).

A child’s destinations

A child-friendly environment offers various levels of independent outdoor activities (Loebach & Gilliland, 2019) where children can gather, meet friends or play. Common activities for children in a neighbourhood include walking to school, sport and leisure activities, friends’ places and commercial activities. Open spaces are either a destination, such as playgrounds, parks, etc. or an important facilitator of free movements, such as streets and squares. The connections of a child’s destinations should be well designed for a child’s mobility and safety.

ETHNIC SHOP OWNERS

Due to the low number of inhabitants with migration background, the project focuses on migrant businesses and shop owners. The ethnic shops are an important aspect of arrival cities and show the economic potential of newcomers. The analysis has shown that many problems in the area circulate around the ethnic shops and that the ethnic economy has different needs than the ‘Lange Reihe’ high street. Ethnic businesses are, like ethnic organizations, an extension to migrant communities. Important needs of this focus group are capital and support from families and friends for the foundation of a business, clients and optimal logistics as well as education and knowledge about the work. The area’s ethnic businesses range from very successful to very poor and many stores are forced to change their business strategy. Competition between the shops is challenging small businesses. Supporting shop owners through open spaces, networks and planning could help to improve the situation and create a greater surface for interaction.

Looking for opportunities

The synthesis chapter illustrates to process between analysis and design. The aim is to translate the outcomes of the previous analysis into indicators for the design. Since integration is a complex process, the project offers opportunities for a better integration and not (only) problem-solving. These opportunities allow the designer to exploit the whole potential of a site and to create an innovative design approach. Integration is an intransparent process that is hard to control. The design therefore aims at the facilitation of integration processes through spatial projects.

SWOT - TOWS analysis

The opportunity structures are a matrix of design elements in various scales and dimensions. A SWOT analysis is carried out in order to position the opportunity structures as design elements. The SWOT analysis is based on the general results, combined with a focus on children and families as well as shop owners. This combination ensures that general and group-specific problems can be addressed. The SWOT analysis is a table in which the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats

of a case are recorded. The SWOT not only gives an overview of these elements, but also facilitates the creation of strategies in a second step. The interplay of strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats helps to prioritize interventions in the design process.

The following layered mappings show the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats of St.Georg in six categories. The first three categories refer to the three dimensions of integration, while the following three categories show the spatial elements, networks, open space and architecture. Separating these categories helps in the second step, the TOWS analysis, to relate the three dimensions with the three spatial elements. This way, each of the strategies will have a spatial reference.



figure 90 • Photo of the Bremer Reihe, which will be designed as the new community street, photo by author

STRENGTHS

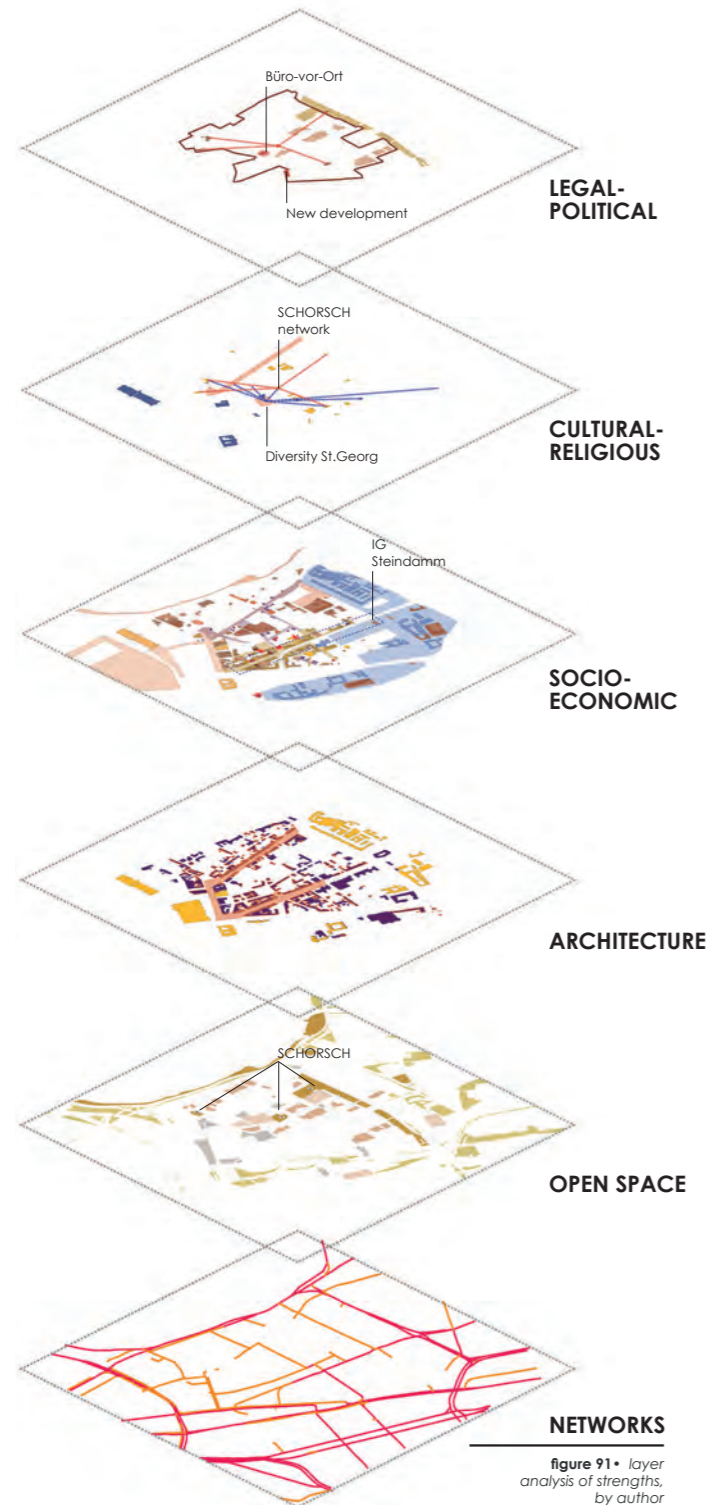


figure 91 • layer analysis of strengths, by author

The predominant metropolitan functions in St. Georg attract visitors, support local networks and thus improve St. Georg's status as a business location. The distribution of functions on two high streets results in a high diversity of small businesses and a lively street life that connects the metropolitan with the local. The previous two points and the architectural structure support the formation and success of the ethnic economy. Urban block structures promote social mix and flexibility via the small shop and office units. Open spaces of various types provide space to actors and inhabitants who are important social entities in the neighbourhood. Due to the central location and metropolitan influences, St. Georg is the centre of various social clusters each represented by organizations and a specific street life. The proximity of the groups and dependencies enable collaborations and interactions between individuals and organizations. Over the years, these interactions have become partnerships for social, cultural and religious concerns that promote diversity and community. The ethnic economy in particular benefits from the main streets with small shop units and existing infrastructure. The ethnic street has developed into a strong metropolitan asset and the strongest street activity in the area. A vital network of organizations, shops, agencies and actors forms the arrival city St. Georg. The central district has established a local bureau that supports organizations and holds participatory meetings on problems and development plans in the area. In recent years, the municipality transformed several backyards, created a public park, the integration and family centre as well as a regulation for the maintenance of residential structures. The neighbourhood community has raised awareness of local issues and mobilises actors, organizations and inhabitants to improve the area.

WEAKNESSES

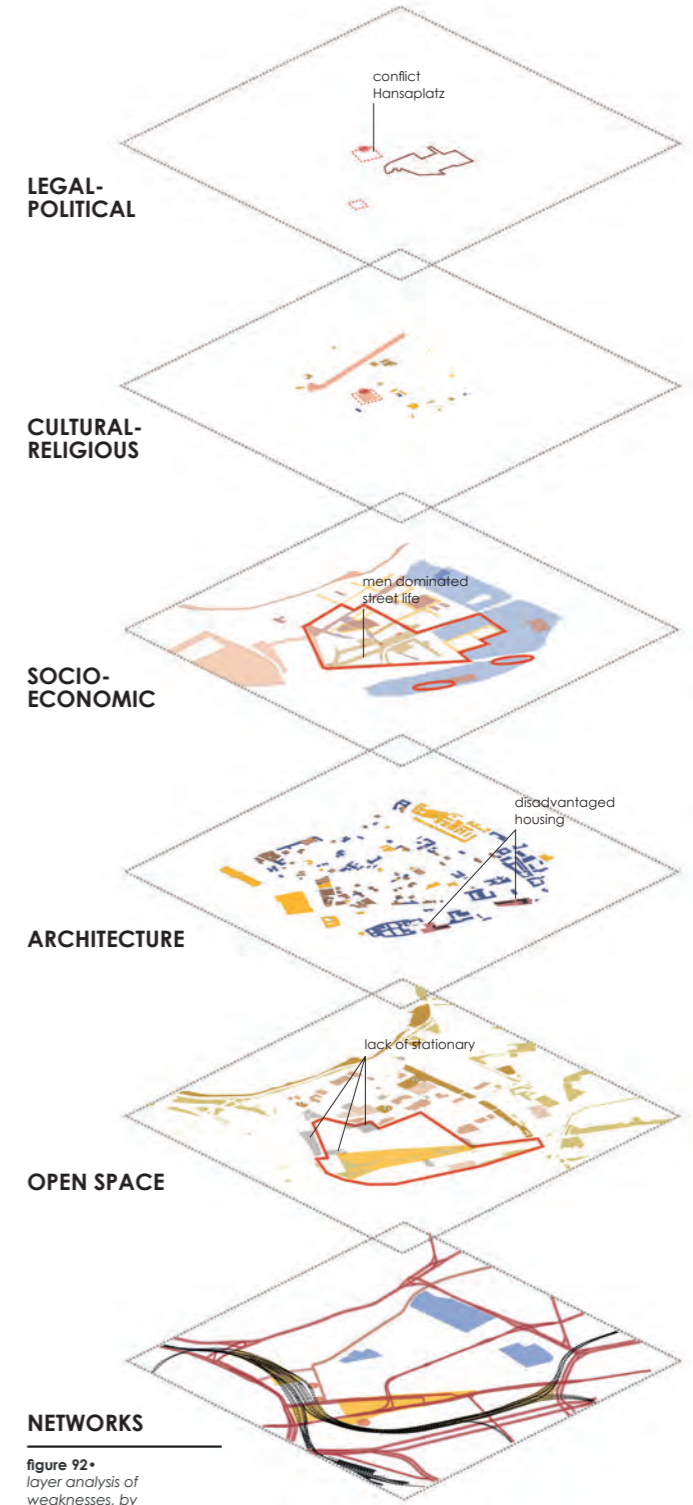


figure 92 • layer analysis of weaknesses, by author

The clear outline of St. Georg derives from the numerous border and barriers on the edges of the neighbourhood. Visual and physical barriers complicate the connection to the adjoining areas and impair the walkability. Large city traffic stretches across the project area, leaving large sections of the road that are difficult for children and the elderly to cross. This complicates the connection between the different social clusters. The municipality regards the infrastructural waste space between the side streets as a park, while there are no inviting green spaces in the southwest corner of the area. The planned development of private backyards has stopped in the ethnic realm and the prevailing spaces do not offer seating to interact or rest. While the center of the neighborhood has a high mix of functions, the monofunctional outer edges impair walkability and social interaction due to large glass facades and large monotonous building volumes. Some residential areas that lie between these developments have high migration rates and disadvantaged social statistics because they are separated from the rest of the quarter by open spaces and business centers. In the center, a variety of hotel developments threaten residents and small local businesses. St. Georg shows significant migration rates and high family outflux and large numbers of daily visitors. These dynamics challenge local participation and social networks. In addition, there is only a small space that is only used by inhabitants, since most spaces 'belong' to the different social clusters. Over years, the social clusters have developed parallelism of environments with only a few intersections. Each group is represented by organizations. When looking at the visual and public representation of organizations, the ethnic organizations were the least visible. Events of the ethnic community have only recently taken place on a square in St. Georg. Most of the events and representative actions are still concentrated in the north of St. Georg and are connected to the gay scene. Similar patterns can be found in political participation. Migrants and ethnic organizations are underrepresented in funding, event organisation and participation meetings. Bourgeois citizens often dominate discussions about social and planning issues in the neighborhood.

OPPORTUNITIES

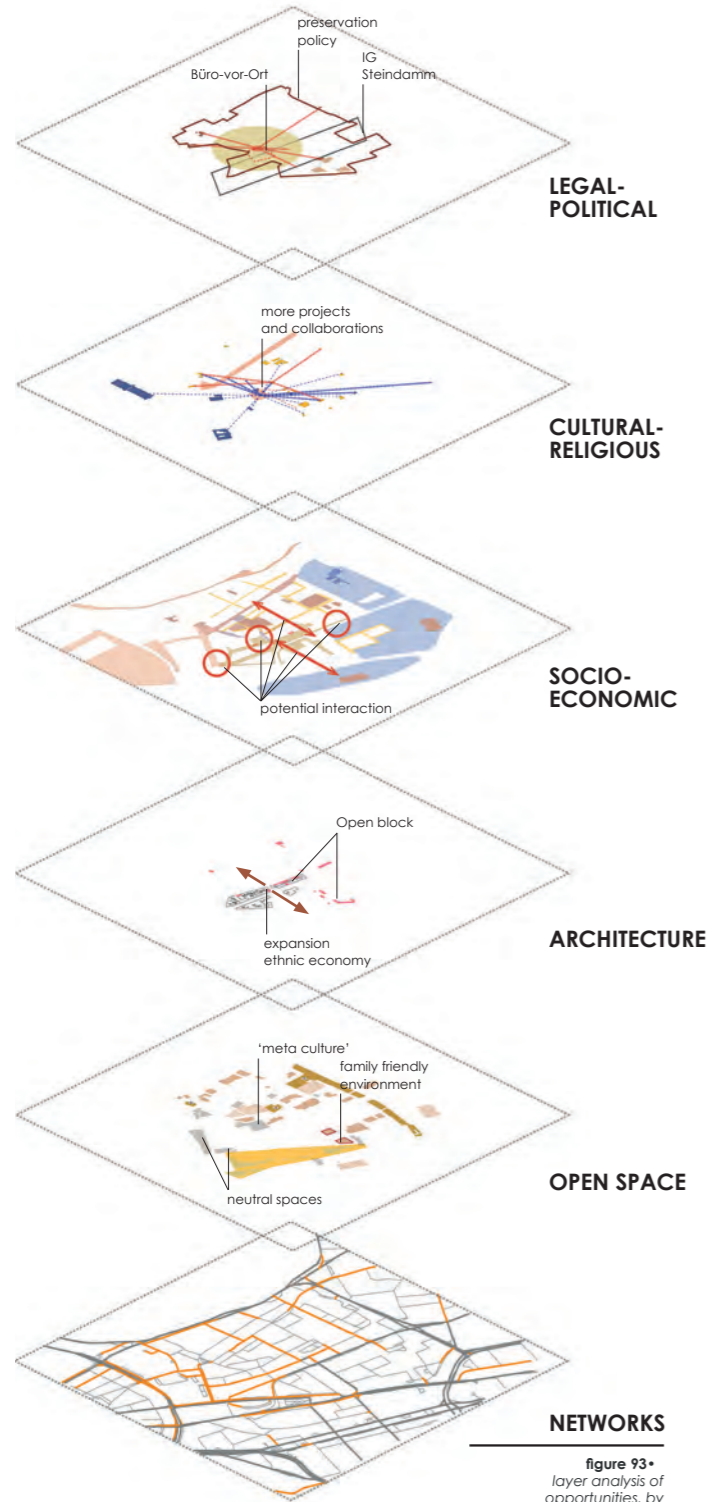


figure 93 • layer analysis of opportunities, by author

The greater chance of St. Georg is to become a leading model for integration processes. The central position of the neighbourhood enables businesses and organizations to grow and to market themselves. Recent collaboration between organizations gives an idea of how the integration process could be accelerated. The arrival city could become an experimental space for conflict management and multicultural placemaking. To develop St. Georg, one must include the local opportunities. The network analysis has shown that there are well-integrated streets within the network that could be important links between the social clusters. These streets are already important walking connections that could serve as alternatives to the busy main streets. A large opportunity for development is the infrastructural waste space, which could host important new functions and address the missing green space in the Southern area. The densification of the urban blocks with housing and ground floor functions could help to increase the population again. Due to the high density, there are only a few gaps within the existing blocks that could be renovated. In order to intensify the interaction between the social clusters, the edges of the cluster territories to the ethnic street serve as opportunity spaces. Linear streets between social clusters and squares could be redesigned to improve interaction. The neutral open spaces around the main station that are not dominated by a specific social cluster could serve to establish a new urban design that benefits all social cluster and their representation.

THREATS

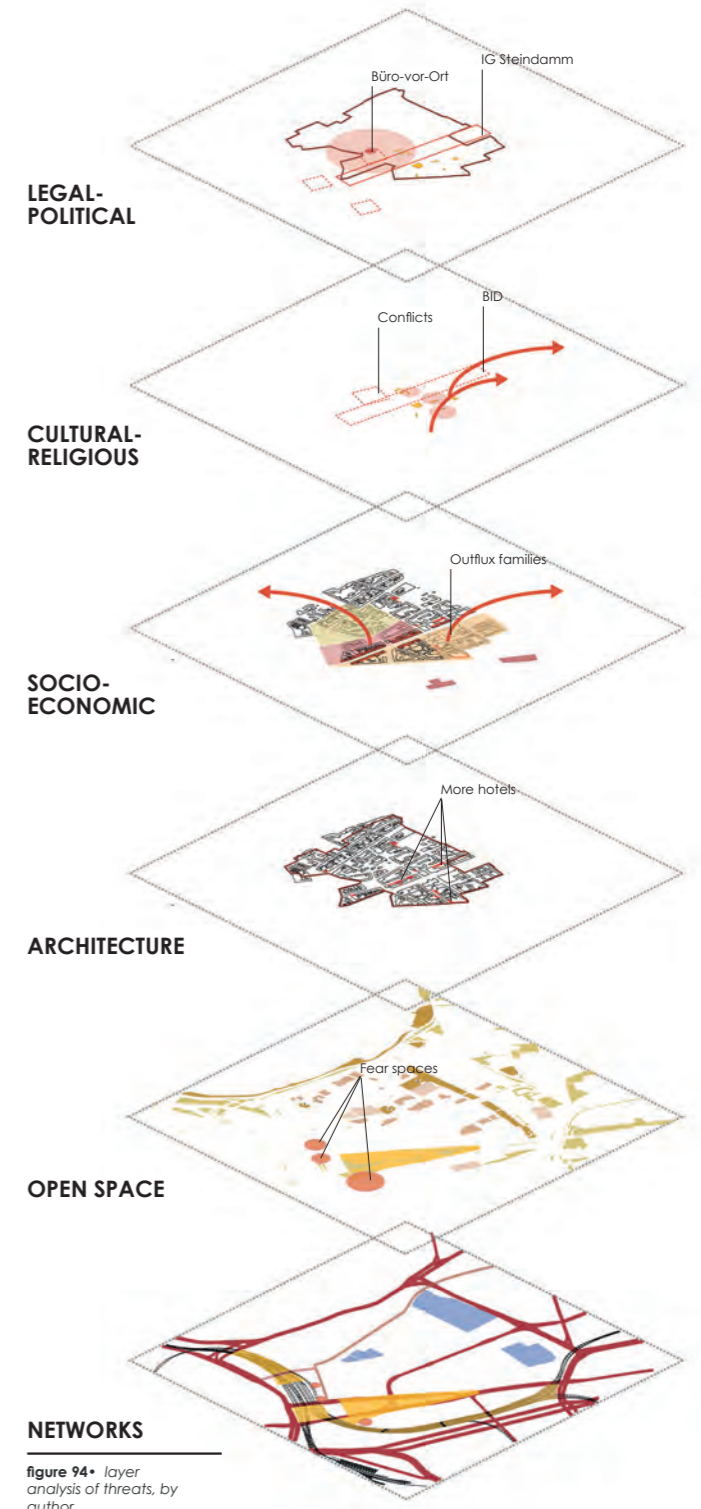


figure 94 • layer analysis of threats, by author

The major threats to which St. Georg is exposed are underlying the urban transition of the neighborhood. An even larger outflux of families and the further gentrification of organizations and businesses would lead to the repression of migrants to the suburbs. The loss of these central networks would be disastrous for the self-organization of the arrival city. In addition, St. Georg would lose a valuable part of its street culture and would most likely adapt to the city centre. A failure of the local maintenance regulation would mean the development of luxury apartments, hotels and companies. This leads to a further decline in residents and customers for local businesses. With the gentrification of the most important ethnic organizations into the suburbs, St. Georg loses the role of the metropolis as a city of arrival. The established organizations will no longer be able to assume their role as central integration institutions. The arrival city, which was set up by migrant communities as the center of their affairs, would dissolve. It would take a long time to create a comparable arrival area.

Strategy design

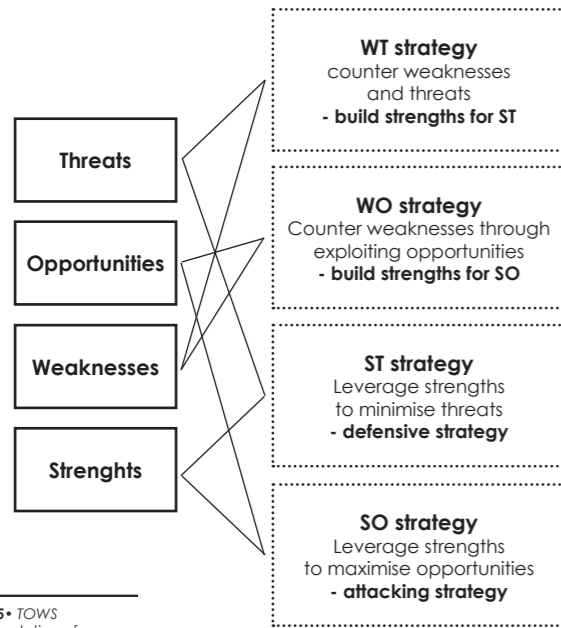


figure 95 • TOWS analysis, relation of internal and external elements, adjusted from source: business-to-you.com

The SWOT analysis serves as an instrument to summarize strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats without relating them to each other. The TOWS analysis therefore as a second step helps to point out interdependencies between the four elements. Four strategies result from maximising positive factors and minimizing weaknesses and threats. The four strategies contain different economic positions and solutions. figure 95 shows how the internal (strengths and weaknesses) and external factors (opportunities and threats) are related to each other to generate four alternative strategies. The strategies serve to prioritize interventions or find more economic solutions.

The first strategy, WT, which counteracts weaknesses and threats, serves to build values and new strengths before any other operation. This strategy is the minimum of what needs to be done to prevent further problems. This strategy is helpful because it serves as a base for other strategies.

The second strategy, WO, builds strengths for the attacking strategy and takes into account the weaknesses and opportunities in space. This strategy helps to understand how future opportunities can potentially overcome weaknesses.

The third strategy is the defensive strategy, which refers to the strengths in order to minimize threats. This strategy only fixes weaknesses that are lead to larger threats.

The fourth strategy, the attacking strategy, considers only the positive aspects and offers the most innovative solution. What is valuable about this strategy is that it shows the hidden possibilities.

All strategies offer a different perspective on the situation and help prioritize interventions (figure 96). The strategies have been translated into three strategic design networks, the Community street, the High street and Child network.

