



Strangers' temporal conviviality and social production of space

Tracing refugees' and locals' temporal interactions with and within open public space in Stuttgart's neighborhoods

A Thesis submitted in the Partial Fulfillment for the Requirement of the Degree of Master of Science in Integrated Urbanism and Sustainable Design

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07/29/2018

Simone Gretsch

Simone Civetsal

Aknowledgments

I want to thank ...

Galil

My parents and brother

My friends inside and outside the IUSD studio (may they be on another floor, in another city or country)

who believed in me; who motivated, inspired and balanced me and without whom I would not have such great memories of the research time

&

My professors, especially my supervisors

My interview partners and focus group participants in Degerloch and Neugereut

who crucially shaped this research theoretically and practically and whose psychological support I greatly acknowledge.

Abstract in English

Simone Gretsch:

Strangers' temporal conviviality and social production of space

This research uses the layers of Lefebvre's (1991) social production of space as a tool to analyze the conviviality of local residents and refugees in open public space. In the case studies of two urban neighborhoods in Stuttgart, Germany, the temporal interactions of refugees and local residents with and within open public space are traced through spatial analysis and qualitative methods of interviews, observations and focus groups. The findings of the data collection are organized according to the physical, mental and social space and address the spatial characteristics of the neighborhoods; the cultural and temporal factors; perceptions, experiences and meanings of open public space; activities and encounters in open public space. Challenges and potentials for conviviality of the two groups in open public space as well as their patterns of socially constructing the space have been discussed. Instead of an impact of temporality on conviviality, the findings rather argue for an impact of time. According to the results, recommendations have been derived in form of conditions for conviviality on which design and development of open public spaces in diverse urban neighborhoods can be based. Both case study contexts host different forms of conviviality coexisting in open public space based on tolerant ways of living together of both groups even though the visibility of refugees was found to be relatively low in the overall case study neighborhoods. The aim of conviviality in this context is not only to strengthen the democratic and social value of public space, but also to reinforce the creative potential of urban life with differences and strangers.

Keywords: Open public space, conviviality, social production of space, encounters, diverse urban neighborhoods

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1. Introduction

1.1 Research Problem and Relevance

Since the very beginning, cities have been places of strangers and thereby have become a place of diversity, creativity and innovation. However, the influence of this often-temporal coexistence on the ways how diverse stranger groups live together in open public spaces falls into a research gap. Thus, before starting the discourse about integration and inclusion, working towards conviviality and comfort of the newcomers and the host community in the timeframe of their 'throwntogetherness' (Lownsbrough & Beunderman, 2007) has to be given importance (Amin, 2002; Gehl, 2015). The level of conviviality and comfort in public can be represented by the interactions with and within open public space (Shaftoe, 2012; Siebel, 2015), where both groups, the newcomers and the host community, coincide and share the same space. As Gehl (2015) states in his work on diverse public life, strangers do not necessarily have to talk, "but a range of interactions should be comfortable and not uncommon among people from different walks of life for the city to earn its status as humankind's prevailing habitat" (p. 30). Nevertheless, the degree to which "public space" equals "shared space" among different groups and the underlying processes of social production of this open public space remain unclear. According to Wehrheim (2009), the emancipatory potential of cities is not only based on the existence of strangers, but more importantly, it is related to the social relations and interactions among strangers. An example of such newcomers are increasing numbers of refugees (Aumüller, 2018; Friedrichs, Leßke, Schwarzenberg, 2017; Luz, 2017; Hauser, 2015) who live in temporal accommodations in German urban neighborhoods and whose future of staying in the neighborhood, city and the country is uncertain.

The master thesis at hand is analyzing the temporal conviviality as reflected by the social production of space around two refugee accommodations in two urban neighborhoods in Stuttgart, Germany. In specific, the focus is on tracing temporal interactions of refugees with and within the open public space. Currently, around 7.635 refugees live in different types of accommodations in the different

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neighborhoods of Stuttgart (Luz, 2017) and according to Aumüller et al. (2015), recognizing the important role of newcomers in society, cities are linking the integration of refugees with their long-term demographic strategies. However, on average, it takes one year until the asylum process is finished (ProAsyl, 2016). Meanwhile, refugees in Stuttgart live in centralized refugee accommodations for a maximum of 24 months (Stadt Stuttgart, n.d.). There has been a lot of discussion around the qualities of the accommodations and the societal integration process (Eckardt, 2016; Aumüller et al., 2015; Aumüller, 2018; Gillo et al., 2013; etc.), however, little has been researched about the interaction between the arriving refugees and the public space of an urban neighborhood.

Even though the refugees are not supposed to stay longer than 2 years in the accommodations, the places of arrival remain places of arrival due to the constant change of people, as Saunders in his book "Arrival City" (2010) argues. However, differently from the places Saunders (2010) analyzes, the refugee accommodations cannot be perceived as isolated or independent from the rest of the urban context, but instead they are often and ideally situated inside a neighborhood. This gives additional relevance to study the implications on the interactions in public space, since multicultural encounters of conflict are dominating broader public and political discussions in many countries (Matjeskova & Leitner, 2011) that contribute to the overall perceptions of refugees in society (Wirtz, 2016). For instance, the German newspaper Die Zeit writes "Welcome to the panic country", reflecting on the current German hegemony as fear of the number of arriving refugees, strangers and chaos (Markwardt, 2016). Also, protests against refugee accommodations are not rare, as people are fearing dirty and noisy neighbors who would engage in violence, robbery and sexual harassment (Siebel, 2015). Not only in Germany, but also in many other European countries an increase in xenophobia, especially against Muslims, has been reported (Wiesemann, 2015). Moreover, this analysis cannot be related only to refugees, but also informs about interactions of other "strangers" or newcomers with and within public space, which also provide potential for conflicts (Siebel, 2015).

In this work, the socio-spatial relations are studied specifically in the perspective of the temporality and uncertainty of refugees' stay and the cultural diversity of interactions within open public space, representing an extreme case of stranger relations. The socio-spatial aspects gain increasing importance through urban growth and resulting density in cities worldwide (Hauck et al., 2017). Moreover, Hauck et al. (2017) argue that the dynamic of cities makes different interests and conflicts visible, which also have a great influence on the quality and usability of

public spaces, as in the case of internationalization and displaced refugees.

Finally, as figure 1 summarizes, convivial urban spaces foster the social sustainability of the urban built environment as well as counter the development of increasingly private, polarized public space and society and the resulting threat of losing public space's social function (Carmona, 2010; Lownsbrough & Beunderman, 2007; Shaftoe, 2012; Wehrheim, 2009; Wiesemann, 2015). With the city as a place where strangers have become normality, urban socio-spatial relations should allow the conviviality of strangers without excluding or destroying its potential (Siebel, 2015). The conviviality in cities of diversity is reflected in the meaning of daily encounters between different people and groups whereby direct contact can act as the enabler for developing mutual acceptance and respect, according to Wiesemann (2015). Similarly, as Gehl (2015) puts it, "experiences with people who are different from one another in public space is a fundamental building block of a more tolerant and inclusive society where opportunity for human flourishing is available to everyone" (p. 4).

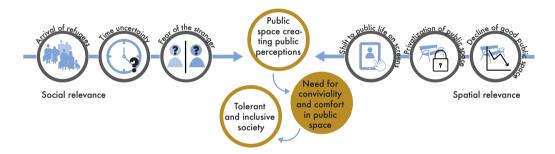


Figure 1: Social and spatial relevance of the research topic. Source: Author.

1.2 Research Aim and Question

Due to the above-named reasons, the master thesis aims at tracing the temporal interactions of refugees with and within open public space and thereby understanding the underlying processes of conviviality among refugees and host community with different cultural backgrounds and uncertainty about the time spent in the neighborhood. These processes are expected to be explored through a deconstruction of the social production of space from the perspective of the two groups. The overarching proposition of the research is to shed light on the patterns of social-spatial relations in this specific phenomenon, recognizing the importance of reassessment under constantly changing conditions (Wehrheim, 2009). The research question is the following: *How does the temporal stay of refugees in an urban neighborhood affect the social production of open public*

space? Guided by this research question, the research attempts to investigate theoretically as well as empirically in order to analyze the issue, draw conclusions and recommend conditions for conviviality in open public space.

By analyzing two urban neighborhoods as case studies and in specific an open public space within each of them, the research takes on a micro-sociological perspective in order to study a fraction of the range of socio-spatial processes in open public space. Patterns of social production of open public space in this particular situation are identified and discussed, leading to the understanding of temporal conviviality in open public space by diverse groups within an urban neighborhood. In this way, the concept of social production of space serves as tool for analysis in this research by breaking down the socio-spatial processes and relations. The master thesis attempts to contribute to the existing discourse in the field and to create an entry point for further research on this particular phenomenon. Also, by formulating recommendations in the form of conditions for conviviality in open public space among diverse groups in urban neighborhoods, the master thesis aims at providing an outlook on the findings' meaning for practice. The conditions remain on an abstract level based on the evidence provided by the research, thus not suggesting spatial design criteria, but rather a framework referring to prerequisites for spatial structures, societal values and opportunities for interactions, in which conviviality can be fostered. The research argues for the perspective that conviviality cannot be achieved by only designing and planning spaces, but that the mental and social layers also have to be considered. According to figure 2, the research's structure first addresses the theoretical framework, next the methodological framework which is leading to the introduction of the case studies. Then, results are presented and later discussed in the analysis. Finally, recommendations are given relating back to the context of the case studies which ultimately leads to the conclusions, limitations and proposals for future research.

1.2 RESEARCH AIM AND QUESTION

2. Theoretical Framework

The following literature review aims at discussing literature and concepts that build the basis of the above-introduced research problem. First, the discourse around different views on cities as a place inhabited by strangers versus a place made up of urban villages with socially more intimate communities will be reviewed. Then, the main concepts of temporal conviviality and social production of space will be understood from different perspectives. After introducing the concept itself, social production of space will be broken down to its spatial, mental and

social layers. Each of them will be framed in terms of its role in the research, including the discussion of related concepts inside of the different layers. Finally, the literature review aims at understanding the legal structures and procedures of refugee accommodation in Germany and specifically in Stuttgart which makes up for the temporality factor.

2.1 Cities and Strangers

Since the very beginning, cities have been places of strangers. This is not only perceived as threat, but also as potential, leading to an ambiguous character

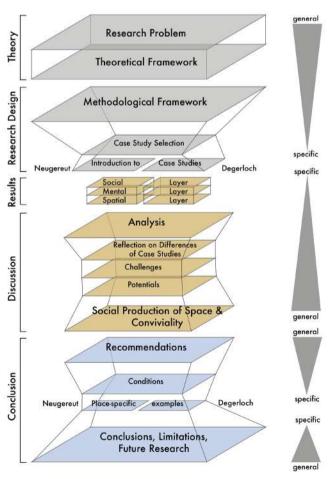


Figure 2: Research structure. Source: Author.

of the city (Simmel, 1903; Wehrheim, 2009). Among the different versions of the city in terms of social interaction and solitude, difference and segregation (Tonkiss, 2005), the city of strangers can produce unsettledness, but also innovation, productivity and progress (Wehrheim, 2009). Nevertheless, the emancipatory potential of cities is not only based on the existence of strangers, but more importantly, it is related to the social relations and interactions among the strangers (Wehrheim, 2009).

In Simmel's essay on the life in big cities from 1903, he discusses this very phenomenon: Comparing the big city and the small town or village, Simmel (1903, as referred to by Schöller-Schwedes, 2008) argues that by limiting social contacts only to a superficial and merely functionally necessary level, the living together of anonymous citizens is defined by the ambiguity of the stranger. It does not only produce negative social effects as the phenomenon of isolation and brutalization, but it also enables individual freedom, social diversity and tolerance (Schöller-Schwedes, 2008). Consequently, the city creates a social space for accepted differences wherein strangers can move and identify more easily than in the closed communities of villages, according to Simmel (1903, as referred to by Mieg, Sundsboe & Mieniok, 2011). The same intimate social relations found in towns and villages as mentioned by Simmel (1903) are part of the concept of the urban village, an urban design model and perspective, which promotes the idea of a polycentric city made up of strong communities based on the familiar instead of the stranger (Biddulph, 2010). However, critiques refer to the aspirations of people to overcome locational boundaries in search for new and different communities, leaving the self-contained places of "urban villages" (Biddulph, 2010). Hence, cities and strangers seem to be inseparable, providing material for creative tensions (Mieg et al., 2011).

The argument by Siebel (2015) is similar. He starts with three reasons why the city is a place for strangers. Namely, the city limits possibilities to make strangers acquaintances, the city imports strangeness, and the city produces itself through a diversity of strangeness (Siebel, 2015). This strangeness happens in three dimensions, the inequality, the asynchronicity, and the inconsistency, that affect and are affected by the social relations of a city. Discussing the socio-spatial interplay, according to Siebel (2015), one of the social conditions creating physical proximity is the built environment. Space by itself is ineffective but spatial structures as human products filled with social meaning are interacting with social activity, which relates to the concept of the social production of space as will be explained below. Since urban public spaces are supposed to host the function of

enabling communication between strangers, the role of spatial structures to invite for conviviality and social interaction has to be reinforced without destroying nor excluding the potential of strangers in a city (Siebel, 2015).

2.2 Conviviality

Conviviality has been a concept emerging from the sociological studies and it has been only recently applied to the spatial context (Amin, 2008). In the increasingly anonymous while also diverse urban neighborhoods, considering conviviality becomes specifically important. Conviviality has been defined from different perspectives in current research; some focus on convivial encounters (Fiedlerova & Sykora, 2015), the spectrum of conviviality politics (Georgieu, 2017; Amin, 2013), while again others discuss convivial spaces (Rodriguez & Simon, 2015; Shaftoe, 2012). Commonly, conviviality has been referred to as a tolerant way of living together in diverse neighborhoods (Fiedlerova & Sykora, 2015; Georgieu, 2017; Amin, 2013; Rodriguez & Simon, 2015; Shaftoe, 2012, etc.). Most scholars argue that conviviality happens in public space, but according to Fiedlerova & Sykora (2015) it also includes more sustained social relations in institutionalized places. However, the focus in this research is on conviviality in open public spaces where it reveals its big influence on democratic living (Shaftoe, 2012). The concept offers ways of dealing with the co-presence and proximity of difference as argued by Georgieu (2017). Namely, conviviality can take the shape of different politics in the range from indifference of the difference up to cooperation and solidarity: Civility through othering, civility through negotiation of we-ness and other-ness and the politics of civic engagement and solidarity (Georgieu, 2017).

The convivial encounters, specifically face-to-face communication brings urban residents together in momentary association. However, these interactions are always situated not only locally but also in global realities often influenced by media which produces and reproduces perceptions of cultural differences (Georgieu, 2017). Along with perceived and real cultural differences, linguistic barriers should also be overcome through casual (Fiedlerova & Sykora, 2015), unintentional and "uncommitted relations with others [which] neutralize hostility and fear and enhance civility" in public space (Georgieu, 2017, p. 270). Moreover, Georgieu (2017) stresses the fact that conviviality does not mean that the unfamiliar becomes familiar, in fact he uses the term "convivial separation [which] might be more inclusive, democratic, and potentially effective in managing urban uncertainties, compared to forced togetherness that inevitably suppresses differ-

ence" (p. 277). Nevertheless, in order to enable separation without segregation he sets two conditions. Namely, convivial separation needs unforced encounters in public space as well as mediated communication networks and infrastructure (Georgieu, 2017). Similarly, Amin (2013) stresses the access and use of such and other urban infrastructure in order to establish conviviality with multiple social connections of different intensities and endurances.

The exposure and confrontation with difference in open public space is also at the core of the definition of convivial places according to scholars such as Rodriguez & Simon (2015) and Shaftoe (2012). Additionally, these are sociable and livable places promoting tolerance and mutual exchange of ideas (Rodriguez & Simon, 2015). By discussing the relationship between design and the users' conviviality in order to improve the public realm at different scales, Rodriguez and Simon (2015) conclude three different values – flexibility, equity, adaptability – which they translate into three conditions for design being flexible, inclusive and useful. The lack of interaction, absence of life in the streets, loss of social capital and decreasing equity in public spaces in combination with a high fluctuation and diversity rate in urban areas calls for the need of designing for conviviality, for enabling positive human interactions among diverse groups in public space (Rodriguez & Simon, 2015). Based on the literature discussed above, one of the main aims and indicators for conviviality used in this context is the comfort of all kinds of different groups in open public space. With the focus on the concept of conviviality, this research is attempting to analyze the current form of temporal conviviality in the case study neighborhoods and to understand the impact of the social-spatial relations at the base of the social production of open public space through diverse groups of urban residents, exemplified by refugees and local neighbors.

2.3 Social Production of Space

Lefebvre (1991) established the term of social production of space referring to space as permeated with social relations. According to him, space is a social product based on values and meanings that affect spatial practices and perceptions (Lefebvre, 1991). Complementary to that, Morgan (2000) suggests that space must be seen as social production. Namely, "space is involved in the production and reproduction of social relationships, and is linked to political struggles of inclusion and exclusion" (Morgan, 2000, p. 273). In other words, space is producing as well as is produced by social relations (Lefebvre, 1991). Similarly, Löw (2008)

argues that spatial structures and social agents are interacting in both directions; spaces structuring action as well as spaces resulting from action. Moreover, Stevens (2006) recognizes the importance of meaning in the experience of space and how urban conditions "alter the kinds of social encounters which happen there, propagating the unplanned and unfamiliar" (p. 821). Then, public space can be divided into three layers, according to Lefebvre (1991): The physical as in the perceived space, the mental or conceived and conceptualized space and the social space, lived through its associated images and symbols (figure 3). In other words, social space is the lived space, where people appropriate space and thereby produce meanings linked to the space, as Heiler (2014) interprets Lefebvre's concept. According to these dimensions, the factors relevant for this research can be organized. The spatial analysis takes place in the physical space, the temporal and cultural factors are situated in the mental space and the behaviors as well as social interactions are represented by the social space. In the following, each of the three layers will be introduced in detail, forming the base for the discussion of how these layers are framed in the research at hand. Specifically, a typology of open public space and a typology of social behaviors and interactions will be presented. This framework is used in order to define the perspective of the research, to inform the methodologies for data collection, and to form the base on which the results can be positioned.

2.3.1 Physical Space

Discussing the concept of public space

The physical space under study is the open public space in an urban context. In order to identify what places this exactly entails, typologies and criteria of urban spaces will be reviewed. By manifesting the "throwntogetherness" which characterizes plural and open societies (Lownsbrough & Beunderman, 2007), public spaces are meant to represent an inclusive and lively public realm where people are brought together without fear of the stranger (Amin, 2002; Gehl, 2015; Simões Aelbrecht, 2016). Apart from the hierarchy of open spaces - varying in local, district or metropolitan significance (Stiles, 2013) -, public space typologies are merely based on functions, perceptions and ownership (Carmona, 2010). Simões Aelbrecht (2016) studied urban spaces which support social interaction among strangers and introduced the term "fourth places". In comparison to work, home and "third places" such as private businesses, cafés and shops, "fourth places" represent informal gathering and social interaction spaces with "spatial, temporal or managerial 'in-betweenness' and a great sense of public-

ness" (Simões Aelbrecht, 2016, p. 126).

The potential of public space, diminishing under the pressure of past and current counter-developments, has to be reinforced by improving existing and creating new public spaces (Wiesemann, 2015) that enable the enhancement of their traditional functions. The latter include

- Space for recreation, individual development and inspiration,
- Active usability,
- Space for social consistency and security,
- Sociability and diversity and
- Symbolic meaning (Hauck et al., 2017).

However, as mentioned earlier, there are some threats for traditional functions of public spaces, according to Wiesemann (2015). Namely, the use for purposes of traffic, the functional and sociocultural segregation of urban neighborhoods, the development of mass media and new communication technologies, the increasing commercialization and privatization of public spaces as well as the raising control and surveillance in public spaces (Wiesemann, 2015). Additionally, the decrease of welcoming public spaces (Gehl, 2011; Toloudi, 2016), the privatization of public spaces (Carmona, 2010; Lownsbrough & Beunderman, 2007; Shaftoe, 2012; Wehrheim, 2009) and a shift towards public life on social media (Toloudi, 2016) have been mentioned repeatedly in the discourse around the 'crisis of public space'. These phenomena are argued to create negative consequences on spaces of encounter and experience.

Emerging from the 'crisis of public space', criteria for 'good urban spaces' have been discussed as being responsive, democratic and meaningful (Mehta, 2014). The list of criteria by Stiles (2013) mentions facilitation of social contact, improvement of the legibility of the neighborhood establishment of a sense of place as well as acting as a carrier of identity, meanings and values, which relate to the interactions with and within open public spaces. In terms of spatial characteristics, the imageability of the city refers to the perceptions and recognizability of the physical features of the urban form (Lynch, 1960). While Lynch focuses merely on the spatial relations, introducing the criteria of landmarks, paths, nodes, districts and edges, Stevens (2006) criticizes Lynch's work for lacking the interactions of people and roles of public space. In contrast, Stevens (2006) proposes to modify Lynch's criteria into props, paths, intersections, thresholds and boundaries. Furthermore, Thomas (1991, as cited by Mehta, 2014) highlighted the social roles for public space as an arena for public life, a meeting place for different social groups, a space for the display of symbols and images in society

- Activities in and encounters within open public space
- Contact Theory
- Typology of interactions
- Fear of stranger
- Cultural values
- Temporality
- Perceptions in & meanings of open public space
- Existing/used open public space
- Spatial characteristics
- Typology of open public spaces

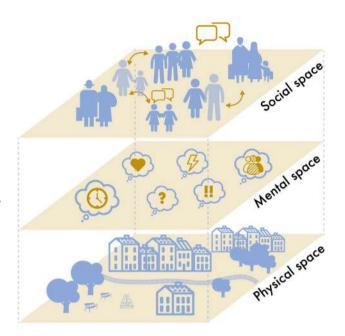


Figure 3: Lefebvre's (1991) dimensions of space and its indicators as used in this research. Source: Author.

and as a part of the communication system between urban activities. These characteristics and functions of public open space relate to Lownsbrough & Beunderman's (2007) statement: "public space is better understood less as a predetermined physical space, and more as an experience created by an interaction between people and place" (p. 15).

Typology of public space

Open spaces in urban areas can take various forms. Even though it seems to be taken for granted, and especially for this reason, it is important to clarify the scope of the research in terms of the spatial units of analysis. First, a typology of existing open spaces is presented in table 1, which is based on the analysis of different typologies (Appendix A). Open spaces refer to physically open spaces which are accessible and under the influence of changing weather conditions. Table 1 shows the hierarchy of these types of spaces according to its significance on the city, district or local level. Thus, some open spaces are serving users of a wider catchment area than others (Simões Aelbrecht, 2016; Stanley et al., 2012). This means that spaces on a city level might be hosting more strangers and do not create an intimate atmosphere as a space on a local level might do, which is merely used by the same members of a community. In the next step, the layer of public, semi-public or private spaces is added. Some of these spaces are

"public" in terms of their unlimited accessibility and thus invite diverse kinds of user groups, however, the ownership is not public, as defined in the following as semi-public. Also, semi-public could refer to areas that are public or where the legal ownership is not clear but that do not seem to be publically accessible or create a more intimate feeling. In the research at hand, the focus will be on open public spaces, including semi-public ones. In addition to the typology presented below, the spatial elements of Lynch (1960) and Stevens (2006) relate more to the functions than to the physical space in terms of the imageability and orientation. In essence, the elements focused on in this research are landmarks, nodes, props, barriers, thresholds and districts (Lynch, 1960; Stevens, 2006).

	Туре	City Level	District Level	Local Level
Connecting	Vehicular mobility	Boulevards, highways	Roads	Streets
	Pedestrian mobility	Sidewalks, pedestr. streets	Sidewalks, pedestr. streets	Sidewalks, pedestr. paths
Punctual	Squares	Civic square Church and market squares	Civic square Church and market squares	Interior courtyards
Pı	Controlled green space	Parks, institutional gardens	Parks, cemeteries	Household gardens
	Recreational space	Stadiums, golf courses, sport clubs, camping areas	School yards, sport fields, playgrounds, skateboard parks	
	Incidental space	Natural green spaces and semi-wild areas	Empty lots, transit borders	Marginalized space between buildings
	Thresholds	Entrances, stairca- ses	Entrances, stairca- ses	
	Transport facilities	Parking space, train/bus station	Parking space, metro stop	Parking space, bus stop
	Food production	Orchards, agricultural fields	Community gardens	Kitchen gardens, small horticulture
		Public	Semi-public	Private

Table 1: Typology of open spaces (based on Appendix A). Source: Author.

2.3.2 Mental space

Factors of time and culture

The mental space in this research is represented by the temporal and cultural factor in the social production of open public space by refugees and local residents in an urban neighborhood. In essence, the time limit and uncertainty of the refugees' stay is expected to have an influence on the level of engagement with and within space or the interest in social connections. Also, the uncertainty and temporality of the refugees' stay might reinforce and highlight 'stranger relationships' with members of the local community but also the space of the neighborhood. It is one of the aims of this research to identify the effect of the time factor on refugees' social production of open public space and their temporal conviviality with the local community, specifically in the interactions with and within space. Existing research about 'place-making' and 'sense of place' theories have not been focusing on this particular situation yet (Knox, 2005; Friedmann, 2010; Francis, Giles, Wood & Knuimann, 2012; etc.).

The cultural factor accounts for the cultural diversity and potential cultural differences based on the different backgrounds and nationalities of refugees compared to host communities. Based on different understandings of public open space the functions and meanings that are assigned to it may also differ between groups of different cultural backgrounds. As Leitner (2012) states, social production of space also relates to social production of race, since the 'fear of the other' is found to be intensified through ethnic differences and the co-existence of multiple publics in shared space (Sandercock, 2000). Thus, Leitner (2012) claims that space and race fuse in mutually reinforcing ways by transferring the racialization of individuals to the place that they interact in and the other way around. The 'fear of the other' is opposed to two of the basic needs for people to live together, being trust and solidarity (Lownsbrough & Beunderman, 2007). However, the authors found that encounters in public space can contribute to these basic needs, but the constant change of residents in the refugee accommodations and the uncertainty of the refugees' future might counterbalance this effect. In this way, not only the time factor but also the cultural factor holds the potential of reinforcing stranger relationships with the local community and might show an effect on the temporal conviviality in open public spaces.