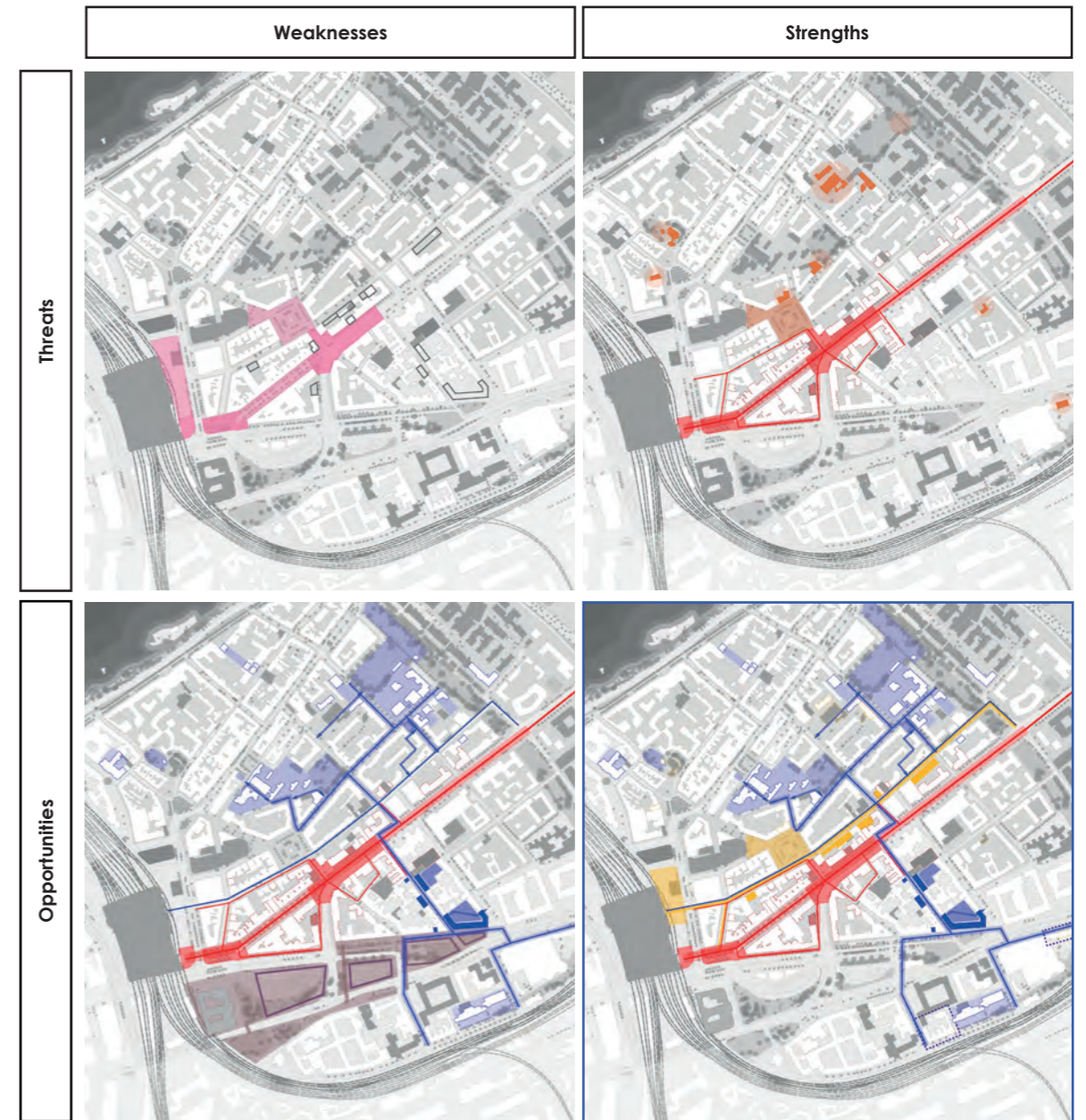
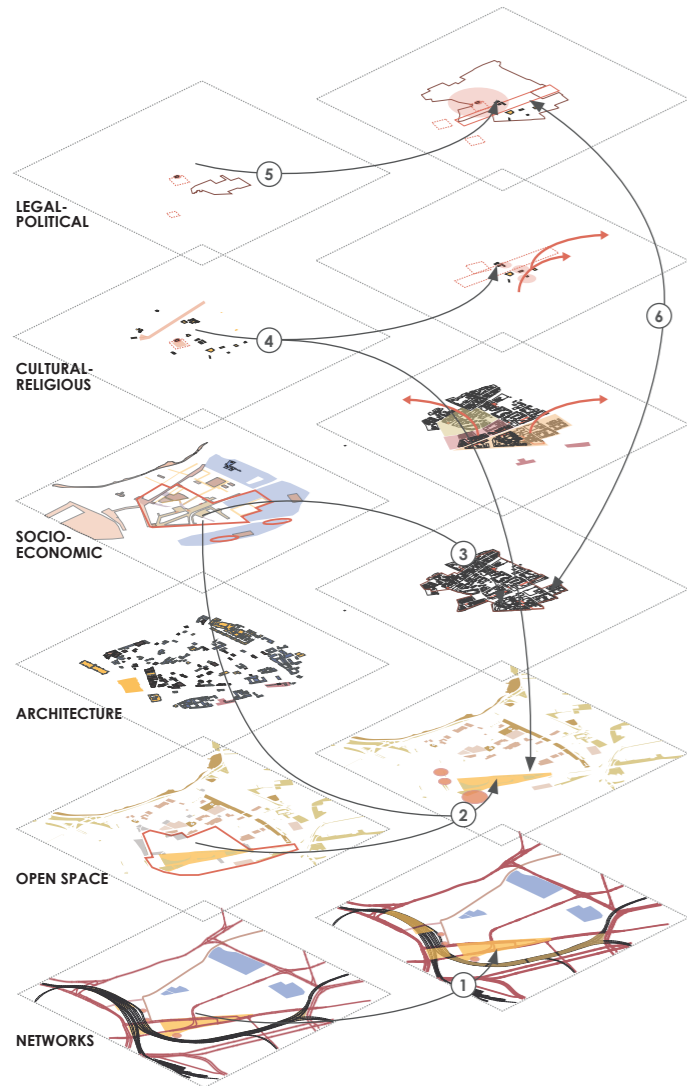


figure 96 • scheme showing the four strategies according to internal and external factors, by author

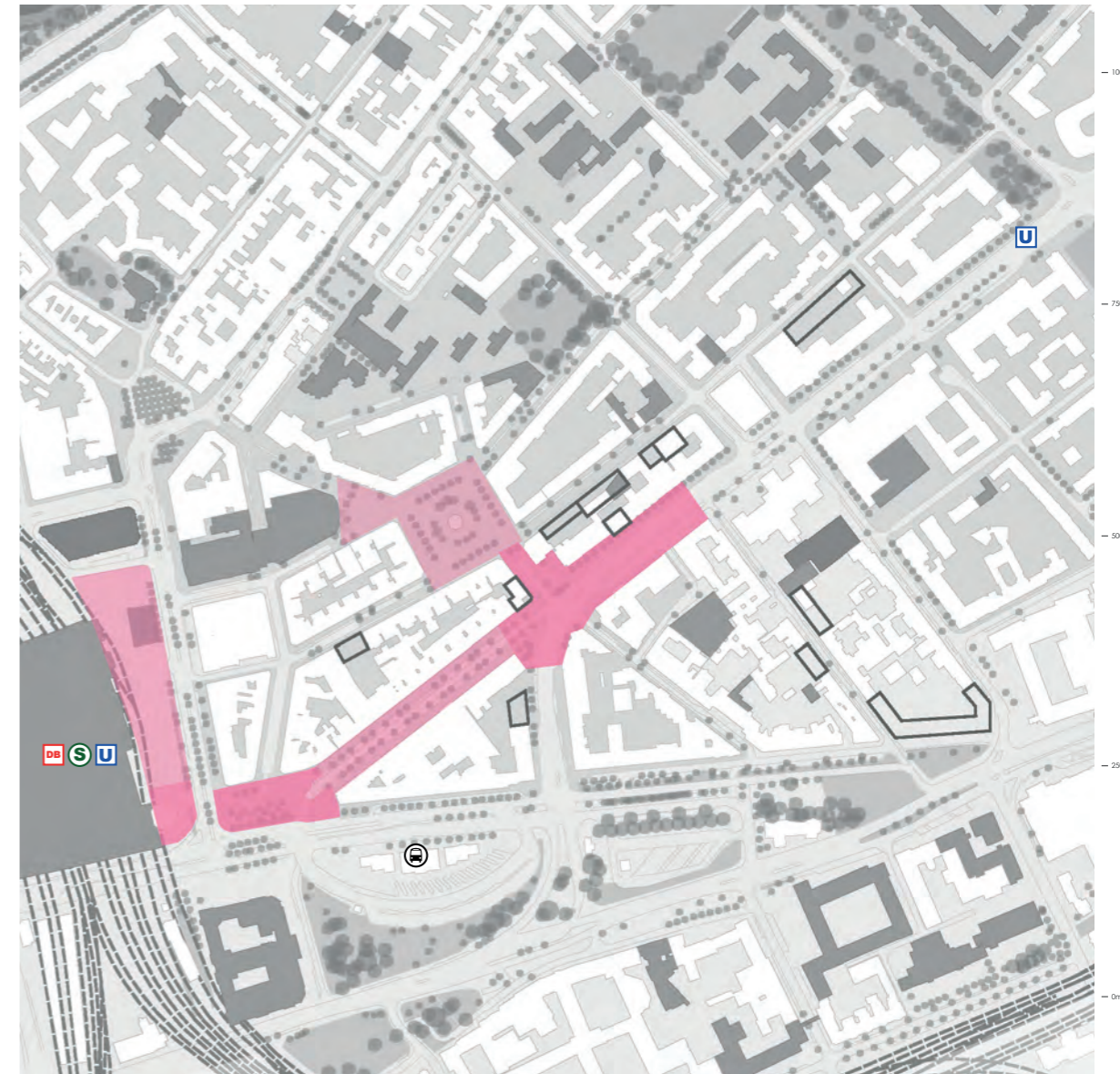
WT MINI-MINI



- Formation of the strategy
1. stagnation of networks
 2. improvements of problem zones through small interventions and control, to prevent more conflicts
 3. focus on organizations for woman, children and families to keep and attract more families, public-private partnerships to facilitate family housing
 4. facilitate more collaborations among actors, give knowledge and support, help representation in space
 5. engage migrants in new projects, and within collaborations
 6. limit development of hotels and increase the number of housing for new developments by rent control and maintenance regulation

figure 97 • cross-layer formation of WT strategy, by author

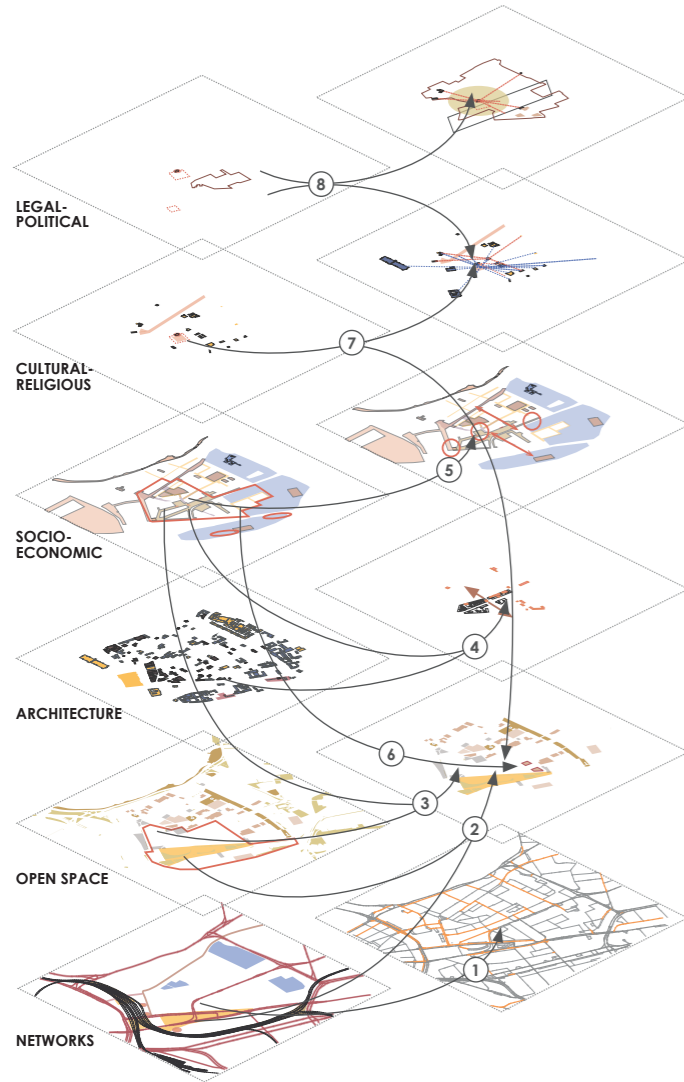
The first strategy proposes a direct approach, that focuses on overcoming weaknesses and preparing threats. This strategy uses a minimum of resources to prevent threats as good as possible. The spatial transformation as an expensive process is reduced to a minimum. Therefore, the networks are not developed with this strategy. A few safety and design measures should improve the open spaces, especially in the conflict areas. Police control and participatory discussions are intended to prevent further conflicts. To prevent gentrification, the municipality continues to use the maintenance regulation and rent control. Due to limited economic investment possibilities, this strategy aims to steer collaborations between actors and public-private partnerships. Workshops and group meetings are designed to help organizations to find funding, support and guidance. The defensive strategy WT tries to overcome weaknesses by empowering the actors and improving the street life. This strategy is roughly equivalent to what the municipality is currently doing. The clear priority of overcoming weaknesses leaves no room for added value in design. In this project, the WT strategy only serves to determine the minimum of measures, but not to generate an innovative urban design.



- focus on problematic open space
- densification of empty plots

figure 98 • WT strategy map, by author

WO MINI-MAXI



- Formation of the strategy
1. redesign crossings for increased walkability/safety and to connect social clusters
 2. overcome barriers and shape new interaction through the development of 'waste space' into open space and functions
 3. redesign square with stationary for interaction
 4. increase functional mix in new developments (open block structure), create space for families and ethnic businesses
 5. connect social cluster spaces via urban design; tackle problems of ethnic street life
 6. create family friendly urban design- open spaces
 7. empowerment via marketing of diversity, more collaborations and urban design
 8. participation through more collaboration, political and cultural

figure 99 • cross-layer formation of WO strategy, by author

The WO strategy eliminates weaknesses through the exploitation of opportunities. The diagram shows how weaknesses can be exploited through opportunities. These opportunities, that have the potential to counteract weaknesses are prioritized in this strategy. This means that:

The weaknesses of the network are improved through an increase of walkability and better walking connections for disadvantaged groups, elderly and children. This could be achieved by focusing on local and safe pathways for children connecting their destinations.

The separating waste space could be redeveloped to connect the two parts of St.Georg and at the same time generate new open spaces and functions. Weaknesses in open space could be improved through a new urban design.

Space for new developments should benefit street life and group interaction. Therefore, new buildings have to be developed in a functional mix and especially in open block structures. Families and children should be the focus when developing new housing estates.

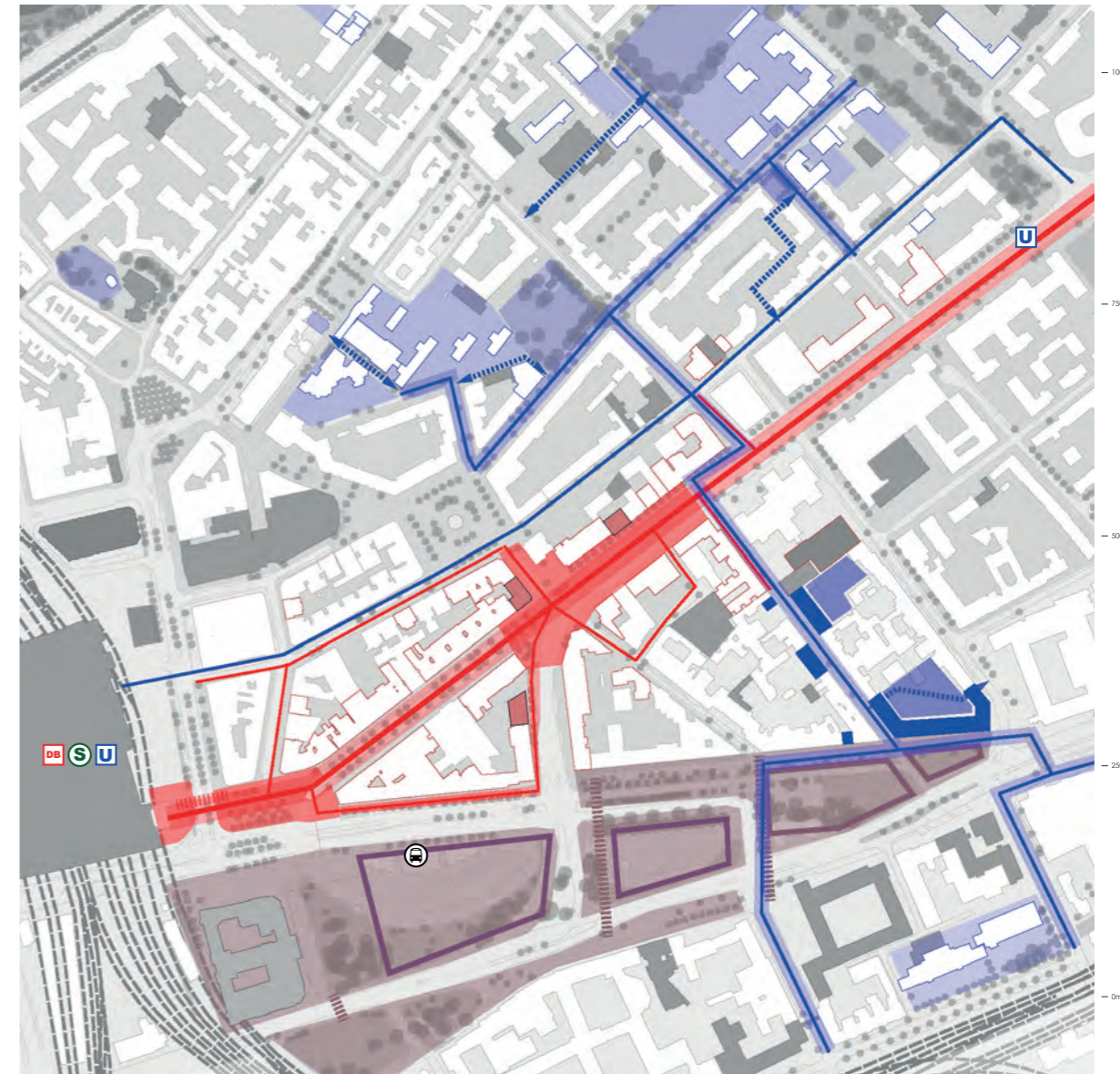
In particular, the open spaces between social clusters can improve interaction and relationships between groups. The focus here is on the ethnic street and the surrounding groups.

Zones with a high influx of families need the available space to create a more family-friendly living environment.

Intercultural marketing could serve as a strategy to strengthen groups and promote collaboration. Events could serve as carriers to connect groups and create a new identity. New projects and collaborations could serve as pilot projects for these collaborations.

The WO strategy generates three design layers, which create new values and overcome weaknesses. In particular, the network for families and children and the renovation of the ethnic street are large potentials for the empowerment, participation and interaction of the predominant social clusters.

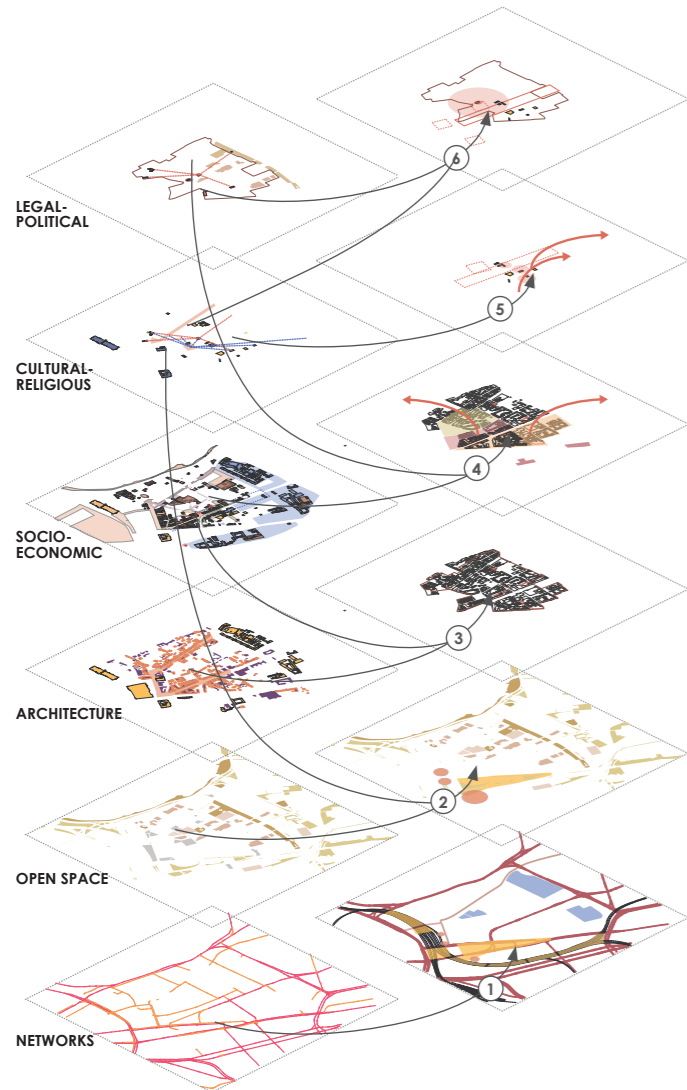
The development of the major streets serves to create value throughout the neighborhood, but the location appears to be more suitable for businesses than for residential purposes. Therefore, this third design layer is not considered for the final design proposal.



- focus of high street
- redesign critical squares
- relevant ethnic businesses
- densification of blocks
- focus on infrastructure redevelopment
- redesign critical crossings
- densification of blocks
- focus of kids network
- new play zones and open space design
- relevant actors
- densification of blocks

figure 100 • WO strategy map, by author

ST MAXI-MINI

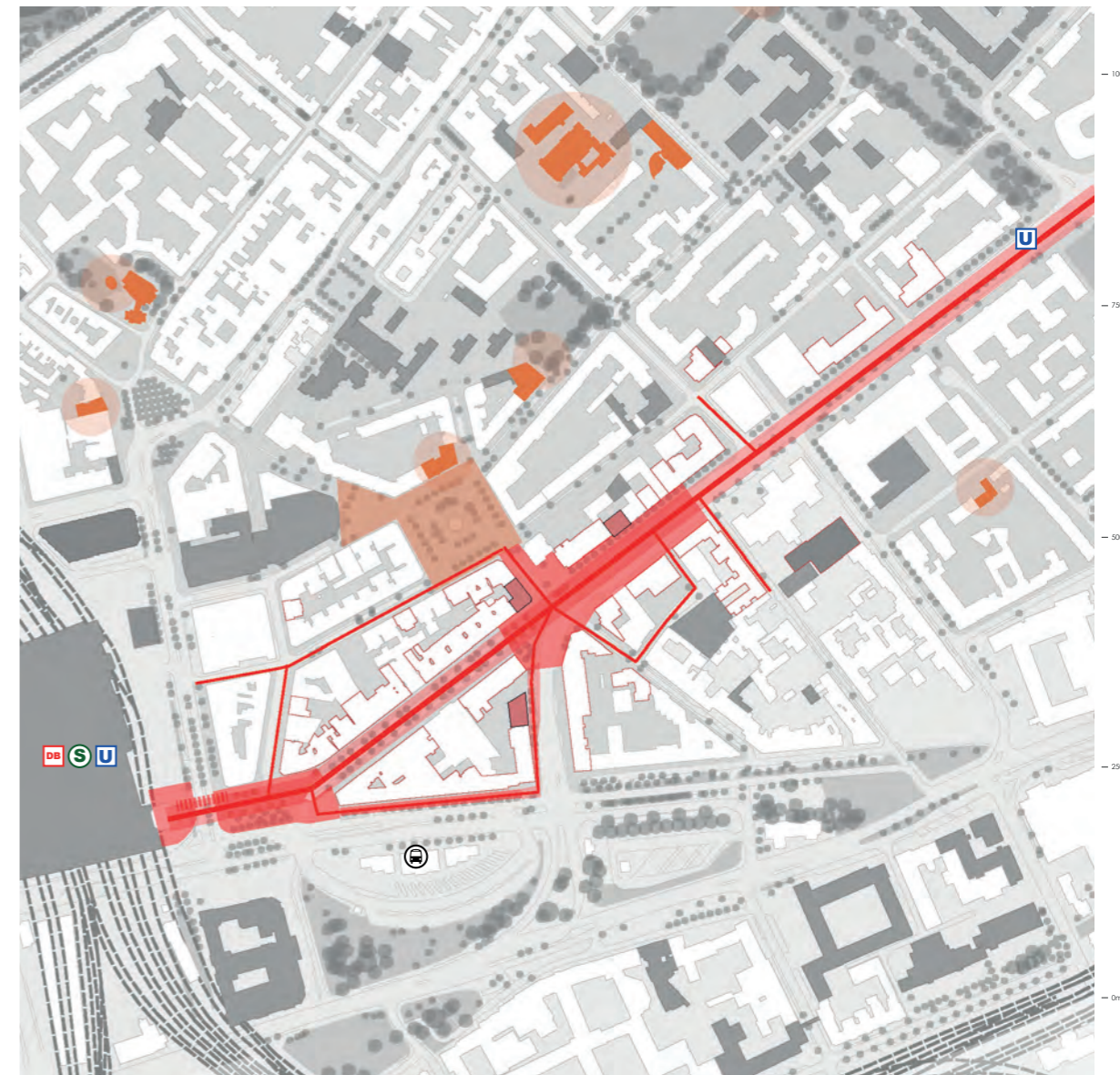


- Formation of the strategy
1. increase safety of network to connect social clusters
 2. link more open spaces to organizations to create responsibilities and safety, development of small, semi-private spaces
 3. fill gaps with a functional mix and housing for families, development in small shop units
 4. use IG Steindamm and BID to establish ethnic businesses in political participation
 5. try to reach more people with cultural events and engage actors through event planning and marketing
 6. strengthen cultural networks to increase collaboration and participation

figure 101 • cross-layer formation of ST strategy, by author

The ST strategy uses the strengths to minimize threats. One of the main strengths of the area is the ethnic street, which with the help of IG Steindamm is converted into an environment accessible to residents. The high street development enhances the cultural networks and increases the collaboration and participation of shop owners. The existing maintenance regulation and rent control serve to develop more housing for children and families on the available plots. Depending on the location of these plots, the ground floor hosts organizations, shops or small businesses. Small interventions, such as speed tables, bike streets and signs, help to improve the walkability and traffic safety for children. A continuation of the current community events and the empowerment of actors to use space create a higher responsibility and a higher engagement for the neighbourhood. In addition to the ethnic street, the ST strategy focuses on selective spatial improvements and new densification rules. The current planning tools are being expanded and the network of actors is growing.

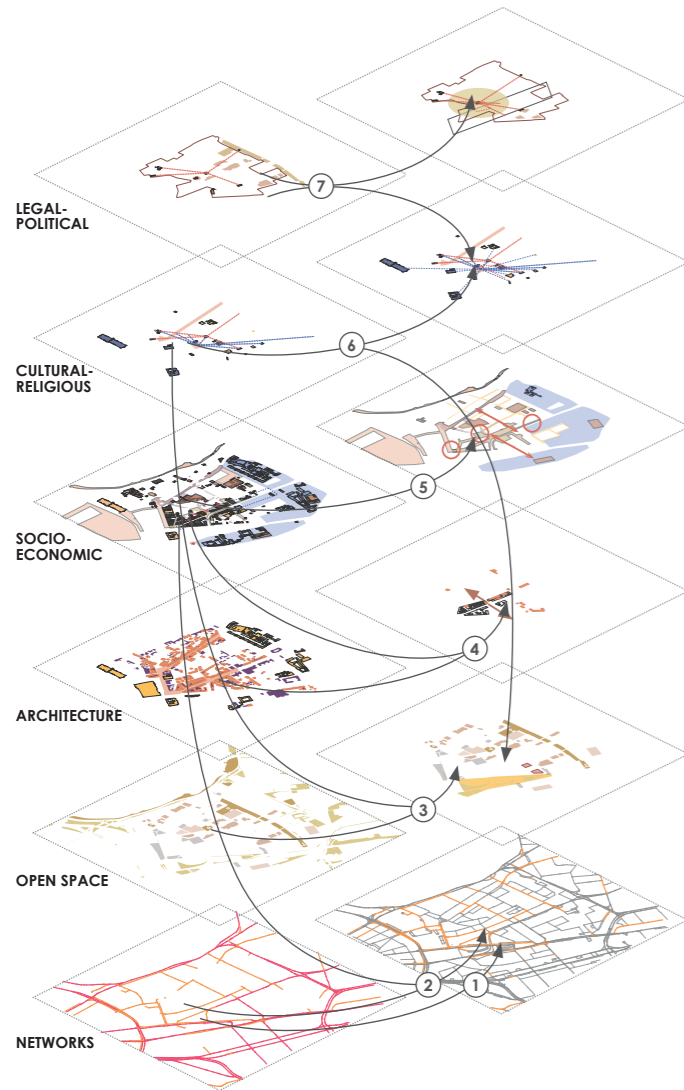
The ST strategy is a defense strategy that uses urban development to solve the problems of the ethnic street. Therefore, this strategy provides important pointers on the use of strengths, but does not generate an innovative design proposal.



- focus of high street
- redesign critical squares
- relevant ethnic businesses
- densification of blocks
- Design of square for events
- facilitation of main actors to use space

figure 102 • ST strategy map, by author

SO MAXI-MAXI



- Formation of the strategy
1. redesign crossings for increased walkability/safety and to connect social clusters
 2. activate potential new streets for socio-economic and cultural development
 3. design open space that can be claimed by organizations
 4. increase functional mix in new developments (open block structure), create space for families and ethnic businesses
 5. connect social cluster spaces via urban design; tackle problems of ethnic street life
 6. empowerment via marketing of diversity, more collaborations and urban design
 7. participation through more collaboration, political and cultural

figure 103 • cross-layer formation of SO strategy, by author

The SO strategy leverages the strengths to maximise the opportunities of the neighbourhood. This attacking strategy creates the most innovative design proposal.

The development of linkages and networks increases the walkability in the area, especially for children. The creation of a child network, that connects the most important destinations in the neighbourhood increases the liveability in these areas. The empty plots are designed for children and families.

With the help of IG Steindamm, the ethnic street can be developed as a business improvement district (BID). The BID helps to market, develop and maintain the ethnic street according to the needs of the interest group. The redevelopment of the streets aims to generate more interaction and to support the daily business.

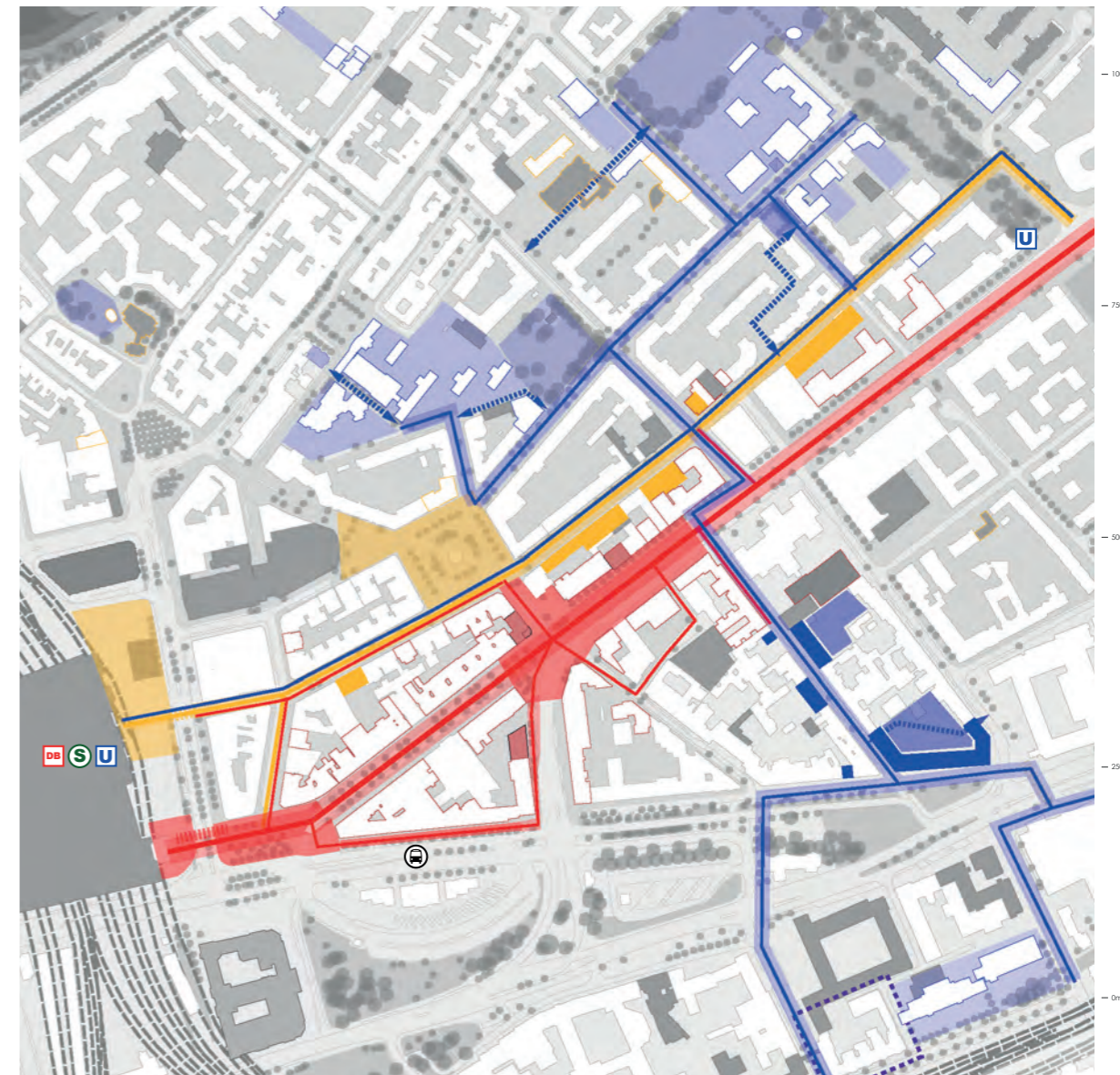
In order to use of the dense network, the Bremer Reihe (parallel to the ethnic street) becomes the street for the community. The street is an important walkable connection and can serve as an alternative to the ethnic street. The location of the street in between the different social clusters creates an ideal position for a community street. Increased walkability and additional marketing underline this project. Existing stakeholder relationships are used to plan, design and maintain the street.

The SO strategy proposes an innovative community concept, that uses the spatial advantages of the network. The network is given back to the local community and enables an extension of current community activities.

Evaluation

The four strategies presented range from a 'minimum' strategy to an innovative strategy. The SO strategy is best suited to apply the opportunity structures in the space and thereby increase the interaction, participation and empowerment of the focus groups. This innovative strategy is divided into three strategic design layers, the high street, the community street and the kids' network. Although the SO strategy is the most expensive, the three design layers can be applied independently.

The WT strategy provides the minimum actions that prevent threats. These actions are included in the three design layers to create a sustainable design proposal.



- focus of high street
- redesign critical squares
- relevant ethnic businesses
- densification of blocks

- focus of community street
- redesign critical squares
- relevant actors
- densification of blocks

- focus of kids network
- new play zones and open space design
- relevant actors
- densification of blocks

figure 104 • SO strategy map, by author

Objectives

In order to translate the strategies into a small-scale design, the following design objectives are formulated. The objectives of a new spatial design and planning are to improve the social contacts in the area through increasing empowerment, interaction and participation among actors and social clusters. This is done using place-making and community building methods as part of the spatial design proposal.

figure 105 • Poster of a campaign of the Partnerschaft für Wilhelmsburg, promoting diversity, tolerance and respect in the diverse neighbourhood, source: Partnerschaft für Wilhelmsburg



EMPOWERMENT

Empowerment aims to improve the standpoint of communities and in this case in particular of newcomers in the democratic process of city-making. This implies reducing discrimination, transferring competences and facilitating community activities.

Empowerment in space means to 'improve both physical spaces and practices of community building' (Aelbrecht & Stevens, 2019).

To design an inclusive neighbourhood that facilitates integration, all social clusters should have the same possibilities. Discrimination is already a large factor that hinders integration. Urban development processes should not promote discrimination and neglect the social clusters. To enable groups to self-organize, the municipality or district must delegate competences and decision-making power to these groups. This is done through political participation. Facilitating community activities and interests forms the basis for a relationship between the municipality or planner and stakeholders.

Practical tools to empower inhabitants through social capital are:

- Information events,
- Counselling programs,
- Interviews
- Events (e.g. neighbourhood festival)
- Connection of different actors
- Public exhibitions
- Funds and micro credits
- Digitalization of information

Practical tools to empower inhabitants through spatial capital are:

- Support of activities in space, such as gathering, playing, recreation etc.
- Facilitation of organizations to use open space
- Visibility of organizations or facilities
- Participation in the design of open spaces
- Temporary permits to use space e.g. events

The project focuses in particular on the empowerment of the focus groups, families and children and ethnic shop owners. The project empowers the actors of these focus groups (figure 106) through the design and uses of the available open space to facilitate their activities.



figure 106 • above showing the actors of the focus groups and lower map the potential open spaces for empowerment, by author

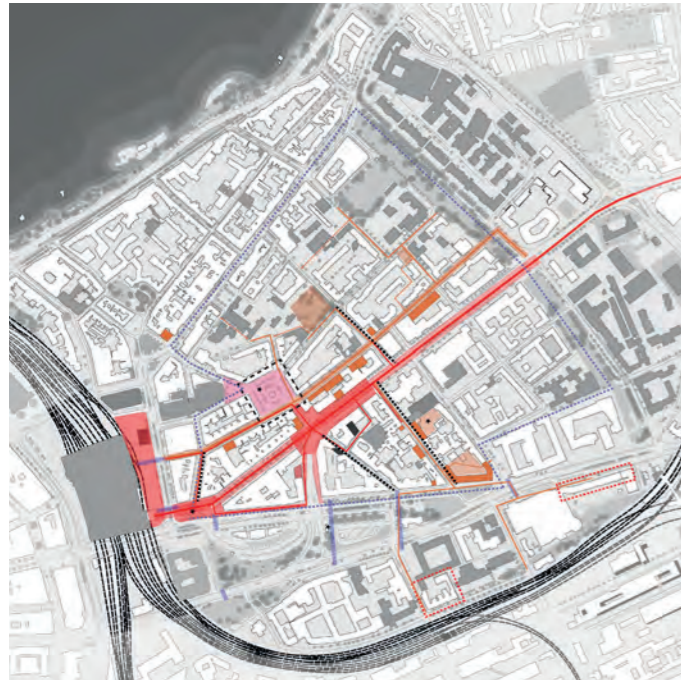


figure 107 • map above showing existing connections between actors and lower map the design strategies for participation, by author

PARTICIPATION

Establishing a neighborhood planning culture with participation is a long process. This implies creating and maintaining relations to actors and organizations in the neighbourhood. Successful participatory processes 'build awareness, familiarity and trust among different individuals and groups' (Aelbrecht & Stevens, 2019).

The challenge of participatory processes is to reach disadvantaged groups (Bundesinstitut für Bau-, 2017). In order to reach all groups, the way in which participation is organized should be tailored to the needs and capabilities of the social clusters. For example, it can be useful to reduce the formalities of participation or to combine informal and formal participatory events. A neutral and accessible space in which participatory meetings can take place facilitates attendance.

Ideal relationships for participation are local businesses, rental unions, church communities, civic associations and schools (Bundesinstitut für Bau-, 2017). Even small campaigns can be enough to mobilize partners and residents.

St.Georg is a neighbourhood for inhabitants and visitors. It is helpful to consider all users of the project and therefore expand the radius of participation from inhabitants to e.g. shop owners, businesses, members of associations etc.

The challenge of the design is to find a suitable way to initiate the participation of the two focus groups. A quick entry point and small progress mobilize the participants. A possible entry point is a microcredit for the first small-scale interventions. Temporary elements can prepare the transformation process. While children can be reached through organizations and schools, shop owners need concrete incentives to join a project. Possible incentives are connections to other businesses or economic incentives such as expanding the customer base, free advice or marketing. To ensure, that the different parties involved in the project get along and reach consensus on decisions, a neutral guidance and conflict management may be required.

In all strategies, participation builds on the existing stakeholder networks (IG Steindamm, SCHORSCH, Diversity St.Georg-Borgfelde, etc.) shown in figure 107. The new design strategies form the initiator of participation and serve to strengthen and maintain the connections (figure 107).

INTERACTION

Empowerment and participation generate interaction of different parties. However, empowerment and participation are closely linked to planning tools, while interaction is seen as a spatial task.

In order to stimulate interaction through urban design, the support of daily routines, activities in open space and public agency to engage with space, is required. Safety and liveliness are the foundation of an interactive public space design. When people feel safe, they are more likely to interact with strangers or take more time to stay.

Supporting daily routines in an area across open spaces leads to increased interaction. The most important elements are ground floor functions, surfaces and activities (Whyte, 1980). Commercial or social activities that extend from the buildings to the street create visual stimulation and interest. A hybrid zone that can be used by ground floor functions for activities such as marketing, eating, drinking, decorating or information, stimulates interaction. This requires a certain sidewalk width that allows a zone for walking and zones for additional activities. Small shop units with large facades generate more public activity and attention than large, monotonous facades.

Diverse public spaces enable more activities in open space and thus generate more interaction. It is therefore useful to create new open spaces that facilitate different uses. Examples for activities in open space are (Mehta, 2009):

- Standing/Sitting/Walking
- Eating/drinking
- Window-Shopping
- Playing,
- Reading/Working,
- Smoking
- Vending etc.

Public agency in open space can be stimulated by movable objects, participation in street design and temporary events, such as exhibitions, street festivals, etc. Movable objects allow flexibility in space and the constellation of the space can be easily adjusted to needs or climate. The participation of communities in the design of public space facilitates its regular use. Temporary events help shape the identity of a place and create new ideas for use.

The spatial basis for increasing the interaction is the network of group spaces as well as the available public space and functions, which shall facilitate interaction (figure 108).

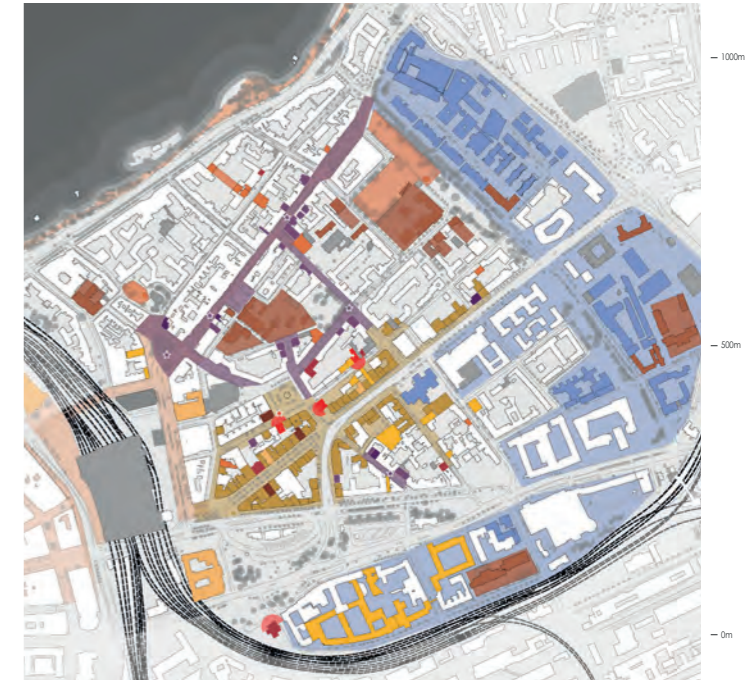


figure 108 • map above showing the actors and social clusters and lower map the potential open spaces for increased interaction, by author

SHAPING OPPORTUNITIES

Which (spatial) opportunities could enhance arrival and integration processes?

The following opportunity structures (figure 109) build a matrix of arrival city design tools. Each structure is a proposed answer to a specific problem linked to integration and migration in St.Georg. The matrix contains opportunity structures on a municipal, neighbourhood and block scale, as well as in the legal-political, socio-economic and cultural-religious dimensions. The structures were selected through literature research, the assessment of integration and needs as well as SWOT and spatial analyses. The opportunity structures address the problems of segregation and suburbanization of poverty and source from the opportunities that migrants create to counteract discrimination and segregation. This matrix aims to identify the most important urban structures that can support the empowerment, participation and interaction of migrants as well as their self-organization. On the municipal scale one can find a number of strategic urban development structures that result in benefits for the smaller scales. These opportunity structures are a mix of patch and network structures. The network structures serve to connect people and services while the patches are destinations within the networks. The small-scale opportunity structures relate to neighbourhood place-making and community building. These opportunity structures will find application in the design proposals and reveal their specific benefits for the arrival city and others.

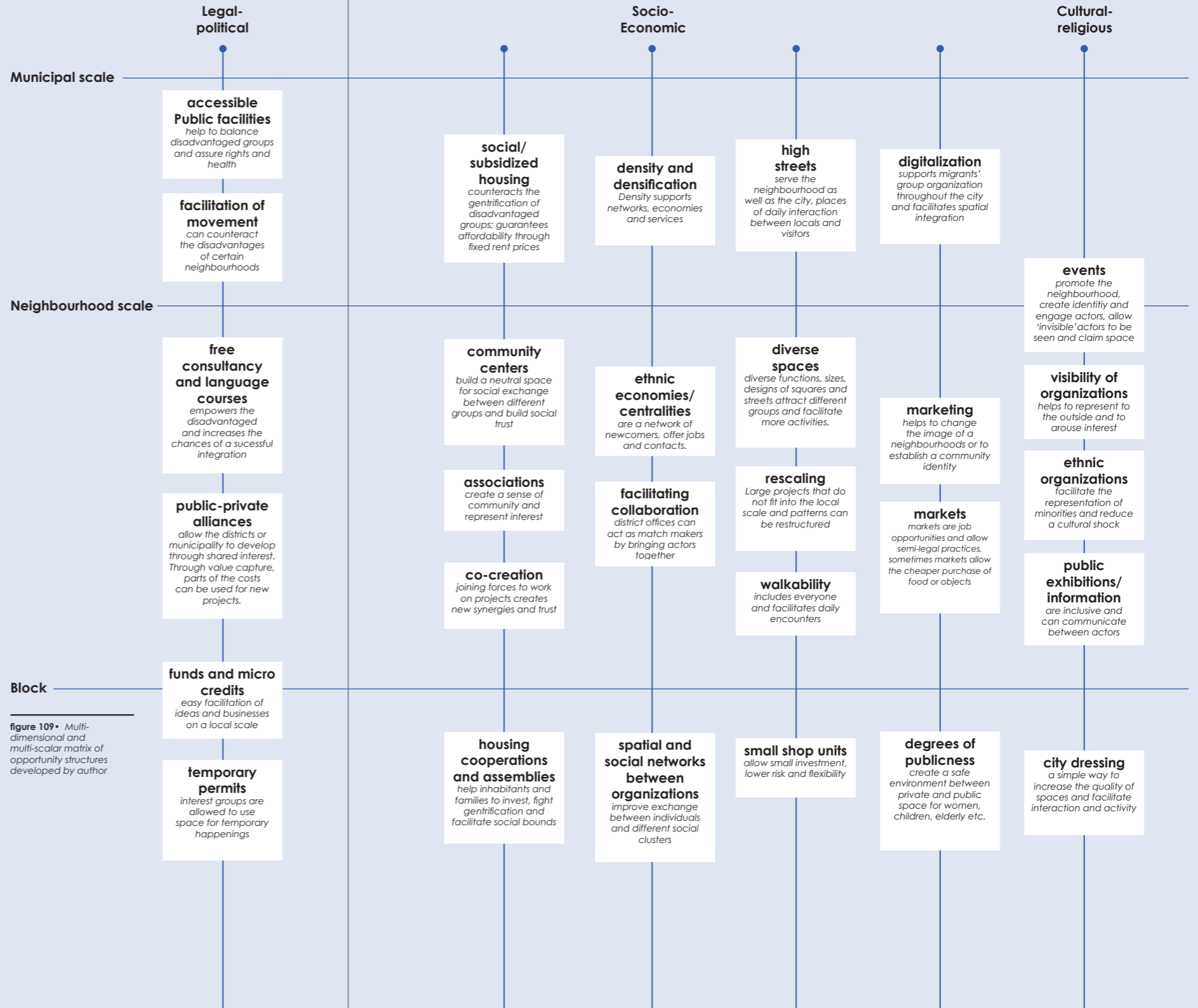
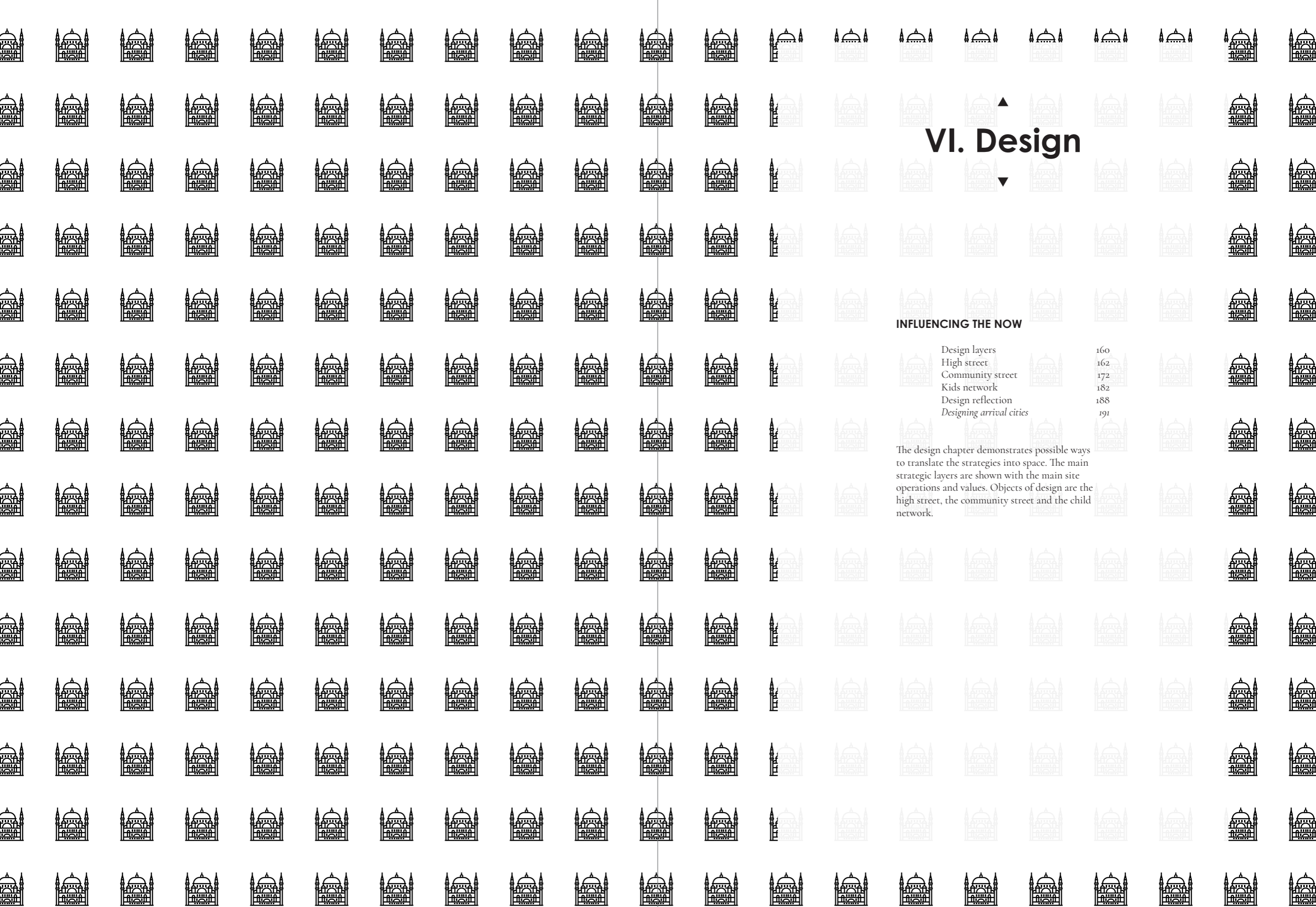


figure 109 • Multi-dimensional and multi-scalar matrix of opportunity structures developed by author



VI. Design

INFLUENCING THE NOW

Design layers	160
High street	162
Community street	172
Kids network	182
Design reflection	188
<i>Designing arrival cities</i>	191

The design chapter demonstrates possible ways to translate the strategies into space. The main strategic layers are shown with the main site operations and values. Objects of design are the high street, the community street and the child network.

Design layers

The three design strategies (figure 110), the high street, the community street and the kids network were derived from the assessment of strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats of the area. All design strategies are aimed at families and ethnic companies as the main focus groups and include functions, networks and open space. Although the strategies are strongly interrelated and should be mutually enriching, they could be applied independently.

Each strategy follows an inclusive and flexible planning approach by building on the existing social networks. These networks embeds each strategy within the larger urban context. The design with opportunity structures supports self-organization and the inclusion of the community in all strategies. In order to address all dimensions of integration, each strategy proposes an open space design, a planning proposal and small policy proposals.

A key aspect of the design strategies is the use of simple and inexpensive design elements in combination with larger strategic transformations. This variation of the design elements enables the involvement of 'larger' and 'smaller' actors and keeps flexibility within the transformation process.

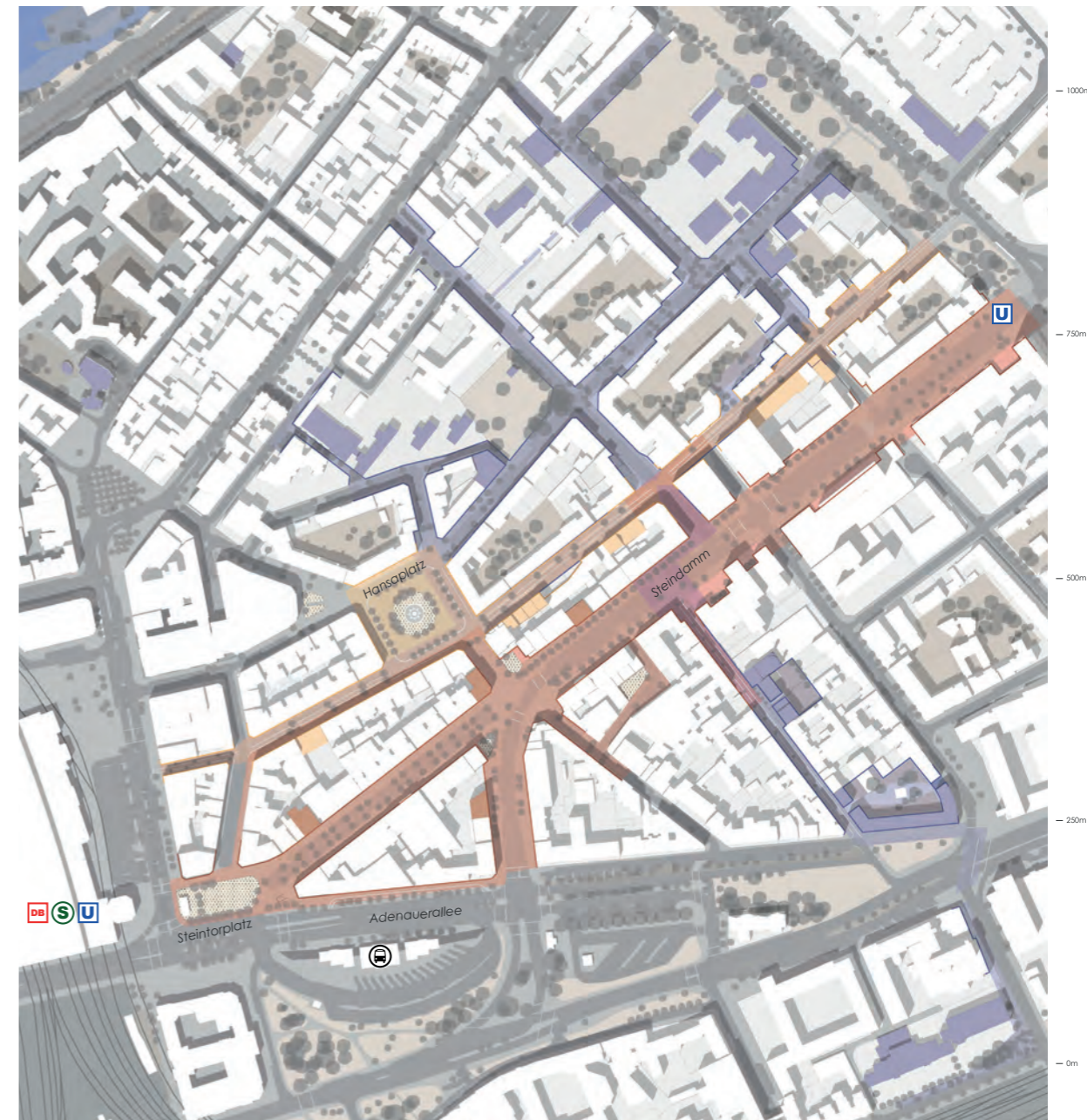


figure 110 • SO Strategy in three design layers, the high street (red), the community street (yellow) and the kids network (blue), by author

High street

The Steindamm high street is the largest potential of the focus area. The street connects the local with the entire metropolitan area and is of central importance for the daily interaction of inhabitants and visitors. Located next to the central station, the high street is a central connection point between the city centre and the East of Hamburg. From west to east, the street ranges from small migrant businesses to international companies. The street connects to the adjoining neighbourhood Borgfelde, which would benefit from a continuous high street design.