As public space serves as a stage for constructing difference and sameness (Ehrkamp, 2008), they are the spaces where racial tensions and conflicts are locally produced and reproduced. However, simultaneously, public space also holds the potential of fostering interethnic understanding by providing opportunities for

people to meet (Peters, 2010) and thus normalizing and naturalizing certain behaviors (Ehrkamp, 2008). Consequently, public spaces are not static but rather constantly in flux, created and recreated by the users themselves (Mohamadi & Miles, 2014).

2.3.3 Social space

Social Relations in open public space

Shaping the social space, social relations within open public space are formed through diverse forms of interactions. The social function of space, amongst the ecological and the economical ones, refers on the one hand to communication, the establishment of social connections, integration of other values, and in general the use of open public space to stay, to relax, to play, strengthening the attachment and identity with the neighborhood and city, according to Gander (2015). On the other hand, it also includes negotiating and solving conflicts as well as dealing with insecurities (Gander 2015). These experiences and events make open public space to be pervaded by traces and becoming a trace itself, as Hauck et al. (2017) argue. In this way, the design and appearance of open public space spontaneously conveys an impression about the social layer of space, for visitors as well as for residents. Independently of whether this impression is correct, it implies certain expectations and behaviors, meaning that the use of public space is to be recognized by the user (Hauck et al., 2017).

Looking deeper into the social interactions themselves, the concept of spaces of encounters draws attention to the active role of emotions and spatiality in processes of othering and racialization, as well as to the potential of encounters to disrupt preconceived boundaries and racial stereotypes (Leitner, 2012). However, spaces for encounter have become more difficult to find and have reinforced the phenomenon of 'the familiar stranger' (Lownsbrough & Beunderman, 2007). Another similar concept for social public spaces is 'places of possibility' (Wiesemann, 2015). He refers to the importance of public space in enabling meaningful encounters that ultimately can challenge attitudes and behaviors towards different groups of society by bringing together people with diverse backgrounds of experiences and allowing for positive contacts between them (Wiesemann, 2015). According to the contact theory by Allport in 1954, interpersonal contact between members of different racial or cultural groups may reduce prejudice and increase positive attitudes towards each other (Matjeskova & Leitner, 2011). Nevertheless, the authors criticize the theory and modern scholars for a "romanticization of urban encounter and [for] implicitly [reproducing] a potentially naïve assumption that contact with 'others' necessarily translates into respect for difference" (Matjeskova & Leitner, 2011, p. 9). Likewise, results of their research show that everyday, superficial contacts have the potential to harden prejudice and stereotyping (Matjeskova & Leitner, 2011), thereby warning of unrealistic expectations of public space's potentials (Wiesemann, 2015).

Countering this argument, Gehl (2013) promotes public spaces as urban meeting places, places for social cohesion and interaction. In his perspective, the role of fleeting encounters might not always be very visible but of high importance in open space: They can for example lead to new or deeper social connections, strengthen existing connections, or serve as source of inspiration and information (Gehl, 2013). In addition, fleeting encounters in open public space reinforce neighborly relations and low-threshold interactions (Gander, 2015). The same author argues that open public space is a valuable platform where public life can take place, thereby contributing to the integration of different life styles and to the increase of individual's social competences (Gander, 2015). Stevens (2006) argues similarly to Gehl (2011), who reflects specifically on the influence of the physical environment enabling certain activities. Also, Gehl's (2011) classification of necessary, optimal and social activities link to Stevens' (2006) research about the spontaneous activities and interactions in contrast to the more instrumental behavior of people's itineraries in the city as studied by Lynch (1960). In line with this perspective, Simões Aelbrecht (2016) supports the study of social interactions among unknown strangers in public spaces since strangers are more dependent on spatial and social contexts and since it can provide an understanding of qualities that support social use of public space.

Typology of interactions and relations

Table 2 presents a range of behaviors and interactions according to the different types of relations people have with each other. Based on different typologies of public life (Appendix B) such as the necessary, optional and social activities (Gehl, 2011) as well as the typology of strangers (Simões Aelbrecht, 2016), table 2 shows the range of relations and behaviors resulting in a tendency for more social interactions with more intimate relations. In essence, "categorical strangers' are defined as those whom one does not know, but with whom one knows one can have a routinized relation such as with people in an occupational instrumental role or identity (e.g. a clerk in a shop or a police officer.); 'familiar strangers' are those that are not personally known and with whom one does not directly interact but because of a shared daily path or round, they become recognizable (e.g.

	Relations	Passive Necessary	Optional	Active Necessary	Optional	Social
pri- Iships	Unknown stranger	Waiting	Public solitude,	Transitory orientation,	Visual encounters,	Play: explora- tory encoun-
Public (quasi-pri- mary relationships	Familiar stranger (not personally known but recognizable)		watching	planned itinerary	fleeting encounters	ters with strangers
ships	Categorical stranger (not personally known but routinized, instrumental relation)				Routinized encounters Chance encounters	
	Acquaintan- ces, neigh- bors					Brief encounters, longer encounters
Parochial (intimate secondary relation	Primary group of friends and family					

Table 2: Social interactions and relations (based on Appendix B). Source: Author.

people using public transport at the same time every day)" (Simões Aelbrecht 2016, p. 148). As Gehl (2011) observed, activities of public life in public space can be divided into necessary activities, that are an integrated and non-optional part of the everyday, the optional ones, which are recreational and fun activities, and social activities, including all types of contact between people. These activities are analyzed with regards to the relations between people; in essence, strangers, acquaintances and closer friend and family groups, which can be linked to a more public or parochial realm.

Furthermore, Wiesemann (2015) categorized different moments of encounters among culturally diverse groups into two clusters; one which supports the reproduction of existing stereotypes, one which destabilizes them. Namely, the first cluster is made up by moments of territorial violations (disregarding rules specific to the group perceived as 'common'), moments of mere visibility (ways of appearance, behaviors and talking) and moments of civil segregation (Wiesemann 2015). In contrast, the second cluster refers to moments of civility (courtesy, or the simple absence of negative behavior), moments of transgression (the temporal destabilization of existing stereotypes), moments of unexpected solidarity as well as moments of sociability (shared interests and activities). These typologies will serve as basis for the observations, categorization and analysis of the data

collected in the field research at hand.

Concluding, the literature review so far has shown that firstly, the concepts of conviviality and social production of space can be analyzed from various different perspectives. Secondly, it demonstrates that conviviality in open public space can be studied by analyzing the patterns of socially producing space in its three layers. Thirdly, there has been an extensive amount of research done on the concepts related to the spatial, temporal, cultural and social factors as introduced above, however, they have not yet been studied in this combination, representing a situation that is very prominent and will become even more prominent in contemporary cities around the world. Fourthly, the discussion of the existing research guide and frame the empirical structure as well as the analysis of the findings. Ultimately, urban proposals need to be guided by the principle that all members of a society, temporary or permanent, settled or recent, possess the right to participate in the public space and thus the democratic process (Amin, 2010). The last part of the literature review refers to the process of refugee accommodation and the types of housing provided, with a focus on the accommodation type studied in this work.

2.4 Refugee accommodation and its process 2.4.1 Refugee Accommodation Process

In order to understand the time and uncertainty factor in the refugees' situation, the next subchapters take a closer look at the refugee accommodation process on the different institutional levels and zoom into the type of refugee accommodation studied in this research. First, the term "refugee" must be clarified. Legally speaking, refugees are defined as people who seek asylum or who receive refugee protection (Aumüller, 2018). Asylum is generally granted for those who are politically prosecuted in their countries of origin. Moreover, refugee protection is given to those who are prosecuted in their countries of origin due to their race, religion, nationality, political opinion or due to their belonging to a specific social group. Subsidiary protection is granted in case of people fleeing from general situations of emergency such as civil wars, famine or natural catastrophes in their countries of origin (Aumüller, 2018).

Accommodating people who arrive to Germany with such experiences and in such numbers as happened in the peak time of 2015 is representing a challenge in terms of organization and fast provision of shelter and basic needs. Consequently, the process of refugee accommodation is divided in different responsibilities between the national government, the federal state and the municipality

(Aumüller et al., 2015). The way of a refugee throughout the asylum seeking process is illustrated in figure 4. In essence, the national government takes care of the execution of asylum procedures and the regulation of dividing the arriving refugees to the different federal states. The latter are responsible for the refugee accommodation, the initial entrance of the refugee and the provision of basic services. However, the execution of a temporal and subsequent accommodation and service provision is handled by the municipalities directly (Aumüller et al., 2015). After the initial state accommodation where they submit their asylum applica-

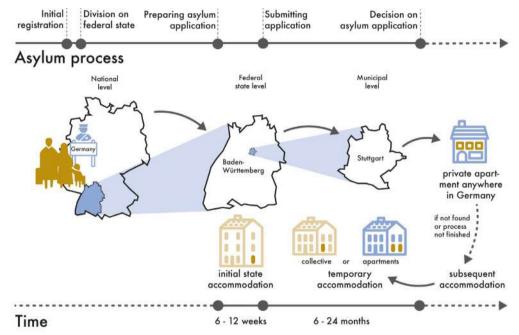


Figure 4: Refugee accommodation process. Source: Author.

tion, refugees arrive to a temporal accommodation ("vorläufige Unterbringung") in the city or regional district, which can be in form of a collective accommodation of decentrally in apartments (Lpd, n.d.). While they live here, the asylum application is being decided on which normally takes between 6 and 24 months (Lpd, n.d.). This means, that at this stage, the refugee still does not know if he/she is allowed to stay in Germany or not. Thereafter, when the asylum application has been approved, the subsequent accommodation allows the refugee to look for apartments all over Germany. If they do not find an apartment, the municipality offers places in collective accommodations or apartments. This also happens if the asylum procedures are not finished yet after two years (Flüchtlingshilfe BW, n.d.).

At the level of the municipalities, the practical issues of the temporal housing and

service provision are dealt with. There are no national requirements or specific standards that guide the refugee accommodation process (Aumüller et al., 2015). However, there are some recommendations for the execution of the national law for refugee accommodation that have been slightly adjusted with respects to the rising numbers of arriving refugees in the last years. For example, claims refer to the location of the accommodation, the size of the living space and the organization and qualities of the common rooms (Hauser, 2015). In Stuttgart specifically, refugees are mostly originating from Syria, Irak and Afghanistan, according to the statistics of 2017 (Luz, 2017). Of the total of 7.711 refugees in Stuttgart in 2017, 35% below 18 years old and 68% come in families (Luz, 2017). Currently there are 124 accommodations in 23 districts of Stuttgart, equally distributing the responsibility over diverse districts and neighborhoods with different socio-economic structures and geographical locations.

2.4.2 Types of refugee accommodations

The types of accommodation generally can be distinguished by centralized and decentralized models. Due to each of their qualities and challenges, different forms of accommodation are combined in order to provide enough space and support. In the case of Stuttgart, the centralized accommodations take the form of existing buildings with a continuing use as dormitory or with a change in use, new construction following the system model and a diminishing number of container units, as well as decentralized accommodation as apartments in existing buildings. The collective accommodations in system model buildings or existing dormitories are generally planned for 100-400 people, but there is also one with space for up to 650 people (Luz, 2017). Decentrally, apartments are provided in individual or clustered units up to 60 persons per building (Hauser, 2015).

In this research, the system model buildings as a form of collective accommodation will be the focus (see fig. 5 and 6). This choice is based on the extreme temporality since system model buildings have only been started to be built in Stuttgart since 2014 (Kutzer, 2014) and their use as refugee accommodation is



Figure 5: Front view on example of system model building as refugee accommodation. Source: Kleusberg, 2014.



Figure 6: Photo of open space around system model building as refugee accommodation. Source: Kleusberg, 2014

currently planned for five years (Luz, 2017). Also, a practical reason is the impact of a sufficient number of refugees on the open public spaces in the neighborhood, which can be expected to make an observable difference. System model buildings are argued to be comparable to conventional apartments not only in terms of their standards in architecture, durability, energy efficiency and living comfort (Kleusberg, 2014), but also in terms of sound isolation and thermal insulation (Kutzer, 2014). The city has been convinced by its fast, easy and cheap planning and construction, and moreover, it is very flexible and easy to multiply, extend or deconstruct (Hauser, 2015; Kleusberg, 2014). The inside of the system model buildings is equally standardized. A room provides beds, a fridge, closets, and a table for three persons while some rooms have a connecting door for families with children (Kutzer, 2014; Kleusberg, 2014).

In a previous case study, a refugee accommodation in Stuttgart in a system model building has been examined by Hauser (2015). The results reveal little privacy due to thin walls, and the aim to mix families and individual men for instance on one floor to create a balance, as being important for everyone to participate in the community and chances for segregation are decreased. Moreover, the situation is conflictual because there are many people with different nationalities, speaking

different languages and are living together on very little space (Hauser, 2015). This and the lack of private spaces can sometimes lead to aggressive outbursts due to frustrations and anger (Hauser, 2015). Furthermore, outdoor space is used to play, communicate and as place for privacy or retreat, which makes it very important, also because there are few options inside for these activities, according to Hauser's (2015) study. Her conclusions on this case study show that for the city, system model buildings are solutions for a fast provision of housing, but the management perceive problems for the conviviality inside the accommodation and outside of it (Hauser, 2015). These insights give some background information on the situation and potential conflicts within the refugee accommodation that might affect or trigger certain behavior or encounters in the open public space around the refugee accommodation.

3. Methodological Framework

3.1 General Research Approach

The master thesis research follows an inductive reasoning. In essence, the research process develops from the specific to the general. There is no hypothesis existing yet which could be proved, instead, the results of the analysis are expected to contribute to the building of hypotheses in later research. In essence, the aim is to explore the phenomenon as introduced before by studying two case studies in Stuttgart.

The case study research design focuses on studying contemporary phenomena within its real-life context, including multiple variables of interest as well as relationships and processes (Yin, 2013). By selecting two case studies, the master thesis will explore a greater variety of contexts and situations, applying the concept of "explorative comparison" by Gehring (2008). Accordingly, the identification of differences in the contrasting contexts is the focus. As will be explained below, the case studies are representing the criteria on different levels in order to be able to contrast the data collected. The selection process of the case studies will be presented in one of the following subchapters. Generally, the research will be conducted by using qualitative methodology, as it follows the inductive reasoning. Here, meanings, interpretations and motivations are at the core. The researcher has to keep a certain degree of flexibility, adapting according to the results. In this methodology, the representativeness is not very high due to small samples, but because of the specificity and the detailed information, the validity is very high. This refers to the concept of "thick description" (Geertz, 1973).

The design of the master thesis links the analysis of the results back to the theoretical concepts discussed. Since the aim of this research is the exploration of the ways how open public space is socially produced in terms of temporal interactions with and within space, the concepts will be first operationalized in order to develop a measurable methodological framework for the field analysis.

3.2 Operationalization of Research Question

Figure 7 shows the operationalization of the research question, narrowing down the theoretical framework into measurable indicators that are the base for the methodological framework. The theoretical framework and the phenomenon under study as introduced above is uniquely combining four factors: the spatial, temporal, cultural and the social, which then can be translated into the three dimensions of space. Accordingly, the structure of the methodological framework, is again based on the three dimensions of space by Lefebvre (1991): the spatial, mental and social space. The steps of the methodology will be explained in more detail in the next subchapter.

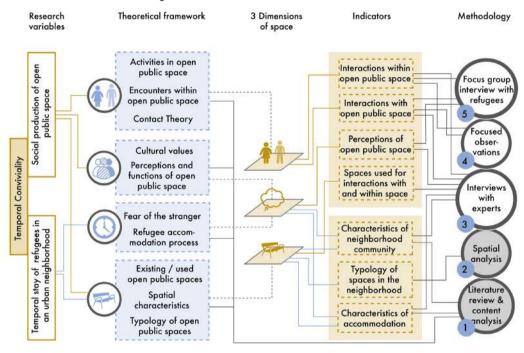


Figure 7: Operationalization of the research question. Source: Author.

3.3 Data Collection Methodology

In order to trace temporal interactions of refugees with and within the open public space, allowing interpretations on the social production of open public space in the two case study neighborhoods, a set of qualitative data collection methods are used. The following list gives an overview of the methods of data collection used and their order of execution (also see fig. 7), which will be explained in detail in the next paragraph. Generally, the methodological framework is structured according to the exploration of data, in other words starting generally and broad, then narrowing down the area of interest and the units of analysis for the details:

- 1. Literature review & political context of case studies
- 2. Spatial analysis with strolling observations
- 3. Qualitative semi-structured interviews with experts
- 4. Focused observations
- 5. Focus group interview with refugees

Firstly, the **literature review** provides insights into other case studies and existing theoretical conceptualizations or typologies, defining the framework of this research. Besides analyzing the current discussion on the phenomenon of cities and strangers, the concept of conviviality and the legal refugee accommodation process, the main concept is the social production of space. Its review is structured according to the three main layers of space according to Lefebvre (1991). Hence, in order to create a theoretical base for analysis about the physical space, existing typologies of urban open space are analyzed concerning their relevance to the research at hand (Appendix A). Next, activities in open public space and interactions between strangers in open public space will be categorized in a typology based on the existing literature (Appendix B). This creates the base for the further methodological framework as well as for the analysis of the results of field research. Additionally, a content analysis introduces the case studies' contexts by profiling the neighborhoods as well as accessing background information on the specific refugee accommodations and their perceptions by media.

Complementary to this, the profile of the neighborhood and its relation to the urban context also requires **spatial analysis** characterizing the general built and unbuilt environment. Identifying a typology of open public spaces existing in each neighborhood is one of the main aims. The types of spaces identified by Lynch (1960) and Stevens (2006) - landmarks, nodes, districts, props, thresholds and boundaries - support the analysis. The results of the desktop research have been verified and complemented by **strolling observations** as part of the spatial analysis. The maps in figure 8 and 9 represent the strolling route which has been taken.

Next, in total nine qualitative **semi-structured interviews** were hold with experts such as managers of the refugee accommodation, representatives of the civil refugee initiative, the leaders of local religious institutions, the administrative district leader in each of the two neighborhoods (Appendix E). These interview partners have been selected based on their leading position of and thus knowledge about either the group of the refugees or the local community. Each interview took around one hour, the interview structure included open questions

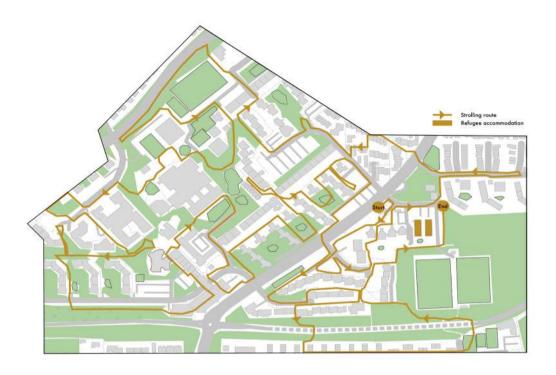




Figure 8 and 9: Strolling Route in Degerloch (left) and Neugereut (right). Source: Author.

and the possibility to map locations (Appendix D). These did not only confirm, challenge or add on the existing data collected, but also provided information on the general perceptions of the neighborhood, relations between host community and refugees, meanings of open public space by both groups as well as their behavior therein. After identifying patterns of using public spaces for both groups and where these groups overlap, one open public space was selected in each case study neighborhood in order to carry out more focused observations. The observations revealed punctual insights into the microcosm of the conviviality of the two groups in the chosen space, which is located on the maps in figures 10 and 11. Moreover, the observation locations are distinct in terms of their function which was expected to lead to a higher variety in behaviors to be observed. The observations were concerned with determining and classifying interactions with and within open public space by using the techniques of behavioral mappings, tracing of activities and movements and photograph documentation by Gehl and Svarre (2013). During the observation, the user groups, activities, movement and interactions have been documented in forms of lists and maps (Appendix G). These forms were inter alia based on the typology of interactions developed in chapter 2.3.3 (table 2). The locations of observation were aimed at allowing for a visual relation with the refugee accommodation in order to support assumptions about the differentiation of the two groups. Nevertheless, the definite identification of refugee or local resident was not possible. Therefore, in chapter 5, results based on the observations which refer to 'refugees' only indicate persons assumed to be refugees. Generally, when observing and tracing people's movements, use and encounters in public open space, time is a crucial factor (Gehl & Svarre, 2013). Accordingly, data has been collected at different times of the days and the week under the condition of good weather. The schedule is presented in table 3:

	Weekday 7.00-11.00h	Weekday 14.00-18.00h	Weekend 12.00-16.00h
Neugereut	Thursday, 19/04	Tuesday, 24/04	Saturday, 21/04
Degerloch	Wednesday, 25/04	Friday, 20/04	Sunday, 06/05

Table 3: Observation schedule. Source: Author.

The quantitative and qualitative data retrieved from the observations is used merely qualitatively, as the results do not allow for quantitative generalizations (Appendix H). Instead, the results are complementing the data gathered by giving a sample of what the conviviality looks like in the everyday rhythm of differ-



Figure 10 and 11: Observation sites located in Degerloch (left) and Neugereut (right). Source: Author.

ent user groups, activities and interactions. Last but not least, the empirical data was attempted to be triangulated by the primary units of analysis themselves, the refugees. In essence, this was done through **focus group interviews** with refugees about their use of public space, their perception of the other users and the meanings public space has for them (Appendices D and F). In Neugereut, the focus group interview took place in the location of the accommodation itself and was organized with the help of the management of the accommodation. In Degerloch, after trying different channels of accessing the refugees, it was not possible to organize a focus group interview due to several reasons. These include the lack of time availability of the accommodation management team, the cancelation of events due to the fasting of Ramadan and the limited time frame of the research. Table 4 presents the participants' demographics.

	Neugereut	Degerloch
Country of Origin	1. Syria 2. Syria 3. Syria 4. Iraq 5. Afghanistan	-
Age	1. 24 years 2. 27 years 3. 28 years 4. 25 years 5. 27 years	-
Gender	1. Male 2. Male 3. Male 4. Male 5. Female	-
Time spent in Germa- ny/this accommo- dation	1. 2 years /18 months in Neugereut 2. 2 years / 22 months in Neugereut 3. 2 years / 12 months in Neugereut 4. 2 years / 2 years in Neugereut 5. 2,5 years / ?	-

Table 4: Participant demographics of focus group interview. Source: Author.

This qualitative methodological framework aims at providing a substantial amount and diverse types of data from different sources. Proceeding with the analysis of the data, graphical illustrations, maps as well as coding methods are used. Consequently, the results and analysis of the same can be put into the theoretical context of the concepts introduced above and ultimately contribute to understanding the social production of space and temporal conviviality in the case studies.

3.4 Case Study Selection & Criteria

The following paragraph focuses on making the logic behind the purposive case study selection transparent. According to the research question *How does the temporal stay of refugees in an urban neighborhood affect the social production of open public space?*, the methodological framework follows a qualitative, exploratory design which also accounts for the case studies. Namely, two case studies are selected in order to allow for a certain degree of variation in the situations studied while being able to study both cases in depth. This type of "explorative comparison" is also supported by Gehring (2008), as mentioned above. Moreover, since the cases are selected to reflect the problems and phenomena identified in the underlying theoretical framework (Yin, 2013), certain criteria for the selection of the case studies have been controlled in order to ensure the applicability for the research and the isolation of the varying variables to compare their effect in the phenomenon.

Table 5 gives an overview of the criteria, their explanations and the information of case study 1 and 2 as compared to the average values in Stuttgart. Namely, the number of places available, the type of building, the period of use, partially the population density and partially the location in the city context are fixed criteria (see table 5). The number of places of each refugee accommodation has

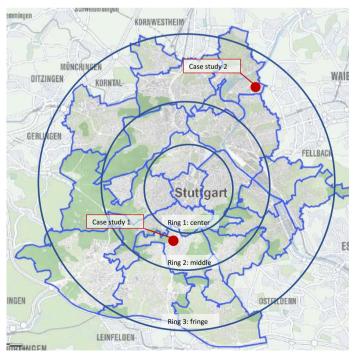


Figure 12: Rings of city context with location of selected case studies. Source of image: GIS Stuttgart.

been set to a minimum of 100 so that there is a relevant amount of refugees with a potential effect in the neighborhood. The system building model has been especially used by the government to provide a quick and provisional solution for accommodation (Aumüller, 2015; Luz, 2017). Thus, this type of building is more relevant to the research question due to the recentness and temporality of the phenomenon and the increased

Topic	Criteria	Explanation	Case Study 1	Case Study 2	City Average
	District		Degerloch	Mühlhausen	
	Neighbor- hood		Degerloch	Neugereut	
	Street		Helene-Pfleiderer- Straße	Sturmvogelweg	
Characteristics of refugee accommodation	Number of available places	Minimum number of 100 places (Luz, 2017)	159	159	
	Type of building	"New governmental community accommodation for provisional use according to the law of FlüAG, system building model" (Luz, 2017)	System building model	System building model	
	Period of use	Use limited to 5 years (Luz, 2017)	5 years	5 years	
Urban context	Location in city context	Rings around the urban center towards the fringe of the city (see fig.12)	2nd ring (middle)	3rd ring (fringe)	
	Population density of district	Citizens per km2 of area (Statistikatlas, 2016)	3.459	9.663	2.938
	Integration into residenti- al land use	Categories evaluated include green areas, mixed, residential and industrial land use. Data from GIS Stuttgart (n.d.)	Mixed-residential	Residential	
Characteristics of community	Net income average of district	Average of net income in 2011 (Heilweck-Backes, 2015) represents the socio-economic status of the residents	29.531€	22.444€	25.901€
	Cultural diversity of neighbor- hood	Percentage of residents with migration background (Statistikatlas, 2016)	36.8%	59%	44.1%
	Limited variation Full variation				

Table 5: Selection criteria for case studies. Source: Author.

relation of stranger between the host community and the newcomers. Moreover, instead of being surrounded by green areas, industrial or mixed land use, integration into residential land use has been selected to focus on places with a higher chance for encounters between host community and refugees. The population density is not meant to be lower than Stuttgart's average in order for the cases to be representing the urban neighborhood that the research question entails. Last but not least, the location in the city context has been limited to the second and third ring (figure 12) due to the higher catchment area that the city center in the first ring stands for.