DESIGN QUALITIES

The design is structured in four sections. The first section is the redesign of the Steintor square, followed by the old Steindamm street. The large crossing between Steindamm and Kreuzweg is the third design section and the large Steindamm street is the fourth (figure 112). Each section deals with different spatial requirements.

The Steintor Square forms the starting point of the street and a symbolic (and historical) entry point into the neighbourhood (see figure 114 on page 167). The main design task is to transform the current parking lot on the square into a recreation space.

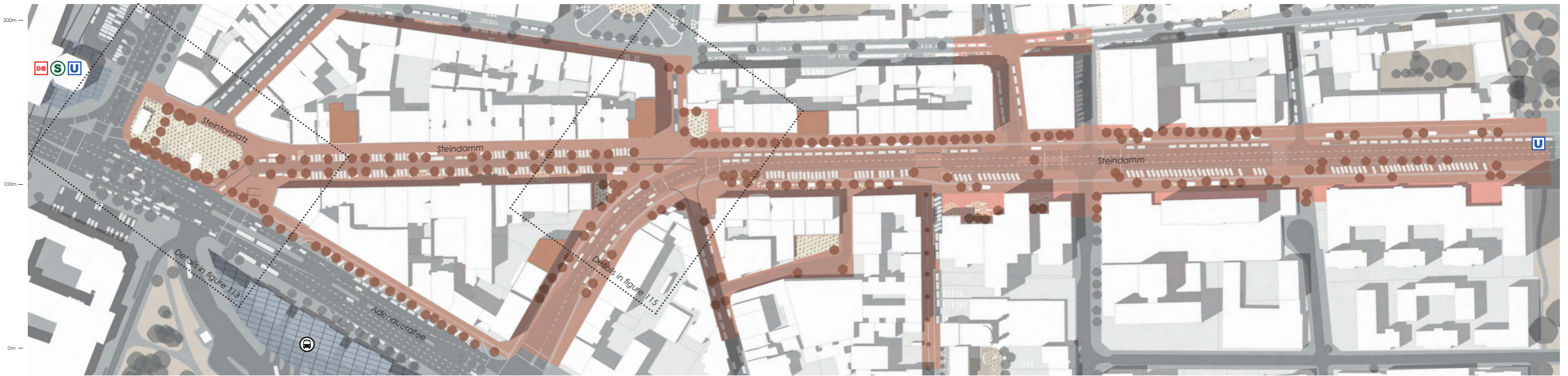
The new design guides the large numbers of pedestrian and enables them to sit down and rest. The square is a neutral space for many user groups, as it is located in between the main station, the central bus terminal, the museum for arts and crafts and the high street.

The new structure of the pavement separates the walking space from the recreational zones. Greenery separates the square from the busy street and trees enclose the recreation space. Different types of seating form a playful ensemble, in which individuals as well as groups find a place to relax. A small shop replaces the 'dead' corner of the square towards the station. This small pavilion can host a kiosk or café.

The old Steindamm street is the liveliest area of the high street and encounters several problems. The new design helps to make the street safer and more organized (figure 111). Delivery parking spots and large garbage containers facilitate the logistics of the small shops. These are located in regular distance across the street. Pedestrians can rest, pack, eat or wait on small seating islands. These islands serve as additional outdoor areas for the small snack bars. Different design solutions of these



figure 111 • Old Steindamm street with small seating areas, by author



1 Steintor square

2 old Steindamm street

3 the crossing

4 Steindamm boulevard

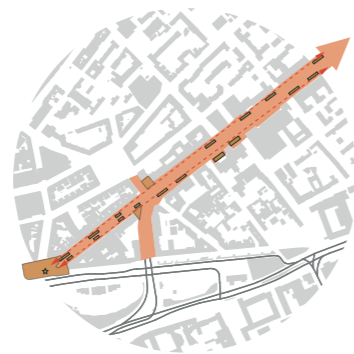
figure 112• High street design highlighted in red, by author

DESIGN PRINCIPLES



Networks

The design focuses on increased walkability of the high street and, therefore, reduces the street width from 4 lanes to two lanes. A widening of sidewalks gives more space to the high number of pedestrians and side activities. The new street section facilitates the transfer from one side to another and improves economic activities.



Open space

The existing open space around the high street lacks in opportunities for interaction and quality to stay. The creation of small pocket parks, seating islands and the redevelopment the Steintor square addresses a wider range of needs and activities of shop owners, pedestrians and inhabitants.



Architecture

The high street has only a few empty plots left to develop, which will contribute to the functional mix and street life. A development in small shop units facilitates small businesses, most likely ethnic shops.



Socio-economic

The high street and its economy have many side effects. In order to create a more attractive environment, the streets design is optimized for economic activities, such as delivery and waste collection. The small shop units have a limited amount of space and often no access to the backyards. Therefore, they are forced to extend to the street. A new street design adapted to the specific needs compensates for limited resources.



Cultural-religious

Within the frame of the IG Steindamm and the BID, a cultural opening of ethnic shops could be facilitated. New means to represent in open space and to attract other social clusters will improve business and integration. Turkish shops do already replace German supermarket chains in the area and a cultural opening helps to strengthen that stand point. This includes for example a consultation on product and visual communication (language).



Legal-political

The project is implemented through the formation of a business improvement district. The frame of a BID brings all actors of the Steindamm street to the table and improves the political participation of ethnic shop owners. The BID allows a project-specific definition of responsibilities and participation methods.

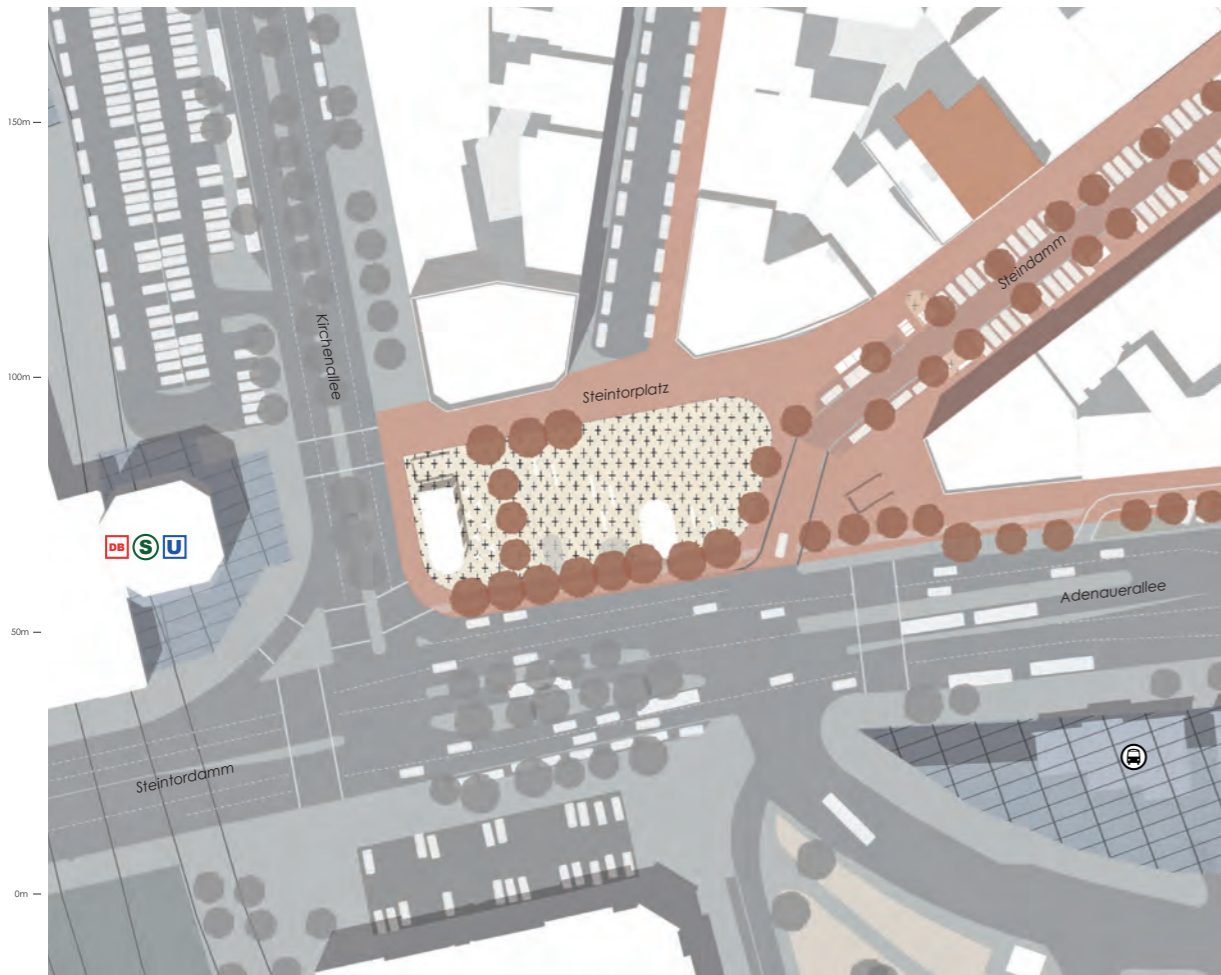


figure 113 • Steintorplatz on Steindamm high street, highlighted in red, by author

islands enable a variation across the street. The group of shop owners next to each island decide on their preferences.

The third design section, the crossing, is the starting point of the new boulevard. The reduction of the street width creates a street that is easy to cross. The adjacent streets are converted into common zones towards the Steindamm, so that pedestrians can cross the smaller streets freely. Stralsunder Straße and Pulverteich in particular are two streets with very little traffic.

Two corners of the crossing build small pocket parks (figure 116 on page 169). Both parks have a permeable surface and seating.

The third street section, the boulevard, is the widest part of the street. The boulevard ranges from small shop units to large businesses towards the East. The additional parking streets were

erased to widen the sidewalk and create a clear street line. The large sidewalks enable permanent facilities, such as large garbage containers, greenery and seating zones. Trees line the street and are integrated into the new facilities. A line integrated into the sidewalk indicates the new hybrid zones of the shops. The line gives the shop additional outdoor space.

In front of the large office buildings, the new street design helps to rescale the street space. The larger businesses benefit from greenery and seating in front of the monotonous facades.

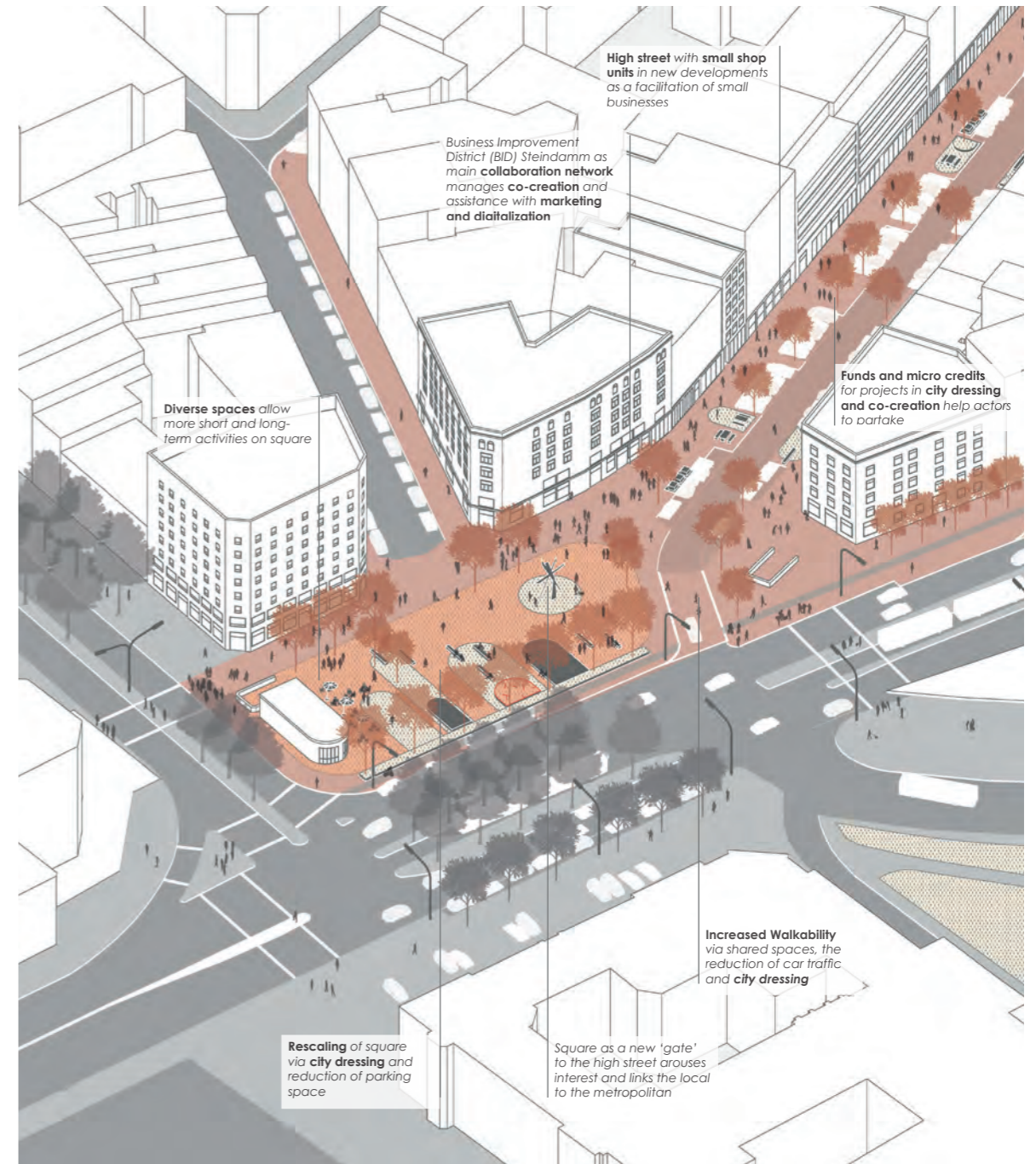


figure 114 • Steintorplatz on Steindamm high street with opportunity structures, highlighted in red, by author

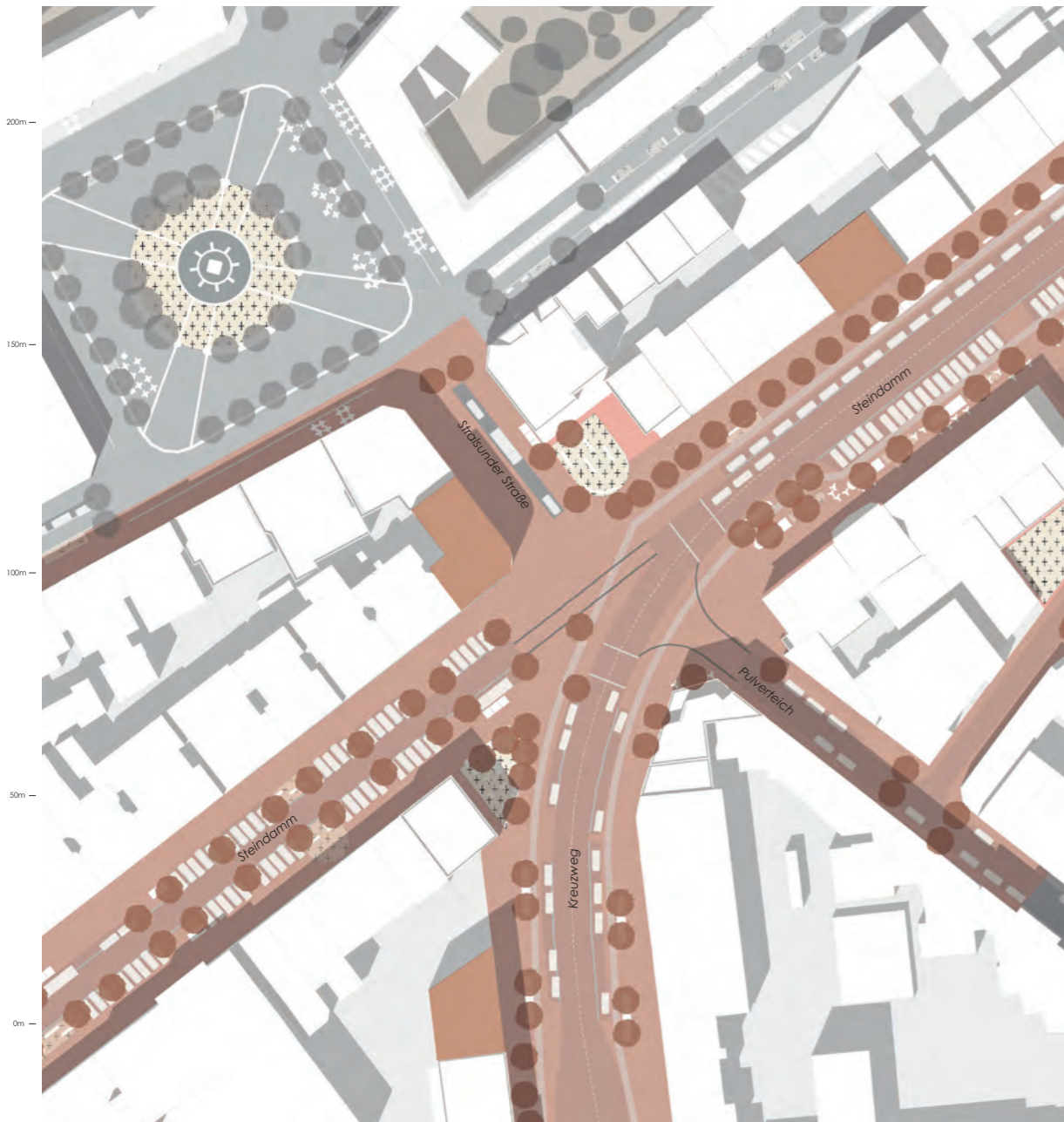


figure 115 • Plan of the crossing on Steindamm high street, highlighted in red, by author

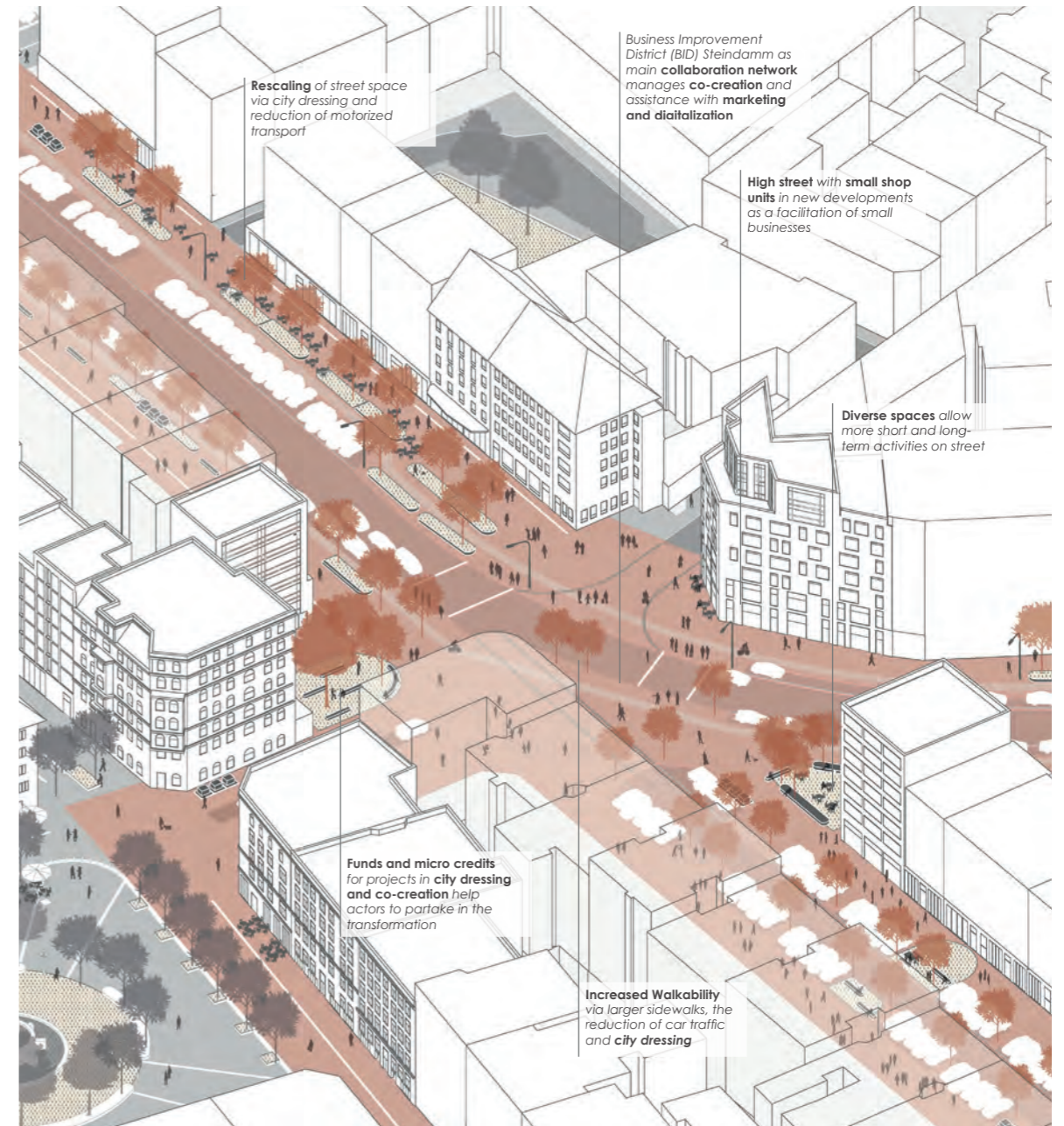


figure 116 • The crossing on Steindamm high street with opportunity structures, highlighted in red, by author

MANAGEMENT AND FLEXIBILITY

The IG Steindamm will be the most important organizational structure for the development of the main street in a participatory process. The existing organization will be integrated into a business improvement district (BID). BIDs facilitate development in a defined business area. The partners are shop owners, businesses and landowners of the high street, local authorities and other key stakeholders. In a participatory process, the parties share investment and prioritize ideas. BIDs use local knowledge and serve the local context by allowing groups to shape their environment.

Within the high street project, a BID connects larger companies with smaller businesses, resolves conflicts and creates a more suitable business environment for customers and businesses.

Especially for ethnic shop owners, who are difficult to reach, the BID could offer more incentives than a 'usual' participation process. Incentives for ethnic shop owners to join the BID are connections to large businesses, counseling and marketing options as well as the generation of new customers.

The BID does not only cover the physical design transformation. The marketing of the area, the cultural opening of ethnic shops and the economic development are further priorities.

IMPLEMENTATION

The physical transformation of the area must be carefully planned. Steintor square, the crossing and the boulevard in particular are large design transformations. Therefore, the project begins with the old Steindamm. The optimization of logistics and the seating islands serve as small pilot projects. These first interventions initiate the connection between the different parties and bridge the long planning phase of the project. Although these changes are minor, they are already drawing attention to the bigger idea. Together with marketing and counselling, they could lead to a faster establishment of the BID.

The larger transformation of the Steintor square and the crossing must be managed by the district and the municipality. The role of the BIDs is to contribute with local knowledge and to adapt the design towards local needs. A shared vision of the area helps BID members to join forces. The process of involving all of these stakeholders should be managed by a conflict management team to prevent the project from failing due to conflicts.

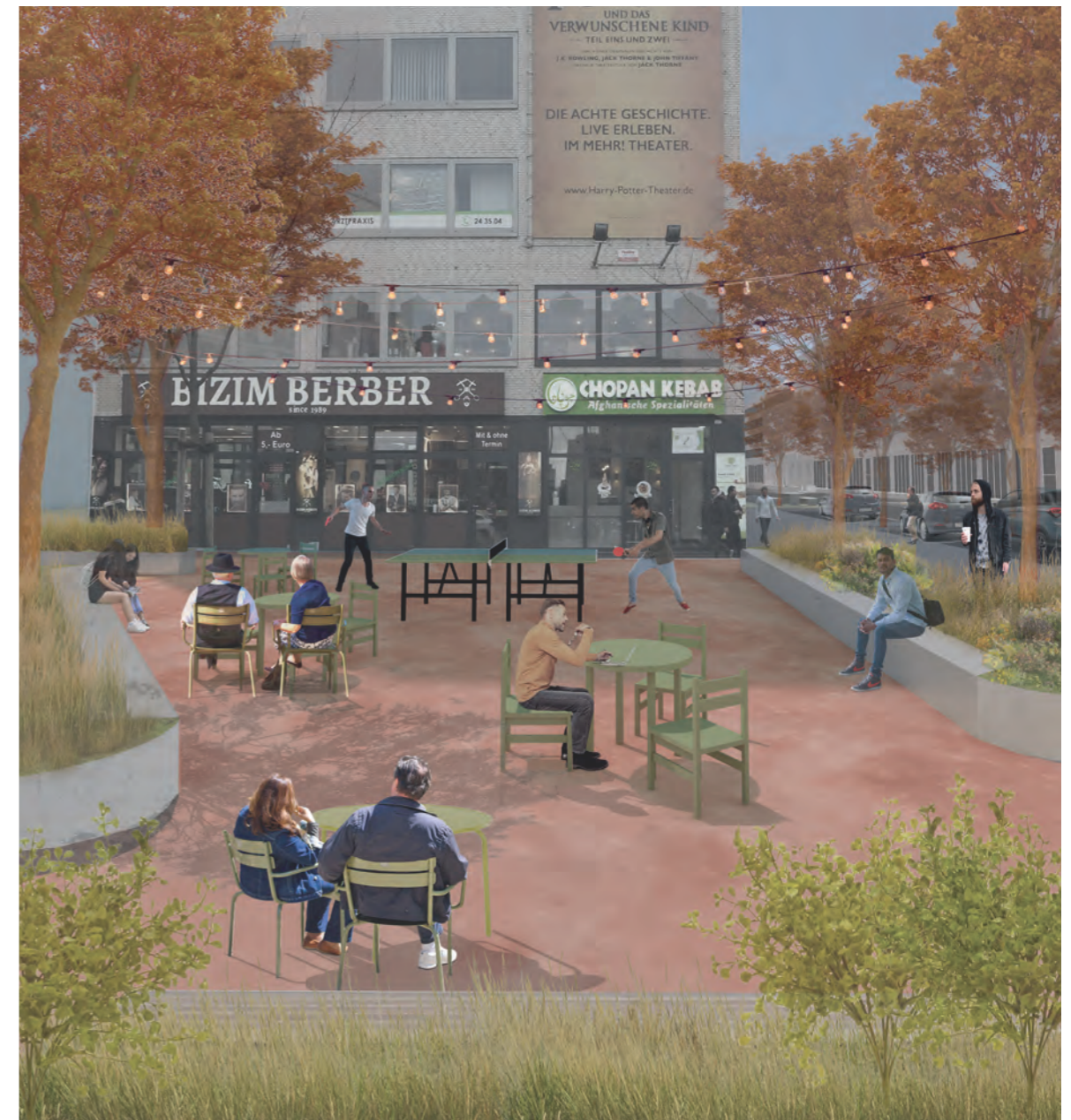


figure 117 • Pocket park on Steindamm crossing, by author

Community street

The community street forms the intersection of all three design layers. The kids network passes through the community street and the edges of the ethnic street extend into the design area. The idea of the design is to create a space for locality within the central neighbourhood.

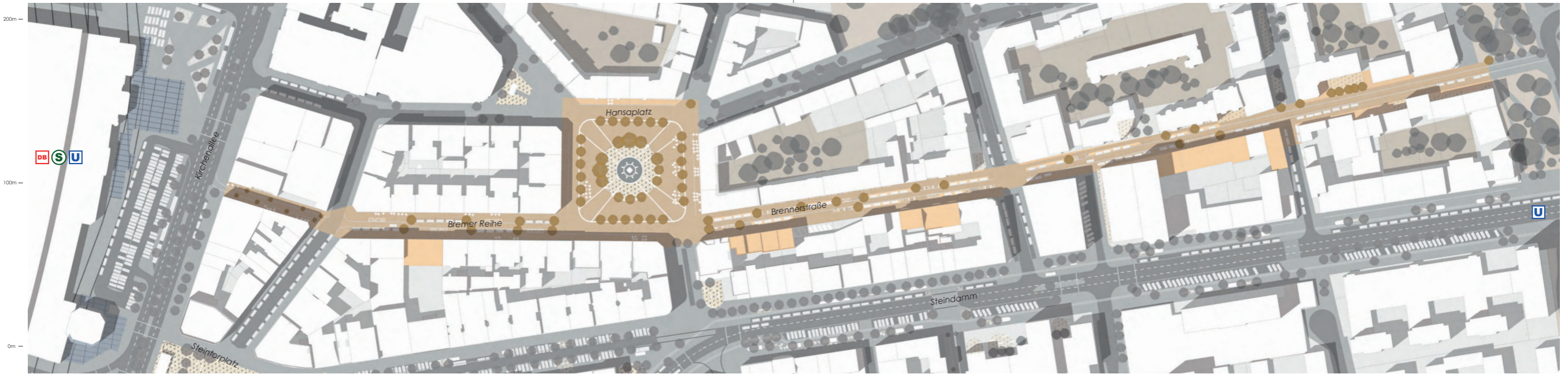
DESIGN

The design of the community street is divided into three sections (figure 119 on page 175). The first section extends from the main station to the Hansa square and is the commercial part of the street (figure 118). This section is characterized by white historical facades and small shops. By creating a direct intersection from the station, the street becomes an axis through the neighbourhood. A shared street space reduces car traffic and parking to enlarge the sidewalk in front of the small shops. Greenery and furniture in regular intervals decorate the street and create places to rest. The small bars and shops, which are often in the basement, gain an attractive front. The design of this section raises attention to the small ethnic shops and aims to enlarge the commercial zone from the high street to the community street.

The Hansa square is the second section of the street design. The design aims to enable more community activities on the square (figure 121). The large square is therefore subdivided into different activity zones. Hybrid zones in front of the buildings mark the commercial areas of restaurants and shops (figure 122). The redesign of the fountain gives the square a new centre in a human scale. This centre is framed by trees and wooden docks. The open activity zone of the square is located around this central part. This zone is most visible and serves larger events, such as markets or concerts. To ensure flexibility for larger events, the square has



figure 118 • Community Street shared space in Bremer Reihe, by author



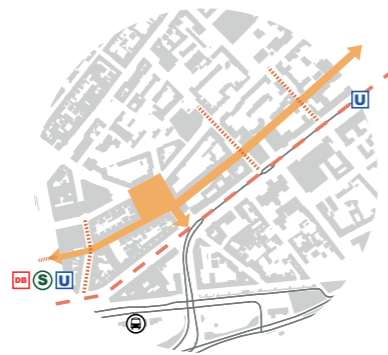
1 Bremer Reihe

2 Hansa square

3 Residential street

figure 119 • Community street highlighted in yellow, by author

DESIGN PRINCIPLES



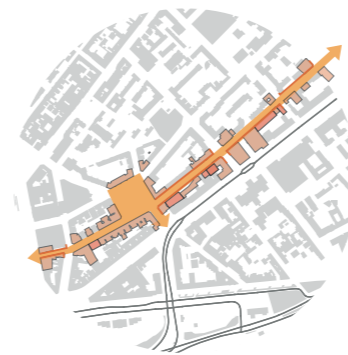
Networks

The community street is a well-integrated street within the network. Located in between the different social clusters, the street forms an important connection and alternative route to the high street.



Open space

A larger variation of open space activities increases the liveliness of the central Hansa square. By redesigning the centre of the square, the design shapes a small enclosed zone within the square. A continuous design of the street with clear lines emphasizes the street as a link road.



Architecture

Densification of the urban blocks enables activation of the abandoned part of the community street. New housing developments with ground floor functions turn the side street into a residential street.



Socio-economic

The community street passes through the Hansa square, which is the centre of conflicts in the area. Development of the square can help to redefine the roles and responsibilities of the social clusters.



Legal-political

The community street design serves as a tool to connect the main social clusters and strengthen community building.

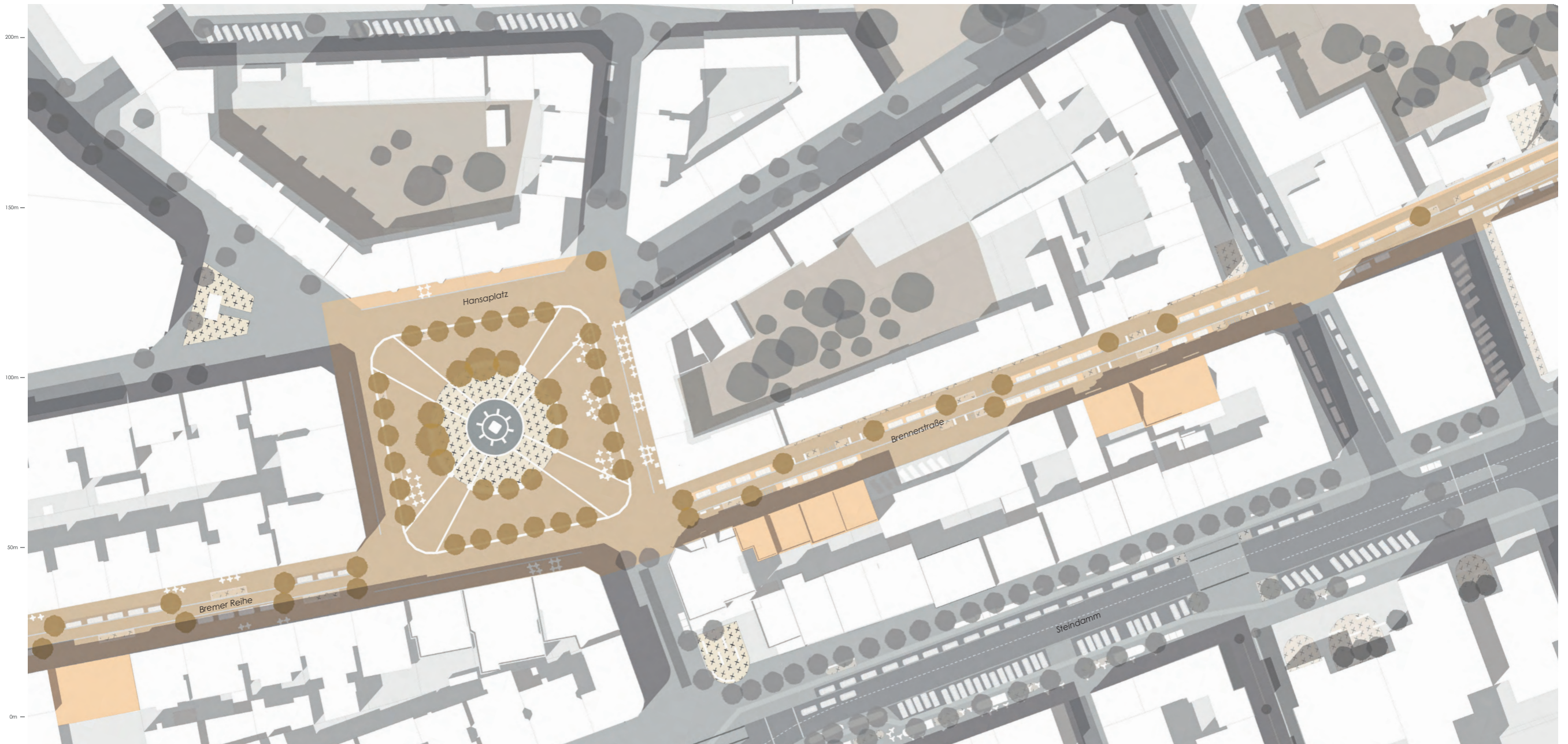
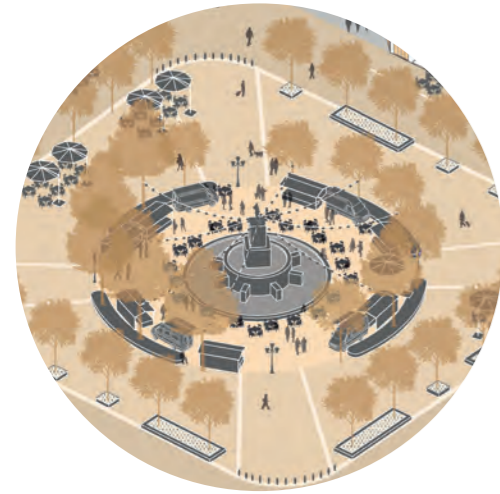


figure 120 • Community street highlighted in yellow, by author

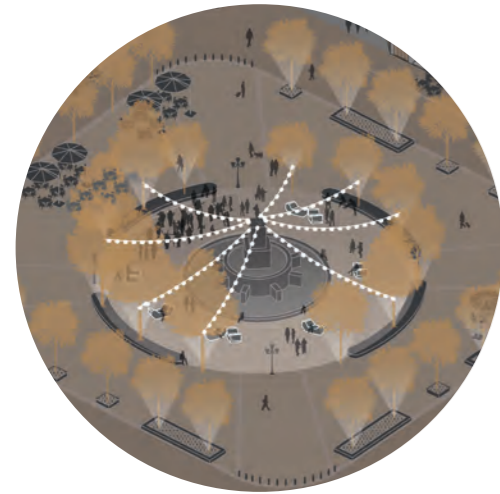


figure 121 • Event proposals for Hansa square as a new centre of the community street, by author

Weekly market



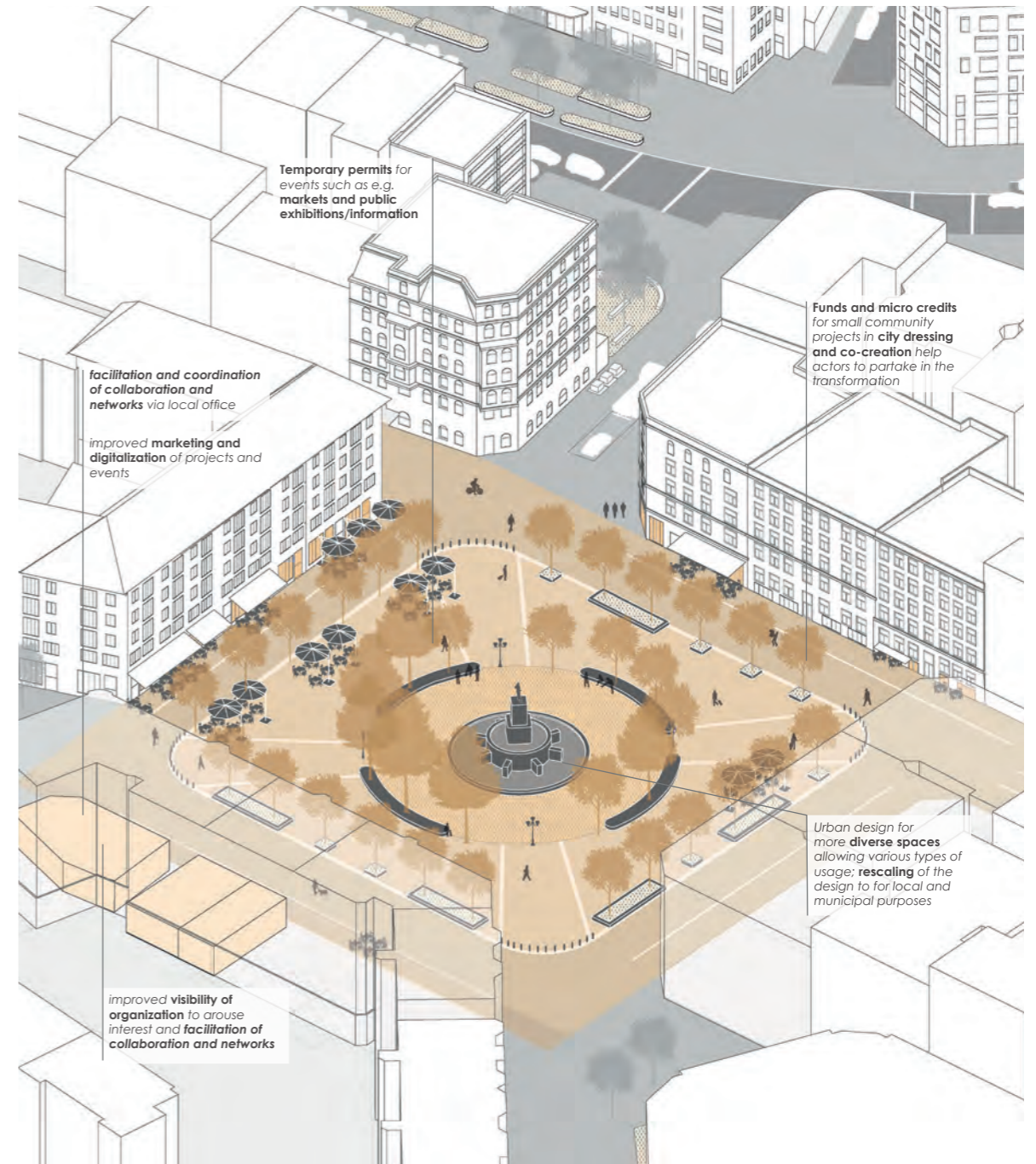
Special event, e.g. food festival



Regular event, Tango night

only a few fixed design elements. An important aspect is the safety of the square at night. Therefore, the centre of the square is illuminated.

The third section of the street is the residential part of the community street (figure 123). This part stretches from Hansa square to the Lohmühlenpark in the east. The design aims to create a continuous residential street with greenery and corner spaces. The integration of the streets ensures that visitors use the street in their daily routine. The street is also a recreational space for new developments that do not have a garden or a backyard. Green zones and small corners with benches create private corners to rest.



Temporary permits for events such as e.g. markets and public exhibitions/information

Funds and micro credits for small community projects in city dressing and co-creation help actors to partake in the transformation

facilitation and coordination of collaboration and networks via local office

improved marketing and digitalization of projects and events

Urban design for more diverse spaces allowing various types of usage; rescaling of the design to for local and municipal purposes

improved visibility of organization to arouse interest and facilitation of collaboration and networks

figure 122 • Design proposal for Hansa square as a new centre of the community street with opportunity structures, by author

MANAGEMENT AND FLEXIBILITY

The organization of the community street project is initiated by the local office on Hansa square. The starting point of the project is the Hansa square and the community-based design. Since the square lies at the intersection of several social clusters, the square is an ideal starting point to connect to these clusters. The local office serves as an event space for information evenings. A first step is to express concerns and opinions about the conflicts on the square and work on what a future vision could look like.

The densification of the available plots in the third section of the community street is managed through public private partnerships. In this way, the administration has an influence on the social constellation in the area. Especially housing for families or single parents would contribute to improving the social climate.

IMPLEMENTATION

In participation with different organizations and businesses located on the street and square, the local office develops a vision for the community street. The organization of a community event serves as a starting point. Common cultural themes, such as food, art or music are particularly suitable for a shared experience. In the following step, regular events can be organized. The design of the street is discussed and evaluated with the community. Ideas and proposal can be included in the street sections.

The base of the design is simple and can be rearranged over time. The street sections can be implemented step by step and the densification happens independently from the street development. However, the marketing of the new street from the beginning would help to attract investors.

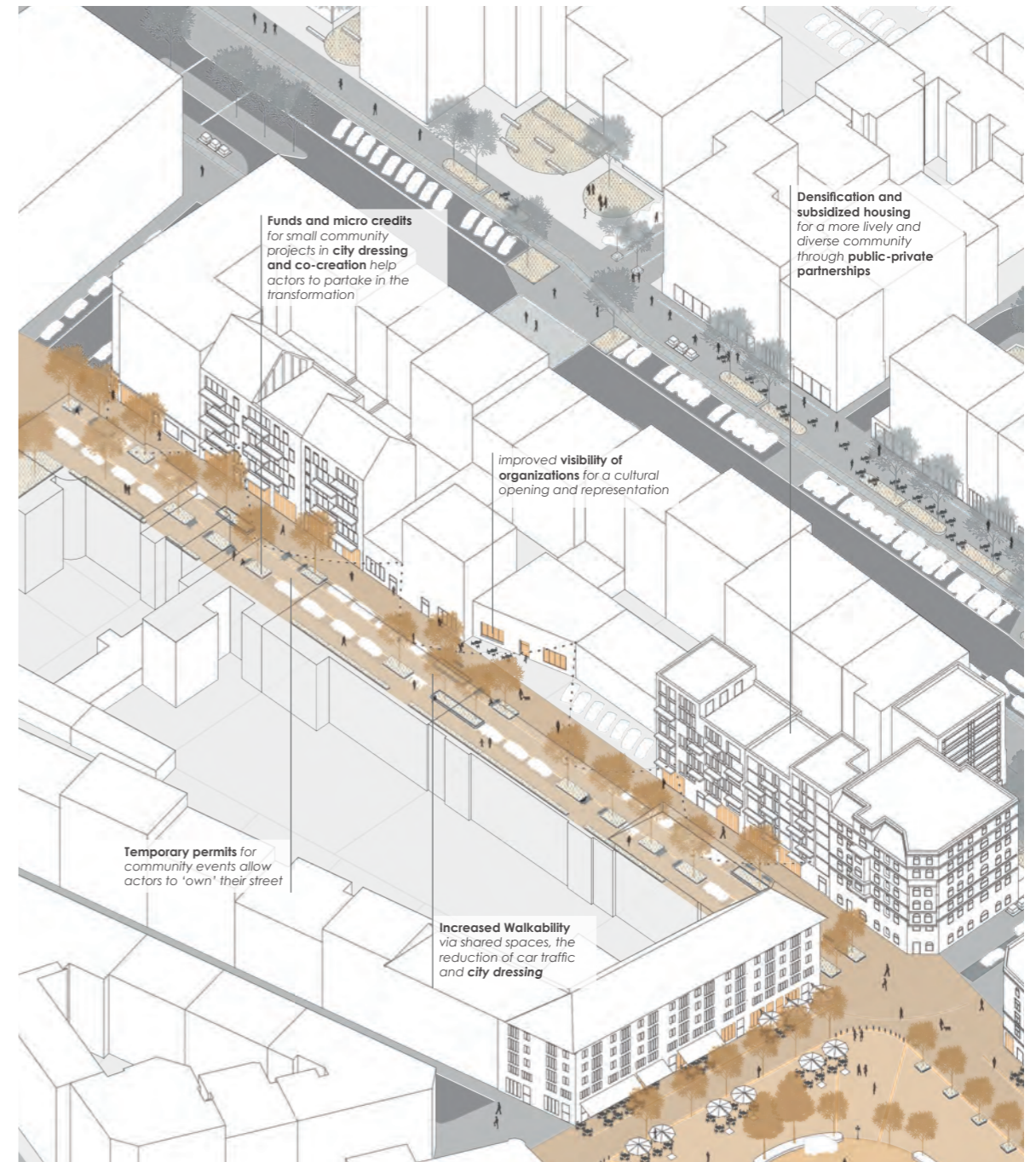


figure 123 • Community Street Design in yellow, section Brenner Street with opportunity structures, by author

Kids network

The kids' network as a design strategy creates a safe and walkable infrastructure for children (figure 125). This strategy combines the main destinations of the children in the neighbourhood: the schools, the playgrounds and open spaces. The kids' network is intended to promote the independent movement of children in the neighborhood and to create a family-friendly environment. Especially for disadvantaged families with many children or single parents, an independent movement of children can be helpful to manage everyday life.

DESIGN QUALITIES

The design aims to create a healthy and safe environment for children. This is mainly done by reducing of motorized transport. The design connects the main destinations of children in the area and at the same time creates new destinations in the network. Small green spaces playgrounds and 'city dressing' make the kids' network an experience (figure 124). The network facilitates walking, biking, running, sitting, playing and discovering. The new streets are easy to cross, safe and offer places to rest.

In addition to children and families, other groups benefit from the design. Inhabitants who live next to the kids network, benefit from a liveable, green and healthy street design. Car traffic and parking are reduced and the street offers places to rest. Shops and restaurants benefit from a more representative and pleasant front and more space for garden furniture. The public courtyards, which are accessible to inhabitants and visitors, meet the need for recreational space in the dense and busy St.Georg.

MANAGEMENT AND FLEXIBILITY

The most important partners of the kids' network are the SCHORSCH organization and the schools.

In collaboration with the local office, these institutions define the detailed requirements of the kids' network. Both organizations can organize small workshops with the children to prioritize their needs. After an assessment of these needs, the design can be adapted.

The project consists of several units, that can be applied independently. The largest interventions are the shared space in Böckmannstraße (figure 127) and the speed table across the Steindamm street. The development of two public yards is linked to the densification of the blocks. To ensure, that the children know and use the kids' network, the participating schools and SCHORSCH can promote this safe way to school. Information can be sent to parents in order to raise awareness.

IMPLEMENTATION

The implementation of the project can be divided three phases (see figure 126). To initiate changes while the project is still in planning, two axes can become bike streets. This measure helps to raise awareness of street safety and the project in general. This temporary measure is easy to implement, because it 'only' implies signs on the street. Children could already experience biking on the street and share their experiences.

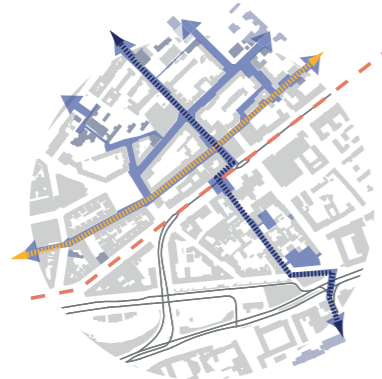
In the second phase, the street is transformed into a shared space. This step significantly reduces traffic and parking. The development of the plots is tailored to this phase. In the third phase, parking can be replaced with greenery or other functions, since the development of the large plots have an integrated parking garage.

The kids' network is an open space project that is coordinated by the district office and the local planning bureau. Large areas of the network are already safe and of high quality. The participatory process enables children to be heard and to build a relationship with the neighbourhood.



figure 124 • Collage of new interventions at Böckmannstraße, by author

DESIGN PRINCIPLES



Networks

The kids network connects the main destinations of children via two main axes. The community street stretches from the station to the Lohmühlenpark in the East of St.Georg. The Böckmannstraße and Danzigerstraße build the North-South route of the kids network. These two streets are specifically designed for safe biking and walking. The rest of the streets in the network are calm residential streets or paths.



Architecture

Housing developments for families and children go along with the new backyard developments. Especially the available plots in the calm side streets are suitable for families and children. Depending on the location of the plot, the new buildings can host ground floor functions, such as organizations, offices or shops. Existing and new ground floor functions increase the publicness and safety of the streets.



Open space

The kids network addresses the need for public open space in the South-West of the neighbourhood by developing open backyards as play zones and recreation areas. The opening of private backyards allows transparency and facilitates community. The backyards are a safe environment for children to stop and play. Small green play zones along the main streets create a more playful and open street environment.



Legal-political

The kids network facilitates current collaborations between schools and the childcare organization SCHORSCH. SCHORSCH offers full-day care for children whose parents are working. The network offers small and larger possibilities for participation. The children can, for example, participate in the design and implementation of the project by planting trees or painting furniture. These small activities empower the children and create a connection to the neighbourhood.