In contrast, following the characteristics of "diverse cases", as Seawright and Ger-

ring (2008) state, the criteria of the net-income of the community in the district and cultural diversity of the community in the neighborhood encompass a full range of variation in the two case studies (see table 5). The variation does not include the extremes, but instead a diversity that still is close enough to the average to be representative (Seawright & Gerring, 2008). The variation has been chosen to be on relevant variables that hold potential to influence the dependent variable differently in each case study, as the social and cultural structure of the host community is assumed to be influential for the temporal conviviality of different cultural groups (Bisin et al., 2007; Gehl, 2015). Similarly, the socio-economic status represented by income and ethnicity (Gehl, 2015) might as well affect the temporal conviviality. Furthermore, the population density in the neighborhood as well as the location in the city context partially vary in both case studies.

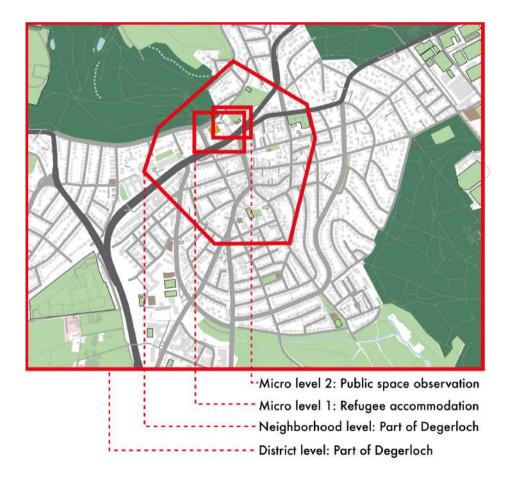


Figure 13: Levels of analysis in Degerloch. Source: Author.

After having analyzed the potential case studies (Appendix C), the refugee accommodations in Degerloch (Helene-Pfleiderer-Straße) and in Mühlhausen (Sturmvogelweg) have achieved the best match with the criteria listed. Moreover, the scales of analysis for the two case studies are presented in figure 13 and 14.

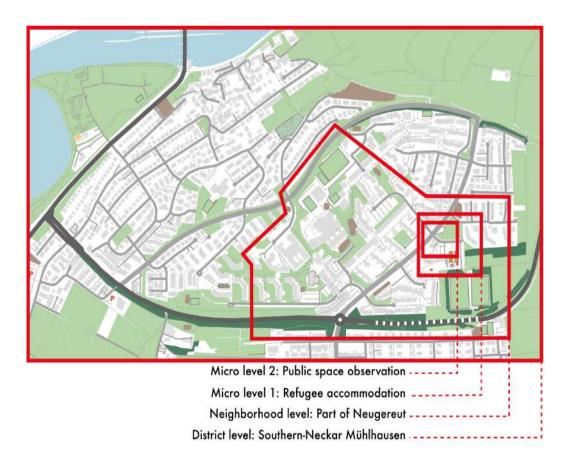


Figure 14: Levels of analysis in Neugereut. Source: Author.

4. Case Studies

The two case studies will be introduced by first profiling them more generally and then focusing on the development of the case refugee accommodation and other refugee accommodations in the district, reactions on the refugee accommodation in the neighborhood including the local refugee initiatives ("Flüchtlingsfreundeskreise"), that are common in almost all districts in Stuttgart (Luz, 2017). This structure attempts to give an overview of the background information and also the social, economic and political context in which the two case studies are embedded. It represents a crucial part of the analysis and will help evaluating the

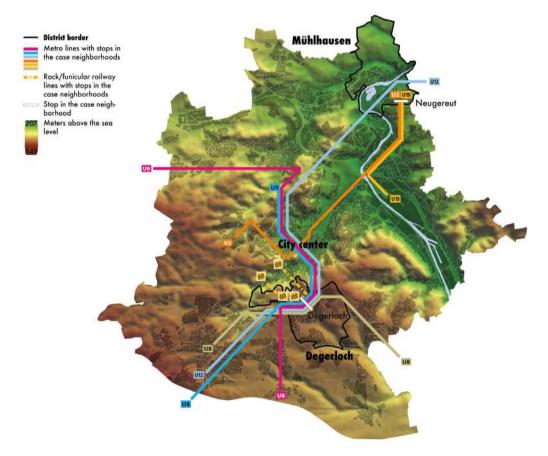


Figure 15: Topography and connectivity of case study neighborhoods in urban context. Source: Author.

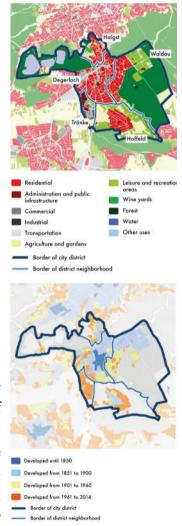
data collected and understanding the local context of the phenomena in order to draw conclusions and recommendations. The spatial characteristics will be analyzed in detail in the following chapter. Figure 15 illustrates the location of the case study neighborhoods in relation to the urban context, its topography and the connectivity by means of public transport.

4.1 Introduction to Case Study 1 - Degerloch 4.1.1 Profiling



Figure 16: Location of Degerloch. Source: Heilweck-Backes (2015a)

Degerloch is located on the southern part of the plateau which surrounds the inner city districts of Stuttgart (figure 15, 16) and is divided into five neighborhoods, of which Degerloch-Degerloch is the one where the case refugee accommodation is located. Before becoming part of the city of Stuttgart in 1908, Degerloch was an independent municipality first mentioned in 1100 (Bezirksamt Degerloch, n.d.). Figure 17 and 18: Land use Nowadays, the neighborhoods Waldau and Haigst are plan and historical developtwo of the most expensive in Stuttgart with villas and Heilweck-Backes (2015a) single-family houses and views over the city (Bantle, 2017). The district's commercial and historical cen-



ment of Degerloch, Source:

ter is around the main shopping street Epplestraße and the St. Michael church (figure 17, 18, 20). The federal highway Neue Weinsteige is leading through the district and connects the inner city with the national highway A8. Furthermore, a funicular railway and since 1884, the rack railway, connect Degerloch with the inner city, that both remain part of the public transport system. Additionally, other metro and bus lines connect Degerloch with the rest of the city. In essence, it takes eleven minutes during the day from the central metro station in the district to the main railway station by a direct metro connection (vvs.de).

Out of the 16.351 citizens, almost a fourth has a migration background (4.613 citizens). Migrants mainly originate from Greece (6.7%), Italy (9.3%), other EU states (31.2), Croatia 10.6%), Serbia (4.1%) and Turkey (6.6%) (Heilweck-Backes, 2015a). The average age is 45.1 years and 15.5% of the population are below 18 years, while 23.4% are over 65 years. The most common building type is the single-family house with 57.7% compared to 42.4% apartment buildings. The education in the district is relatively high with 73.7% of the children attending the highest level secondary school ("Gymnasium") and the average net income was 29.531€ in 2011, also representing one of the highest in Stuttgart (Heilweck-Backes, 2015a). Specifically, the Degerloch neighborhood under study counts 8.240 inhabitants of which 34.5% have a migration background. With regards to the



Intersection at commercial Epplestraße.



Office buildings along the Jahnstraße.



Entry to historical center at Große Falterstraße.



Residential area around Leinfelderstraße.

Figure 19: Impressions of Degerloch. Source: Author.

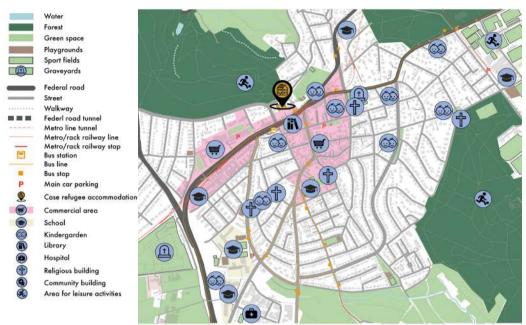


Figure 20: Land use and functions in Degerloch. Source: Author.

household structure, the most common type is a one-person-household with 51.9%, while two- or more-persons-households are each representing around a quarter of the population. In the neighborhood, 4.4% of the inhabitants are unemployed (Heilweck-Backes, 2015a). As mentioned earlier, Degerloch is one of the neighborhoods with a high average income while housing a low number of residents with migration background (Heilweck-Backes, 2015a). Figure 19 gives some visual impressions of the neighborhood and figure 20 refers to the functions and land uses surrounding the refugee accommodation on the district level.

4.1.2 Development of refugee accommodation in Degerloch

Before building the refugee accommodation, the empty land in the Helene-Pfleiderer-Straße had not been built upon for several years. However, there were plans by the company Minol to build offices towards the federal highway (Löffelstraße) and behind them, the city was planning for affordable apartment buildings and terraced houses (Sägesser, 2015; Ehehalt, 2015). Nevertheless, since ten years the plans for the office buildings are not concrete and have also not been accepted by the city yet (Ehehalt, 2015). According to Sägesser (2015), company Minol could already start building the office building on the part of the area which is not occupied by the refugee accommodation. Since the decision for the use of this location as refugee accommodation in July 2015, the use limit has been set for five years, as for all other system model buildings around the city of Stuttgart (Sägesser, 2015; Luz, 2017). Figure 21 demonstrates a detailed map of the refugee accommodation site and the surrounding functions. Despite some mixed feelings in the district, the first refugees arrived at the new accommodation in spring 2016. Meanwhile, the formation of a local refugee initiative to support the integration of the refugees and information events had started since July 2015 (Sägesser, 2015). After the establishment of the first two system model buildings, an additional module was constructed in May 2017 providing 93 more places (Recklies, 2016; Luz, 2017). This results in a total of 249 places currently available. Regarding the residents of the accommodations themselves, many of them have come in families with children (Baur, 2017). In May 2018, there were 191 residents from nine different nations, mostly Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq and Eritrea (Interview 2, Appendix E). In fact, the accommodation houses 90 children of un-



Figure 21: Functions, land use and photos around refugee accommodation. Source: Author.

der 18 years. Including the children, there are more female than male residents, however, individual refugees are mostly men (Interview 2, Appendix E). In terms of other accommodations in the district of Degerloch, there is one apartment for the subsequent accommodation of refugees with two places and an undefined limit of use (Luz, 2017). Moreover, a collective accommodation in containers for

temporary accommodation which also has been highly debated in the community (Hutt, 2015) provides another 330 places but its use is limited for 3 years (Luz, 2017).

4.1.3 Reactions on refugee accommodation in the neighborhood

In general, there have been some conflicts about the life in and around the refugee accommodation for the neighbors, however, the efforts of and participation in the local refugee initiative is very high. Namely, on the one hand, in June 2017, neighbors complained about different customs around the refugee accommodation even though they are generally supporting the refugees' situation (Baur, 2017). Besides the noise of children playing on the street late at night and the overfilled garbage containers, neighbors also perceived carpets hanging in front of the accommodation for days as culturally different and strange. Consequently, the neighbors suggested the presence of a social worker who would also be in the accommodation during the night, since the management and security team leaves in the afternoon (Baur, 2017). On a different note, on a local website, comments from the readership are critical towards the refugee accommodation, however, others support the work of the local refugee initiative and despite little visibility of the refugees in the center, it is mentioned that the integration is perceived to be successful (Degerloch.info, 2017). The distribution of flyers in Degerloch against refugees from a right-wing organization called the Guarding Federation of the German People ("Schutzbund für das Deutsche Volk") was highly criticized in an article on the same website (Degerloch.info, 2016).

On the other hand, the work of the Freundeskreis Degerlocher Flüchtlinge, the local refugee initiative to support the refugees' integration, has been highly valued (Recklies, 2016). Even though the number of volunteers reduces the commitment is very high (Degerloch.info, 2017). This can be seen for example in the organization of a summer festival with the refugees in 2017. The local refugee initiative formulates its aims as working towards a good and peaceful stay of the refugees in Degerloch and supporting the integration and the work of the management of both accommodations (FDF, 2017). Currently, the initiative has around 250 members who participate in 13 working groups to organize support for the refugees' integration. These deal for example with daily life activities, learning German, recreational activities for children, social events, administrative processes, and more (FDF, 2017). In sum, the reactions are twofold, revealing concerns by direct neighbors and also the presence of right-wing thoughts, however, also a strong support of the refugees by the local refugee initiative and local media.

4.2 Introduction to Case Study 2 - Neugereut 4.2.1 Profiling



Figure 22: Location of Neugereut. Source: Heilweck-Backes (2015b)

Mühlhausen is a district in the North of the city of Stuttgart (figure 22). It is divided into five different neighborhoods around the Neckar valley and the Max-Eyth lake (figure 23). The Neugereut neighborhood under study lies on a plateau above the Neckar valley at the border of the area of Stuttgart (Frischer Wind für Neugereut, 2018, figure 15). The development of the settlement mainly started in the beginning of the 70ies and is still being continued (figure 24), which makes the neighborhood represent different Heilweck-Backes (2015b) architectural and urban planning principles (Lauser, 2015). In the process of these developments, two cultural monuments have been constructed in Neugereut: The "Schnitz" building, a "Wohnhügel", applying an experimental and typical architectural concept of a terrace building from 1974 (Meyder, 2011), and the "Zickzack houses", an estate of terraced houses from 1975, with steep mono-pitched roofs (Meyder,

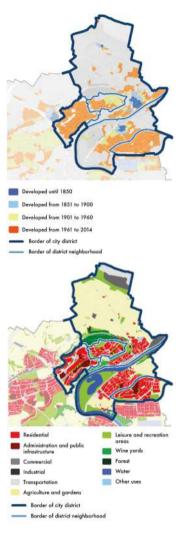


Figure 23 and 24: Land use plan and historical development of Neugereut. Source:

2012). Figure 25 shows a section of the "Schnitz" building. Both buildings were officially listed in 2011 and 2012 (Lauser, 2015). In retrospective, Neugereut could have become an example of a garden city. Instead, according to Faller (2011) what Neugereut has become

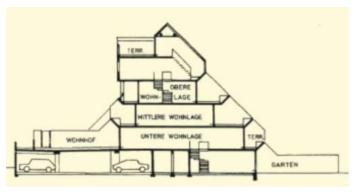


Figure 25: Section of the "Schnitz" building. Source: Meyder (2011)

is more the trial to combine some socio-spatial qualities of rural street spaces with the liveliness of high density of housing, resulting in a trial to connect the world of the city and the landscape with each other. With regards to the connectivity, from Neugereut's metro station to the main railway station Stuttgart public transport takes on average 22 minutes during a weekday, having to combine different modes of transport (vvs.de, figure 15). In essence, Neugereut has only been connected to the metro line network since 2005 (Lauser, 2015), additionally, bus lines also connect the neighborhood with the rest of the city. As a resident calls it a "dead residential area" (Hummel, 2017), the neighborhood represents a challenging situation for business and stores. Cafés, restaurants and kiosks are missing in the neighborhood while the shopping center is also fighting for its financial survival (Hummel, 2017).

According to the statistics, the district of Mühlhausen has 25.481 inhabitants of which 5.116 have a migration background (Heilweck-Backes, 2015b). The migrants mainly come from Greece (7.1%), Italy (9.1%), other EU states (17.5), Croatia (8.4%), Serbia (4.5%) and Turkey (21.8%). The average age is 45.5 years, and 15.7% of the population is below 18 years, 24.6% over 65 years (Heilweck-Backes, 2015b). Concerning the level of education, 51.5% of the children in Mühlhausen are going to the higher level secondary education ("Gymnasium"). In the entire district, the dominant building form are apartment buildings with 51.1% compared to 48.7% single-family houses; however specifically in Neugereut few single-family houses are to be found. The net income average has been calculated to be 22.444€ in 2011, representing the lower ranges among other Stuttgart districts (Heilweck-Backes, 2015b). 7.944 inhabitants live in Neugereut of which 57.4% have a migration background (Heilweck-Backes, 2015b). Here, the average age is 45.9 years and 9.6% of the inhabitants do not have an employment.

36.3% of the population live in one-person-households, 33.3 % in two-person households and another third lives with two persons or more (Heilweck-Backes, 2015b). As mentioned in the case study selection criteria, Neugereut is one of the neighborhoods with a high percentage of residents with migration background while representing one of the lower average incomes (Heilweck-Backes, 2015). Figure 26 gives some visual impressions of the neighborhood while figure 27 refers to the functions and land uses surrounding the refugee accommodation on the district level.





"Zickzack houses" at Pelikanstraße.









Shopping center at Flamingoweg.

Figure 26: Impressions of Neugereut. Source: Author.

Furthermore, Neugereut also took part in projects of the national-federal program of the "social city" since 2008 with the motto "fresh wind in Neugereut" which already achieved many structural improvements (Linsenmann, 2017b; Lauser, 2015). One of the current projects is the revitalization of the shopping center at the Flamingoweg for which the construction is expected to be finished in spring 2018 (Hummel, 2017). Also, the neighborhood management, the children and youth house, the "citizen house" as platform for citizen participation and the fitness parcours for all generations are part of the projects belonging to the "social city" program (Linsenmann, 2017a; Linsenmann, 2017b). The pro-

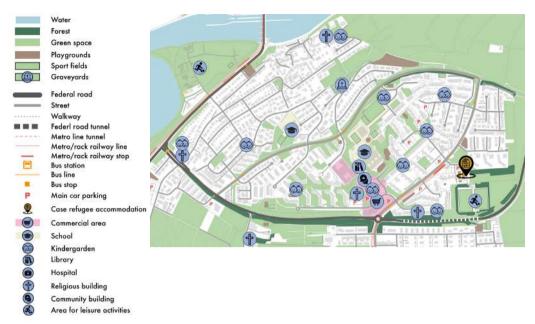


Figure 27: Land use and functions in Neugereut and neighboring neighborhoods. Source: Author.

jects are informed and based on different working groups, for example one on public space, open space and transportation or social and cultural togetherness (Frischer Wind für Neugereut, 2018).

4.2.2 Development of refugee accommodation in Neugereut

In Germany, there has been a discussion about the increasing conflicts in refugee accommodations especially targeting women, Christians, other religious minorities and homosexuals, and whether it can be solved by providing special accommodation for these groups (Crolly & Leubecher, 2016). The city of Stuttgart acted upon the many reported conflicts between Muslim and Christian refugees by building the accommodation in Neugereut which provides specific places for Christian refugees, thereby also acting according to claims by different organizations supporting Christians from the Middle East. However, in general, the city of Stuttgart does not want to separate accommodation depending on ethnicity or religion (Crolly & Leubecher, 2016). As a result, the occupation of two system model buildings with a total of 156 places and a limited period of use of five years (Luz, 2017) started in March 2016 (Esslinger Zeitung, 2016). Figure 28 demonstrates a detailed map of the refugee accommodation site and the surrounding functions. Specifically, the accommodation provides 15 places for Christians and eight places for Yazidi. According to the interviews with the management of the

refugee accommodation, in May 2018 the more or less 130 residents mostly come from Syria, Iran and Iraq, and others from Gambia, Nigeria, Kamerun, Turkey, Marocco and Palestine (Interview 5, Appendix E). Half of the people are individuals, the other half came as families, including 30 children below 18 years of age. The majority of the residents are between 20 and 30 years old and most of the individuals are men (Interview 5, Appendix E). The only negative media coverage on the accommodation was a report on a knife attack between residents of the accommodation in Neugereut as a result of a discussion among two men (Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 2016). The well-known problem of overfilled garbage containers around refugee accommodation is not the case in Neugereut where the management of the accommodation has focused on informing about the waste disposal and organization (Linsenmann, 2016). Moreover, in the district of Mühlhausen, there is an apartment for temporal accommodation with two places and an undefined limit of use (Luz, 2017). In Mühlhausen's neighborhood Hofen another collective accommodation in system model buildings for temporary accommodation is located. It provides 243 places and also has a use limited up to five years (Luz, 2017).

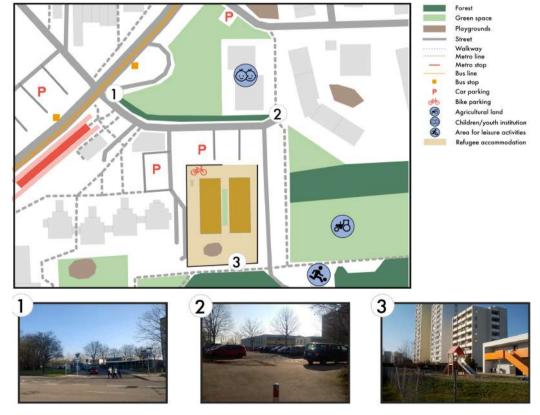


Figure 28: Functions, land use and photos around refugee accommodation. Source: Author.

4.2.3 Reactions on refugee accommodation in the neighborhood

In general, the reactions of the local residents of Neugereut are reported on very positively by the media. At the first information event in October 2015 which also marks the start of the foundation of the local refugee initiative "Neugereuter Starthilfe", the neighbors showed a great interest but also worries about increasing crime rates and the exact location (Linsenmann, 2015). Besides the "Freundeskreis Hofener Menschen" which is another neighborhood's local refugee initiative in Mühlhausen, the "Neugereuter Starthilfe" supports the integration of refugees by organizing different events as mentioned above as well as by helping the refugees with daily life activities, learning German, administrative processes and more. In order to welcome the first refugees in April 2016, the local refugee initiative helped organizing a festival of encounters (Esslinger Zeitung, 2016). Still, some neighbors mentioned that they often pass by but do not dare to enter (Linsenmann, 2017c). However, this threshold diminished to some extent when another festival with Arabic and Swabian dishes was held in April 2017. Here, visitors refer to their overall impression that the refugees are feeling comfortable (Linsenmann, 2017c). Another activity was "Let's putz", a cleaning day around the neighborhood at which around 40 neighbors and refugees participated (Linsenmann, 2016). The refugees showed the willingness to get involved and to give back something to the neighborhood, hoping that it will decrease the people's fear (Linsenmann, 2016).

4.2 INTRODUCTION TO CASE STUDY 2 - NEUGEREUT

5. Results

The results have been organized according to the three layers of the social production of space by Lefebvre (1991). This chapter will therefore present the empirical data retrieved by means of spatial analysis, qualitative interviews, focused observations and the focus group interview in the case of Neugereut. In order to make relations between the results, they have been categorized into the three levels of space - physical, mental and social space. The analysis in the subcategories will support the discussion of the findings and the connection to theory in this and the next chapter as well as ultimately inform the conclusions and recommendations drawn from the research.

5.1 Physical Space: Spatial analysis

As introduced in the literature review, the layer of physical space incorporates the space itself in its geographical, tangible and perceivable form. Beyond the introduction of the case study neighborhoods in the previous chapter, the categorization of public, semi-public and private open spaces as introduced in chapter 2.3.1 (table 1), the hierarchies of public and semi-public open spaces, characteristics such as the spatial elements by Lynch (1960) and Stevens (2006) as well as the detailed analysis of the refugee accommodations' surroundings are presented below. Most of the spatial analysis has been conducted on what will in the following be called the "neighborhood level" (as introduced in figures 13 and 14 in chapter 3), referring to a scale that entails the center of the district, the refugee accommodation and its direct surrounding and differing from the legal definition as in the district Mühlhausen and the neighborhood of Neugereut for example. The identification of public and semi-public open spaces (figures 29, 34) is not only helpful to understand the spatial structure of the neighborhood and thus the spatial opportunities that are available to residents, but the identification has also been used in defining the location of observation. In order to analyze the catchment area of the different open public and semi-public spaces, the hierarchies of the spaces have been mapped (figures 30, 35). In essence, the following categorizations of catchment areas have been used: City, district, neighborhood and block. This information shows tendencies of relations between the users of the space, ranging from mainly unknown strangers in spaces with a high catchment area to rather parochial relations and familiar strangers in spaces with a low catchment area. The spatial elements that have been highlighted in this analysis are landmarks, nodes, props as in urban furniture, physical or perceived boundaries and districts of similar atmosphere or characteristics (figures 31, 36). These elements of public space provide insights into the quality and the design of public space, making it more or less inviting for people to use, stay and interact in them. Also, it adheres to identify spatial patterns in the neighborhood structure and their effects. Photographs additionally support the understanding of the spatial characteristics, building typologies and available spaces that are influencing the atmosphere of the neighborhood (figures 32, 37). Moreover, a detailed spatial analysis of the afore-mentioned factors in a micro-scale of the accommodation and its direct surroundings has been implemented to gain understanding about the refugees' living environment and the opportunities they are provided with (figures 33, 38).



Figure 29: Public, private and semi-public open spaces in Degerloch. Source: Author.

Degerloch

In the case of Degerloch, the analysis shows that on the chosen scale, the neighborhood is dominated by private open spaces (figure 29). There are some semi-public spaces especially in the commercial center of Degerloch which are mainly used as parking areas for customers and residents in the backyards or front yards of the buildings. These also include the graveyard and the school yard. Besides the streets and pedestrian pathways there are not many open public spaces existing. Some of these are open public green areas with undefined and defined functions (such as soccer field or playgrounds) or public parking areas for example. The photographs in figure 32 give an impression of the different types of public spaces in Degerloch. Concerning the hierarchies of the open public and semi-public spaces, the transportation infrastructure in terms of streets includes all levels, from the federal highway crossing the neighborhood and separating the refugee accommodation from the neighborhood's center (city level) to primary streets (district level) and secondary streets (neighborhood level) up to smaller streets used merely by the residents living next to it (block level) (figure 30). Connected to one of the primary streets of the neighborhood, also being the commercial

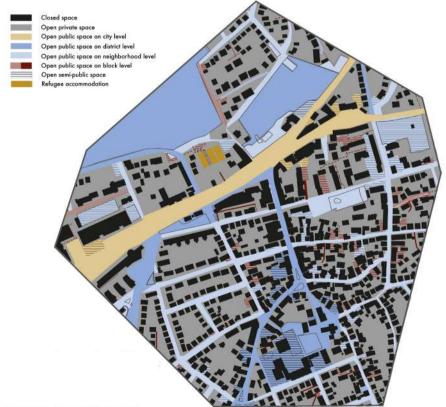


Figure 30: Hierarchies of public and semi-public open spaces in Degerloch. Source: Author.

street, is an area of similar hierarchy which includes the school, church, local city hall and market place.