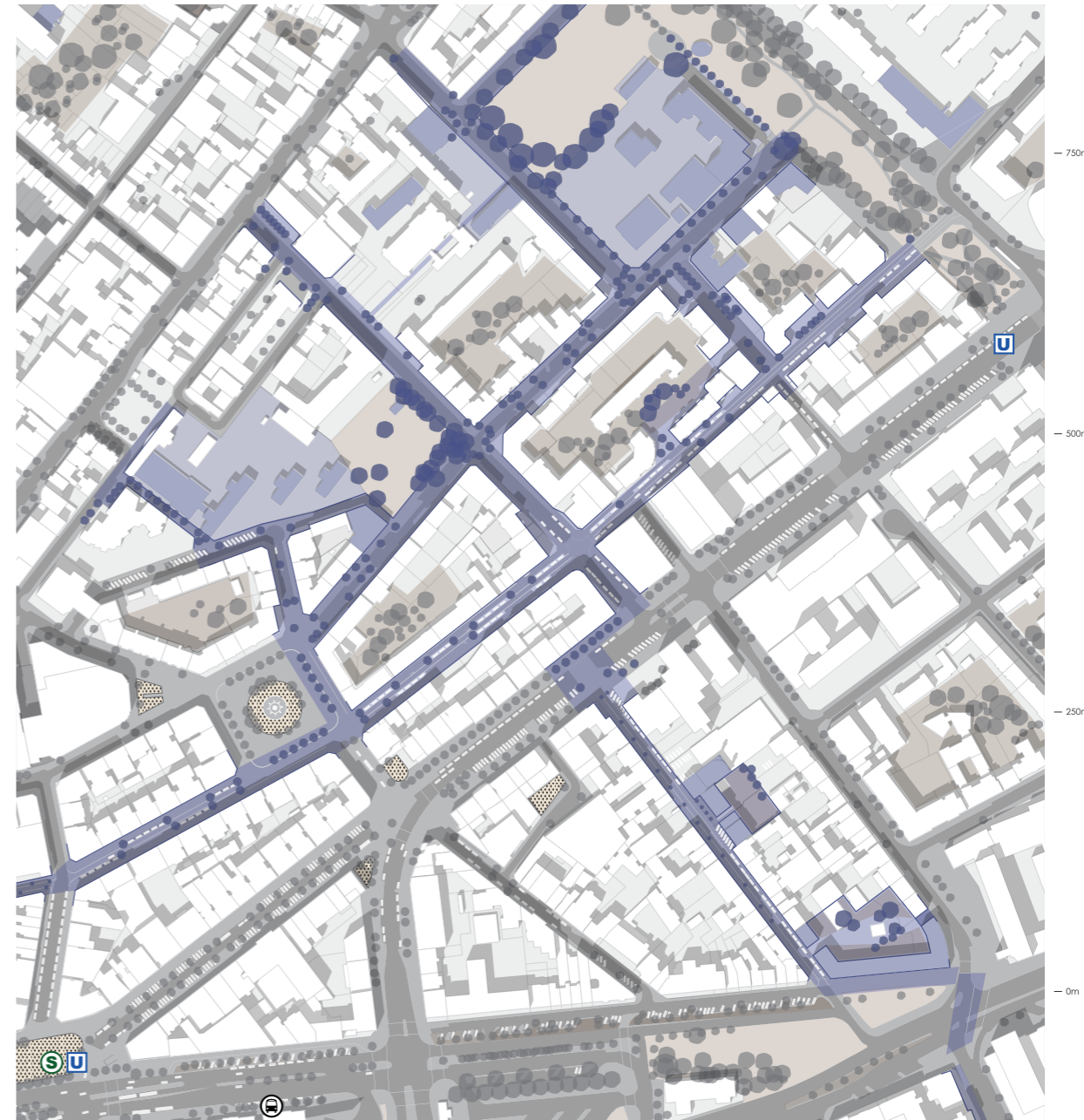


figure 125 • Kids network highlighted in blue, by author



figure 126• Implementation phases of the kids network, drawn by author

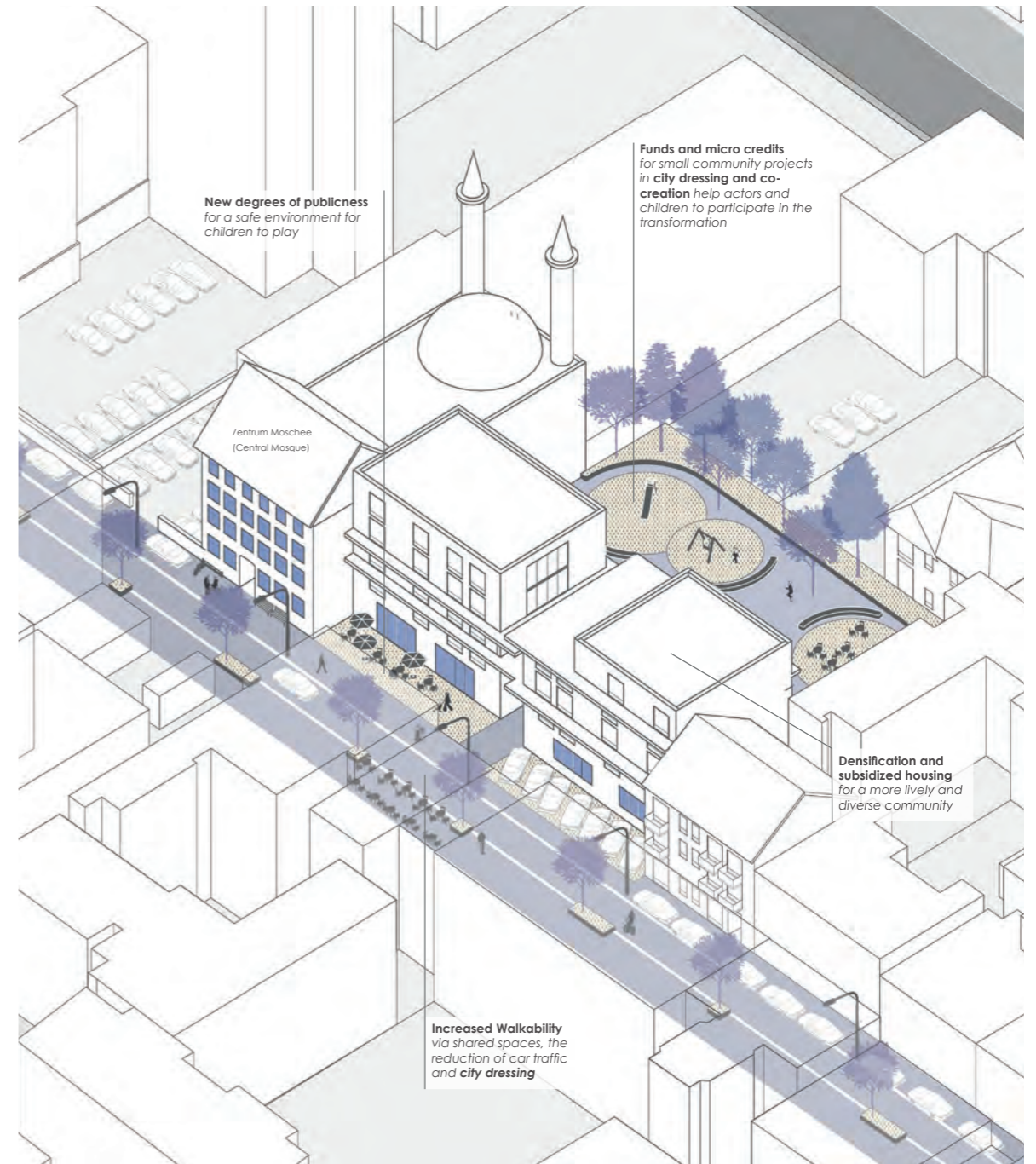


figure 127• Axonometry of Böckmannstraße as a shared space with opportunity structures, by author

Design reflection

The three design layers share common design elements that have proven useful during the process of design exploration and planning. All three design layers follow similar design principles for the regeneration of streets and densification of blocks. These principles build on the opportunity structures for networks and buildings. The following development guidelines are derived from the design reflection.

DENSIFICATION GUIDELINES

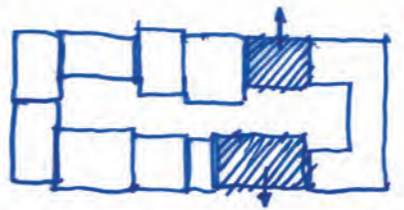
The densification guidelines can be facilitated by the district. Offering government support for small renovations, micro credits or tax benefits can facilitate the improvement of the block quality. The current maintenance regulation contributes to limit luxury renovations and keep the current tenants. New developments can be co-designed through public-private partnerships and rent control systems.

The large block



Large urban blocks should be arranged in an open block development. Open blocks create a playful relation between the inside and outside and break with strict street perspectives. Setbacks in the façade create more variation of large facades. These blocks can benefit from joined backyards.

The slim block



Slim blocks with small backyards should be developed with a maximization of the backyards to assure natural light and privacy. New developments are placed on the street front of the plot.

Specification of new buildings



The economic development of a plot requires a minimum building width of 14 meters. Small plots shall be joined. The ideal depth of buildings in slim block is 12-14 meters to ensure natural light.



Large, monotonous facades can be interrupted and structured by attached elements, such as balconies or front greenery. These measures are easy to implement and raise the street and building quality without affecting the tenant structure.



Communicative facades with balconies, large windows, terraces or roof gardens enable exchange between the inside and outside. The transparency of the façade facilitates street safety and quality.



On a high street, an extension of the ground floor function might be suitable to attract larger businesses. To prevent an unorganized backyard, an elevation of the whole backyard to the first floor is useful.

Densification of old buildings



The renovation of roofs can be used to densify the building structure. Penthouse apartments enable luxury renovations without changing the tenant structure inside the rest of the building and can help to finance the roof renovation. Various apartment types within one building enable a social mix.

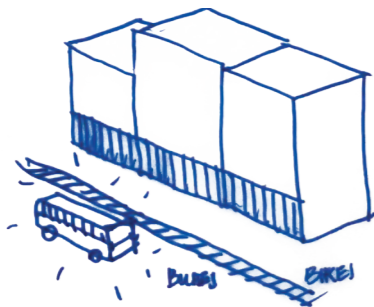
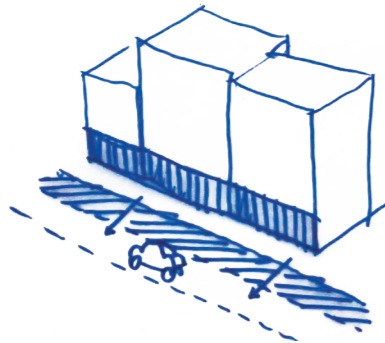


Large high streets with a loose layout can be brought back to human scale by building a frontal shop unit. This is a common element in other high streets of Hamburg.

STREET OPERATIONS

Inclusive streets enable the exchange between social clusters and give the agency back to the community. A healthy street design improves the quality of the living environment and facilitates various activities.

Mobility



Reducing motorized transport and widening of the sidewalk offer space for economic and social activities. Prioritizing sustainable transport such as bike lanes and bus stops create a more inclusive street environment.

This restructuring goes along with design elements that slow down transport and increase the visibility of transport users. Regular crossings facilitate exchange between the two sides of the street and increase the walkability.

The first steps towards an inclusive street can be a lower speed limit or the first transformation of parking space. Signs and colors on the street attract more attention of motorized vehicles.

Street facilities



Public seating, parklets or pocket parks along the street offer pedestrians a place to rest and watch. Greenery creates shade, fresh air and a healthy street environment through visual stimulation. Nocturnal lighting of corners and intersections ensure street safety.

Facilitation of shops to use parts of the sidewalk creates attention and liveliness of a street. Various activities, such as marketing, seating, eating, drinking, decoration etc. of a storefront are possible.

The new street facilities can be placed in small steps. Parklets and corner parks already have a major impact on the street quality and do not require a large street transformation.

Summary

The design guidelines serve to define values for the urban environment that generally increase the quality of a neighbourhood. The inclusive approach to the design aims to reduce inequalities in urban planning.

Strategic approaches to functional distribution and street choice ensure that urban transformation does not only benefit the neighbourhood. Streets that are considered to be well integrated in the network should be particularly accessible, because this also improves the connection between the districts. As a result, the newly designed street also benefits from more vitality.

Choosing new functions and target groups for housing construction can possibly reduce the displacement of disadvantaged groups and create a social mix. Such 'social engineering' strategies can help to strengthen a sense of community in the neighbourhood and address general, city-wide needs.

DESIGNING ARRIVAL CITIES

Which forms of planning and governance are necessary to organize integration spatially?

The objectives of empowerment, participation and interaction that initiate integration processes are each related to specific planning and governance methods (see paragraph objectives).

Inclusive planning requires the integration of the actors in the planning process. The extensive experience of the program 'Soziale Stadt' indicates (Bundesinstitut für Bau-, 2017), that successful neighbourhood planning builds on strong relations to the local stakeholders. This implies that the government needs to facilitate these connections between the actors in the first place. Micro projects serve as a good entry point to initiate these connections. Lengthy and formal planning processes demotivate the participants. Therefore, the way in which participatory meetings are organized should be as accessible as possible.

A detailed understanding of local conditions is fundamental for inclusive planning. This project has shown, that St.Georg profits from the local office, which is responsible for addressing the local needs and participatory processes. All three design layers have shown that a spatial project can serve as an excellent entry point for starting the participatory process and to empower actors.

VII. Conclusion

REFLECTING ON THE CHOSEN PATH

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Street life on Steindamm high street, photo taken by author

Conclusion

The Arrival city is a product of global development that coincides with a framework constructed by local conditions. The general disadvantages of newcomers overlay with the spatial disadvantages of most arrival cities. These spatial disadvantages are for the most part a product of large scale urban development.

The analysis of Hamburg has shown, that the city is characterized by transition processes, such as gentrification and suburbanization of poverty. Especially the disadvantaged groups are affected by these changes.

Nevertheless, a closer look at the local scale has shown that these problem areas are simultaneously places of opportunity. The self-organization of migrants over decades has led to the establishment of a great ethnic network across the city. The chosen case study of St.Georg is proof of this metropolitan organisation of migrants. The role of migrants as agents of urban development is not fixed to a particular neighbourhood. Complex networks throughout the city constitute the arrival network of newcomers. In small German cities and in suburban neighbourhoods, it is often the migrants who regenerate old shopping streets and buy or renovate housing. In the case study of St.Georg, migrants are transforming the neighbourhood slowly by taking over the shops previously owned by the host society.

The design process

How can the phenomenon of arrival cities be used to design spatial opportunity structures for migrant integration in German cities?

The phenomenon of arrival cities helped to understand how migrants use space and create their own opportunities. The needs of newcomers are reflected in their spatial activities. Therefore,

the theory and concept of the arrival city helped to observe and recognize these opportunity structures and relate them to urban development.

Designing for arrival cities means to design new relations between different social clusters. In many cases, it is not sufficient to only design for minorities. Therefore, many of the opportunity structures were created from the perspective of arrival cities but do as well address the receiving society. By implication, this means that many other social clusters can benefit from a newcomer-centred design approach.

The opportunity structures

A positive perspective on arrival cities aided and guided this project to analyse opportunity structures created by migrants and the urban context. The developed structures are based on the potentials of a central arrival city. In order to develop a wider set of opportunity structures, various urban contexts would have to be analysed in a similar way. The analysis of suburbs, for instance, might reveal completely new opportunity structures.

Reflecting on the integration theory

Subdividing the research into the three dimensions of integration has proven useful for studying the complex integration process in the neighbourhood. The use of space as a facilitator of integration is an important aspect for reducing inequalities in urban planning. However, the simplification of the receiving society is misleading. The 'receiving society' is a complex structure of classes, groups and origins. The case study has shown how complex the social structures of multi-cultural neighbourhoods can be. It was, therefore, useful to look for a new, joined identity of the neighbourhood rather than to focus on two sides.

The future of arrival cities

Interviews have shown that the migrants find multiple ways to compensate for their disadvantages. Most importantly, migrants move to other neighbourhoods to address their needs. The accessibility of information about sought for destinations helps the migrants to find their way in a new environment. The growing digitalization of these destinations as well as community organization (such as facebook pages, etc) reduce the need for migrants to live in the same neighbourhood. The increasing multi-culturalism of migrants decreases the size of the ethnic communities and thereby the likeliness for them to gather in the same neighbourhood.

A growing awareness of planners and authorities for the needs and capabilities of migrants improves their position as they evolve into agents of urban development. In some areas, migrants have become a marketable element of neighbourhoods. This trend can help to reduce discrimination and improve social cohesion.

In summary, it is likely that arrival cities will become more digital, multi-cultural and inclusive in the future. However, there will still be 'losers' of migration, that urban planners need to continue to consider cautiously and carefully.

Reflection

My thesis project 'Arrival City Hamburg', explores the connection between migration and space, taking Hamburg as a case study. The aim was to generate knowledge about arrival cities and to create transferable spatial structures for a spatial arrival city design and planning. This research has been structured in several phases, each lasting about one month: the definition, detection, case study and design of arrival cities. In each phase, different types of research and methods became relevant.

Until now, the project has detected the main problems of the case study arrival city and developed possible design solutions. In the next step, these interventions have to be revised. The last step of the research will be a transferability consideration.

Research and design

The relationship between research, analysis and design was the most difficult part of the project. The complexity of the project required a systematic approach to conclude the analysis and create a design guideline. This has been done via several methods, such as a need assessment, SWOT analysis and mainly, a design intervention matrix. This design matrix combines the findings and turns them into 'opportunity structures' for design. As a result, the design is based on the use of opportunities in the urban network rather than on problem-solving.

Limitations

As the project was limited to a one-year time range, the schedule did not allow an intense examination of arrival cities. Besides, I had no previous knowledge about arrival cities and the spatial impact of migration.

Arrival cities and migration are a complex field of research that requires a global as well as local understanding of space. The underlying processes require an analysis of political, social, economic, cultural and religious layers. Due to the time limit, not all dimensions could be addressed equally. Rather, the project tried to look at the three dimensions from the perspective of space, to find new potentials and relations. Furthermore, my competence is bound to the spatial dimension, while the research field of arrival cities, ethnic colonies and so on stretches across several disciplines.

Further limitations occurred during the research. Especially the informal interviews and interviews with shop owners were challenging and would have required more time and knowledge. Many of the ethnic inhabitants and shop owners were afraid to talk to me, due to criminal activities in the neighbourhood. Some of the interviewees were limited by language barriers, especially women. Another limitation is related to the design process. The design in this thesis is to be understood as a proposal, which, due to the limited time, could not be developed in several rounds or alternatives. The transferability of the concept to other municipalities is questionable and will be assessed at the very end of the project. Each context is unique, and the design still context-specific. Yet, important elements of the concept are likely to be transferable to other cities.

Societal relevance

Especially since the refugee crisis in 2015, integration is one of the main issues of political and societal concerns in many European countries. Through media and right-wing populist parties, the topic has become politically hot. The issue is dominated by the paradox of safety and openness, between the concentration of migrants and

segregation as well as acceptance and assimilation (European Commission, 2016).

During the refugee crisis, many administrative bodies failed to deal with the situation appropriately. The crisis revealed the political inability of administrations, structural discrimination and social segregation that is still embedded in the integration process today. It is relevant, that the understanding of integration is not only a matter of media and politics but also of research. The misuse of the topic for the sake of political interest is highly critical and should not influence the integration process.

This project tries to contribute to HOW integration can work better and not IF migration should happen at all. The focus on arrival cities represents the motivation to understand and improve the process of arrival and the conditions of disadvantaged neighbourhoods. The chosen focus on arrival cities puts the migrant and his needs in the centre, in order to design for this vulnerable group.

Neighbourhood development in many German cities still focuses very much on problem-solving. This project searches for alternative design drivers than problems, such as opportunities and facilitation.

Scientific relevance

As migration flows are increasing in complexity and become unpredictable, research on migration is in demand. New approaches to integration are necessary and especially the spatial dimension of integration is not yet properly explored. Migration will be one of the key factors of urban transformation in the future. Spatial phenomena of migration need more exploration and so does the arrival city concept. The transfer of this idea into a European context of arrival is an important step to examine the needs of migrants in European cities. The combination of research and design of this project is crucial since many projects in integration either focus on research or design proposals. The project uses a spatial approach to each dimension of integration, which adds the missing spatial perspective. The transferability of the research approach and the idea within the European context can be an inspiration for other researchers. Since the design is not necessarily only targeting arrival cities, the research framework and approach is the more transferable element.

Ethical considerations

The field of integration is characterized by discrimination, segregation and social disparities. Many terms used to describe integration, minorities or groups are not entirely politically correct. Still, there are not always alternative descriptions. Therefore, it is relevant to reflect on existing definitions and practices dominating the field.

When designing integration measures, it is important to reflect on the target groups and whether the intervention might even increase the segregation of specific groups. For the same reason, it is crucial to include actors in consideration that might not have a (strong) voice, such as kids, homeless or refugees.

All political decisions are made in the frame of current political discourses. Even administrations and organizations might be influenced by these processes. As an urbanist, it is important to contemplate such connections and interrelations. Interviews with organizations have shown that the social support system changes immediately with the change of a political party. Especially with a right-wing political climate, this can influence the process of integration tremendously.

Throughout the project, it became clear, that the main reason for inequality in cities derives from neo-liberal restructuring. Gentrification and downgrading processes as they were observed in the case study are linked to these restructuring processes. There are currently not enough political tools to slow or prevent gentrification and segregation in cities.

Also, the presented project will contribute to gentrification processes against its intention. There is a need for tools and measure that can create more stability and social cohesion, especially in expensive cities.

Reflection process and learnings

The linear design path as it is presented in this report does not reflect the design process behind it. Many original decisions had to be changed and adapted during the research process to meet the requirements. The most influential decision was the scale of the design. In the beginning, the research aimed to design a strategy of tools and actors for better arrival cities in the neighbourhood and city scale. After the fieldwork, the findings revealed that the neighbourhood and block scale should become the focus of design interventions. Yet, the overall structure of the research has proofed to be a legitimate approach.

The integration concept that was used to approach the analysis was especially helpful to manage the complexity of the topic.

The graduation research has been a journey. To be working on my own for one year was an intense and challenging experience. The studio did not offer strong guidance after the first months and so it was up to the students to share know-how. The combination of mentors was helpful to combine spatial planning and analysis, although their opinions were not always aligned. My mentors were guiding me with inspiration and feedback, which I carefully considered before incorporating it into my work.

Transferability

The innovative element of this research project lies in the research framework, which could serve as a manual to analyze and design other arrival cities. The main transferable products are the integration concept and the concept of opportunity structures. Both products are based on general concepts and could serve other arrival city studies.

Especially the opportunity structures are meant to be a growing catalogue of interventions that provoke specific qualities. It would be enriching for research to share experiences via the matrix of opportunity structures. A city-wide assessment of opportunities could give insight into migrant networks throughout the city and how compensation of disadvantaged areas would be possible.

The integration concept itself is very abstract and does already consist of several transferable integration concepts. As it is linked to the opportunities, the concepts should be applied at the same time.



Street life on Steindamm high street, photo taken by author

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Appendix

Arrival city classification method
Theory paper
Wilhelmsburg

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Classification method

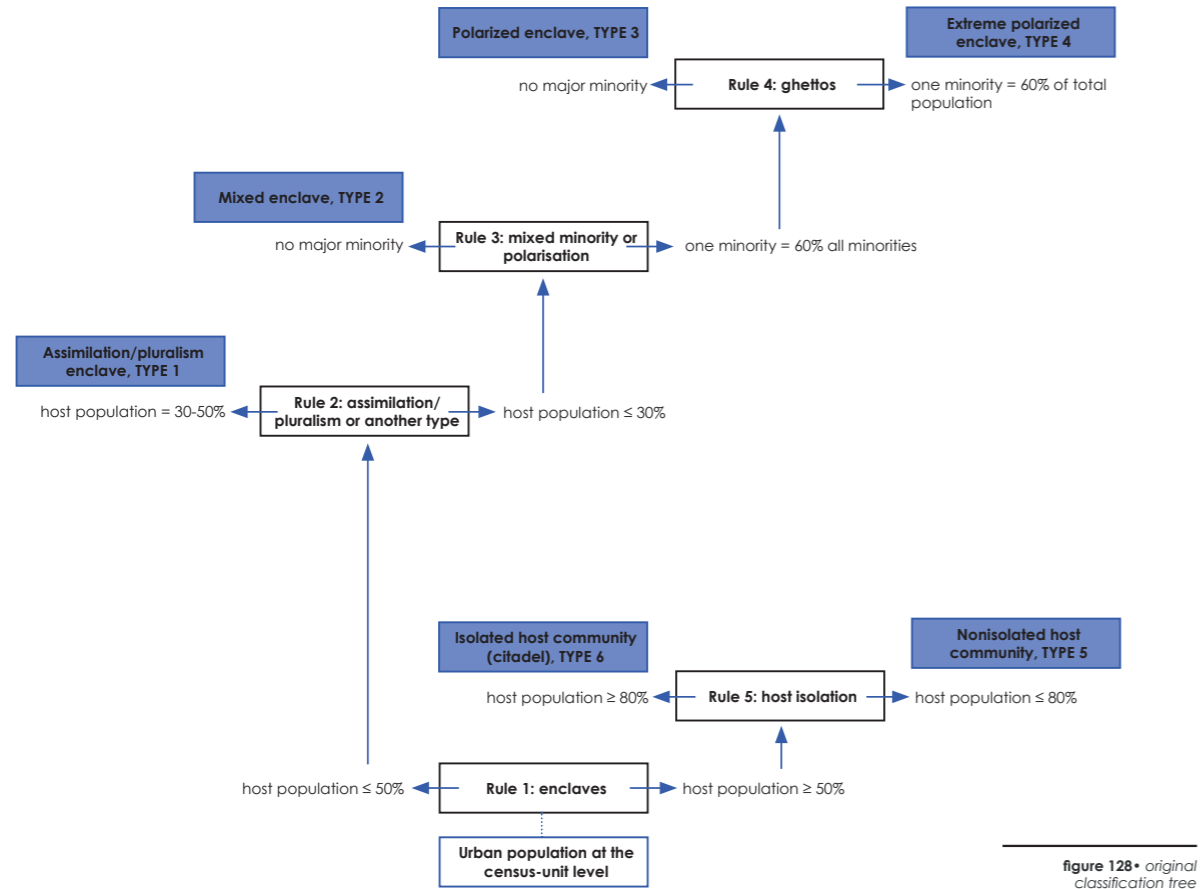


figure 128 • original classification tree diagram for arrival cities by Poulsen, Johnston, & Forrest (2001), drawn and by author