Moreover, spatial elements help understanding the structure and facilities in open public spaces of the neighborhood (figure 31), supported by photographs (figure 32). Namely, the natural boundary of the slope down to Stuttgart's city center and the manmade boundary of the federal highway have a certain dividing role. Urban furniture such as benches can be found along the busy federal highway where the shopping street starts and where clusters of business buildings are located. Different spatial elements and districts with similar atmospheres coincide at the node of the federal highway and the shopping street, with thresholds towards the entrance to the metro station and tunnel below the federal highway as well as different landmarks. Different spatial elements also come together at the historical center of the neighborhood with more urban furniture, mobility nodes and landmarks.

Zooming into the refugee accommodation and its direct surroundings, the boundaries of the slope and forest as well as the federal highway and the parallel

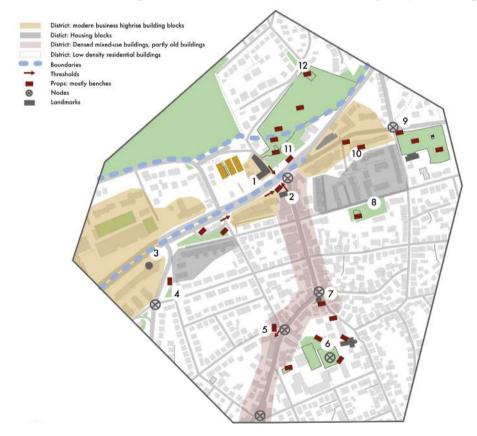
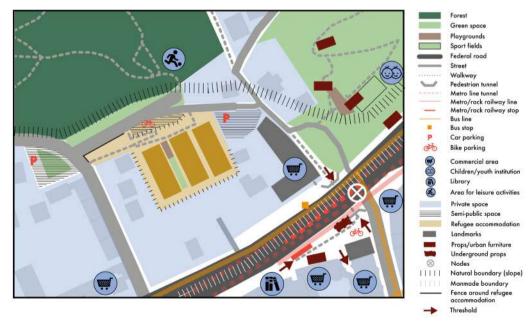


Figure 31: Spatial elements in open spaces and photo locations in Degerloch. Source: Author.



Figure 32: Photographical impressions of Degerloch's open spaces at locations of figure 29. Source: Author.



Figure~33:~Levels~of~privacy,~spatial~elements~and~functions~around~the~accommodation.~Source:~Author.

underground metro line seem to encircle the accommodation buildings (figure 33). Apart from some residential buildings there is a commercial and business building in the neighborhood which continues on the other side of the tunnel below the federal highway. One of the few open public spaces of the neighborhood which is offering activities such as playground and soccer fields as well as benches and viewpoints is located adjacent to the accommodation. The refugee accommodation is not very visible from the federal highway since it is built on lower ground level (picture 1 in figure 21).

Neugereut

The spatial analysis of Neugereut shows many differences to the neighborhood of Degerloch. The open spaces in Neugereut are characterized by large networks of green public and semi-public spaces (figure 34). In the south-west of the chosen scale, agricultural fields (open semi-public space) and a soccer club (open private space) surround the refugee accommodation. The semi-public spaces are often connected to the residential building blocks and to the cluster of educational infrastructure. Playgrounds are available on different hierarchy and privacy levels between residential building blocks, on the property of the school or in public areas (figure 37). Semi-public spaces which belong to residential building blocks can mostly be categorized as the lowest catchment area hierarchy level (block



Figure 34: Public, private and semi-public open spaces in Neugereut. Source: Author.

level). The road network is also strongly based on foot paths on district or neighborhood level apart from the main road on city level which is marking the border of the neighborhood (figure 36) and the primary street on district level which connects to the shopping center and on which the bus line connects to other parts of the district (figure 35). Shopping center as well as the cluster of church, youth

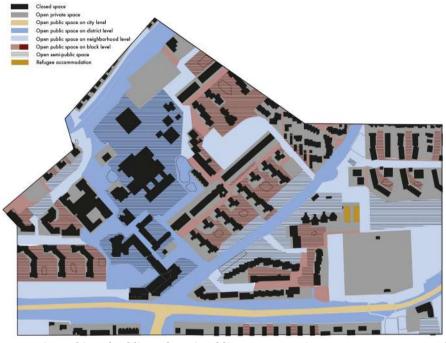


Figure 35: Hierarchies of public and semi-public open spaces in Neugereut. Source: Author.



Figure 36: Spatial elements in open spaces and photo locations in Neugereut. Source: Author.



 $\label{eq:prop:prop:spaces} \emph{Figure 37: Photographical impressions of Neugereut's open spaces spaces at locations of figure 34. Source: Author.}$

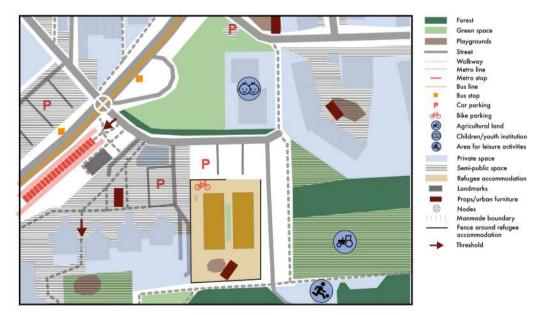


Figure 38: Levels of privacy, spatial elements and functions around the accommodation. Source: Author.

house and educational buildings form the core of the neighborhood on the district level. The analysis of spatial elements in the open spaces of Neugereut show a great number of benches in public and semi-public spaces which can be related to the concept of pedestrianizing the neighborhood and making it more attractive for older residents (figure 36). The metro line along the primary street as well as the sloped embankments along the primary street in the north of the chosen scale and the main road on the south are framing as well as dividing the neighborhood of Neugereut. Major mobility nodes are at the metro station and around the neighborhood's educational and commercial center as well as at the different entrances of the neighborhood. Landmarks as the shopping center, the metro station and the zickzack houses make the neighborhood distinguishable and help for orientation (figures 36 and 37).

Taking a closer look at the direct surrounding of the refugee accommodation, high diversity of land uses around the accommodation becomes visible (figure 38). There are residential blocks with semi-public spaces in the front and backyards, the metro and bus stations, an open meadow which is partly built with a temporary kindergarden, a public playground, terrace houses, agriculture land and sports fields. Thus, the connection to public transport and other facilities is very good but it also highlights the marginal location of the accommodation in relation to the neighborhood. From the primary street or metro station the refugee accommodation is not very visible due to a row of trees bordering the meadow and the public parking space in front of the accommodation.

In conclusion, based on the spatial analysis of both case study neighborhoods and refugee accommodation surroundings, it can be argued for a high level of difference between both locations. Namely, the ratio and types of public, semi-public and private spaces, the hierarchies of catchment area for these spaces, the types and amount of spatial elements, the building typologies and structures and the resulting atmospheres of the neighborhoods. In essence, it can be argued that Degerloch represents a more urban while at the same time historical atmosphere with the built environment mostly relating to the human scale. In contrast, Neugereut represents a rather rural while at the same time densely built atmosphere where the built environment hardly relates to the human scale. With regards to the location of the refugee accommodations, in both case studies they are placed at the edges of the districts with a close connection to natural areas, such as agricultural fields or forest. They are surrounded by rather residential uses and despite their proximity to the districts' center, residents of the accommodation

have to cross above or under rails and busy streets that seem to act as perceived boundaries. Besides the proximity to commercial centers, the accommodations are in both cases very well connected to other infrastructure and services such as the public transportation, playgrounds, schools and kindergardens.

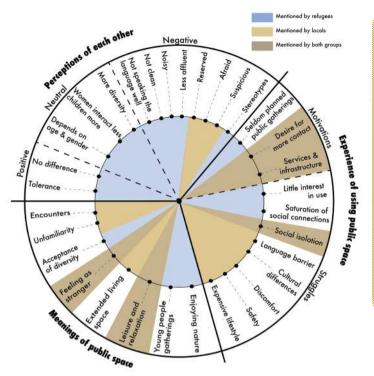
5.2 Mental Space: Perceptions, culture and temporality

The layer of the mental space refers to the conceived and conceptualized space which is made up of personal values, expectations and views leading to jointly constructed meanings and perceptions of different social subgroups (Lefebvre, 1991). In this part, results on the perceptions of each other in open public space, motivations and struggles shaping the experience in open public space, meanings of public space (figures 39, 40) and the temporality of the conviviality and "thrown-togetherness" are presented. The collected data enables a partial understanding of the underlying intangible cultural and situational values which among other factors form the base of the individuals' and groups' perspectives and behaviors. Some of these then again become visible in the interactions with and within open public space. For the first part, the perceptions, motivations and meanings have been analyzed for each group, the locals and the refugees, in order to identify the overlap between different values and concepts. It has to be highlighted that these results are not representative and are only covering a frac-

tion of the mental complexity in each individual. The data shows merely tendencies of the groups' perspectives, which inside of each group also show a lot of diversity. Additionally, each person's perceptions and motivations have to be set into the personal and global context; the latter referring to influences such as politics and media.

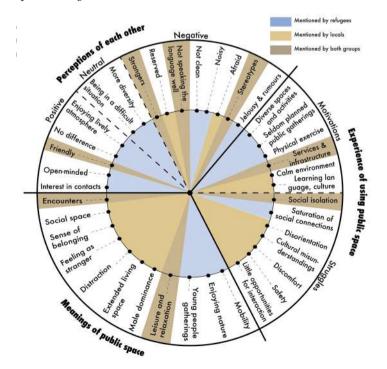
"It is the German culture, you don't find people just sitting on a square, everybody is always on the go. I would not know where encounters should happen. In the accommodation they are happening, but they are never spontaneous and random. This is not good. I like the southern and also the Arabic culture much better in this aspect." (Interview 1, Degerloch)

The analysis of the mental space reveals some similarities but also many differences between the two groups in the case study neighborhoods, keeping in mind the in-group diversity as well. According to figures 39 and 40,



"The young refugees, they try to increase their chances to stay through contacts that may lead to a job or place to study. It doesn't matter if they stay in Neugereut or not." (Interview 5, Neugereut)

Figure 39: Perceptions, experiences and meanings of open public space in Degerloch. Source: Author.



fugee in Neugereut)

"We go out for distraction, it is boring to stay at home. Sometimes we

need a calm

environment

and we want to make new contacts with Germans." (Re-

Figure 40: Perceptions, Experiences and Meanings of open public space in Neugereut. Source: Author.

"I told some refugee women: 'There is a lady who would like to go walking with you ["Spazieren gehen"] through the neighborhood once every week'. They said: 'Why should we go and walk?' – 'Go and walk and come back'. – 'What? What would we do there?' Still, the concept of going out, walk and talk and get refreshed is not understood by them. (Interview 7, Neugereut)

overlaps between the local neighbors as well as of the refugees in terms of experiences, perceptions and meanings in both case studies are

- leisure and relaxation as meaning of public space, which has been similarly claimed as one of the cen tral activities of public space users nowadays (Braum & Schröder, 2010),
- social isolation as struggle in using public spaces as well as
- services and infrastructure as a mo tivation for using public spaces.

As the results show, striking differences in the two case studies are that public space in Degerloch seems to be linked with strangers for the local community, while in Neugereut public space is rather

related with encounters than with strangers, which in return is mentioned as perception of the refugees by the Neugereut community (figures 39 and 40).

These values around public space have also been set into relation with cultural differences by the interviewees. On the one hand, compared to southern-European and assumingly to Arabic cultures, Germans are not spending much time in open public space anymore, according to a local community member in Degerloch (Interview 1, Appendix E). Also, elderly are comparatively invisible in the streets and squares in Germany (Interview 1, Appendix E). Similarly, another interviewee highlights the lack of community engagement compared to older times (Interview 6, Appendix E), as also the increasing anonymity and social isolation from the neighborhood community has been mentioned repeatedly. This is in line with the increasingly individualized life plans, as Braum and Schröder (2010) argue, that are closely related to the ways of self-representation in the public space. Similary, already Senett (1983) claims that people have lost the ability to enjoy the sociability with strangers and the experience of diversity, and are withdrawing themselves increasingly into private relationships with like-minded people. Thus, the openness and casualty with strangers has disappeared (Senett, 1983).

On the other hand, social norms on behavior and activities are depending on culture as well. Greeting (unknown) older people in the neighborhood might be a form of respect in other countries but greeting strangers in the neighborhood of Neugereut has only triggered negative reactions, according to a refugee (Appendix F). Also, certain outdoor activities such as strolling and taking a walk in the nature or neighborhood is not very common in many Arabic cultures (Interview 7, Appendix E). Lower visibility of women in public space has been related to Muslim culture by representatives of the local communities (Interviews 1 and 4, Appendix E). Another aspect of culture next to the geography is the different behaviors in and perspectives on space with regards to urban and rural lifestyles. Namely, using new modes of transport or orientating in a big city can also cause decrease comfort in public space (Interview 7, Appendix E).

Having been introduced in the literature review in chapter 2, the rather extreme concept of 'racialized

space' (Leitner, 2012) has no clear evidence in this research's results. Nevertheless, the existence of stereotypes, 'fear of the other' and stereotyped space, in other words the connection between the person and a certain location, have been confirmed by the findings (Appendix F). In the interviews and focus group discussion in Neugereut, stereotyping of refugees has been mentioned by both groups, the local community and the refugees, the latter feeling themselves stereotyped (Appendix F). However, the local communities in some cases also referred to an "increase of Arabic-looking people" and "higher diversity" in the

"Why would I go out alone? That's boring." (Refugee in Neugereut)

"The perception of the refugees is very selective. Many critically assess the "Swabian" [regional culture] criteria of cleanliness, noise and personal encounters. Others are happy that there is more life, maybe music, maybe a bit different lifestyle than us, not so closed or isolated." (Interview 9, Neugereut)

of Arabic-looking people" and "higher diversity" in the neighborhood without using any stereotypes (Appendix E). Refugees highlighted their perception of some locals as being afraid of them (Appendix F), confirming the applicability of the 'fear of the other' which is argued to be intensified through ethnic differences and the co-existence of multiple publics in shared space (Leitner, 2012; Sandercock, 2000). Trust and solidarity, identified as opposing the 'fear of the other', the

two basic needs of living by encounters in public Beunderman, 2007) can increased with time. In factors such as the work tiative, has improved the misperceptions becommunities (Appenauthor's expectations rality and uncertainty effect as expressed in did not have any negain return had a rathexplained above. One

"Forests might be perceived differently when you come from a country where you barely have forests. It could be considered something dangerous." (Interview 4, Degerloch)

together and reinforced space (Lownsbrough & be argued to indeed have fact time, next to other of the local refugee inithe relation and some of tween refugees and local dix E). In contrast to the of the refugees' tempocounterbalancing this chapter 2, temporality tive influence while time er positive influence, as

explanation could be that the temporality might have more of an effect on the personal relations than on the general perception of the 'group of the refugees' in the neighborhood community. Also, from the refugees' perspective temporality has not proven to have any effect on the behavior or comfort in open public space. However, the results also show that in the case of the two refugee accommodations under study, most of the residents were staying more than the supposed time of two years (Interviews 2 and 5, Appendix E). This is due to two reasons; first, some asylum processes take longer than 24 months and second, the lack of affordable housing in Stuttgart is presenting an additional challenge to refugees with a residency permit, which is increased by stereotypes and misperceptions. Another factor of temporality is the limited time frame in which the buildings are used as refugee accommodation. In the interviews, current tendencies of a need for accommodation due to the above-mentioned reasons exceeding the five years as planned has been noticed (Appendix E). Consequently, it can be concluded that the temporality of the individual refugees' stay does not affect the conviviality, it is rather time which has a positive influence on the temporal conviviality of both groups.

5.3 Social Space: Interactions with and within open public space

The results of the social space relate to the human, lived dimension of space; life in public space as well as social relations displayed in space. The results include the identification of spaces used by the local community and the refugees on the neighborhood level (figures 41, 42). Furthermore, on the micro level of the observation sites, the qualitative analysis of user groups and interactions over different

times of the week and day will also be presented (figures 44, 46), and finally, the relations between strangers and their encounters (figures 47, 48), partly based on the typology in chapter 2.3.3 (table 2). Appendix G includes the behavioral mapping of patterns of movement, staying and interactions. It has to be highlighted again that the results presented are only

based on the empirical research that has been possible within the limits of the time frame, thus they do not claim representativeness, especially not with regards to quantitative data. The qualitative analysis aimed at exploring part of the diversity of social-spatial relations and processes and interpretations can only be considered an attempt of understanding tendencies in the specific research environment of the data collection performed.

"Some say: 'No time to speak' or 'I am not interested to speak because your German is not good enough'."

(Refugee in Neugereut)

Together with the identification of open public spaces, the mapping of spaces used by the two different groups provides insights into the mobility and visibility of the refugees and the local community in neighborhoods' public space. With regards to the groups' use of space in the neighborhood, Gehl's (2011) categories of necessary and optional activities have been applied. Consequentially, overlapping spaces have been defined as holding the potential of inter-group encounters, which informed the selection of the micro-scale observation sites, as explained in chapter 3.3. The observations allow for insights into the microcosm of punctual conviviality in the neighborhood. Even though the distinction of refugees and local community members was not certainly possible (see chapter 3.3), general behavior in public spaces and relations between strangers have been documented.

"A refugee helped a woman at the ATM and she was very surprised and regretted voting for the right-wing party."

(Interview 2, Degerloch)

With this data, the picture of interactions with and within public spaces as well as the resulting conviviality is more complete and tested in a small-scale realistic environment. Along with the mappings (Appendix G), data on the presence of different user groups in different times, their necessary, optional and unplanned as well as planned social activities have been analyzed. Aiming at the lowest level of assumptions, conclusions could be drawn on common user groups, purposes and activities among refugees in the specific context of the observation.

"There are little places to stay in the district center, the typical Degerloch resident rather spends time in nice landscapes." (Interview 3, Degerloch) Going more into detail, examples of encounters in open public space as recorded in the interviews, observations and focus group discussion have been analyzed in-depth by categorizing them according to the type of stranger and non-stranger relations. Moreover, the results are related to the typology of encounters reinforcing or destabilizing stereotypes by Wiesemann (2015). This provides detailed information on the type of encounters happening between and among the different groups and contributes to a better understanding of the interactions within open public space in the context of temporal

conviviality of diverse groups.

Based on the data introduced above, the social space can be argued to be one characterized by tolerance and without many conflicts. However, this might also be influenced by the fact that there is not much confrontation of the two groups in open public spaces. Namely, despite the dense and limited living space in the

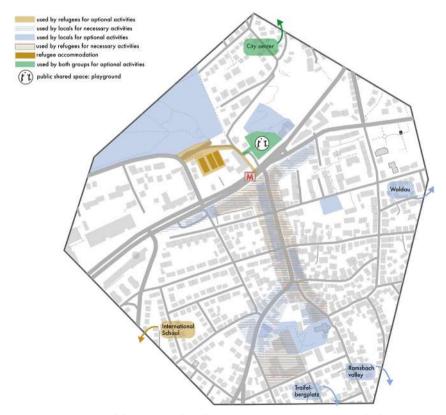


Figure 41: Spaces used for optional and necessary activities in Degerloch. Source: Author.

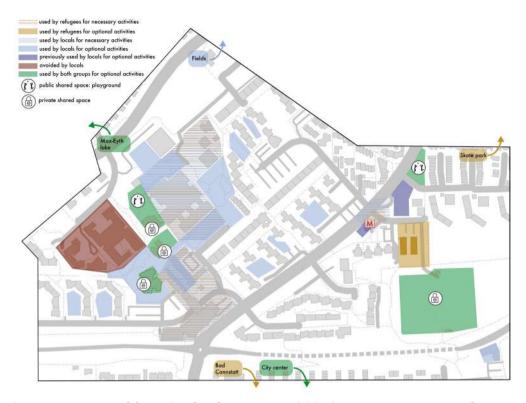


Figure 42: Spaces used for optional and necessary activities in Neugereut. Source: Author.

accommodation, in both case studies the refugees are mostly using open spaces closely around the accommodation or in other parts of the city. In the neighborhoods' centers or the rest of the neighborhoods the refugees are relatively invisible. In Neugereut's neighborhood, open public spaces are used in general rather for optional activities by the local community (figure 41) while in Degerloch, optional activities are performed in the surrounding nature (figure 42). Open public spaces in the neighborhood's center are rather used for its services and less for staying without necessary activities. Additionally, in Neugereut many of the commonly used spaces among the groups are either closed or open private spaces such as the soccer club, the library

"You see mostly elderlies in Neugereut, it feels almost like the atmosphere on a camping site, people go out and meet in public spaces, strolling around and greeting each other."

or youth house. Still, the playgrounds at the school and close to the refugee accommodation are the only open public spaces mentioned to be used

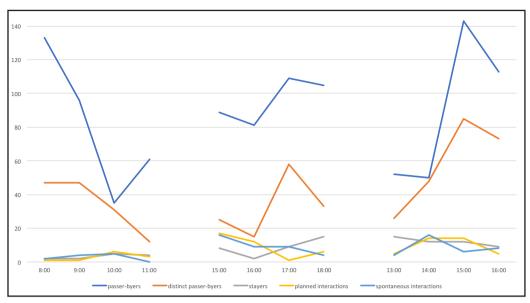


Figure 43: Quantitative analysis of people passing by, staying and interacting in Degerloch (Appendix H). Source: Author.

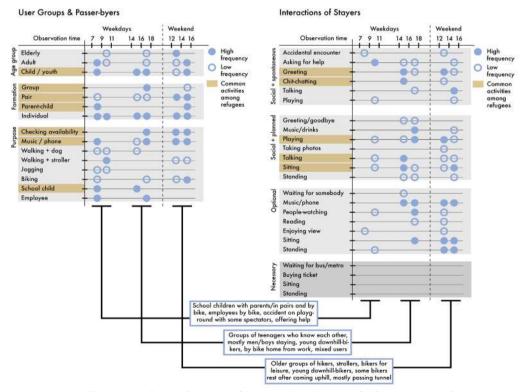


Figure 44: Qualitative analysis of users and interactions in Degerloch. Source: Author.

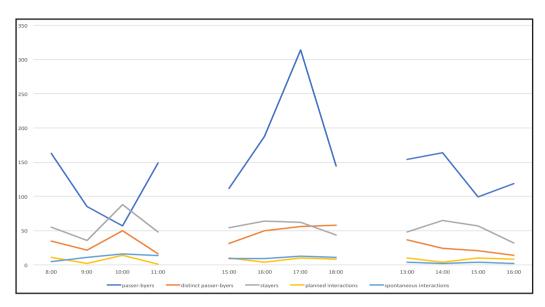


Figure 45: Quantitative analysis of people passing by, staying and interacting in Neugereut (Appendix H). Source: Author.

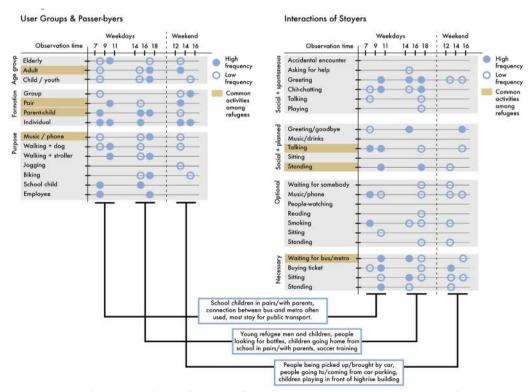


Figure 46: Qualitative analysis of users and interactions in Neugereut. Source: Author.

"There are no negative incidents or comments from the residents against the refugees, but maybe also because they do not coincide so much" (Interview 4, Degerloch)

by both groups for optional activities. Similarly in Degerloch, the only space where both groups coexist for other than necessary activities is the playground and soccer field next to the refugee accommodation. In both case studies Stuttgart's city center has been mentioned as location for optional activities by refugees as well as local residents.

Regarding the behaviors and interactions on the micro-scale, the results confirm the coexistence of both groups in the open public spaces observed with a diversity of user groups and without any visible conflicts. Noticeably, among people passing by, staying

and interacting, the latter activity was happening with the least frequency (figures 43 and 45). Similarly, results show that people are isolating themselves more by showing a low disposition and approachability, meaning that they are often engaged with their phones or listening to music (figures 44 and 46). In Neugereut, the chosen site can be characterized as transition space with high fluctuation of people, being one of the reasons for higher potentials for spontaneous encounters among non-strangers (figures 45 and 46). Planned interactions are often meetings such as picking somebody up or meeting to go somewhere together, as opposed to staying in the open public space as a destination. This, howev-

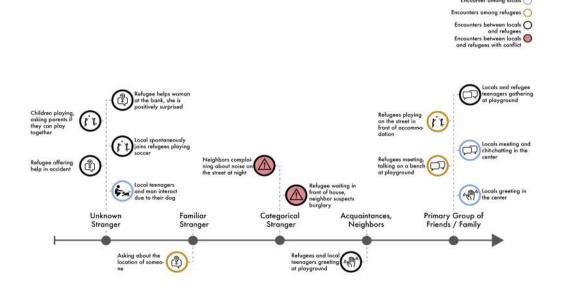


Figure 47: Examples of spontaneous encounters & relations in open public space in Degerloch. Source: Author.