Stadtteil	MIG_number	MIG_share in %	MIG_Under 18	Turkish	Russian	Polish	Type 2017	MIG_number	MIG_share in %	MIG_Under 18	Turkish	Russian	Polish	Type 2013
Altenhöhe	297,00	22,00	31,70	6,70	21,90	27,90	5,00	220,00	16,80	24,60	10,00	21,40	25,90	6,00
Alexandorf	4 024	8,20	41,70	6,70	7 120	12,40	5,00	3 218	23,40	25,80	7,60	10,30	25,90	5,00
Altengamme	209,00	9,30	15,40	8,10	8,10	36,80	6,00	149,00	6,80	11,50	14,80	8,10	30,20	6,00
Altona-Alstadt	11 150	37,90	52,60	30,70	4,60	5,70	7,00	10 475	37,10	53,60	34,80	4,40	6,20	7,00
Altona-Nord	8 365	36,50	51,60	26,60	5,80	4,80	7,00	7 617	34,90	51,40	31,50	5,00	4,80	7,00
Bahrenfeld	11 481	36,90	50,00	13,30	7,10	5,60	7,00	7 596	27,90	41,30	21,20	8,80	8,70	5,00
Barmbek-Nord	13 292	27,00	47,00	11,70	8,50	10,50	5,00	9 335	23,40	32,10	14,50	7,80	11,00	5,00
Barmbek-Süd	9 518	27,10	46,00	10,60	9,50	10,20	5,00	7 902	24,10	44,30	12,50	9,40	10,30	5,00
Bergedorf	11 660	32,80	46,40	9,90	22,70	17,90	5,00	8 992	27,10	37,80	11,80	27,40	22,20	5,00
Bergstedt	1 924	17,70	27,80	2,20	10,70	10,00	6,00	1 169	11,40	18,00	2,90	13,80	15,30	6,00
Billbrook	1 806	85,20	97,40	1,80	3,00	5,90	2,00	1 002	71,30	94,60	2,20	1,50	11,50	2,00
Bilstedt	40 525	57,50	76,00	19,80	10,80	16,00	1,00	36 713	52,70	71,90	21,40	11,70	17,20	1,00
Bilwerder	2 716	73,10	87,30	1,10	3,90	8,10	2,00	266,00	20,00	19,80	9,00	10,90	38,00	5,00
Blankenese	2 370	17,60	25,00	2,80	9,60	7,80	6,00	2 123	16,20	23,70	2,90	8,20	8,30	6,00
Borgfelde	3 403	44,50	70,80	7,30	10,50	7,60	7,00	2 761	39,00	63,60	10,00	12,20	9,30	7,00
Bramfeld	15 227	29,10	46,00	9,60	14,10	14,70	5,00	12 696	25,10	41,10	10,50	16,10	16,10	5,00
Cranz	332,00	39,50	55,90	28,00	2,40	19,00	7,00	202,00	26,60	43,00	44,10	5,00	10,40	5,00
Curack	1 046	26,40	42,00	4,20	10,80	14,80	5,00	955,00	24,20	34,30	5,10	11,30	13,30	5,00
Dulsberg	7 478	42,90	71,60	23,30	7,70	8,40	7,00	6 943	40,30	71,40	26,70	7,60	9,00	7,00
Duvenstätt	985,00	15,80	26,80	2,60	10,60	11,90	6,00	897,00	14,40	23,40	1,60	11,40	10,10	6,00
Eidelstedt	11 656	35,70	55,70	19,30	11,20	10,50	7,00	9 671	31,20	50,60	21,50	12,00	12,30	7,00
Ellbek	6 851	31,20	54,20	11,10	10,50	9,80	5,00	5 665	27,10	52,20	13,80	11,20	9,60	5,00
Embsbüttel	13 526	23,50	32,70	12,50	8,40	7,30	5,00	12 213	32,10	32,10	14,50	5,80	7,50	6,00
Eißendorf	9 431	38,50	57,70	19,90	14,70	14,00	7,00	8 002	33,50	51,10	23,00	15,90	14,40	7,00
Eppendorf	5 078	20,60	28,70	4,60	8,30	9,30	5,00	4 408	18,50	27,10	5,00	7,90	9,40	6,00
Farmjan-Barne	10 704	30,80	46,80	8,60	13,60	15,40	5,00	9 225	27,10	42,00	8,90	14,80	17,50	5,00
Friedrop	111,00	15,60	11,10	11,10	10,80	40,50	6,00	71,00	10,50	6,70	8,50	15,50	38,00	6,00
Fuhlsbüttel	2 848	23,10	33,80	5,60	10,10	9,50	5,00	2 283	27,50	18,80	7,50	12,20	12,60	6,00
Größ Sornst	2 288	26,90	36,80	10,20	8,80	12,50	5,00	1 708	21,10	29,30	13,70	8,80	10,20	5,00
Größ Flottbek	2 472	22,40	28,30	3,80	10,20	5,30	5,00	2 250	20,80	27,30	4,60	9,30	5,00	5,00
HafenCity	1 718	47,30	67,60	2,20	8,70	5,70	7,00	582,00	30,30	47,10	1,90	14,10	8,10	5,00
Hamburg-Alstadt	990,00	42,90	65,70	10,10	13,60	11,70	7,00	664,00	39,60	62,30	13,10	17,90	12,00	7,00
Hamm	13 792	35,60	62,90	12,60	10,90	13,10	7,00	12 336	32,90	60,00	15,10	11,20	15,30	7,00
Hammerbrook	2 470	62,50	84,40	6,60	7,50	7,10	1,00	1 013	76,40	30,30	12,40	8,30	7,00	7,00
Harburg	15 255	58,90	81,30	16,50	7,40	9,20	1,00	11 973	52,80	76,50	21,30	8,40	10,50	1,00
Harvestehude	4 770	26,60	34,70	4,80	7,30	6,40	5,00	3 767	22,30	29,40	5,00	7,10	6,60	5,00
Hausbruch	9 051	53,30	70,50	15,30	38,40	14,60	1,00	8 682	50,90	67,50	15,60	41,70	16,00	1,00
Hemstedt	9 851	44,60	62,50	17,50	12,10	13,10	7,00	8 161	39,30	57,20	21,40	15,50	14,40	7,00
Hoheluft-Ost	2 140	22,20	29,50	10,00	7,70	7,10	5,00	1 898	27,40	27,00	7,20	6,60	6,10	5,00
Hoheluft-West	2 850	21,30	27,80	7,00	7,40	8,90	5,00	2 437	18,70	25,20	8,30	5,80	9,40	6,00
Hohenfelde	3 685	36,70	60,30	8,80	9,50	9,30	7,00	2 901	31,80	53,70	9,70	13,30	10,40	7,00
Horn	19 729	51,10	74,50	19,20	8,90	15,10	1,00	17 232	45,70	69,90	22,60	10,00	15,20	7,00
Hummelsbüttel	6 268	35,10	50,80	6,00	13,50	12,30	7,00	5 198	30,50	46,90	7,10	17,30	13,50	5,00
Isarbrook	2 536	21,90	33,70	8,90	17,80	11,70	5,00	2 171	19,50	29,80	9,60	13,10	12,80	6,00
Jenfeld	14 940	57,00	76,80	11,80	14,40	12,90	1,00	12 414	50,20	70,40	13,40	17,20	15,30	1,00
Kirchwerder	1 213	12,20	18,10	1,30	13,60	23,80	6,00	726,00	7,80	11,10	1,90	16,00	33,60	6,00
Kleiner Grasbrook u. Steinwerder	615,00	49,60	88,40	9,90	7,60	23,60	7,00	606,00	48,00	86,20	12,50	6,10	20,80	7,00
Langenbek	1 282	31,80	46,00	14,60	19,70	22,80	5,00	1 137	27,70	40,30	10,90	24,30	25,40	5,00
Langenham	14 308	31,20	45,60	9,90	12,20	11,50	1,00	10 659	25,40	39,80	11,40	13,90	13,30	7,00
Lemsahl-Mellingstedt	1 518	18,90	27,40	1,90	8,30	10,50	6,00	822,00	12,80	20,30	3,30	6,80	6,00	6,00
Lohnhügge	15 225	38,90	57,00	11,70	29,80	21,00	7,00	14 089	36,10	53,80	13,00	32,10	22,10	7,00
Lokstedt	8 480	29,70	43,10	10,30	9,70	7,60	5,00	7 629	27,80	43,00	11,40	10,00	8,80	5,00
Lurup	17 291	47,70	66,20	23,00	17,80	9,50	7,00	15 104	43,10	62,30	24,80	19,90	10,40	7,00
Marmsthal	3 524	26,50	41,40	9,90	8,70	11,40	5,00	2 687	21,80	35,30	11,80	10,80	11,70	5,00
Marmstorf	2 982	27,00	43,00	19,90	16,80	16,80	5,00	1 940	22,00	35,80	20,80	20,10	19,30	5,00
Moorburg und Altenwerder	127,00	17,00	17,50	1,00	7,10	17,30	6,00	87,00	11,90	12,60	-	1,10	27,60	6,00
Moorfleet	327,00	26,10	31,40	4,90	7,00	35,80	5,00	305,00	24,60	33,00	4,30	6,90	34,10	5,00
Neuallermöhe	15 363	64,50	78,60	5,60	39,70	22,50	1,00	14 705	61,90	73,90	-	-	2,00	2,00
Neuallermöhe	2 958	48,50	64,40	39,20	4,50	14,20	7,00	1 751	39,10	55,10	58,10	4,80	15,40	7,00
Neuengamme	372,00	10,00	16,30	2,20	15,10	30,60	6,00	245,00	6,80	9,30	11,80	43,70	6,00	6,00
Neugraben-Fischbek	13 747	46,00	64,50	13,20	33,00	14,80	7,00	10 614	39,00	56,70	10,614	17,20	17,20	7,00
Neuland und Gut Moor	718,00	41,70	62,10	9,70	10,40	8,20	7,00	477,00	31,60	52,90	13,40	13,40	13,00	7,00
Neustadt	4 670	36,60	50,50	14,10	9,30	11,00	7,00	4 299	34,90	50,00	16,60	9,50	10,20	7,00
Nienstedt	9 293	22,30	35,40	5,90	10,70	12,10	5,00	7 014	17,50	28,00	7,20	10,70	15,10	6,00
Nienstedten	1 448	19,80	27,20	2,80	9,90	7,50	6,00	1 312	18,10	23,90	1,50	7,90	8,50	6,00
Ochsenwerder	391,00	14,90	23,30	6,10	9,00	37,60	6,00	298,00	12,20	19,30	7,00	6,40	36,90	6,00
Otsdorf	3 999	24,40	36,20	7,60	8,30	9,80	5,00	2 826	18,70	26,00	9,70	8,80	12,80	6,00
Osdorf	10 647	40,30	57,30	14,80	20,90	9,50	7,00	9 182	35,60	52,20	16,70	24,50	9,90	7,00
Othmarschen	3 842	25,10	35,80	6,90	9,00	6,70	5,00	2 520	19,60	26,70	4,90	8,80	8,80	6,00
Ottensen	9 842	26,30	34,70	22,40	4,20	5,50	5,00	8 884	25,70	34,20	26,20	3,80	6,10	5,00
Poppenbüttel	4 866	20,90	35,60	4,60	10,60	12,20	5,00	4 160	16,60	27,80	5,00	11,10	13,50	5,00
Rahstedt	29 971	32,60	48,90	6,80	17,00	17,20	5,00	24 039	27,40	42,40	7,90	19,40	20,40	5,00
Reiherbrook	65,00	12,80	13,60	-	12,30	32,30	6,00	55,00	11,40	15,00	1,80	12,70	47,30	6,00
Rissen	2 753	18,00	28,80	6,00	10,00	12,70	6,00	2 267	15,10	22,70	7,20	10,60	15,70	6,00
Rönneburg	1 040	32,40	48,40	12,50	18,20	19,50	5,00	843,00	26,30	37,60	10,70	24,30	22,20	5,00
Rotherberg	5 147	55,60	78,60	17,40	7,10	15,90	1,00	4 628	51,40	76,90	19,90	8,40	15,50	1,00
Rotherbaum	5 064	30,20	37,20	4,30	9,70	5,50	5,00	4 510	28,00	34,60	4,80	9,20	5,50	5,00
Sasel	3 880	16,40	25,20	4,40	7,30	13,00	6,00	3 145						

Migrant integration in German cities

A comparative analysis of integration
concepts of Stuttgart and Hamburg

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Migration and integration are key factors of urban development. Much longer than the German national government, the municipalities have been designing integration strategies and concepts that functioned as examples for national and international integration strategies. This study compares two successful integration concepts of Stuttgart and Hamburg in order to find their strengths and weaknesses using the integration policy concept of Penninx & Garcés-Mascreñas.

Migration and integration are important parameters of urban development and urban growth. Whilst migration is a global phenomenon, integration has always been a matter of locality. The growing global dynamics of migration lead to a complex structure of origins, contexts, statuses, generations and cultures in the receiving society. This increasing complexity and diversity of integration processes ask for multi-scale and multi-layer strategies within particular urban contexts. Along with the European Union and the nation states, the European municipalities are the main actors of integration policy making and integration measures. In the last decades, numerous municipalities have stated their perception of integration problems and their approach to an integrative urban environment. Over the last 70 years, the majority of European national or municipal policies evolved from a non-policy over a stage of acceptance and assimilation to a pluralist policy (Alexander, 2007). The municipal integration strategies hereby give an excellent cross section of the complexity of integration processes as they combine the European and national integration framework with local demands and conflicts. They transcend the political norms and national as well as local perception of the integration issue that are then transmitted to communities,

organizations and individuals.

The literature context offers numerous definitions of integration and integration concepts. The understanding of the term integration in itself is depending on current norms and values. Newer concepts understand integration as a long-term, multi-scale process and an interaction between the newcomers and the receiving society (Penninx & Garcés-Mascreñas, 2016). Heckmann (2005) gives a more detailed definition of these processes:

Integration... can be defined as a long-lasting process of inclusion and acceptance of migrants in the core institutions, relations and statuses of the receiving society. For the migrants, integration refers to a process of learning a new culture, an acquisition of rights, access to positions and statuses, a building of personal relations to members of the receiving society and a formation of feelings of belonging and identification towards [that] society. Integration is an interactive process between migrants and the receiving society, in which, however, the receiving society has much more power and prestige.

In newer concepts, integration is a product of multiple factors of the socio-economic, cultural and institutional dimensions that need to be addressed. Time hereby plays a role

Key words –
Urban integration in
Germany, integration
concepts and policy
analysis, integration on
city scale

in the integration process of individuals and groups as well as in the development of the attitude of institutions (Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2016).

In politics, integration is a mainly problem-oriented discourse. Especially since the refugee crisis in 2015, integration is one of the major issues of political and societal concerns in many European countries. Through media and right-wing populist parties, the topic has become politically hot. The issue is dominated by the paradox of safety and openness, between concentration of migrants and segregation as well as acceptance and assimilation (European Commission, 2016). During the refugee crisis, many administrative bodies failed to deal with the situation appropriately. The crisis revealed the political inability of administrations, the structural discrimination and the social segregation that is still embedded in the integration process today.

Disregarding its history, Germany has been calling itself an immigration country officially since 2005 (Thamm & Walther, 2005). Yet, municipalities and regions have been dealing with integration policy concepts long before that. In a national competition for integration strategies the experiences of successful municipalities, villages and counties were collected (Thamm & Walther, 2005). Many municipalities came to the conclusion that a successful integration strategy has to be designed by all relevant actors and needs to be a task across departments. All parties need to be in consensus about the aims and potentials of the integration policy. Most successful concepts have a strong focus on participation and networking of actors as well as a decentralised approach (Thamm & Walther, 2005). Most municipalities are dedicated to a constant monitoring of all action fields and the process of intercultural opening of institutions. The engagement of local actors and municipalities in integration and the delayed statement of the national government was perfectly illustrated during the refugee crisis in 2015. Fear and conflicts dominated the

national debates while the counties and municipalities were actively engaged in acute problem solving.

The following comparative analysis contrasts and evaluates the integration concepts of the Free Hanseatic City of Hamburg and the provincial capital Stuttgart by referring to the concept of integration by Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas. Both cities share a history of economic migration due to their major industries such as the harbor in Hamburg and the automotive industry in Stuttgart. Today, both cities have a high percentage of inhabitants with migration background and a strong economic standpoint. Both municipalities mirror and process the current political, theoretical and social conflicts within their policies and publications. The municipalities are the key actors in integration as they immediate between the national and local administrations and organizations. Each municipality will be briefly described with its history of migration and its current political discourses. In regard of the refugee crisis in 2015, 'pre-refugee' and 'post-refugee' documents will be taken into account. The last step implies the comparison of the outcomes in both municipalities and the search for essential differences or assimilations of the policy documents. The aim of the analysis is to understand how the integration problem can be represented in local concepts as a reaction to complex influences. The municipalities have major influence on the success of integration and how they 'sell' and use the problem to engage actors and improve urban development is crucial.

Concept of integration reviewed

Integration policies are aiming to guide and to support the integration process. According to Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas (2016) the studying of integration policies should be done in three steps. In the first step, the perception of the integration problem is studied. This implies the definition of the problem, whether it is considered a problem or potential and if the migrant is appreciated or not (Penninx &

Garcés-Mascareñas, 2016). In the following step, the authors propose to analyze the planned actions in the legal-political, the socio-economic and the cultural-religious dimension. Each of these dimensions stand for an important pillar involved in integration: the state, market and nation (Entzinger, 2000). It is most likely, that not all dimensions will be addressed equally. Finally, Penninx and Garcés-Mascareñas propose to analyze which main focus groups the policies are made for.

Stuttgart- Integration through labour market

The metropolitan area of Stuttgart is one of the strongest economic regions in Germany due to the automotive and supply industry. The unemployment rate is under the national average and the region stands out in attracting high-skilled labour. The population is constantly growing and so is the percentage of people with migration background. Currently, approximately 45% of the 600.000 inhabitants have experienced migration or have parents who migrated. In 2001, Stuttgart has been one of the first municipalities in Germany to establish a board for integration policy and an overall integration strategy (Landeshauptstadt Stuttgart, 2009). The strategy was revised in 2004, 2009 and 2018. Stuttgart's approach to integration is strongly influenced by the dominating industry and the local work ethic. The concept makes a clear relation between integration and the economic success of the region, migration is seen as a development factor. The use of the term integration 'alliance' reveals the participatory and collaborative understanding of integration. The municipality of Stuttgart was internationally honored for its integration policy and shares experiences within several national and international committees, such as Cities for Local Integration Policies for Migrants" (CLIP) and the European Congress of Local and Regional Authorities. (Landeshauptstadt Stuttgart, 2009). Successful Integration is defined as an equal participation of the 'new Stuttgarters' in the social life of the city, whereby participation builds the base for the identification of the migrants with the city itself (Landeshauptstadt Stuttgart, 2009, 2018). The integration alliance puts forward three main aims: the facilitation of participation and equal opportunities among all people, the support of a peaceful

coexistence of communities and the use of cultural diversity as a personal and professional expansion of competences of all people in the international urban society (Landeshauptstadt Stuttgart, 2009:7).

Problems in integration are seen as directly related to the future economic success of the region. The integration documents (Landeshauptstadt Stuttgart, 2009, 2018) state all problems related to economy as future potentialities. The main benefit of the automotive industry is the broad demand for high as well as low-skilled labour. Therefore all groups of immigrants are welcome. The municipality turns every person with migration background in Stuttgart simply into a 'Stuttgarter' and thereby a responsible member of society (Landeshauptstadt Stuttgart, 2009, 2018). This pragmatic approach to integration builds the base for the collective understanding that the 'integration alliance' is proposing.

The main action fields of the policy are education, economic and social integration, political participation and local integration. In the legal/political dimension, the city of Stuttgart promotes more political engagement of people with migration background on municipal as well as neighborhood scale. The language is seen as a base for any of these activities. Several action fields cover the social/ economic dimension, such as education, professional, local and social integration. The educational program contains language courses and intercultural exchange in all educational institutions. An aimed support of disadvantaged children shall help to reach equal job opportunities. Adults with migration background receive language courses, additional educational and job programs with the help of local mentors. The professional support for migrants focuses on the unemployed, self-employed and graduates, which receive support and counseling. The social integration promotes more engagement in social and cultural activities and specifically targets the youth, senior citizens and women. The local integration is meant to provide affordable housing and a culturally as well as generationally mixed living environment. The cultural and religious dimension is addressed in a limited way. The municipality

1. According to the German 'Zensus 2011' people with migration background
I. are foreigners (without German citizenship)
II. or born abroad and migrated to Germany after the 31 December 1955 (with German citizenship) or
III. have a parent that was born abroad and migrated after the 31 December 1955 to Germany

promotes the religious and cultural exchange between groups and individuals, but does not comment on religious contents (Landeshauptstadt Stuttgart, 2009, 2018). The city wants to engage more cultural diversity within the cultural offers of the city, although it officially rejects the idea of multiculturalism.

Stuttgart tries to strategically attract high-skilled workers through labour and study programs. Since 2015, there is a major focus on the integration and accommodation of refugees. With the help of a naturalization campaign guided by the head mayor, the region wants to promote the citizenship to the approximately 25% of foreigners (Landeshauptstadt Stuttgart, 2009). Several measures are targeting the receiving society via campaigns and community building activities. In addition the municipality is planning a structural change within the administration to attract more public servants with migration background. Since 2009, new groups of focus are European migrants from countries heavily affected by the economic crisis, such as Spain, Italy and Greece and migrants from Eastern-European countries (Landeshauptstadt Stuttgart, 2018).

Hamburg- harbor of arrival

The harbor and trade history of Hamburg is responsible for its urban growth and for the independence of the Free Hanseatic City. As a city state, Hamburg has an advantage in administration as the municipality and federal state are one. The harbor has led to national and now international migration. Currently, the percentage of people with migration background is about 34% of the total population. The top countries of origin are Poland, Bulgaria, Romania, Spain and Turkey. The first integration concept of Hamburg was adopted in 2006 and reviewed in 2013 and 2017. Hamburg defines integration as the equal and measurable participation of people with migration background in the central aspects of social life. It is built upon the thought of inclusion, which describes that all people should be part of society (BASFI, 2017). This definition functions along with measurable indicators as the main aim of the integration strategy. The concept is aligned with three phases of integration: the phase of arrival in the first weeks, the basic integration in up to three years of stay and lastly the phase of

having arrived. According to these phases the municipality tries to provide acute and long-term support for newcomers.

The integration related problems are perceived as challenges for the entire city and society. The integration concept is formulated in a rational way and states challenges along with possible solutions. Migration is rather seen as a matter of fact than an opportunity, although advantages of migration are mentioned, such as the balance of demographic change and a possibly positive effect on economy and innovation (BASFI, 2017). Immigrants are neither wanted nor unwanted as they have been part of the city's history since 1950 (BASFI, 2017). The main strategies of Hamburg are the intercultural opening of the administration itself, the reduction of structural discrimination and the management with the help of indicators (BASFI, 2017). Specifically the refugee crisis in 2015 has brought up civil engagement among inhabitants and established a welcoming attitude towards the topic. Therefore the integration concept of 2017 emphasizes a participatory process more than ever.

The concept focuses on seven main action fields, most of them located in the legal/political and social/economic dimension. In the legal/political field, the city promotes naturalizations and a higher political engagement among people with migration background. The base for this political participation form language and orientation courses, in which the basic values and political systems are introduced. As a subsequent help, the migration counseling and 'Welcome Centers' help migrants with their problems and needs. The aim of these measures is the strengthening of the democracy and a higher participation and political education. The social/economic dimension is represented by several action fields. The first field targets education and aims at a good educational network from the start. The municipality tries to put more effort in the promotion of kindergartens and provides preparation classes for migrant children before school. Parents shall also be more engaged in the daily school life of their children. After school, the transition into a practical vocational training or dual curriculum shall be assisted with. In addition the international opening of universities and schools is planned

to be improved.

The second field deals with professional integration. The municipality focuses on women with migration background as they are still underrepresented in economy. Further on, Hamburg offers more support for professional development and highly promotes self-employment among people with migration background. The third field 'arriving in society' deals with the empowerment and engagement of migrants and possible integration factors such as culture, sports and other leisure activities. The fourth field is about the housing market. The municipality has access to initial reception, social housing and subsidized housing. Since the housing market in Hamburg has gotten very expensive and competitive, the city is constantly developing new social and subsidized housing. Several urban development programs are dealing with problematic and segregated neighborhoods. The last field addresses the health system and tries to provide fair and affordable access to health insurance and treatments. The cultural/religious dimension is not addressed sufficiently. The city of Hamburg made agreements with major religious institutions, in which the municipality declares their acceptance and support and the institutions in exchange guarantee the respect of the societal norms. Due to the separation of state and religion, the city of Hamburg does not further engage in the religious dimension. Yet, the Academy of World Religions of the University of Hamburg discusses critical religious issues within a board of scientists and religious representatives.

The target groups of the integration concept are mainly people with migration background, but also the host society. Migrants are divided into age or status groups, depending on the intended measure. The educational and professional action field targets almost all age groups. Since a few years, even refugees without a permission to stay can attend an educational or professional program (BASFI, 2017). The integration concept from 2017 is mainly dealing with the integration of refugees since it deals with the consequences of the refugee crisis. Old groups of migrants are specifically targeted with the naturalization campaign and job programs.

Comparison

Both cities have similar definitions of integration, that include a participatory process and equal opportunities. In addition, Stuttgart also mentions the thought of identification through participation. The aims that both municipalities state also show significant similarities. Here, Stuttgart refers additionally to the use of cultural diversity as a potential for development (Landeshauptstadt Stuttgart, 2009), while Hamburg refers to measurable targets.

Compared to the rationality of the integration concept of Hamburg, Stuttgart's integration alliance shows much more opportunism. Integration is presented as a process with positive influence on society, innovation and economy of the region. Since integration is a matter across departments, the head mayor represents the issue.

Both municipalities have an opportunistic or rational approach to problems, that are always directly combined with a possible solution. Integration is seen as an interdisciplinary, multi-scale process. While Stuttgart is almost actively inviting migrants, Hamburg stays again with the rational approach.

Looking at the three dimension of integration proposed by Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas, it becomes visible that both integration strategies do not treat the dimensions equally. In the legal-political dimension, the municipalities offer support to migrants and promote naturalization. Due to the national migration laws, both municipalities are limited in their legal decision making when it comes to legal statuses of migrants.

The focus of both municipalities is clearly located in the socio-economic dimension. Job programs, coaching, student programs and international recruiting are actions being taken for the economic prosperity of the cities. The improvement of the educational infrastructure for students as well as adults is an important factor for integration in both concepts. Also community building happens in both cases in the local districts via community engagement, language, courses, sports, culture and mentoring.

The cultural-religious dimension is underrepresented in both action plans. Both refer to the national separation of religion and state (Landeshauptstadt Stuttgart, 2009; BASFI, 2017) and prohibit multiculturalism.

Stuttgart states the opinion that cultural and religious support of communities does not help the overall integration between the migrants and the receiving society. Migrants communities with a focus on social integration are supported. Still, both cities promote the intercultural dialogue and intercultural education as a main action.

The target groups are separated either into status or age groups. There is no separation of religious groups. Whether the focus lies on a specific status or age depends on the action. Both post-refugee documents have a clear concentration on refugee integration and the general improvement of integration monitoring. Also media representation became a new issue in both concepts, which also is a consequence of the refugee crisis.

Both concepts are dealing with the complexity of actors and dimensions of integration and concentrate on the HOW rather than the IF. Each concept addresses the horizontal and the vertical direction of integration policy by promoting the participation among actors and exchanging knowledge with national and local administrations. The focus lies on governance rather than government since the integration policies are built upon agreement with numerous actors and help to guide and steer integration processes.

In general, both concepts question the institutional systems, such as the school system and the structure of the administration itself and follow a very benefit-based integration. Whether the National Action Plan for Integration of Germany has led to eventual assimilations of the concepts could not be answered in this analysis.

Regional differences occur in the way the concept is sold. Stuttgart sells the concept via its economy while the harbor in Hamburg functions only as a metaphor. Stuttgart refers numerous times to local traditions and the history of the region, whereas Hamburg follows the so called 'We-concept'.

Although both cities follow a more or less open and welcoming attitude to migration and integration, discrimination of migrants is still visible in political discourse and integration concepts. Some of these issues might be rooted in the national migration policy while others can be found in the implementation of municipal policies.

Moreover, both concepts do not consider

trends in a sufficient way, which raises the question whether future unforeseen events can be dealt with.

Conclusion

In general, the integration concepts show a positive recognition of migration and integration and make integration one of the prioritized topics on their agenda. Positive is also the multi-scalar and multi-dimensional approach to integration and the growing efforts in monitoring and evaluation. The focus on a participatory and collaborative process makes integration a matter of society as a whole.

The cultural/religious dimension needs further exploration and research on how culture and religion can be part of the integration process instead of being perceived as a segregative element.

To answer whether the integration actions are just a collection of independent measures or really add up to the higher aims, can only be answered in a long-term assessment process.

In order to accomplish a complete policy study, an analysis of the implementation of policy measures with the help of interviews and a detailed study of the other policies influencing integration, such as e.g. the housing and the migration policies is necessary (Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas, 2016). A second point that needs to be analyzed would be whether the values and aims, that the municipality states are translated by independent organizations and actors. Thirdly, the horizontal and vertical networks of integration actors need a detailed analysis of funding, support and knowledge exchange. Since the two cases were lacking the cultural/religious dimension of integration, it would be interesting to study municipalities that promote cultural diversity or even multiculturalism.