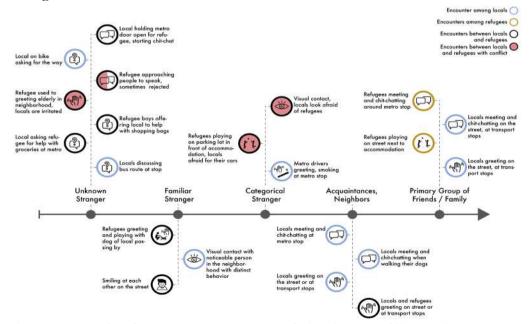
er, was the case in Degerloch, where the open public space was most used by teenager groups including locals and refugees (figure 43). Their gatherings did not always seem planned but rather 'the usual meeting spot' in afternoons and evenings. Although the presence of this user group was dominant, it still allowed for the coexistence with other users. A correlation between the diverse user groups engaging in diverse activities with the times of the day is noticeable. Due to the connection to the neighborhood center, the city via the metro station and the forest, the frequency of distinct passer-byers was relatively high (figure 43). Referring to distinct behaviors related to refugees and locals, the results demon-

"The public parking lot in front of the accommodation was used by the refugees in the beginning, but then neighbors complained because they were worried about their cars."

(Interview 5, Neugereut)

strate that refugees who are staying would rather engage in social activities and have been less frequently noticed spending time alone in the open public spaces observed. On the contrary, locals have been observed to be using the open public spaces in diverse formations and activities.

Analyzing the encounters in more detail, the tolerant and almost conflict-free social environment can be confirmed. The categorization according to levels of strangers and social relations reveals that based on the data collected there are



 $Figure~48:~Examples~of~spontaneous~encounters~\&~relations~in~open~public~space~in~Neugereut.\\Source:~Author.$

more refugee-local encounters among strangers than among people with closer relations in the studied neighborhoods (figures 47 and 48). Linking this information to Wiesemann's (2015) typology of moments of encounter as introduced in chapter 2.3.3, only one type of encounters reinforcing stereotypes has been recorded ("moments of territorial violation"), while all four types of encounters destabilizing stereotypes apply to the results ("moments of civility", "moments of transgression", "moments of unexpected solidarity" and "moments of sociability"). Specifically, "moments of territorial violation" could be observed in the neighbors' complaints about noise on the street at night as well as a refugee suspecting of burglary. Greetings between assumed refugee and local teenagers as well as the overall absence of direct conflicts relate to "moments of civility". A refugee offering help in an accident could be perceived as an temporary destabilization of stereotypes as in "moments of transgression" while the positive surprise of the woman helped by the refugee as well as the spontaneous joining of a local in a soccer match between two refugees connects to "moments of unexpected solidarity". Furthermore, "moments of sociability" could be observed in local and assumed refugee teenagers gathering or children playing together. This supports the argument of active encounters in the observed open public spaces in the case study neighborhoods to have a rather positive influence on conviviality between the groups rather than a negative one, despite its existence, in line with the perspective of Gehl (2015), Wiesemann (2015), Matjeskova & Leitner (2011) and others.

The presented results jointly form the ground on which first the reflection on the difference among the case study neighborhoods, the discussion of the concepts of social production of space and temporal conviviality and lastly the recommendations for conviviality in open public spaces will be based.

6. Discussion

This chapter aims at putting the results into the context of the theoretical and conceptual framework introduced in chapter 2. Accordingly, first the reflection on the case study neighborhoods point out the differences and similarities and their effect on the research. Then, challenges and potentials for conviviality of diverse groups in urban neighborhoods' open public spaces are assessed based on the findings in the case studies. Finally, the results are linked back to the two main concepts, namely discussing the meaning of the collected data for the joint social production of open public space and for the temporal conviviality in the two neighborhoods.

6.1 Reflection on Differences and Similarities of Case Studies

First, the research on the two different case studies representing examples of a diverse range of urban neighborhoods and contexts for refugee accommodations will be reflected on. On the one hand, as aimed at in the case study selection process, there are some **differences**. However, beyond the socio-economic and geographical differences that have been the focus in the selection process and became clear in chapter 4, some other factors of difference revealed throughout the research. Namely, there is a great difference in the built environment. This includes

- the building typologies,
- the traffic and mobility infrastructures,
- the amount and type of public spaces as well as
- the existence of semi-public spaces.

These elements already play an important role in the creation of a certain atmospheres: As afore-mentioned, Degerloch represents a more urban while at the same time historical atmosphere, compared to Neugereut can be argued to be a rather rural while at the same time densely built neighborhood. The relation between built environment and human scale as based on the different morphologies and the building typologies also make up for the different atmospheres. Additional to the influence of the built and natural environment, the community sense also contributes to the atmosphere of the neighborhood as experienced by

the residents. In essence, it has been highlighted that in Neugereut the community has strong relations and has been described as village-like, while in Degerloch neighbors are more often unfamiliar to each other and life in the neighborhood is more anonymous. Even though not proven by the conducted research, an open question remains about whether an increased anonymity in a neighborhood is leading to less stereotyping experienced by refugees, in comparison to a strong neighborhood community. Referring to this issue, one of the refugees in Neugereut mentioned that it would be easier to build social connections in a village than in a city, and results on the perceptions and meanings of public space with regards to strangers and stereotyping show tendencies for an interrelation in the different neighborhoods. However, this argument has not found any evidence in the current research, but could be related to the reflection of relations in cities and villages in chapter 2.1 (Simmel, 1903; Biddulph, 2010; Siebel, 2015; etc.). Moreover, the interviews and focus group discussion in Neugereut also affirmed the high amount of elderly in the neighborhood community, being one of the most visible users in open public spaces (Appendices E and F). This results in an age difference between the main users of open public space from the local community and the ones from the refugees. Refugees in Neugereut have commented that older people generally are very friendly and have time to talk, but social connections with people of similar age groups would be lacking (Appendix G). On the other hand, besides the controlled criteria in the case study selection process, other factors that create **similarities** between the case studies have been found. First, it is important to acknowledge the diversity of backgrounds and perceptions in each of the groups, locals as well as refugees, in the neighborhoods. In terms of spatial context, in both case studies the refugee accommodations are very well connected to public transport and thus to the rest of the

"Everyone is a stranger.
A strong community feeling as in a village would make it easier to get to know people, in the city people are not so interested in getting to know others." (Refugee in Neugereut)

city. However, in both neighborhoods it can be argued that the accommodations are physically separated from the center of the neighborhood to a small extent (figures 29 and 34). Moreover, results show that in both cases there is little overlap of both groups in public spaces (figures 39 and 40). Nevertheless, the findings on daily conviviality in open public space are not allowing for assumptions about the relations of

refugees and locals in organized or private contexts. Specifically, the local refugee initiatives in both neighborhoods are very engaged and the volunteers have promoted tolerance and respectful living together in the neighborhoods (Appendix E), which might also influence the conviviality in open public space. However, the focus on the research is on daily living together in open public spaces and on unbiased encounters outside of any institution or spaces with private purposes. Table 6 presents a short overview of the differences between the neighborhoods with respect to the social-spatial relations as mentioned above and the social production of space. It cannot be argued that the social production of space is less or more due to the spatial structures or social agents in the neighborhoods, however, the diversity of the context leads to diverse ways of socially producing space. The evidence of this research does not allow for any generalizations about causal relations between the structures of space and community on the social production of space. Nevertheless, for the two case studies the findings give reason to support the argument that spatial and social structures have a mutual influence on each other (Löw, 2008) and together lead to different ways of socially producing the space in the case study neighborhoods (Lefebvre, 1991).

	Neugereut		Degerloch	
Spatial structures	Many open public spaces inviting to stay		Little open public spaces	
Social agents	Strong sense of community, vil	lage-like	Individualized neighborhood, strangers, socializing happens planned and privately	
Social production of space	Happening among the existing community, refugees not much involved, encounters in open public space	relations and	es are not so	Happening more individual- ly or in predefined relations, little social use of public spaces

Table 6: Reflection on social production of space in the two case study neighborhoods. Source: Author.

6.2 Challenges and potentials for conviviality in open public space

Next, based on the analysis of the results, challenges and potentials will be discussed. In general, the **challenges** identified are mostly referring to the layers of mental and some to the social space. Figure 49 depicts external challenges and relational challenges between refugees and local neighbors, that are related

in complex manners. Challenges which influence the conviviality in open public space related to the refugees are

- their language proficiency,
- lack of confidence and comfort,
- the fact that making contacts is harder for adults than for children,
- density and diversity in their accommodation and
- their low visibility in the neighborhood.

The local community is connected to the challenges of

- social alienation in the neighborhood,
- less community engagement and
- stereotypes as well as the fear of the stranger.

Moreover, the following challenges that relate to neither or both of the groups are influencing the conviviality in open public space:

- the imbalance of interest in sociability and
- the high threshold of approaching strangers,

in addition to the external or general challenges of

- availability and usability of public open spaces,
- public life on screen, meaning the increasing tendency of engaging with

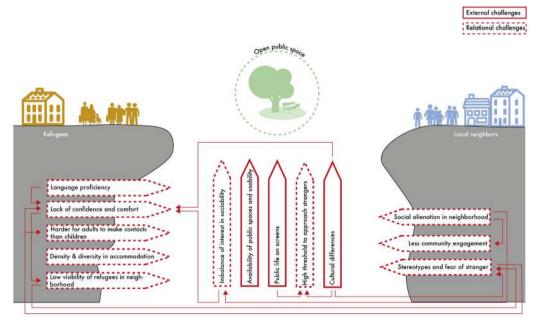


Figure 49: Challenges for temporal conviviality in open public space between refugees & locals. Source: Author.

phones or headphones in public space, as well as

- cultural differences.

The complex relations between the challenges as depicted in figure 49 will be explained in detail below. The low level of language proficiency of the refugees, cultural differences between the groups, stereotypes and fear of strangers on the part of locals as well as the imbalance of interest in sociability contribute to the lack of confidence and comfort in open public space for the refugees. In other words, refugees not being fluent in German and new customs and behaviors related to different

"Refugees think that
Germans don't want to
talk, feel unsure about
how to start a conversation, which is the right
way. Refugees would
be interested to sit there [outside], maybe
talk, just sitting next to
each other would help
to create acceptance."

(Interview 7, Neugereut)

cultures in open public space increase the difficulty of communication between refugees and locals and the comfort of both groups in open public space. However, this communication is being aimed at rather by the refugees in

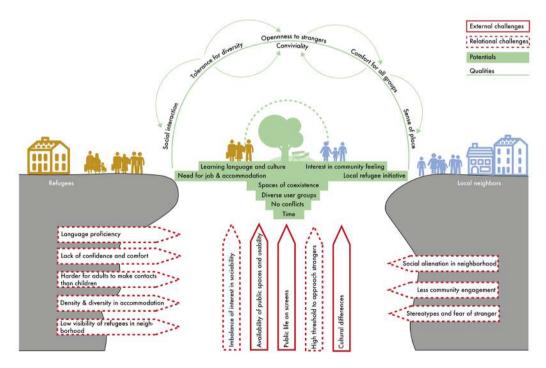


Figure 50: Potentials and opportunities for temporal conviviality in open public space between refugees & locals. Source: Author.

order to create new social connections, learn about culture and improve their German language skills. The contact is not always reciprocated due to less interest in social interaction among strangers by the local community who are often already saturated with social connections. The negative reactions on refugees' language proficiency combined with refugees occasionally perceiving stereotypes and fear of strangers from the other users of public space decrease their confidence and motivation for social interaction

with strangers and use of public space. Thus, the lack of confidence and comfort leads to a low visibility of refugees in the neighborhood's public spaces, also being influenced by the low number of social contacts with who refugees would prefer to spend time in open public space than being there alone. However, few opportunities for confrontation in public space and the different cultural backgrounds have the potential of reinforcing existing perceptions, including stereotypes and the fear of strangers, of the local community. Another challenge, the lesser difficulties for children to make contact than for adults is also related with stereotypes and

the fear of strangers. In essence, besides the

(Interview 5, Appendix E).

"First the reactions
were very negative, people
were afraid to let children
play on the street, women
would not be able to go
out anymore, black people
come - many stereotypes.

But the fears have not come true, the work of the local refugee initiative helped a lot, and some people just have unrealistic complaints." (Interview 6, Neugereut)

general ease of approaching each other and opportunities such as schools and kindergardens for children, results show that refugee children are less often faced with stereotypes and fear by locals as older refugees are. Moreover, as discussed when introducing the types of refugee accommodation in chapter 2.4, stereotyping might be increased due to the centralized accommodation. Accordingly, the management of one of the case accommodations recommended smaller units that would improve the conviviality inside and outside of the housing

Taking into consideration the challenges related to the local community, increasing *social alienation in the neighborhood* and individualized lifestyle negatively influences the *engagement in the neighborhood community*. These trends could also be linked to the above-mentioned *imbalance of interest in sociability* with neighbors and other residents. Last but not least, the general tendency of public

life being increasingly enjoyed on the screen raises the threshold of approaching strangers in open public space. Moreover, *culturally different norms* and values increase the difficulty of the way and the time to approach someone, as reported by the refugees. In conclusion, the main effect of these challenges on conviviality in open public space might be experienced by the refugees, however, fostering a sustainable way of living together where all groups feel comfortable in open public space can be argued to be an issue of general interest.

The analysis of the case study neighborhoods also revealed some **potentials** that are bridging the gap of challenges and contribute to the conviviality of both groups in open public spaces. The potentials presented in figure 50 are the factors identified to foster conviviality and which are already existing in the two case study neighborhoods. The opportunities are derived from the data collected and refer to possible values that could be added by conviviality in open public spaces. In essence, from the perspective of the refugees, there are the potentials of learning about the culture and improving their language skills in open public space, which is related to their need for jobs and private accommodations. From the perspective of the local community, the large commitment in the local refugee initiatives and the interest in an increased community feeling and lively public spaces represent potentials as well. The latter has been mentioned rather in Degerloch, where it shows through the popularity of street festivals and organized public events. Taking into consideration external potentials and the ones related to both groups, time, lack of conflicts, diversity of user groups and the mere existence of spaces where both groups coexist are working towards conviviality in the neighborhoods' open public spaces. As mentioned earlier, time has already improved the relations between refugees and the local community to a great extent, considering the initial protests and conflicts regarding the establishment of refugee accommodations in the case study neighborhoods.

In a more general sense, the "thrown-togetherness" of the two diverse groups offers certain opportunities that again ultimately contribute to conviviality and that are to some extent already existing in the neighborhoods under study. Having been derived from the data collected, social interactions, tolerance for diversity, openness to strangers, comfort for all groups and sense of place represent opportunities of open public space related to conviviality. Especially for refugees, social interactions beyond the ones inside the refugee accommodation represent an opportunity to find jobs and apartments and thus it could increase their chances to stay in Germany or even the very neighborhood, as the majority hopes for. As one of the conditions for these interactions, tolerance of diversity plays an important role. Tolerance for diversity here is used in a more passive sense respecting diverse people, whereas openness to strangers is taking it further to the disposition of actively engaging with unfamiliar people opposing the 'fear of stranger'. This openness to strangers plays a role in ensuring comfort for all groups in open public space and could even establish a sense of place. Consequently, tolerance and comfort also represent qualities on the base of which conviviality can strengthen the democratic function of public space. The opportunities as depicted in figure 48 are organized from short-term to long-term priorities according to refugees' uncertainty and temporality and local communities' continuity. Thus, although the current conviviality in open public space as investigated in the case study neighborhoods already provides many potentials, the discussion identified certain additional opportunities not only as outcome of conviviality but also as ingredients of it.

6.3 Links to Main Concepts

The following subchapter will discuss the findings linking them back to the overarching concepts of social production of space and temporal conviviality. According to the literature review in chapter 2, social production of space is framed as

the underlying processes on the three different levels while temporal conviviality rather refers to the outcome of the first concept, reflecting the ways of living together.

6.3.1 Social Production of Open Public Space

After having analyzed the data collected, the research attempts to represent different patterns of interactions with and within open public space in the case study neighborhoods and to relate

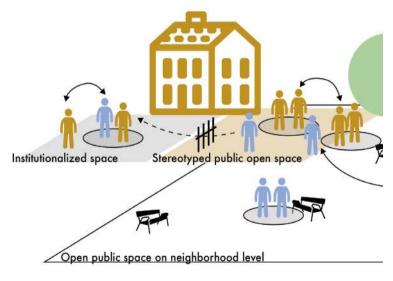




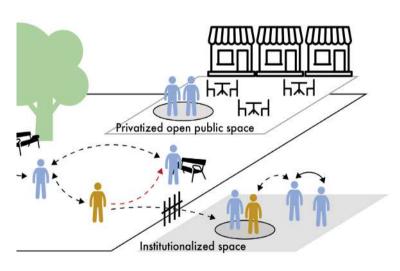
Figure 51: Patterns of social production of open public space between refugees and locals. Source: Author.

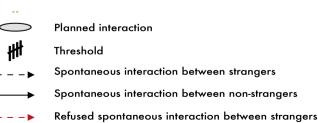
them with the conceptual framework of social production of space. Figure 51 presents a schematic simplification of the spaces and patterns of the two groups' behaviors and relations in open public space on a very abstract level, that together constitute the ways open public space is socially produced in the case studies. This scheme is based on the analysis of the three layers of space, the physical, mental and social. It does not attempt to be complete, instead it

"When people know that we live in a refugee accommodation they are afraid, it is a big problem for meeting people."

(Refugee in Neugereut)

attempts to represent the patterns and range of the diverse ways in which space is socially produced. In essence, main patterns lead to the following tendencies observed and recorded in the research: As for the group of refugees, their visibility is focused on the direct surrounding of the accommodation or other parts of the city, not necessarily in the center or rest of the neighborhood. The analysis of refugees' motivation for use and their actual use of open public space guides towards a contradiction. Namely, despite the density and diversity in the limited living space of the refugee accommodation and their motivations





to use open public space for distraction, relaxation and social connections (to locals), the reach of their visibility in the neighborhood is very limited. The fact of little privacy and conflicts among the residents of the accommodation has not only been found out by Hauser (2015) but also it has been confirmed by the refugees in the case studies at hand. This research is not able to explain this contradiction since this would need more focused investigations, but some "About the locals' interest in interaction with refugees: I think they feel insecure, they don't have enough information, they need to get connected to refugees. Those who are relaxed enough are already volunteering."

(Interview 7, Neugereut)

assumptions for the explanation of their behavior can be deducted from the data collected as presented in the following.

In the direct surroundings of the refugee accommodation one can argue for the development of a so-called stereotyped public open space in which refugees feel more identified with the accommodation and stereotyped as "refugee" than in other parts of the neighborhood or city. Within this space due to the proximity to the accommodation, locals rather associate people on the street as part of the refugees than in other locations, where the refugees have often been mentioned not to be distinguishable. According to refugees' expectation of open public space as social space, they are more inclined to use the space in order to reinforce existing or develop new social connections. As mentioned earlier, social connections with locals represent chances for the ref-

ugees to improve their language, get to know the culture and even finding jobs or accommodation. However, since most refugees' social connections are still centered in the accommodation and the attempts to approach locals in public space are often not successful, results argue for the existence of a loop of not knowing many people with who to use public space, thus not using public space, which again does not increase the refugees' chances for social interactions. Another factor in this cycle might be the demotivation after experiencing refusal of social interactions in open public space, which turns public space into an "ocean of hurt", as Thrift (2005, p. 147) argues. Nevertheless, not all experiences between strangers in open public space have had a negative outcome, as spontaneous interactions have been found to not only occur between familiars but also between and inside the groups of locals and refugees.

Speaking of the potential of open public spaces for establishing new social connections, debates in existing literature as discussed in chapter 2.3 highlight that public space cannot always fulfill expectations of creating lasting social relations (Wiesemann, 2015). However, this research shows that participation in institutionalized spaces and events such as the local refugee initiative or local recreational groups also hold a relatively high threshold compared to spontaneous,

non-binding encounters in open public space (Gander, 2015). Yet, institutionalized spaces and privatized open public spaces are where social interactions of the locals, although mostly planned or routinized, happen in the majority of times according to the analysis. The transit of and stay in open public space might lead to spontaneous encounters but mostly with familiars.

Consequently, the research in the two case study neighborhoods confirms the interrelation between spatial and social structures, both influencing each other. Thus, the analysis provides arguments for open public space being socially produced based on the perceived space, conceived preconceptions and perceptions as well as lived interactions. As figure 51 demonstrates, the process of social production of open public space as experienced in open public space is a hybrid of processes within and among the groups of refugees and locals. Moreover, social products of public space identified in this research are the distinction of stereotyped, institutionalized and privatized public space from the "traditional" and "pure" open public space. Simultaneously, these are the spaces which are greatly influencing the conviviality. These meanings attached to spaces are very general but simplify the same process which happens on more individual levels. Ultimately, conviviality in open public space can be perceived as the arena in which the processes of social production of open public space are becoming visible, expressing the groups' approximations or separation in open public space.

6.3.2 Temporal Conviviality

The results and the analysis of the social production of open public space provide a base on which the temporal conviviality in open public spaces as researched in the two case study neighborhoods can be discussed. This part refers to different aspects of the temporal conviviality, being the different groups and their diversity, the context of the existing community as well as the temporality. Then, the results on the temporal conviviality will be put into the context of the theoretical framework as introduced in chapter 2.2 and conclusions will be drawn.

The two **different groups** of refugees and locals are found to have distinctive expectations and thus different uses of open public space to a certain extent. In essence, refugees perception seem to highly value the social function of open public spaces, whereas locals' rather individualized lifestyles and the increasing commitment in the neighborhood community is reflected in their behavior in open public spaces. For locals open public space's role of leisure and retreat is found to be more important, in which they mostly do not expect social interactions except for planned ones. This perceptual and behavioral difference can also be linked to

the conditions in which refugees are "newcomers" to the neighborhood without certainty about the length of their stay while locals often have well-established social ties, which is also decreasing their willingness and need to engage in social interactions especially in open public space. As mentioned in the analysis earlier, these behaviors can also be related to social alienation from the neighborhood community, in a way that refugees are unintendedly socially alienated while locals intendedly socially alienate themselves. Moreover, the chances for confrontation between the two groups is also relatively low due to the invisibility of the refugees in the overall neighborhood, except for the direct surroundings of the refugee accommodation. Still, invisibility does not necessarily mean non-existence, but locals mentioned that refugees are mostly not distinguishable or identifiable, representing just another stranger, especially in the more anonymous public life of Degerloch. The role of strangers as one of the characteristics of cities is also supported by residents who are decreasingly approachable and showing less disposition for interaction by being on the phone or listening to music.

Taking a closer look at the two groups studied, the analysis also argues for a great **diversity** within the refugees and the locals. Behaviors, intrinsic motivations, perception on the other group and backgrounds are highly diverse. It has to be taken into account in order to acknowledge the abstractions developed in this research which only provides a glimpse into a very specific context in a limited time, space and sources. Furthermore, cultural diversity has often become normality in urban neighborhoods and has both supporters and opponents. Cultural differences in activities and behaviors in public spaces have been discussed before, not showing any tendency of conflictual confrontations, still leading to misunderstandings. Locals have not reported any meaningful difference of conviviality in open public space between before and after the initial arrival of the refugees, except for conflicts in the beginning between the groups which have not been reflected in conflictual interactions in open public space though. Only an increase in cultural diversity of users in open public space has been noticed. However, the not existing difference of conviviality might also be caused by little confrontation of the groups and thus little chances for active or passive interaction.

On a different note, the influence of the **existing neighborhood community level** cannot be clearly proven by the data collected. Yet, it can be argued that in both case study neighborhoods the encounters between the groups in open public space are rare, in Degerloch it might relate to the existing anonymity while in Neugereut there might be curiosity in the beginning but also relatively high boundaries of the strong existing community in the neighborhood. However,

this can also mean that stereotypes would be experienced less in Degerloch used to diverse strangers, whereas in Neugereut newcomers with a different background might experience more acted-out stereotyping and fear of strangers.

With respect to the factor of **temporality**, the momentary conviviality of the two groups is not affected by the uncertainty of the length of the refugees' stay in the neighborhood. Their "thrown-togetherness" is however affected by the start of the refugee accommodation and time did improve the relations, inhibition and stereotypes especially by the locals to-

"It is important to be forced to deal with cultural diversity even if someone just asks for the way or the time, but it barely happens."

(Interview 4, Degerloch)

wards the refugees as discussed in earlier parts. From sides of the refugees, time allowed them to get to know the culture, orientate themselves better, and learn the language which all in all gave them more confidence for interactions with and within open public space. Moreover, temporality shows rather little influence on the generalized and shallow relations on the group level, at the same time showing more influence on the personal level in deeper and individual relations. As mentioned above, on the group level the time spent in the neighborhood in return makes a difference referring to the interest in or need of social connec-

"Public space has a good role of not only refreshing and being outside, but also to interact. Not only for refugees but also for the residents, meeting them, face-to-face, getting to know individual people and not only images from the media" (Interview 7, Neugereut)

tions. The latter is lower for locals having spent more time in the neighborhood as for shortly arrived refugees. This links back to the temporal conviviality based on the different expectations of open public space by the two groups.

In general, the conviviality in the open public spaces as analyzed in this research can be characterized as one without conflicts and mostly tolerant but very punctual. Based on the analysis and discussion above, conviviality as found in the case studies takes different shapes. Referring to the categorization as introduced by Georgieu (2017), conviviality can be classified into civility through othering, civility through negotiation of we-ness and other-ness as well as politics of civic engagement and solidarity. On different scales and frequencies, it can be argued that the research found proof for a range of conviviality shapes to be existent within the interactions with and within open public space in the case study neighborhoods. Most frequent and on the less personal level, conviviality as civility through othering and through negotiation of we-ness and other-ness are the most apparent, while politics of civic engagement and solidarity can be perceived in individual encounters between members of both groups less frequently and more personal. The first type of conviviality is the most basic form of conviviality characterized by indifference and recognition of difference as well as lack of engagement except for accidental interactions in public space (Georgieu, 2017). The anonymity, the individualized use of open public space, the tolerance and invisibility of refugees is representing conviviality through othering. The second type of conviviality involves systematic encounters and interest in such encounters between members of both groups recognizing others' right to the city, thereby negotiating boundaries but not guaranteeing solidarity and mutual care (Georgieu, 2017). In the studied open public space this form of conviviality has been visible through passive and active interactions which would reproduce and challenge existing perceptions of each other. The desire for more of these interactions is rather one-sided, but the confrontation and co-existence of diverse users in the same open public spaces already implies a certain openness, even though the confrontation has found to be limited. The third type of conviviality as civic engagement and solidarity is visible through micro-scale conviviality in personal encounters that show engagement and solidarity in open public space. In certain private or institutional spaces this type of conviviality is more frequent for example in form of the local refugee initiative or other projects.

The hybrid of conviviality types applicable in the case study neighborhoods can be argued to partly enable casual, unintentional and uncommitted relations with others which not only help overcoming perceived and real cultural differences as well as linguistic barriers, but also neutralize hostility and fear, according to Georgieu (2017). However, the conviviality in the open public spaces under study does not necessarily mean that the unfamiliar becomes by default familiar. In fact, the conviviality between the refugees and local communities in the case studies can be considered to represent a convivial separation to a certain extent, which is more realistic and democratic than "forced togetherness that inevitably suppresses difference" (Georgieu, 2017, p. 277).

Yet, the question about how comfortable the refugees feel in open public spaces and why they are rather using limited open public spaces could not be answered concretely within the limits of this research. This leads to the objection of how convivial and democratic the open public space in fact is, if the lack of visibility of one of the groups is due to internal reasons or external reasons which relate to the spatial or social structures as discussed above. On the contrary, the research has found evidence for meaningful interactions in open public spaces, although more profound exchange and deeper social connections are often produced in other settings which are more institutionalized and planned, but then happening in the context of predetermined intentions and more commitment. Ultimately, the research can confirm the applicability of social production of space as a tool for analyzing socio-spatial relations and allowing for comprehension and evaluation of (temporal) conviviality in open public space.

7. Recommendations

Based on the current research, its findings and discussion, several recommendations in form of conditions are formulated. The recommendations aim at setting conditions for urban open public space to serve as an extension of quality living space by reinforcing its democratic and social role. This is reflected in providing comfort for diverse groups, tolerance and opportunities for social interactions. In the case studies, the existence and types of conviviality found applicable have been proven, however the quality of conviviality can be enhanced according to the different challenges identified (especially for the groups of refugees) and the needs and expectations of the different user groups. Moreover, the already existing potentials documented in the research of the case studies also contributed to the formulation of conditions as presented below. The conditions intend to create a framework of guidelines directing the development of conviviality of diverse groups in open public space in urban neighborhoods. These conditions ultimately aim at enabling and reinforcing the opportunities identified in chapter 6.2. Additional to the definition of conviviality as introduced before, Barboza (2016) suggests the creation of spaces which are not coined with specific expectations, allowing for conflicts of different interests and fears as well as settings which do not demand for anything. This statement summarizes the intentions of the conditions identified below, highlighting the ambiguity of public space hosting potentials but without expecting reliable effect. The conditions aim at enhancing conviviality and do not claim to be the sole remedy. As the case studies have shown, conviviality can exist in open public space in different ways and to different extents, and while conviviality can be improved, it is not able to reach a measurable optimum. After introducing the general conditions, the sub-chapter thereafter sets them into the context of the case studies and discusses space-specific examples of what the conditions could mean for the neighborhoods under study.

7.1. Conditions

Taking into consideration that planning and design are limited in their ability to create conditions for positive encounters in public space (Wiesemann, 2015)

and that "design is necessary though not sufficient" (Vyzoviti, 2005), the conditions are not merely focusing on spatial aspects. Rather, the conditions are categorized in the same way as the analysis of the collected data (spatial, mental and social), as the first are also deduced from the latter. This also means that in order to meet the different conditions, diverse formats and interventions must be used. Integrating strategies to tackle the spatial, mental and social conditions is expected to sustainably enhance conviviality in open public space.

The research confirmed the importance of conviviality in open public spaces, in line with other schol"I don't know
who I can speak
to, who is open.
And I don't know
how to start talking, I cannot
just say 'Do you
want to speak
with me?'" (Refugee in Focus Group)

ars also arguing for a need of daily structures which enable confrontation of diverse people and groups on the basis of similar interests and activities (Wiesemann, 2015). Through this, opportunities for spontaneous contacts and social appropriation of space are expected to be supported. Rodriguez and Simon (2015) discuss the relationship between design and the users' conviviality to improve the public realm at different scales as introduced in chapter 2. They conclude three different values – flexibility, equity, adaptability – that they translate

	Conditions	Opportunities	Aim
PA	Availability, accessibility of open public space Diverse user groups Location	Social interaction	Conviv dive
\Diamond	Acceptance, respect, openness Absence of bias and stereotypes	Tolerance for diversity	viality in erse urb
	Tolerant coexistence Opportunities for passive & active interactions Encounters on same eye level	Openness to strangers Comfort for	open pul an neight
	Low threshold & spontaneous interactions Opportunities for initializing contact > common purpose/activity > not language-based > addressing all age groups	all groups Sense of place	Conviviality in open public space in diverse urban neighborhoods

Table 7: Categorized conditions and opportunities for conviviality in open public space in diverse urban neighborhoods. Source: Author.

into three criteria for design being flexible, inclusive and useful (Rodriguez & Simon, 2015). Similarly, Mehta's (2014) attributes of responsive, democratic and meaningful for 'good public spaces' present a related perspective. Both criteria can be found to be underlying the conditions formulated in this research. The categories of the conditions as presented in table 7 are interdependent in the way that the spatial and mental conditions influence the social ones, and reverse, the social and spatial might lead to changes in the mental conditions, in line with the concept of social production of space. The opportunities as discussed in chapter 6.2 are possible consequences but also enablers of the conditions. In essence, tolerance for diversity for example is a prerequisite for conditions such as encounters on same eye level, but it will also be enhanced by meeting these conditions. The means possibly used to evolve towards the conditions are specific to categories. Namely, it can be argued that mental conditions might show the effects rather on long-term, but can be tackled through a series of punctual and short-term interventions such as awareness campaigns and events which have to be repeated on a long term vision. On the contrary, spatial projects usually have an immediate effect once they have been implemented but rather represent a constant intervention in the built environment. The ways of how to realize these conditions are diverse and will not be specified in this research.

According to table 7's overview of the conditions, below each of them is explained in detail:

Spatial conditions (environment)

- Availability and accessibility of open public space: The built and unbuilt
 environment of a neighborhood should provide a diverse range of open
 public spaces that are accessible in terms of affordability, reachability and
 visibility of its public character.
- Attractive to diverse user groups: In order to ensure the confrontation of different user groups, open public space should be designed and located attractively for diverse user groups. Thereby open public space would enable the minimum level of conviviality by acting as a platform where different groups tolerantly coexist.
- Location: With regards to the proximity to a minority groups' centralized location in the neighborhood, the location of the open public space could be attached with two connotations. As it has been experienced with refugees in the case studies, open public space in proximity of the accommodation can either represent part of the 'safe space' which the refugees can

orientate themselves in very quickly, or it can belong to the 'stereotyped space' where refugees have felt the negative effect of being identified with the refugee accommodation more prominently. These connotations should be carefully considered.

Mental conditions (individual)

- Acceptance, respect, openness: It is crucial to develop and reinforce values of acceptance, respect and openness in any community as they represent democratic and open society which should ideally also be reflected in the behavior in open public spaces, especially with respect to increased unfamiliarity and diversity in the urban context.
- Absence of bias and stereotypes: In the same line of argumentation, stereotypes and bias can be seen as the less visible and conscious, individual barriers to conviviality that still can have a great effect on the feeling of comfort of different groups in open public space.

Social conditions (interactive)

- *Tolerant coexistence:* At the minimum level, open public spaces should allow for a tolerant coexistence of diverse groups in order to develop the base of conviviality.
- Opportunities for passive and active interactions: Conviviality does not realistically and necessarily aim at enabling active interactions between all the users of open public space. Hence, passive interaction as in tolerant coexistence and the mere confrontation of sharing the same space should be facilitated just as much as active interaction.
- Encounters on same eye level: For higher levels of conviviality active interactions characterized by encounters on same eye level are necessary. In specific, refugees should not only be approached in the expectation that they are looking for help, but also just as another fellow user of open public space.
- Low-threshold and spontaneous interactions: Open public space should facilitate low-threshold and spontaneous interactions which do not expect any commitment beyond the encounter itself. Planned or to some extent private encounters can represent a certain threshold for both, refugees and locals, as the encounters could suggest certain liabilities and might not take place on neutral ground. Nevertheless, the research acknowledges the limited chances of deeper social connections developing

- from spontaneous encounters in open public space.
- Opportunities for initializing contact: On a more practical note, in order to promote contact in open public space, certain factors can simplify overcoming the hurdle of approaching a stranger. Identifying who might be interested in contact and finding a way of how to initialize the interaction can become less difficult if people can connect through a common purpose or activity. Moreover, especially crucial in the case of the refugees, activities which are not based on language can enable interaction such as games, image-based communication, barbecue areas, etc. Since children find it often easier to build social connections in schools, kindergardens or on playgrounds, other user groups should also be addressed by these activities and opportunities to initialize contact.

7.2 Application of conditions to case studies

Linking the conditions back to the context where they have been developed from, the case study neighborhoods are discussed in the following in terms of the ways in which they are already fulfilling the conditions. Furthermore, examples of how the neighborhoods could fulfill more of the conditions are considered. The performance in the conditions consider the network of open public spaces as well as the specific open public space which has been studied in detail, representing an open public space in the neighborhood where both groups coincide. Only when the reasons for the predominant invisibility of the refugees in the overall neighborhood are understood better, the conditions of conviviality can be discussed for more spaces. The checklist in table 8 represents abstract tendencies on the basis

	Conditions	Degerloch	Neugereut	Opportunities	Aim
PA	Availability, accessibility of open public space Diverse user groups Location	Low	High	Social interaction	Conv di
\bigcirc	Acceptance, respect, openness Absence of bias and stereotypes			Tolerance for diversity	Conviviality in open public space diverse urban neighborhoods
则	Tolerant coexistence Opportunities for passive & active interactions Encounters on same eye level		Medium	Openness to strangers Comfort for	open pu an neigh
	Low threshold & spontaneous interactions Opportunities for initializing contact			all groups	blic sp
	common purpose/activitynot language-basedaddressing all age groups			Sense of place	ace in

Table~8: Check list~of~the~conditions~for~conviviality~in~open~public~space~applied~to~the~case~study~neighborhoods.~Source:~Author.

"There could be more possibilities in public space to mingle through games, which allow for uncomplicated and low-threshold encounters" (Interview 8, Neugereut) of the empirical findings of this research, thus not being generalizable on the overall neighborhood. It aims at giving an impression of the neighborhood's performance in terms of the formulated conditions. The mental conditions have been excluded from the analysis in the neighborhood since on the base of the research's findings it is difficult to simplify the performance in such broad values taking into account the high diversity inside each neighborhood. The evaluation of the neighborhoods' performances in the conditions for conviviality in open public space shows how both case studies perform relatively well in the more basic conditions which fits to

the conclusions on conviviality in chapter 6.3.2. However, when it comes to the more specific conditions on the lower end of the list which promote higher levels of conviviality, both case studies mostly reach medium or low performance levels. This indicates need and potential for increasing the conviviality according to the conditions identified. The difference of performance based on the space-specific analysis can be related to the different functions of the spaces, namely, the playground and viewpoint in Degerloch as opposed to the transit space with multiple public transport stations in Neugereut. Accordingly, the next paragraphs discuss some examples of space-specific interventions in the context of the open public space analyzed in detail in each neighborhood.

The space-specific examples applying the conditions for higher levels of conviviality between the groups on the two sites are inspired by and based on the current activities happening there. Figure 52 and 53 as well as figure 54 and 55 highlight the existing functions and summarize the potential examples in the public space studied in each case study neighborhood. The existing functions contribute to the conditions of conviviality by attracting different user groups and sometimes enabling interactions, having been identified through the behavioral mapping (Appendix G). In **Degerloch**, a half-open shelter could attract diverse users from the group of the refugees as well as the locals. For example, the high number of passing bikers and strollers could rest after or before the steep road or hide from rain. Also, parents could be watching their children on the playground and groups could come for picnics using a connected public barbecue which would invite for interaction. People-watching could be another interesting activity due

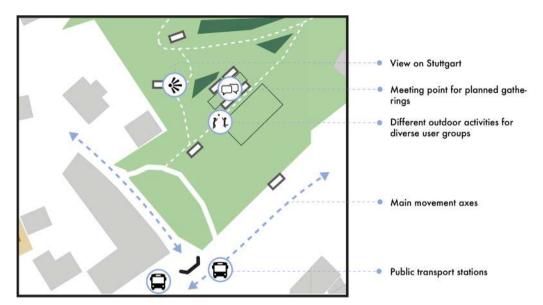
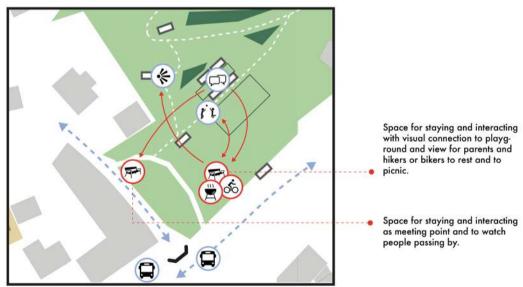


Figure 52: Existing functions contributing to the conditions of conviviality in Degerloch. Source: Author.



 $Figure\ 53:\ Examples\ with\ potential\ of\ reinforcing\ conditions\ of\ conviviality\ in\ Degerloch.\ Source:\ Author.$

to the high number of passer-byers coming from or going to the metro tunnel. Moreover, the new space would offer an additional possibility to enjoy the view, which is currently only possible from one bench whose demand seems to be very high. This example would aim at attracting even more diverse users to stay, especially addressing other user groups than children. Food and games that could be part of the design could foster low-threshold and spontaneous social inter-

actions that are not based on language. On the neighborhood level, Degerloch offers comparatively little open public spaces, even less which are attractive to diverse user groups and inviting to stay. Another example specifically mentioned in relation to some refugee youth was the interest in a skate park. Changing this would be expected to lead to effects such as more visibility of all groups in the neighborhood, higher sense of place and through more chances for confrontation also higher levels of conviviality.

In **Neugereut**, current activities are rather connected to transit and passing by than to people staying and perceiving the space itself as a destination. Hence, inviting diverse user groups to stay could be triggered by a sitting area connected to games and an extension of the existing information board with a chance for communicating by drawing for example. This space could be located on the lawn between the bus and the metro station. User groups could be people waiting for meeting someone or for the bus or metro, thus the space should have visual connections to both stops. Moreover, people walking their dogs and especially elderly could take a rest while watching the busy life around them. Spontaneous encounters between familiars that result in longer chit-chats could be moved from the pavement to the seats of the intervention. With this example, user groups could be extended from the people transiting or waiting for transportation to people staying for a more social or leisure purpose. Also, an interesting site with more space for activities such as a soccer field would be the lawn behind the bus stop next to the temporal kindergarden. In these ways, opportunities for active interactions could be increased, especially spontaneous and low-threshold ones that allow for same-eye-level contact. Moreover, the examples address chances for not language-based interactions, providing a common purpose and addressing different age groups.

These examples are only first ideas that should help to visualize and initiate a discussion about implementations that could incorporate some of the conditions formulated above and enable more conviviality in open public space between diverse groups. Apart from the space-specific spatial examples seeking to foster passive and active interaction, interventions addressing the mental conditions also contribute to the daily conviviality in open public space. As mentioned above, these could be awareness campaigns about diversity and behaviors in public space, cultural or community events, and organizational infrastructures. Examples for the latter could be volunteers of different groups who are taking responsibility for the maintenance or development of certain projects in open public space and thus being more visible and open for interaction. In both neighborhoods, the local

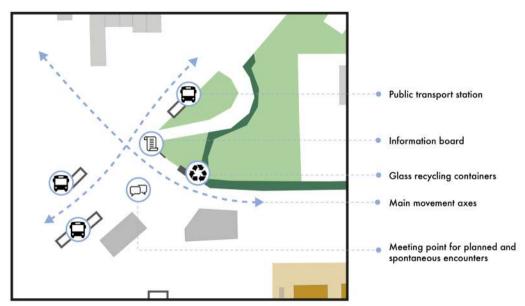
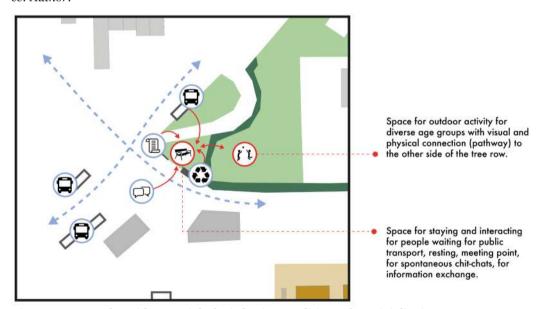


Figure 54: Existing functions contributing to the conditions of conviviality in Neugereut. Source: Author.



Figure~55: Examples~with~potential~of~reinforcing~conditions~of~conviviality~in~Neugereut.~Source:~Author.

refugee initiative already plays an important role for the promotion of the values mentioned in the mental conditions, thus lowering the imagined barriers between the two groups. Ultimately, any intended contribution to conviviality is dependent on the intrinsic and individual motivations of the community members.

8. Conclusion

After having analyzed the temporal conviviality of multi-cultural strangers in the case of local residents and refugees in two urban neighborhoods' open public spaces, the following conclusions can be drawn from the findings. The answer to the research question *How does the temporal stay of refugees in an urban neighborhood affect the social production of open public space?* is three-folded concerning temporality, the case study neighborhoods and conviviality.

Referring to **temporality**, the momentary living together of the two groups in the case studies is not affected by the uncertainty of the length of the refugees' stay in the neighborhood. Their "thrown-togetherness" is however affected by the establishment of the refugee accommodation and certainly by its possible abolishment. Additionally, time did improve the relations, inhibition and stereotypes especially by the locals towards the refugees, but also language problems and confidence among refugees. Hence, temporality is found to have less of an effect on the conviviality than expected initially. Instead, time has been identified as one of the external potentials which strengthens the conviviality in collaboration with other factors. Temporality and strangers in the urban context become more relevant because of the increasingly anonymous city life, uncertainty due to fast moving developments of urban areas and urban societies. This calls for more attention on temporal conviviality especially in open public space as reflector of urban societies and their values.

Urban neighborhoods such as the two case studies that have been analyzed in Stuttgart, have formed the context for the research at hand. Based on the research's findings in two neighborhoods with differing criteria such as spatial characteristics and demographics, it cannot be argued for an exclusive and sole influence of the different spatial contexts on the social production of space between different groups. Namely, the research found similar tendencies of a low visibility of refugees in public spaces of the neighborhood, which is happening regardless the amount and quality of open public spaces. Rather, the mutual impact of existing social and spatial structures seems to lead to different ways of how space is socially produced. This again supports the relevance of (further) socio-spatial analysis (Lefebvre, 1991; Löw, 2008, etc.). In general, individual pref-

erences and life situations obviously play an important role as well. Moreover, a possible effect of the level of neighborhood community on stranger-perceptions between the group of local residents and refugees has been found. This means that newcomers might feel more as strangers in stronger communities than in more anonymous neighborhoods, but it cannot yet be proven by the research at hand.

Overall, the research can confirm the applicability of the concept of social production of space as a tool for analyzing socio-spatial relations and the underlying processes of interactions with and within open public space in order to analyze the **conviviality** of stranger groups in open public space. According to the typology of Georgieu (2017), all three forms of conviviality (civility through othering, civility through negotiation of we-ness and other-ness, politics of civic engagement and solidarity) have been found to apply simultaneously in the case studies. However, the extent to which these forms of conviviality are reflected in open public space is varying, the first being most present on the general scale and the latter being least present and on the individual scale. Similarly, the range of possibilities in open public space is not predefined but negotiated every time again in personal encounters, leading to positive and meaningful encounters as well as experiences of rejection and the reinforcement of stereotypes. However, the interactions analyzed in the case studies have been prevailingly positive and tolerant. Still, the joint social production of space by both groups is bounded due to limited confrontation with and low visibility of refugees in open public spaces despite their dense and contested living space. The reasons of this could be related to their comfort and confidence in open public spaces connected to stereotyping and a gap of expectations on open public spaces between the groups. Namely, refugees in the case studies rather perceived the reinforcement or establishment of social connections as main function of open public space, whereas local residents would consider it a space of anonymous individuals connected to leisure and relaxation in the nature. Even if coexistence in open public space does not always challenge existing stereotypes and misconception, it is part of its democratic role - as opposed to being romanticized - which ultimately leads to an understanding of how to live with strangers, diversity and difference.

Design and development of open public space therefore should focus on reinforcing the traditional values of public space such as democracy, diversity and sociability (Amin, 2010; Hauck et al., 2017; Mehta, 2014). For this reason, spatial, mental and social conditions for enhancing the conviviality in open public spaces in diverse urban neighborhoods have been formulated. The conditions refer to

abstract concepts that foster conviviality and that can be implemented in diverse ways and formats. Ultimately, the aim of conviviality in this context is not only to strengthen the democratic and social value of public space, but also to reinforce the creative potential of urban life with differences and strangers.

Research limitations

The research at hand focused on qualitative case study analysis to explore processes in microcosms of open public spaces and personal perceptions which comes along with methodological limitations such as low representativeness (Yin, 2013). Moreover, only two case studies have been assessed that do not account for the range of diverse scenarios of temporal conviviality in urban neighborhoods but at least offer an entry point into the exploration. Also, as discussed in chapter 3, the author did not have the chance to conduct a focus group interview with refugees in Degerloch. Consequently, the research builds an entry-point for exploring the range of diversity by discovering part of it. Due to the limitations of time and means for the research in the framework of a master thesis work the research scope was attempted to be very small and specific.

Future research

Based on the research at hand, different topics for further research can be suggested. The analysis offers many opportunities to go beyond the findings of this work and build on them. In essence, deeper analysis into the reasons for refugees' low visibility in the neighborhood despite the dense and contested living space inside of the accommodation are needed. The exploration of more case studies could confirm, add or challenge the current findings. Additionally, the influence of existing community feeling on the comfort of newcomers represents another potential for future research. Moreover, the ways of implementation of the identified conditions in public space design, policies and interactions in the neighborhood community would be very relevant. Experiments of certain proposals in open public space of case study neighborhoods could test the conditions and contribute to the development of the spatial consequences. This could lead to design strategies enhancing conviviality in open public space and directly influencing the practice of urban design.