Integration in Germany is a mainly urban phenomenon. The spatial composition of a city and the historical as well as future urban development have a great influence on the success of integration. Yet, the spatial dimension is not sufficiently addressed in the municipal concepts nor the concept of Penninx & Garcés-Mascareñas. Glick Schiller and Çakar (2009: 177) complain that 'migration scholars have lacked a comparative theory of locality; scholars of

urban restructuring have not engaged in migration studies'. A spatial perspective to integration of the municipalities could widen the view on the problem of social and spatial segregation of migrant groups.

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Wilhelmsburg

Wilhelmsburg was originally the second case study of this project. Due to the size and complexity of the area, the choice was made to only study St.Georg.

Wilhelmsburg is the largest neighbourhood of Hamburg and located on a large island on the river Elbe. Three other neighbourhoods are located on the island: Veddel, Steinwerder and Kleiner Grasbrook. Until 2008, Wilhelmsburg belonged to the administration of the district Harburg in the South. Now, the neighbourhood is part of Hamburg-Mitte, the central district. Although Wilhelmsburg is the largest neighbourhood, it only ranks fourth considering the number of inhabitants.

Wilhelmsburg is characterized by a wide range of housing, harbour and industrial areas and recreation or agricultural area. The district administration subdivides these fragmented patches in five social sections (see map on the right.)

Wilhelmsburg is one of the experimental areas for new urban development in Hamburg and was part several development programs. Due to the large industrial and green spaces, Wilhelmsburg offers several vacant spaces for development, events or leisure activities.

Wilhelmsburg hosted the national horticultural show and is the location of several music festivals. In the former application proposal for Olympia was Wilhelmsburg one of the key areas. The promotion of the area is actively supported by the municipality. The merge of Wilhelmsburg with the central district Hamburg-Mitte expresses this view.

The following text summarizes the description of the neighbourhoods by the municipality (Bezirksamt Hamburg-Mitte, 2015).

1. Wilhelmsburg-Reiherstieg

This area was built in the end of the 19th century as a working-class district. After the war, the area was run-down. The flooding of 1962 and the change of the harbour brought the area into economic

and social difficulties. The municipality decided to extend the harbour area and stopped investing in the neighbourhood. As a result, the first guest workers moved in. In 1970, the municipality decided to keep the area and renovate.

2. Korallus-/Bahnhofsviertel/Schwentnering

This area hosts the former rail worker's apartments, which were built around 1890 as the result of a reorganisation of the harbour. The area is located in the centre of the island and connects directly to the station. In 1970, the municipality developed a new station area due to the regional train connection to Harburg in the South. Several development programs from 1990s until today renovated the area in order to attract new inhabitants. Since 1960 until today, the area has social and subsidized housing districts.

3. Wilhelmsburg-West

Wilhelmsburg-West was like Wilhelmsburg-Reiherstieg a harbour working-class district. High unemployment and social problems were the result of the restructuring of the harbour and the shrinkage of dockyards.

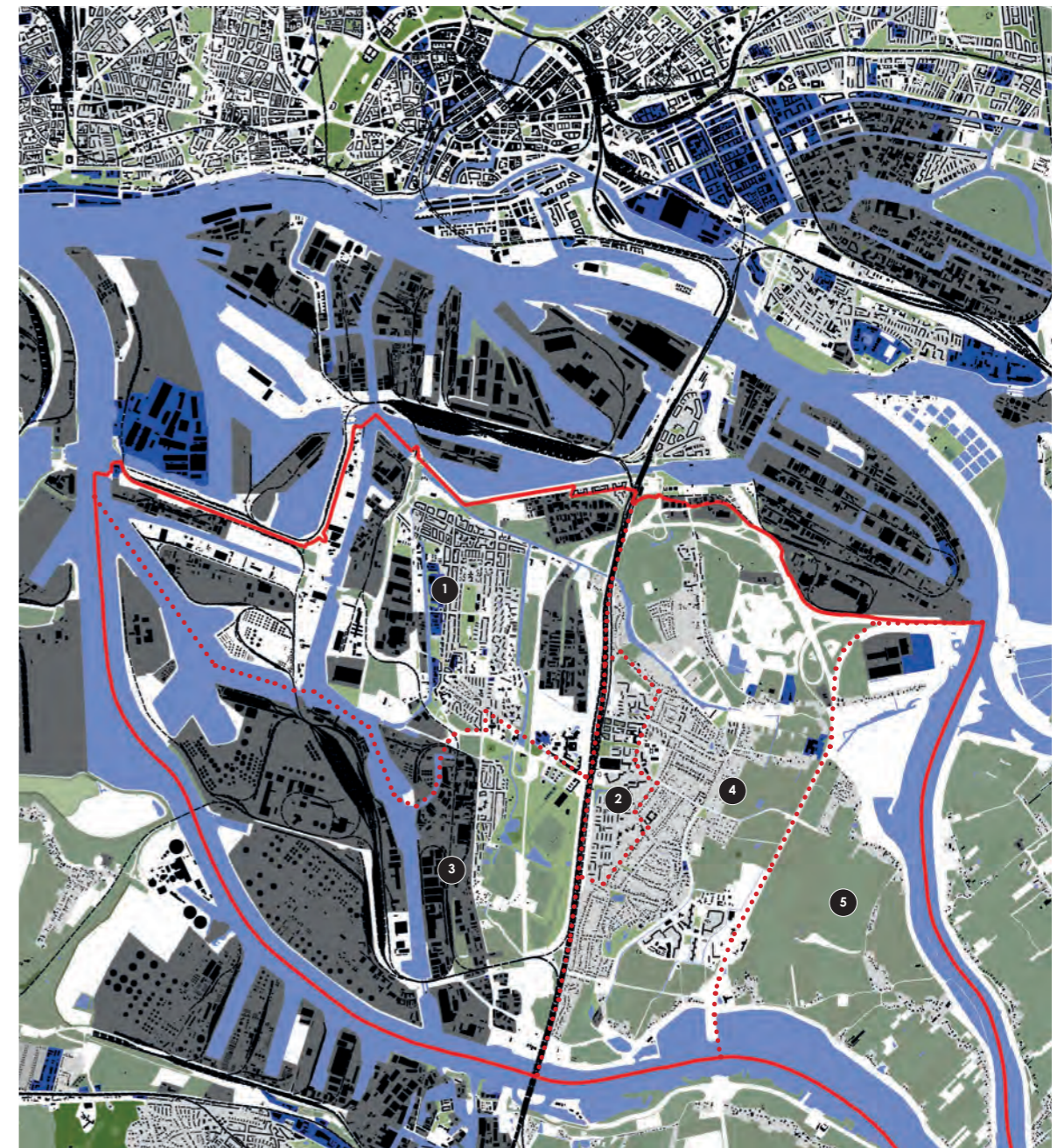
4. Georgswerder/Kirchdorf

Built in the 1930ies, the area was established for harbour workers and their families. Family houses and the historic centre are a contrast to the industrial zones.









The area in the South-East with the large housing estate disrupts the village-like appearance of the area. This high-rise area was built in the 1970ies for 6.000 inhabitants. Despite all the development programs, that tried to improve this area, the location far from public transport and surrounded by agriculture stays a problem.

5. Moorwerder

Moorwerder is characterised by recreation area, small farm houses and agriculture. Marked by idyllic landscape and marshland, this area contrasts the rest of Wilhelmsburg.



Legend 1:100.000

 commercial	 Water system
 farm	 Buildings
 industrial	
 reserve	
 recreation	
 residential	

1. Wilhelmsburg-Reiherstieg
2. Korallusviertel/Bahnhofsviertel/Schwentnering
3. Wilhelmsburg-West
4. Georgswerder/Kirchdorf
5. Moorwerder

Map of Wilhelmsburg,
map drawn by
author, source:
geofabrik.de,
data OSM

HOUSING TYPES

Wilhelmsburg is characterized by a heterogenic housing landscape. Along with the housing types, the open spaces show a high diversity. The built density is much lower compared to the centre of Hamburg, but also varies strongly across the whole neighbourhood (see figure 95).

Housing type 1 is the oldest housing in the area and represents the typical perimeter block development, that can be found in the city centre. The housing type was developed as working-class neighbourhood due its proximity to the harbour. Today, after the war reconstruction, the buildings within the blocks show various styles and dimensions. Most of the yards are used for facilities or community gardens.

Housing type 2 describes high rise, prefabricated housing developments on common ground. Large parking areas and grass surround the building complex.

Housing type 3 are parallel or rectangularly arranged buildings with green spaces in between. The inner streets serve only residential usage and parking.

Housing type 4 are row houses arranged along a long North-South street. The buildings are a mix of row houses, single houses and doubles houses in a row. Only a few row houses can be found in the area.

Housing type 5 is a typical single-family housing area. Large gardens surround the buildings and purely residential streets connect the developments.

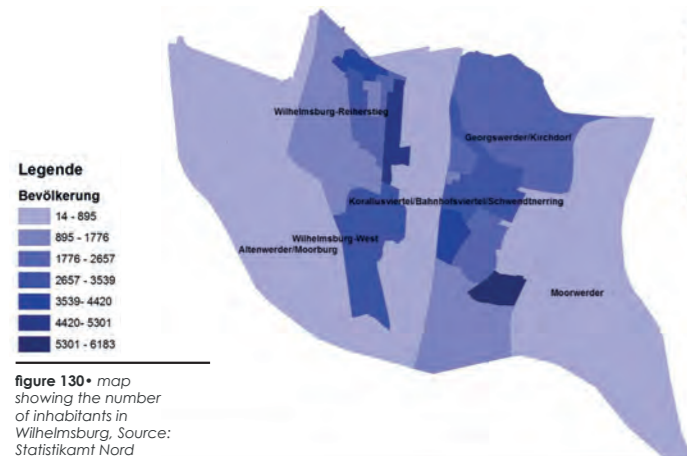


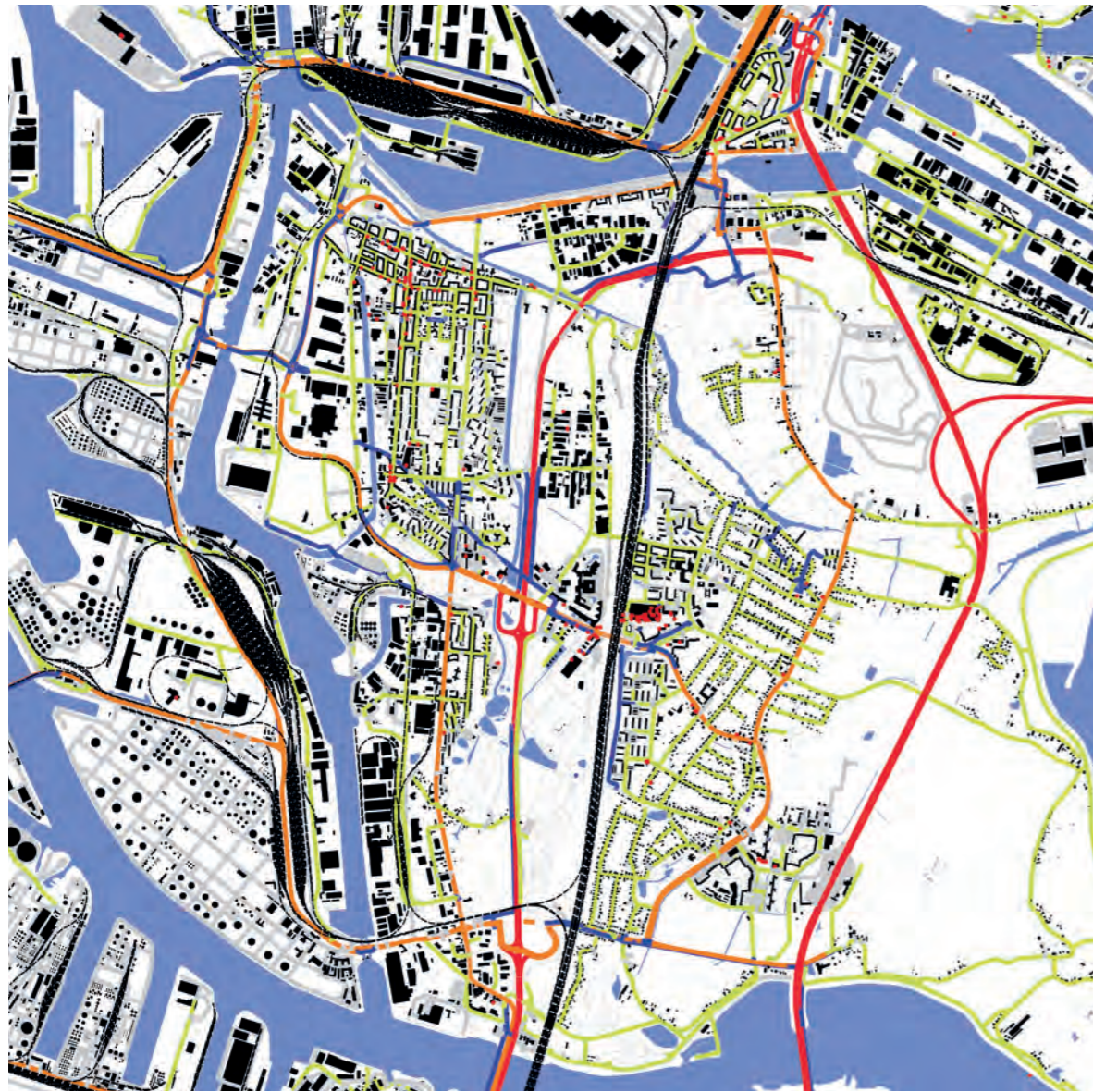
figure 130 • map showing the number of inhabitants in Wilhelmsburg. Source: Statistikamt Nord



Legend 1:50.000

- Railways
 - Street network
 - Buildings
 - Water system
- Centralities**
- Public and culture
 - Commercial
 - Health

SPATIAL COMPOSITION



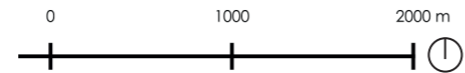
Legend

Street network copy

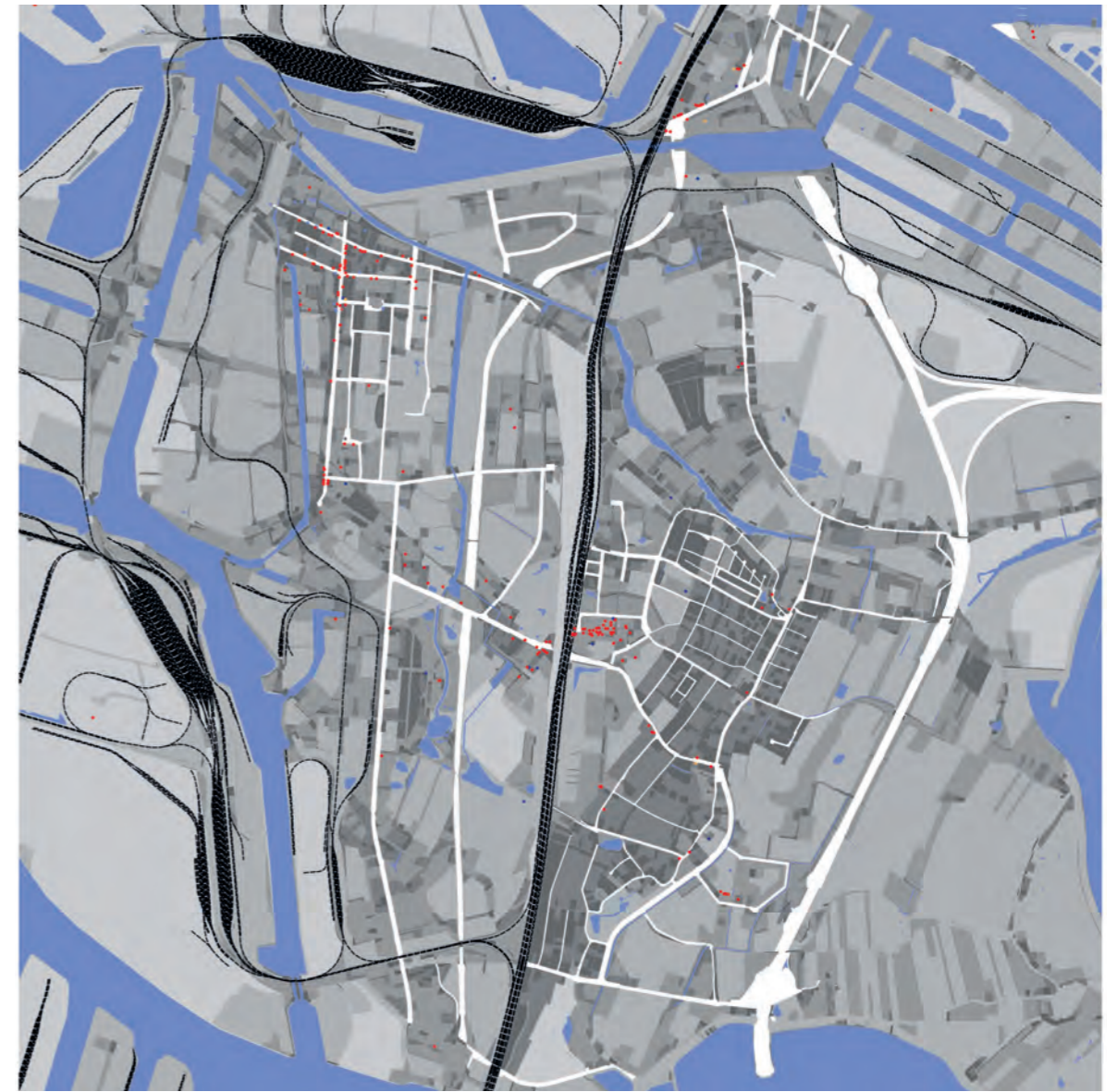
- cycleway
- primary
- secondary
- tertiary
- pedestrian

Centralities

- Public and culture
- Commercial
- Health



The street network has all street frequencies from primary to tertiary. Many of the primary and secondary streets are hardly populated and therefore show no high street patterns. The North-South orientation of the streets presents the strong connection of Hamburg centre to Harburg. Yet, the network lacks in strong cross connections.



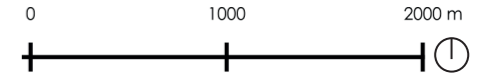
Legend

Size of parcels

- 0 - 1000
- 1000 - 2500
- 2500 - 10001
- 10001 - 100001
- 100001 - 4000000

Centralities

- Public and culture
- Commercial
- Health



The parcel sizes vary across the terrain. Small parcels are occupied by single family houses, row houses and block developments. Many post-war developments show big parcel sizes. The ownership rate in Wilhelmsburg is at ten per cent and the social housing rate weighs 30 per cent.

CENTRALITIES



Legend

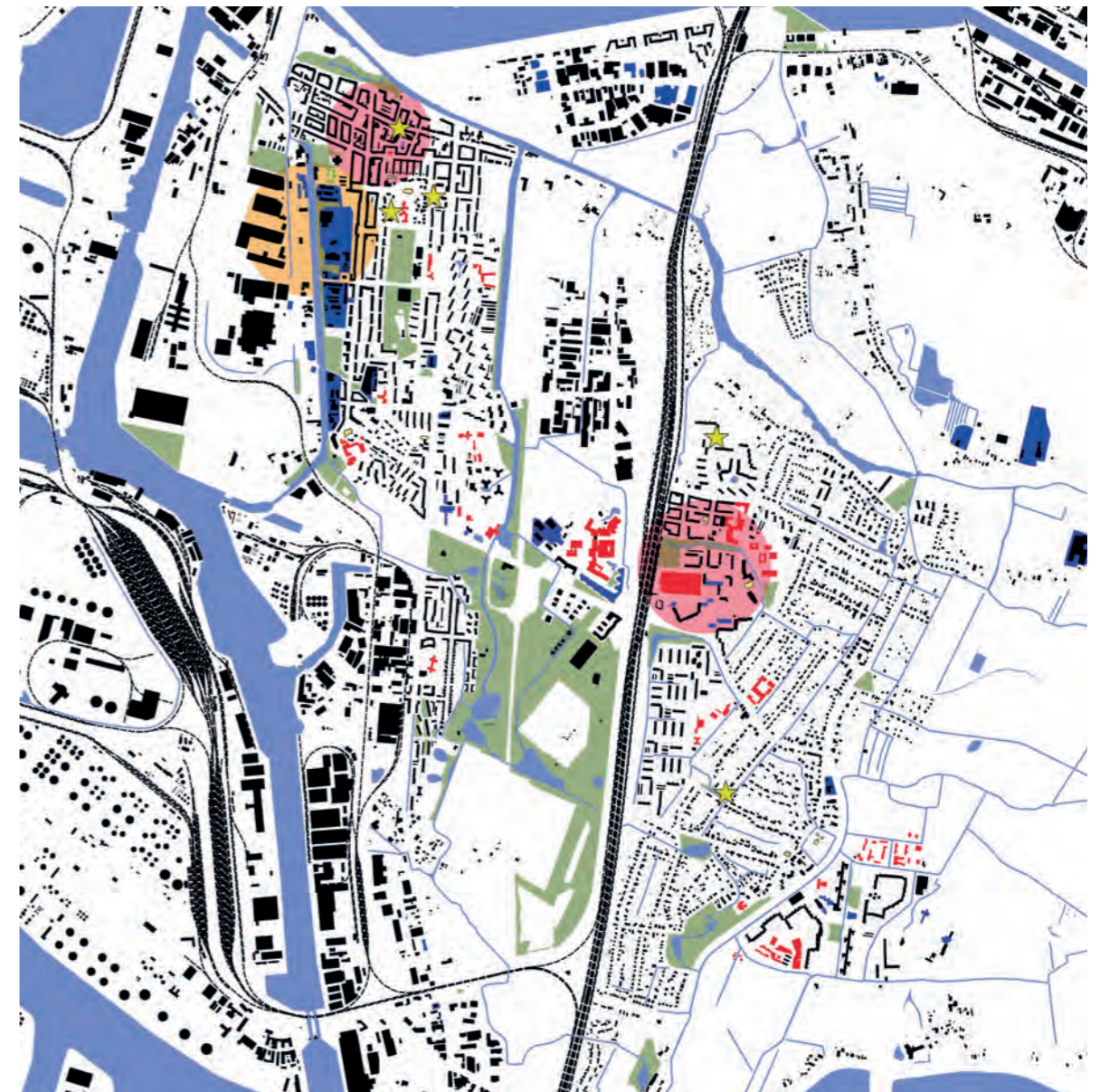
- Railways
- Water system
- Buildings
- Centralities Wilhelmsburg**
- arts centre
- attraction
- bakery
- bank
- bar
- cosmetic shop
- bicycle rental
- bicycle shop
- biergarten
- bookshop
- butcher
- cafe
- car sharing
- car wash
- clothes
- community centre
- dentist
- department store
- doctors
- fast food
- fire station
- florist
- furniture shop
- hairdresser
- hotel
- jeweller
- kindergarten
- kiosk
- laundry
- library
- mobile phone shop
- museum
- mobile phone shop
- nightclub
- optician
- pharmacy
- post office
- pub
- post office
- supermarket
- theatre
- tourist info
- travel agent

Wilhelmsburg has only two centres. One centre is located in the former working-class neighbourhood in the North and the other centre is located around the train station of Wilhelmsburg.

new development with office buildings and the terrain of the national horticultural show. Main station services and supermarket can be found here.

The Northern centre of Wilhelmsburg has a urban residential character. The small area consists only of a few blocks and the centralities are all located on the ground floor of the perimeter block developments. A small square builds the centre of this centrality.

The train station area of Wilhelmsburg is a mainly



Legend 1:50.000

- Church facilities
- Church facilities
- Buildings copy**
- religious
- business and commercial
- Public facility
- sports_centre
- Centres Wilhelmsburg
- Creative scene

LEARNING FROM WILHELMSBURG

Wilhelmsburg shows opportunity structures, such as commercial and public functions and leisure activities, but only a few connect the neighbourhood with the city. The new developments are not always suited for migrants or low-income groups. And the social housing that is built within these developments is not enough (Bezirksamt Hamburg-Mitte, 2015).

Spatial segregation

The spatial segregation of Wilhelmsburg and the fragmentation within the neighbourhood, make development a difficult task. The two dense housing areas are too far from each other to build a connection between them. The street network is dominating the North-South route and does not support the cross direction, which would be needed to connect the centres (see map on the right). The housing types and their position hinder fluent street network and some public spaces and parks seem large for the living density. Even though Wilhelmsburg has only two centres, the centre in the North is too far from the station in order to be attractive for inhabitants from other neighbourhoods. Until now, mainly special events, such as the national horticultural show and festivals attract people from outside.

Social segregation

The heterogenic housing types create large patches of homogeneous groups living next to each other. The spaces for social exchange are limited. A small group of creatives has settled in the Northern area and uses old industrial buildings. In 2018, almost all social housing in the area is at the end of the social housing program. This might be the reason for the negative migration balance shown before. The negative migration balance was first shown in low numbers in 2016. An important question, which cannot be answered now, is whether the different social clusters do interact or just live next to each other. This will be part of the interviews during the field research.

Ethnic segregation

The area shows clear signs of ethnic segregation of Turkish or muslim groups. Several mosques are located in the area, some intending to enlarge their buildings (Bezirksamt Hamburg-Mitte, 2015). Whether the segregation is an opportunity or a problem for segregation cannot be answered without interviews and further research. Most likely, the religious communities are an important

aspect of identity for the Turkish inhabitants.

The interviews of the city show, that some inhabitants do not feel like Hamburgers, rather like Wilhelmsburgers. This might also be a product of the changing districts and the 'sudden' direction to the city centre. After the loss of harbour jobs, many of the former (mainly Turkish) inhabitants are unemployed and probably lost the community of harbour workers. The identification with the city seems low and the ethnic segregation and social segregation do not help to create a new identity apart from the ethnicity.

The municipality has numerous renovation projects in Wilhelmsburg, that are meant to decrease the social segregation and facilitate exchange. Yet, some projects, such as the horticultural show have probably not benefit for the inhabitants of Wilhelmsburg apart from a new park next to the main station.

Integration as one of the major paths to social cohesion is a task of urban development and restructuring (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2009). A growing number of scholars refer to the importance of urban opportunities that facilitate integration processes via the empowerment, interaction and participation of social clusters (Glick Schiller & Çağlar, 2009; R. Kloosterman, 2010; Kurtenbach, 2013; Räuchle & Schmitz, 2018). Arrival cities, viewed as the key intersection between migration, integration and urban development, are the subject of this study. Borrowing theories, methods and interventions from different disciplines, this project designs opportunity structures for migrant integration within the intersection of space and the legal-political, socio-economic and cultural-religious dimensions of integration. Following an introduction on arrival cities, this project examines how opportunity structures facilitate the integration process in Hamburg and how a strategic design approach can generate new opportunity structures. By viewing migrants as place-makers, this project is driven by a positive view on arrival neighbourhoods and migrants' self-organization.

Research Question

How can the phenomenon of arrival cities be used to design spatial opportunities for an improved migrant integration in German cities?

Keywords

Arrival cities in Germany; migrant integration, empowerment and interaction; self-organization of migrants; urban opportunity structures; urban transformation and development