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10. Appendix

Overview:

10.1 Appendix A: Open Space Typologies

10.2 Appendix B: Social Interactions and Behavior in Open Public Spaces

10.3 Appendix C: Performance of Potential Cases of Centralized Refugee Accommodations in System Building Model in Stuttgart According to Selection Criteria

10.4 Appendix D: Interview Structures

10.5 Appendix E: Assessment of Expert Interviews

10.6 Appendix F: Assessment of Focus Group Interview (Neugereut)

10.7 Appendix G: Observation Sheet and Map

10.8 Appendix H: Quantitative Results of Observations

10.1 Appendix A: Open space typologies data collection

Simões Aelbrecht (2016): hierarchy	Local significance (residence)				
	District significance (intermediate)				
	Metropolitan significance (city)				
Simões Aelbrecht	First places	Home			
(2016): private/ public function	Second places	Work			
	Third places	Leisure/meeting in private businesses, cafés and shops			
	Fourth places	informal gathering and social interaction spaces with "spatial, temporal or managerial 'in-betweenness' and a great sense of publicness			
Lynch (1960): spatial elements	Landmarks	external points of orientation, usually an easily identifiable physical object in the urban landscape			
	Paths	routes along which people move throughout the city			
	Nodes	strategic focus points for orientation like squares and junctions			
	Districts	areas characterized by common characteristics			
	Edges	boundaries and breaks in continuity			
Stevens (2006): spatial elements	Props	variety of fixed objects which are to be found within urban public spaces, such as public artworks, play equipment, and street furniture.			
	Paths	furniture. pedestrian pathways, vehicular traffic			
	Intersections	places of heightened awareness and decision-making: people slow down or stop at them, and people make choices about what they do next and where they are going, thereby defining their itinerary, although not always on pragmatic grounds.			
	Thresholds	a threshold is the point at which a path crosses a boundary. Yet this is a special kind of boundary. The private space behind the threshold has social divisions and structured functions, whereas the public realm outside is relatively diverse and unregulated (railway station, the post office, the State Library, and Parliament House)			
	Boundaries	Boundaries in urban space are not always fixed or absolute			
UNESCO (2017):	Gathering spaces	Plazas, squares, parks			
public open spaces	Connecting spaces	Streets, sidewalks			
Sandalack &	Street	residential street, commercial street, civic boulevards			
Alaniz Uribe (2010): open	Square	civic square/plaza, church square, market square, collegiate square'			
space typology	Park/garden/cemetery	gardens, cemeteries, ornamental parks			
	Linear system/green corridor/path	paths, bikeways, trails, rights-of-way			
	Outdoor sport and recreation facility	tot lots, playgrounds, sport fields, school sites, golf courses, skateboard parks			
	Campground and picnic areas	camping areas, picnic and day-use areas			
	Natural/semi-natural green space	woodland, grasslands, wetlands, canals, open and running water, ecological reserve			
Stanley et al.	Transport facilities	Train station, parkings, driveways			
(2012): urban open spaces	Streets	Boulevards, street space, pedestrian alleys/paths			
A	Plazas	Large plazas, smaller neighborhood plazas, interior courtyards			
	Recreational space	Sports facilities, playgrounds, houseyards			
	Incidental space	Empty lots, marginalized space between buildings, semi-wild areas			
	parks and gardens	Major parks, small parks and institutional gardens, cemeteries, household gardens			
	Food production	Orchards, Agricultural fields, community gardens, kitchen gardens			

10.2 Appendix B: Social Interactions and Behavior in Open Public Spaces

Simões Aelbrecht (2016)	types of "strangers"	Unknown		
		Familiar: those that are not personally known and with whom one does not directly interact but because of a shared daily path or round, they become recognizable		
		Categorical: those whom one does not know but with whom one knows one can have a routinized relation such as with people in an occupational instrumental role or identity		
Simões Aelbrecht (2016)	Types of social relations between them	Passive: People-watching, public solitude (pleasure that people seek by being alone in public)		
		Active: fleeting encounters (brief, short-lived and transient, not involving much spoken exchange, often planned in advance – crossing, queuing), routinized/necessary encounters (among categorical strangers), chance encounters, quasi-primary relationships (created by relatively brief encounters between both unknown and categorical strangers), intimate secondary relationships (type of parochial realm-based relations that take place in public)		
Simões Aelbrecht (2016)	Types of social behavior involved	Visual encounters (observation): civil inattention, cooperation		
		Brief encounters (interaction): visual and verbal, brief and standard		
		Longer encounters (sociability): visual and verbal, emotional infused, long-lasting		
Gehl (2011)	activities	Necessary: integrated, non-optional part of every day. Optional: recreational and fun activities. Social: including all types of contact between people wherever they go in the city.		
Stevens (2006)	Non-instrumental behavior: Play	Play: actions lacking clear instrumental benefits, separation from every- day experience, exploratory encounters with strangers		
Lynch (1960)	instrumental behavior	Transitory orientation/ planned itinerary		
Khilla (2017) primary	Relations in public realm	Public: stranger, or categorical, relational forms		
reference?		Parochial: communal relational forms among acquaintances and neighbors involved in the interpersonal networks		
		Private: intimate relational forms among primary groups		

10.3 Appendix C: Performance of potential cases of centralized refugee accommodations in system building model in Stuttgart according to selection criteria

											C
Neighborhoo d Address	Address		Places (min. 100)	Places (min. 100) Type of building	Period of use	Location in city context (center 1, middle 2, fringe 3)	Population density in neighborhood per km2	Type of land use around (according to street name)	Net-income average of district in 2011 in €	Cultural diversity of neighborhood (migration background)	ung t
							2.938		25.901	44,10%	
Birkach-Nord Ohnholdstraße	Ohnholdstraße	_	159	"New governmental community accommodation for provisional use according to the law of FlüAG, system building model."	limited to 5 years		4.000	Green, residential	28.992	47,70%	
Botnang- Furtwänglerstraß Nord e	Furtwänglerstraß		159	"Governmental community accommodation for provisional use according to the law of FlüAG, system building model."	limited to 5 years	2	8.402	Green, 8.402 residential	26.868	.25,70%	tion
Mercedesstraße Veielbrunnen 51 A	Mercedesstraße 51 A	-	243	: 44	limited to 5 years	2	3.272	3.272 Green, industry	23.876	72,10%	cri
Helene- Pfleiderer- Degerloch Straße	Helene- Pfleiderer- Straße		159	"New governmental community accommodation for provisional use according to the law of FlüAG, system building model."	limited to 5 years	2	3.459	Mixed, residential	29.531	%08'9E	eria
Feuerbach- Krailenshaldenstr Ost aße	Krailenshaldenstr aße	 	321	"New governmental community accommodation for provisional use according to the law of FlüAG, system building model."	limited to 5 years	2	611	Green, industry	26.972	%02'92	l
Feuerbach- Mitte? Wiener Straße	Wiener Straße	\vdash	243	"New governmental community accommodation for provisional use according to the law of FlüAG, system 1243 building model."	limited to 5 years	2	12.096	Mixed, residential	26.972	%08'89	
Lemberg- Bubenhaldenstra Föhrich 8e 16	Bubenhaldenstra 3e 16		156	"Governmental community accommodation for provisional use according to the law of FlüAG, system 156 building model."	limited to 5 years	2	3.958	Residential	26.972	41,20%	
Universität Breitscheidstraße	3reitscheidstraße		159	'New governmental community accommodation for provisional use according to the law of FlüAG, system building model."	limited to 5 years	1	1.566	1.566 Mixed	7.316	48,3	
Fasanenhof Ehrlichweg	Ehrlichweg		321	"New governmental community accommodation for provisional use according to the law of FlüAG, system building model."	limited to 5 years	8	5.809	5.809 Residential	26.903	54,50%	
Möhringen- Mitte Lautlinger Weg	∟autlinger Weg		243	system	limited to 5 years	8	6.706	Green, industry, residential	26.903	40,80%	
Kurt- Schumacher- Stemhäule? Straße	Kurt- Schumacher- Straße		243	"Governmental community accommodation for provisional use according to the law of FlüAG, system 1243 building model."	limited to 5 years	8	133	Green, industry, residential	26.903	85,70%	
Hofen Wagrainstraße	Wagrainstraße		243		limited to 5 years	8	1.831	Residential	22.444	34,50%	
Neugereut Sturmvogelweg	Sturmvogelwe	g	159	"Governmental community accommodation for provisional use according to the law of FIüAG, system building model."	limited to 5 years	3	9.663	Residential	22.444	%69	
Münster Burgholzstraße	Burgholzstraße		321	"New governmental community accommodation for provisional use according to the law of FlüAG, system building model."	limited to 5 years	3	2.958	2.958 Green, industry	22.951	46,40%	

(Continuation Appendix C)

					"New governmental community accommodation for						
73	Obertürkheim	Obertürkheim	Obertürkheim Obertürkheim Hafenbahnstraße	243	provisional use according to the law of FluAcs, system 243 building model."	Ilmited to 5 years	3		4.000 Industry	25.197	54,40%
52	Plieningen	Plieningen	Leypoldtstraße	159	"Governmental community accommodation for provisional use according to the law of FlüAG, system 159 building model."	limited to 5 years	8		711 Mixed	26.538	33.70%
					"Governmental community accommodation for provisional use according to the law of FITAG system	limited to 5			Besidential		
27	Plieningen	Plieningen	Im Wolfer	159		years	8	711		26.538	33,70%
59	Stammheim	Stammheim- Mitte	Kameralamtsstra ße	321	"Governmental community accommodation for provisional use according to the law of FlüAG, system building model."	limited to 5 years	8	Resid 2.377 green	Residential, green	25.115	47,70%
3	Untertürkheim	Gehrenwald / Rotenberg?	Württembergstra ße	243	"New governmental community accommodation for provisional use according to the law of FlüAG, system building model."	limited to 5 years	2		Green, 2.759 residential	23.993	48,80%
32	Weilimdorf	Weilimdorf / Wolfbusch / Bergheim ?	Solitudestraße	159	"Governmental community accommodation for provisional use according to the law of FlüAG, system building model."	limited to 5 years	3	Resid 2.537 green	Residential, green	25.496	48,80%
33	Weilimdorf	Hausen	Steinröhre	968	"Governmental community accommodation for provisional use according to the law of FlüAG, system 396 building model."	limited to 5 years	3		3.124 Industry	25.496	48,80%
34	Zuffenhausen		Zuffenhausen Zazenhäuserstra Mitte ße	156	"Governmental community accommodation for provisional use according to the law of FlüAG, system 156 building model."	limited to 5 years	3		4.376 Mixed, green	23.013	48,80%
35	Zuffenhausen	Zuffenhausen - Am Stadtpark / Schtützenbühl / Zuffenhausen Neuwirtshaus	Schwieberdinger Straße	156	"New governmental community accommodation for provisional use according to the law of FlüAG, system 156 building model."	limited to 5 years	6		Mixed, industrial, 3.175 residential	23.013	48,80%
	pueßen	Information about the exact location is not accessible or	Information about the exact location is not accessible online	Blue: case	Blue: case studies that have been chosen		Red: fringe Green: Middle White: not considered	Green: above Stuttgart average White: not considered Black outline:	Green: including residential land use White: not considered	Stuttgart average Green: below Stuttgart average Black outline:	Red: above Stuttgart average Green: below Stuttgart average Black outline: extreme
	Sources	Stuttgarter Füchtlingsbericht (Luz, 2017)	htlingsbericht				https://statis tutigart.de/s tiken/statist tiken/statist as/attlas/attla ml?indikaton See map in Fig. 1 &select=00	tik.s tatis katl s.ht ≔io	http://gis6.stuttga rt.de/maps/index html?karte=lebe m&embedded=tal se#basemap=0& centerX=53.118 7.3029845054&c enterY=54.10367 -42423495&ca le=25000&layerI ds=1342.8760.1	Datenkompass Stuttgart (Heliweck- Backes, 2015)	https://statistik.stuttga rt.de/statistiken/statist ktatias/tatistiken/statist Pindikator=i0&select =00

10.4 Appendix D: Interview Structures

Expert Interviews (1/3):

The following interview guide has been adapted to a small extent according to who has been interviewed. In this generic form, all questions are included. For the semi-structured interviews, this guide has been translated to German. The main questions have been sent to the interviewees beforehand.

Interview Guide: Name of the instit	tution (Degerloch / Neugereut): Repre-
senting refugees / local community	

Introduction:

The following questions refer to the temporal living together of neighbors of a refugee accommodation and refugees in an urban neighborhood and its influence on socio-spatial processes. The interview is carried out in the contect of my master thesis at the faculty of architecture and city planning at the University Stuttgart. If you agree, I would like to record our conversation. The recording is only used for the scientific purposes of my master thesis. Your name will not be mentioned.

Personal questions:

- 1. What are the main tasks in the ______(refugee accommodation, church, local refugee initiative, ...)?
- 2. What is your relation to the refugees and to the local residents in this neighborhood?

In the following, I would like to ask you to answer from the perspective of *the refugees/the local residents*, based on your experiences and what you have understood from the people.

- 3. Who are the residents of the refugee accommodation? Wer sind die Bewohner der Flüchtlingsunterkunft?
 - 3.1. Origin, age groups, gender, family structures
 - 3.2. Is there a tendency for residents wanting to stay in Germany for long-term in case they receive a residency permit?
 - 3.3. How long do the residents on average spend in this accommodation?
 - 3.4. Do you believe that the refugee accommodation will continue at this location even after the 5 years of permitted use?
- 4. How do the *refugees* use the city/the neighborhood?
 - 4.1. Do the refugees mostly spend their time in the neighborhood or also in other parts of the city?

(Continuation Appendix D) Expert Interviews (2/3):

- 4.2. Which are places the refugees like to stay at?
- 4.3. How/when/by who are the open spaces on the property of the accommodation used?
- 4.4. Is there a link between the refugees and the users of the youth institution?
- 4.5. How are the refugees integrated into the general offer of the neighborhood?
- 4.6. Are the activities of the local refugee initiative linked to a specific place?
- 5. What is the meaning of open public space for the refugees?
 - 5.1. How does it become visible?
 - 5.2. Does it play a role that the refugees do not know how long they will stay here?
- 6. What is the meaning of open public space for the neighbors?
 - 6.1. How does it become visible?
 - 6.2. Was it different before the refugee accommodation was built? If yes, how?
- 7. How do the groups (neighbors and refugees) perceive each other in the open public spaces?
 - 7.1. Do the refugees feel themselves perceived as refugees in public? How does it become visible?
 - 7.2. Are the refugees in public space from the beginning perceived as refugees by the local residents?
 - 7.3. Do you think that the refugees recognize individual people at the open public spaces where they spend time at?
 - 7.4. Do you think that the neighbors recognize individual refugees at the open public spaces where they spend time at?
- 8. How does the living together of both groups (neighbors and refugees) in the open public spaces look like?
 - 8.1. Are there contacts? Or conflicts? How does it show?
 - 8.2. What could be reasons for these conflicts/misunderstandings?
 - 8.3. How do these encounters happen or why do you think there are none?
 - 8.4. Does it play a role that the refugees do not know how long they will stay here?
 - 8.5. Wie sieht das Zusammenleben in öffentlichen Freiräumen unter den Nachbarn aus?
 - 8.6. Were there any projects of the local refugees initiative or of the neighborhood which influenced the daily living together? How?
 - 8.7. Does it play a role that the individual refugees usually do not stay for long-term in the neighborhood?
 - 8.8. Did specific projects of the "social city" programme influence the daily living together?

(Continuation Appendix D) Expert Interviews (3/3):

- 9. What could/should be improved in the future for a better living together of neighbors and refugees in the neighborhood from the perspective of the *refugees/neighbors*?
- 10. Are there any other topics which you can think of and which we did not talk about yet?

Ending:

11. Since I only had the chance to speak with representatives of the two groups sofar, I would also like to get to know the opinion and experiences of the refugees themselves. Do you think it would be possible to set up a group discussion with some of the refugees?

Thank you very much for the conversation and your time. If you like, I can send you the recording of the interview and the finished master thesis in digital form in the end of July. In case I still have some questions of interpretation, can I get in touch with you again? Do you still have any questions for me?

(Continuation Appendix D) Focus Group Interview (1/2):

Introduction:

- 1. Thank you for coming! I am working on my master project in urban development at the university studying the perceptions, uses and interactions in public open space. That means I want to look at how people who are new to each other live together in public open space. I would like to hear about what public space means to you and how you use it.
- 2. Open public spaces refer to places outside which are open for anybody to use, such as the street, a park, a grass area, playgrounds, bench, but also the bus or metro station for example.
- 3. Is it okay for you if we record the discussion?
- 4. Your answers will not be used except for my university project and your names will not be mentioned anywhere.
- 5. I would like to know:
 - 5.1. Where you are from
 - 5.2. How old you are
 - 5.3. How long you have been in Germany / in this accommodation

Questions for discussions and sub-questions:

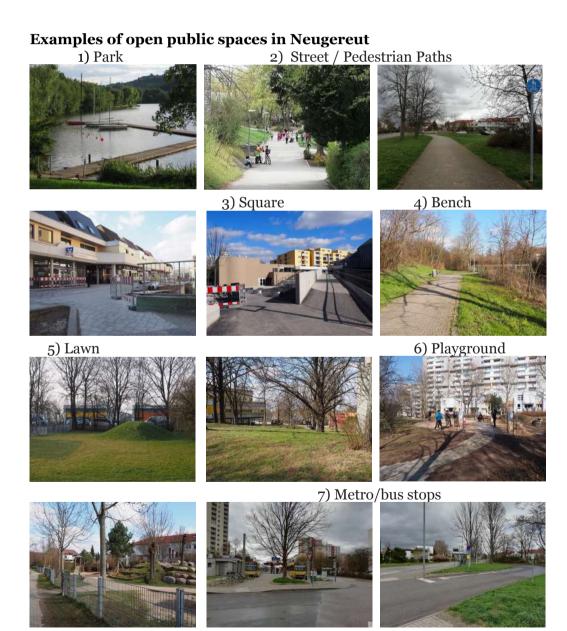
- 6. Which places outside of the refugee accommodation do you like to spend time at/do you use?
 - 6.1. Why, why not?
 - 6.2. Do you rather go out only if you need to do something?
 - 6.3. How? What do you do there? Alone/group?
 - 6.4. What is different/new for you?
 - 6.5. Rather in the neighborhood or in the city? Why?
 - 6.6. Do you know about where other residents of the accommodation usually like to spend time?
- 7. What do these places / open public spaces in general mean to you?
 - 7.1. How do you feel in open public spaces?
 - 7.2. How do others perceive you?
 - 7.3. How do you perceive others/locals?
- 8. Do you meet people in these places?
 - 8.1. Spontaneously/planned?8.2. How? Why not?
 - 8.3. Do you meet/talk to strangers or locals?
 - 8.4. Where?
 - 8.5. Would you like to have contact to others/locals?
- 9. How long do you want/plan to stay here? Does temporality/not knowing how long you stay here/uncertainty affect...?
 - 9.1. ... How you use public spaces
 - 9.2. ... How much you use them
 - $9.3. \dots$ How much you care about them being comfortable or not

(Continuation Appendix D) Focus Group Interview (2/2):

10. What should change in the future to make you feel more comfortable in open public spaces?

Ending:

11. Thank you very much for your help and time. Do you have any questions for me?



10.5 Appendix E: Assessment of Expert Interviews

Interview assessment structure:

	Interview partner	Interview x	Concepts
Context	What is your connection to refugees / locals?		
	Who are they?		
General information	Wish to stay in Germany?		
on refugees in the	How long do they stay in the accommodation?		
accommodation	Will the accommodation continue after 5 years?		
	How do they use the city?		
Public space and refugees	How do they use the neighborhood? What is the meaning of public space to them?		
Public space and locals	How do they use the neighborhood? What is the meaning of public space to them?		
	What is the perception of each other?		
Perception of each	Are refugees stereotyped in a group?		
other in public space	Do they recognize individual faces?		
	How do they live together?		
	What kind of interactions?		
Interaction with each	Why/why not?		
other in public space	How do locals live together?		
Temporality	Does the uncertainty of the refugees' stay have any influence?		
Improvement	What should change for better conviviality in public space?		
	How are the refugees included in the general activities of the neighborhood?		
	Which places do the refugees use on the property of the accommodation?		
	Where does the local refugee initiative meet?		
Specific questions	How did events of the initiative change the conviviality in public spaces?		

(Continuation Appendix E) Degerloch (1/8)

				Assessment of the interview results
	Interview partner	Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3
		Priest	Manager of the accommodation	Representative of the district
Context	What is your connection to refugees / locals?	more contact to other refugee accommodation, few of them participate in church isome you see 3 times a day, some not at all, smokers always meet outside, service, involved in some individual cases. More on the meta-level, organizing some you visit in their room, some come to the office or you meet them out where people ament distilluins through church, different form the local refugee events, confirmation classes, personal meetings.	some you see 3 times a day, some not at all, smokers always meet outside, some you visit in their room, some come to the office or you meet them outside // some direct neighbors come by but also people from the local refugee initiative.	took the initative to found the local refugee initiative, management and responsibility and development for the district, networking
	Who are they?	mostly muslims, few christians	191 residents from 9 different nations, mostly Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq and Eritrea, mostly families, 200 indicen with specured r.18, indicables are mostly the in total there are more women than men. Oldest are 65 years old.	
	Wish to stay in Germany?		they dont plan, residency permit is up to 3 years, but 90% of the people want to return to their countries one day, if they really do so is something else.	
General information on	How long do they stay in the n accommodation?		In stuttgart federal and communal accommodation is together, time span is very diverse (between 7 years or 1 day), most refugees here came from another accommodation in Bothang, Ohy 20 people are here "federally". Most people are jers [Here because they have not found housing or their decision has not been made (over 2 years), every month around one family is moving out.	
refugees in the accommo- dation	e accommodation continue after 5 years?		No one knows. Every accommodation has 5 years special permission and maybe Probably yes, another 5 years, also according to the refugee developments 5 years extension.	Probably yes, another 5 years, also according to the refugee developments everywhere.
	How do they use the city?	many are using metro, fast connection to city center	like everyone else. Work, school, shopping, doctors, sport. A few of the residents works can be veryone else. Works school, style presidents works can be resident sworks of the residents works can be related to the residents work can be church, some got to the mosque (in Feuerbach for example), they use city center also a lot (due to good connection to neeto), some cellidines go to school in Mohringen, after primary school they anyways go to schools around Stutgart, some use the mosque in Ludwigburg and spend free time there. The study of the connection of the study can deal visit swimming pools, soo, no german dasses in Degenich, adults lake them in the city center, refugees are werl' sist out of Degenich, including youth.	maybe still contacts to Botrang, where many refugees lived before. Using city center for special doctors or in a big shops

(Continuation Appendix E) Degerloch (2/8)

standing in groups around the Hi direction of Haigsts idifferent no get negative attention, the Epple there. some walk from the accor the neighborhood? anywhere sise.	standing in groups around the IHPS, they do strike attention, part of the city in direction of Haigst is different now, they do not gather in certain places and dont get hegative attention. The Epplestreet is very close but they don's trike attention there. some walk from the accommodation at waldau to the city center through the lowenstraße, around the accommodation you see them sitting but not anywhere else.	families are more often in the neighborhood, the youth house is popular with the playground, many go to the Filderschule, there was another playground which the children used a lot last year, on the refugee accommodation itself a fourt, on the other side of the HPS they sometimes, sit and picknick. Children and yourn move more in the neighborhood than adults. most of the time spent in Degerloch, but according to interests Degerloch might sport activities at the waldau is used a lot by refugees.	Mostly places around the refugee accommodation, playing on the HPS street and at the youth house, also play at night. First you would orientate yourself in your direct neighborhood, the youth house, also play at night. First you would orientate yourself in your direct neighborhood, the youth house, also play at night. First you would orientate yourself in your direct neighborhood, the youth house is popular with house, also play at night. First you would orientate yourself in your direct neighborhood, the youth house is popular with harmonia to the sold the self-great year. On the refugee accommodation itself a has not been observed, the center of the district is also used for daily needs and ot. On the refugee accommodation itself a doctors, idont see anyone just to play or stay in the squares. The mixing by staying in the children are in the filder school, attend many activities and build their contacts to the see profice where they get the time spent in Degerfoch, but according to interests Degenetoch might is mountained the square around the city hall and the city office where they get the profice where they get the waldaut is used a lot by refugees.
		The open space of the accommodation is like a second living room since the bedrooms are very small land sometimes you need to get out. All refugees orient themselves around different places. Diverse, some never leave the accommodation, some are never there.	the public space is used the same as the accommodation itself
forest, waldau is waldau be set of the market, the market, spet of the set	forest, waldau is a local recreation area for whole stuttgart, the whole area in waldau has a loc of sport fields and clubs, there is the Kongsturfale with a lot of restaurants and crifes, where there are a lot of people during the week but especially in weekends at any time of the day there are people walking in the forest, the market place, city hall, St. Michael church, saturdays and wednesdays is the market, Epplestreet with shops and ice cafes and restaurants, the shopping street.	, and the second se	typically, just work. Walking in the Ramsbachtal or in the forest at Waldau, not sitting on any benches in the center. There are a group of elderlies and when it is warmer again they sit on the bench at the Lindenplatie. In general, there is filler places to stay in the district center, few locations with benches, which would maybe be used by elderly who need a pause between their house and the shopping. Playgound at the Gilschalm-Street which is used a lot, also other playgounds like at the Trailelbergibat are used a lot by families, but the typical Degeriochr esident rather spends time in nice landscapes. Degerioch resident rather spends time in nice landscapes, up and down, the area is too steep to play or stay, the benches are just to have a break or for the view. If there is a drug scene, it is there at the view point where young people meet.
go shopping, diversity of offer lot, meetings with friends and Degerlooh is big and you know small and they also talk on the lot of exchange on the street.	go shopping, diversity of offers, restaurants and cafes which are used and valued a lot, meetings with friends and families, greetings if you see someone you know. Degericch is big and you know some people that know each other since they are small and they also talk on the street, but normally that is not a case, there is not a lot of sexchange on the street.		in general: very important to enable encounters in different ways and necessities. Encounters in the public space are not so meaningful

(Continuation Appendix E) Degerloch (2/8)

Degerloch (3/8)					
how should you recognize each other? Both are dressed well, dont wear sandals in winter, in Degerloch there are so many nationalities.	i dont perceive groups on any side, but individual people which might not have been here for so long.	children playing at night on the street has been a problem and police had to come. Direct neighbors live very close to the accommodation, it is very dense also inside the accommodation. There have been no positive or negative contacts between "drug scene" at the view point and the refugees. Proposition of the problem of the problem of the problem of the problem of severyone is very tolerant and there are also many private contacts outside of the local refugee initiative.	there are occasionally contacts but deeper contacts are seldom. Encounters in the public space are not so meaningful, maybe very superficial ones, but mostly the groups stay for themselves, maybe the children are more open but i dont think this happens with a normal tolerance.	Different cultural traditions, ways and perceptions (e.g. ramadan). Density creates conflicts, integration would be not something from top-down but from face-to-face, direct contact. The topic of religges is not so present anymore in the whole country and also here. encounters are important for integration as main goal, it recets networking and that what do. What do. What do. What do is dack of interest for the other but the society is increasingly structured this way, everybody is taking care more of his own problems and tasks and leaves little space for the neighbors, these are societal problems, not just concerning religuees.	neighborhoods are not experienced so actively anymone, which is also important to enhance this again, but has nothing to do with whether the neighbor is a refugee or not. another reason is the hurdle of the language, groups mostly stay for themselves, appeining up needs more than an encounter, you need to organize/lead-finitiate this. Maybe it could happen at the youth house even in the evenings.
as a refugee youdont spike attention in Stuttgart. In Degerloch maybe a bit more because the rental prices here are higher than elsewhere. There are so many people with migration background in Stuttgart and so many different languages that it desern make a differente.		Some of the direct neighbors maybe who would recogize individual people. On the playground of the youth house neighbor children and refugee children meet but they also know each other from school. How does it work between germans? Contacts rather are created at work, and refugees also have these normal contacts. A refugee helped a woman at the ATM and she was very surprised and regretted voting for the right-wing-party. The Bostone Tedigees use builk waste and some scooters were mistaken as builk waste and treated a problem, noise also makes conflicts, children are playing at night outside.	contacts and meetings of course, but more through the children and young people who are moving around more, then it also happens unplanned. Children and youth move more in the neighborhood than adults.		language is key and important criteria for encounters. children leam faster the language, for deutits it is harber, the typical German doesnt speak with a stranger and if so the person feels uncomfortable.
It is like in the rest of Stuttgart, also lots of muslim women who wear a headscarf, not possible to see who is a refugee and who not. There are more people dressed in an arabic way, nort much of difference to life in public space before the accommodation was built. how do people in general perceive each other? direct neighbors barely know each other anymore, even the ones having lived here for so long are quite busy with themselves and their work. The general cityscape looks different now, more inceigness from the And sworld.	foreigners were already in stuttgart before, you dont recognize if someone lives in a refugee accommodation or not, for some you would guess so but you dont ask. At the tubain station sometimes id think that some of them might be refugees. The people who are active know refugees personally, there must be around 100 months who are commone than case commone than	people who are still active. I am sure they also greet when they see someone they sknow. On the conflicts with the direct neighbors, it was a shock in the beginning there are conflicts with the direct neighbors, it was a shock in the beginning and the expensive building less in Degenoring ingeneral, living it so densely vogether is reason for some trouble with the neighbors. Women have bess opportunities to socialize and to learn German they need specific support.	no conflicts noticed, Degerloch is multi cultural so people are already used to each p other on the Epplestraße you might meet someone you know or maybe also a an refugee with who you talk if you have a relation but I didnt see them so much.	german culture, you dont find people just sitting on a square watching others, everybook is always on the go, that is with there is little communication and exchange, that also applies to Germans. Everyone is always moving and barely staying in one place, you don't see old people so much, the refugees adapt very staying in one place, you don't see old people so much. The refugees adapt very windy by the it is because of the German way of strictly organizing their lives. refugees don't buy on the market, they prefer ald and lidl like other locals as well. Inanguage barrier, I would not know where encounters should happen. In the accommodations they are happening but they are never spontaneous and random, this is not good, I regret it. Ilke the southern and also the analic culture and also the analic culture.	>
What is the perception of each other?		n Do they recognize Individual faces? How do they live together?	What kind of interactions?		Why/why not?
	Perception of	each other in public space			

(Continuation Appendix E) Degerloch (4/8)

Degerloch (4/8)						
	i dont think it has an influence. Either you are interested in someone or not, other places in Stuttgart are also not so far to keep in foods. Most refugees in the PHS have already a residency permit and even if the future is not sure sport clubs and activities are used frequently.	The language is the most important and will enable interaction, then you can open up better to the people who live here. That would also make a difference in public space, you can come together and speak with each other from both sides.	In the Sigmainger street in the international school they offer sport activities and a Sunday cafe which enables interaction with refugees.			There are encounters and also curiosity, and the events lead to more encounters, but only the ones who are anyways interested in the refugee support attent the events.
	everybody wants to move out in an own apartment, living in the accommodation is just provisional, but sometimes for 10 years and sometimes for 20 months. You take less care of something that doesn't belong to you. In the prior accommodation some boys went to state a lots and were very well and they don't do it anymone. It doesn't matter if a resident for the accommodation is here since 10 years of 1 week, there are so many people with migration background in Stuttgart and so many different languages that it doesn't make a different languages that it doesn't make a different languages that it doesn't make a different and so many different languages that it doesn't make a different care.	more space, not living so densely together, private space.	The youth house has joined activites and it is open to everybody, the young refugees also like to use it. Children are well integrated in the activities, adults less.	every accommodation has a small sand box and a slide, that is very/little for 90 children, in summer they sit outside and everybody uses the open space. Women like to sit together than flemoon/evenings, children play the whole day outside, Men meet and gather outside. Even in winter the open space is used.		
the locals have their groups and circles, where would you meet people? Even in spaces where you can have "free-of-bing" encounters? It is interesting, i dont know any. For in villages people are not stiting in front of their houses anymore and talking with passerbys, they don't know each other anymore often. In the Hainbuchenweg there is a street festivel elevery year, there is this desire for more contact with people. But this only happens in this part of the street and organized and planned, doesn't happen offen, people like it a lot but easy, there have been many burgalaries lately, alot of fear higher supclousness, people are watching who is walking on the street, more dosed with others.	boes the hards stay from the people who built relations and were actively supporting it doesn't native discussion backers that doesn't before a for the people who built relations and were actively supporting it doesn't mater if a resident between the refugees's stay have the refugees. I don't know if it influences the behavior, seeing someone on the many fiftherent languages that it doesn't mater doesn't before the accommodation is there since 10 years of 1 places in Stuttgart and so in fluence. Either you are interest the languages that it doesn't mater allow for so far to keep in touch anywhere. Sures and showing interest does not happen anywhere.	I think there are a lot of encounters also due to the work of the volunteers, but we lost the sportaneous openness, regardless from the refugees. I would be happy if it could be revived.	Church: few of them, some are close to other churches or communities. Some of rethen go to a arabic-christian community in Sturtgart.			
Interaction with each contering the other in public. How do locals live space together?	Does the uncertainty of the refugee's stay have any influence?	What should change for better conviviality in public space?	How are the refugees included in the general activities of the neighborhood?	Which places do the refugees use on the property of the accommodation?	Where does the local refugee initiative meet?	How did events of the initiative change the conviviality in public spaces?
Interaction with each other in public	Temporality	Improvement				Specific

(Continuation Appendix E) Degerloch (5/8)

metro connectivity, activities in the city with bonus card, German classes, higher education schools, using city center for special services, other districts for affordable supermarkets yria/Afghanistan/Iraq, 190 people, 90 children, mostly women, individuals are mostly men. Concepts part of the finance team, handing out money to volunteers, contact for material donations, contact to Interview 4 Representative of local refugee initiative How do they use the city? nterview partner ontinue after 5 Vish to stay in onnection to efugees in the

(Continuation Appendix E) Degerloch (6/8)

you dont see any refugees in public, not in the Epplestreet, not in the other street, shops and offers are any refugees any refugees any refugees any refugees any refugees any refugees and recreational activities a lot mainly by childrent/youth), many offers see specifically for children.) at HPS no space for children, and recreational activities a formanity by childrenty outh, where also some conflicts with the neighbors space (specifically for children). at HPS no space for children, public space used is the street in front (where also some conflicts with the neighbors comediate street in front (where also some conflicts with the neighbors space for children). And also places, they have a lot of space (specifically for children). And also places, they have a lot of space (specifically for children). And also places, they have a lot of space (specifically for children). And also places, they have a lot of space (specifically for children). And also places, they have a lot of space (specifically for children). And also places, they have a lot of space (specifically for children). And also places, they have a lot of space (specifically for children). And also places the space (specifically for children). And also places the space street in front (where also some conflicts with the neighborhood more often space (specifically for connection to the youth house and string). Forest different for germans/refugees, original countries barely have forests, is something considered to a specific springer or social standing street profites (Germans; walking in many strings, permans). Forest different for germans/refugees, original countries barely have forests, is something connon in refugees culture: either in family places or in public spaces for gathering something common in refugeer culture: either in family places or in public spaces for gathering sand sitting together happens on the property of the seconmondation, here there is not enough space. And on the specific gathering places, not not public space	open space of accommodation like a second living room place for encounters, language makes difference, acceptance for diversity (but doesnt happen much)	Waldau (recreational area, gastronomy, nature), Ramsbachtal (nature), old center and Epplestreet with services and infrastructure, Playground at Felix-Dahn-street & Traifelbergplatz, viewpoint (young people gathering, "drug scene"), Lindenplatzle used by a group of elderfly, privatized open spaces youth uses places in city center not many places to stay, not the general interest, only meeting people in planned environment, social isolation	organized meetings in private spaces, services and infrastructure, not a lot of exchange in public space, important to enable encounters (which are less meaningful)
	Generally: has a lot of meaning, the place for encounters, finding place to live/work/,children are fast in learning the language and higher chances to integrate, language is the main factor. Degenoch: public space would make a difference if it existed, here it would be at the Waldau where public space is meaningful. It is important to be forced to deal wint cultural diversity even if someone just open space of accommodation like a second living room asks for the way or the time, but it barely happens, it is not the fault of anyone.	not really places to stay/meet in public. Should have more. Local youth would also rather go to city center same as the refugees. Epplestreet is shopping and in summer you sit in cafe's outside, but this is not affordable for refugees. You dont see each other so much anymore, only for festivals or events. Typical Degenfoch residents (very high percentage of long-time residents) would not spend so much time in the public space in district center. There are no places to sit/stay, square at city hall is empty except for market days (also not before construction), there is no places where everyone meets.	
How do they use the neighborhood?	What is the meaning of public space to them?	How do they use the neighborhood?	What is the meaning of public space to them?
	Public space and refugees		Public space and locals

(Continuation Appendix E) Degerloch (7/8)

Degerloch (7/8)					
irst, the accommodation at HPS was another burden also for the volunteers, it was the second accommodation in the district and after the first interest, volunteer numbers went down - HPS second accommodation was less integrated with activities and the neighborhood - now it is better. efugees are not visible in public like whish - but of course it doesn't help at all for integration of engative comments or incidents from the residents against the refugees, but maybe also because they no recognition of refugees in Stuttgart (maybe more in Degericch), increasing general social alienation of citizens, more Arab foreigners in public space, little shared spaces meaning less conflicts, no negative percentage.	no recognition of refugees, guessing/judgments, different perceptions of different groups (mother/family vs. group of young men), media portrayal	individual recognition only by direct neighbors or related people	conflicts at first about building site, density, noise, then tolerance, positive encounter, women socialize less, children interact around youth house, no attention created at viewpoint, reserve of locals, contact would lead to polarisation	no conflicts, people are used to diversity, random meeting on Epplestreet and chat, children meet unplanned due to language & openness, encounters in public space meaningless & superficial, groups isolation	German culture/society (fast pace/mobility, fear/reserve/ hesitation/suspiciousness, social alenation/isolation, less neighborhood community, closedness), lack of interest?, language barrier, lack of spatial opportunities for spontaneity in public (has to be organized), cultural differences, out of comfort-zone, families stay more in private areas
first, the accommodation at HPS was another burden also for the volunteers, it was the second accommodation in the district and after the first interest, volunteer numbers went down - HPS accommodation was less integrated with activities and the neighborhood - now it is better. refugees are not visible in public life with activities and the neighborhood - now it is better, the residents dont left the existence of the refugees, helping them but no additional burden or feeling threatened (some people might think like this) - but of course it doesnt help at all for integration no negative comments or incidents from the residents against the refugees, but maybe also because they dont coincide so much.	families/mother with child is very differently perceived than a group of young people, has to do with negative incidents portrayed in media. HPS has a group of 15 young men from Eritrea, they dont spike attention and seem to be very nice. But mainly there are families here.		if both groups would coincide more, it would lead to a polarisation of the residents, on the one hand you get to know the other more, but on the other hand, there are always people who perceive the diversity negative behave more reserved towards encounters/staying in public space, not refusal.		interest for encounters from volunteers. Women often do not anything without (the acceptance of) their husbands, understanding of women is different. If the father does not go out, the failing boat one to go out.
what is the perception of each other?	Are refugees stereotyped in a group?	Do they recognize individual faces?	How do they live together?	What kind of interactions?	Why/with not?
		Perception of each other in public space			

(Continuation Appendix E) Degerloch (8/8)

bias/stereotypes, fear for burglaries, suspiciousness, hard to make contacts, feeling stranger, exclusive	e it affects the deeper relations.	able contact/interaction (tea time at other and mutuality, enabling dialogue) and mutuality, enabling dialogue in places for encounters with lower threshold/not just the same people	international school (sports, Sunday café)	use is gender specific, dense		/encounter between both groups because ees to rest of residents, multipliers. existing curiosity, addresses only interested group of people, cultural exchange, lowers threshold for threshold to approach each other or to still not much points of contact/feels like zoo
	it does not really affect how much you show in public. Maybe it affects the deeper relations.	places for encounters have to be created to encourage or enable contact/interaction (tea time at other accommodation - always the same who come but it opens a dialogue)				at summer festivals, it feels like in a zoo, there is no meeting/encounter between both groups because they dont show themselves in public. Volunteers act as distributing the amosphere with the refugees to rest of residents, multipliers. You notice curiosity of locals, cultural exchange, lowered the threshold to approach each other or to volunteer.
Interaction with each where and heach cher in public How do locals live space together?	Does the uncertainty of the refugees' stay have any influence?	What should change for better conviviality in pl public space? ac	How are the refugees included in the general activities of the neighborhood?	Which places do the refugees use on the property of the accommodation?	Where does the local refugee initiative meet?	of
Interaction with each other in public space	Temporality	Improvement				Specific

(Continuation Appendix E) Neugereut (1/16)

				Assessment of the interview per
	Interview partner	Interview 5	Interview 6	Interview 7
		Manager of the refugee accommodation	Local refugee initiative	Volunteer coordinator in the refugee accommodation
	What is your	ti.	refugees speak with him about worries and problems,	is from Afghanistan and speaks the language of the refugees, dose contact to the local refugee initiative / refugees: what are the
Context	connection to refugees / locals?	from refugees, seen as part of them, they contact her with all kind of problems	gets involved in individual cases / knows many locals in the neighborhood, is very active in many groups	necessities in order to organize projects or volunteers, information sessions for refugees.
		mostly come from Syria, Iran and Iraq, others from		
		Gambia, Nigeria, Kamerun, Turkey, Marocco and Palestine, half individuals and half families, around 130		
		residents, 30 children below 18 years, 6 people above		
	Who are they?	50, main group between 20 and 30, mostly individual men, main language is arabic		
			all want to stay in Germany, but it is not easy. Some of	
	Wish to stay in	the group between 20-30 want to stay and work/study, the older ones are analphabets in their own language, it	the older ones are analphabets in their own language, it	
	Germany?	small part wants to go back to their families	is very difficult to learn German.	
		rd to find an		
	How long do they	appartment in Stuttgart, currently refugee	around 40% are here since the beginning (2 years),	
General	stay in the	re people staying because they	occupancy is less now, many want to move out but dont	
information	accommodation?	are waiting to find a flat	find an appartment	
on refugees				
in the				
accommo-		e, retugees are still		
dation	years?	coming and housing is difficult to find	Probably yes.	

(Continuation Appendix E) Neugereut (2/16)

 ,		1	
			depends on which group (children, families, men and women) and what
			time of the year (in winter almost no use of open spaces), museums,
			offers for free/reduced price activities, depends on
			country/background of the people (coming from cities - move very
			easily, know how to use the city - or from countrysides- just using the
			city for necessities), some people are stressed and have other priorities
			and dont use the city so much, public transportation some are not used
			to it, afraid of getting lost, time helps. language makes a big difference
			(more confidence, meeting other people/being able to speak), legal
			process of asylum status (for Afghans it is very difficult, they have other
	language is key: the ones that speak well participate in		problems), need company/encouragement at first. women with
	many activities all over the city, going to center for social		children dont feel secure (about children, transportation system,).
	security office or other administrations, using the metro		concept of walking outside and getting refreshed is not understood.
	and bonus card often also by families (swimming pools,		culture (make use of nature, good weather, refreshing, socialize), there
	mueums, 200 - mainly by families) that is also how they	mueums, 200 - mainly by families) that is also how they some go to the museums, or activities with the schools	is an interest. some dont want to go out (depressed) but it is not good.
	get contact to other people	(Pelikan school and Jörg-Ratgeb school) and	Young generations do go out.
	many young men go to Bad Cannstatt and spend time	kindergardens (provisional one across the	young people want to be in the rush and in the city (evenings). work all
	there, there are more opportunities for young people,	accommodation, Regenpfeiferweg). Goout of the	over the city.
	like to go to the gym.	neighborhood often, easy with the nearby metro station, women go to Bad Cannstatt park, even alone.	women go to Bad Cannstatt park, even alone.
	many people use the Max-Eyth lake to barbecue or the	you always see refugees at the station or in the metro.	you always see refugees at the station or in the metro. Kursaal/Mineralbäder, park in BC, Bad Cannstatt (also contacts to other
How do they use	playgrounds around	groceries in cheaper supermarkets outside of the	refugee accommodation), Max-Eyth lake, connectivity is very good,
the city?	city library	neighborhood, 2 stations away by metro.	Wilhelma zoo, city library.

(Continuation Appendix E) Neugereut (3/16)

				1
				supermarker in the district center, spend more time in the shopping center, children are using the center around the schools, sport club (children and parents)
			sport club for playing soccer, weekly team meetings, playground next to accommodation. Not many places where you really see refugees hanging out. Dont see	families stay in the neighborhood (transportation cost and stress with children in transportation, stress in crowded areas, security) one child died in a car accident playing on the street (fear, alarm to take
				care of children)
		language is key: the ones that speak well participate in	neignbornoou. At the metro stop you see refugee children or refugees	they would prefer to spend time out of the accommodation area, it is a very limited area of living, they are bothered from noise, children, etc.
		many activities all over the city, going to center for social security office or other administrations, using the metro	with shopping bags. using the bank, maybe also church.	children also use the playground across from the accommodation, there are also local children, meet others, they feel more open in the society
		often also by families (swimming pools,	rather stay on the accommodation, children also can	there than on the accommodation, accommodation also means conflict
		nilies) that is also how they		between the different nations/backgrounds/languages, very dense,
		get contact to other people many young men go to Bad Cannstatt and spend time	you dont see them much in the district center, Just occasionally.	snaring common areas, dont teel comfortable with each other (limited space, getting tired from the accommodation, want change, relax
			some move more around the neighborhood and some	outside).
				60/70% of the refugees need a purpose to go out, center is used for
		Max-Eyth lake to barbecue or the	seeing them at the bank.	shopping/sport/some reason - but start to enjoy just to go outside
	How do they use		in the evening you see them with big plastic bags.	(cultural + background of rural or city area + maybe something else).
	the neighborhood?	P city library		Neugereut library.
		whenever the refugees speak some German, it becomes		depends on each person, Makes them happy, Gives chance to be out of
		very meaningful to them, going out, make contacts,		this dense living area.
		integrate. The ones not speaking the language dont go		Public space and interaction is very related and important, make them
		be only then you go but and don't under stand the		Germans or sneathers of their own language, and ordered of not only
		looks/behavior and create suspiciousness, then you only		refresh and be outside, but also to interact, not only for refugees but
		go out if really needed, afraid of being insulted or looked		also for the residents, meet them, face-to-face, getting to know
		at strangely.		individual people and not only from the media (some people think that
		young and individual people go out and look for		refugees do not speak German, you are not a refugee because you
				speak German, i dont know exactly what a refugee is), encounters
			sometimes it is more about the social	bridge stereotypes, discussion in public space brings people closer,
			attention/socializing. Women dont do sports in open	feeling of "us", gives the residents more information about the
		e at home because of their cultue, they	areas, that is linked to cultural reasons. Want to	refugees. integration.
	What is the			we try to tell refugees how to make use of transportation, public space,
Public space	Public space meaning of public		is important to them, opens many	keeping them clean, (rules, traditions?)
and refugees	and refugees space to them?	with a partner and meet people outside.	opportunities.	sense of belonging if you greet/greet back

(Continuation Appendix E) Neugereut (4/16)

			2	1	
1		How do they use the neighborhood?		before, young people met at the metro station at night and smoke or drink - now more surveillance. Before, children were playing on the Drachenwiese next to the accommodation in summer and winter, playing soccer and other things. But now that the meadow is smaller and there is this small hill, no one uses it amalymore, there is only a shortcut through the grass, the space is not inviting anymore and the provisional buildings will probably stay another 3-5 years.	Neugereut is an area out of the city, people know each other, very friendly, close community, engagement. In the city center it is very different, millions of people walking and not talking to each other. (people here make different use of the city)
Public space	space ocals	What is the meaning of public and locals space to them?		in my street i greet people, it would be nice to do that more. neighbors are interested in more contact.	

(Continuation Appendix E) Neugereut (5/16)

			there are many foreigners in Neugereut which makes it hard to distinguish. Refugees Not striking negative	
			attention, very friendly.	
			Hard to identify them, they are always clean and not	
			dirty, just like the others.	
			They dont strike attention, you just see them	
			occasionally.	
			in the high-rise buildings there are many foreigners.	
			they are not attracting much attention, also not the by	
			the way they dress, unless the Nigerian women dress so	
			colourfully. If i wouldnt know some faces i wouldnt know	
			that they live in the accommodation.	
			the refugees have many worries and there are conflicts	
			inside the refugee accommodations with all the different	
			nations and religions. the arabic children are horrible.	
			but the conflicts they have, you will find in any other	
			high-rise building.	
		when the refugees dont know the language they cannot	There are many different nations, you dont know where	
		perceive the locals as they are, the language barrier	they belong to.	
		creates misunderstandings from even just an unfriendly	we were very lucky hear, the police never had to come	
	What is the	look. but also the locals go up to the refugees and try to	and its a peaceful living together.	
	perception of each	perception of each approach the refugees and to help them, they are very	the refugees are very openminded and participate in	it is about both sides, how the refugees also introduce themselves,
	other?	friendly.	many of the activities offered.	respect.
				not going out because people will think i am a refugee.
				Now they know each other, those who want to know refugees they
		now the refugees are perceived as individuals and not		have gotten to know them. (entrance threshold is high to go to an
		linked with violence anymore. At first there were many		event if you have a negative perception!)
	Are refugees	complaints and they felt stereotyped. There are no		The looks of people, refugees feel themselves different, feel that
	stereotyped in a	insults.		people behave different around them because they look different
	group?	Not just seen as refugees but as individuals		(sometimes, not in general).
			with local residents it doesnt happen. But the members	
Perception of			of the local refugee initiative know individual refugees,	
each other in	each other in Do they recognize	women from	a toddlers' group came to ask for a refugee they see each other and greet, the refugees are very	
public space	public space individual faces?	woman who moved out.	open.	

(Continuation Appendix E) Neugereut (6/16)

How do they live	parking lot does not belong to the accommodation, first they used it to play and neighbors complained which made some problems, but now the refugees dont use the parking lot anymore. At first many people against accommodation, refugees meant to them violence, burglary, strangers, but now and also through some activities and openness to the locals the relation is very positive, visitors come and refugees are very outgoing and show the willingness to humans. contacts are rather made with germans, not so much with locals with migration background. both groups use the youth house, Neugereut-Aktiv, kindergardens where parents and children meet, it	first the reactions were very negative, afraid to let children play on the street, women cannot go out anymore, black people come, many stereotypes. But the fears have not come true, the work of the local refugee initiative helped a lot, some people have unrealistic complaints. In the summer it will be louder and they are outside until late, there might be complaints from the neighbors but they are solved quickly. Part are solved quickly. parents meet when they pick up their children at the school or kindergarden, before the parents would not accompany the children, now they do. there is not much contact in public space between the groups, even at the events neighbors and refugees stay isolated due to the language barrier, but maybe this year will be better, the children learn so fast. Children meet at school, the "Spielmobil" comes sometimes to the accommodation and neighborhood play there	the continue and for well and the continue and the contin
What kind of	the locals approach the refugees more than the other way around, refugees are shy to speak. Initiative comes more from locals. More interactions at events or in the areas mentioned above find so many sonitanents and	Refugee boys offered lady help with grocery bags. Passing by with dog, they always greet and play with the dog. Greet if possible and smile back. plans to build a house for and with the children to the property of the accommodation (Kukuk organization) where also children from the neighborhood can come. there are not so many encounters where you greet somenes. Sometimes you have visual contact or a smile.	own plan/stay for themselves. Language and interest. Sharing cool folfering food in the park, start talking (german and foreign group), choldren involved as connectors. Refugees are very interested in contacts general claim of refugees needing to get more in touch with Germans, there are very few possibilities, public space is where it could start at least next to the volunteer work. Include interest in interaction: feel insecure, they dont have enough information, need to get connected to refugees. Hose who are relaxed enough are already volunteering, important for integration. for children it is the easiest to interact, language, parents can interact through the children, children are translators, children play a big and good role. children are more welcomed, not perceived as refugees, lack of opportunities for people other than children to make contacts/interact.
interactions?	unplanned encounters)	there are not many encounters.	around, finds people who speak her language and approaches them).

(Continuation Appendix E) Neugereut (7/16)

	Ww/ww	language is the main reason	language barrier, maybe the foreigners in the neighborhood could build contact with the refugees easier, but maybe they dont want because they have been here for long already. with the refugees you dont know what to say, you dont know how much they already understand German and i dont speak their language.	receiving environment? sense of belonging if you greet/greet back, culture (in your neighborhood you greet everyone who is older than you - here it is different, not greeting "random" stangers), environment will change them (adaptation), people are busy with themselves/not talking much (general society). places to meet spontaneously? depends on the culture, refugees think that Germans dont want to talk, feel unsure if they can start a conversation, which is the right way. refugees would be interested to sit there, maybe talk, just sitting next to each other would help to ricate acceptance.
Interaction with each other in	How do locals live together?			
	Does the uncertainty of the	yes, the ones who have less chances to stay are demotivated and stay home, excluding the young people, they try to increase their chances to stay through contacts that may lead to a job or place to study. Doesnt matter if they stay in Neugereut or not. many just look for flats in Neugereut because they have contacts here in august many have to move out because rooms will only house 2 not 3 people. In august many have to move out because rooms will only house 2 not 3 people, the media portrays refugee in a they try to learn and integrate. All of them have the negative light (violence, connected to police and firebrigade, bruglaries). Room that is provisional. It doesnt matter how long you are somewhere, you learn somewhere, you	doesnt make a difference, they are here right now and they try to learn and integrate. All of them have the hope to stay here and find their own place. Still neighbors think that it is provisional. It doesnt matter how long you are somewhere, you	For Afghans the asylum process is taking a lot of time, not high chances normally. Does not affect the use of public space and interaction directly. They will make use of the area anyways if they have the interest. For the locals: it makes a difference, they get used to one group and the new ones will still take time again, the change rate here is not so high. locals need time to know who they are, how to interact.
Temporality	refugees' stay have Temporality any influence?	been here since 2 years, fears of the locals have not come true.	would like to get to know nice people anyways, you can also still stay in touch once you live somewhere else.	refugees are not allowed to find apartments out of specific zones in Stuttgart without a relevant reason.

(Continuation Appendix E) Neugereut (8/16)

		more cleanliness, some throw things over the fence behind the accommodation. Donations are just thrown away or not taken care of. The refugees first have to decide if they want to go out.	
:= = = = =	or rather live calmly by themselves. More activities together, food invitations, bbqs, cultural exchange, very important that they learn the language, then a things will change. In individual/smaller accommodations refugees are more able to make contacts because it is a smaller openminded to the refugees, also the right-wing poparty has some supporters in Neugereut, they are volencertainty because it is a mass of people. The smaller the groups, the better the contacts, closer relations with the new generation is thinking differently, is not so active in communities or cluss anymore.	or rather live calmly by themselves. More activities together, food invitations, bbqs, cultural exchange. It is very important that they learn the language, then a lot of things will change. Some "Lussian-Germans" should become more openminded to the refugees, also the right-wing political party has some supporters in Neugereut, they are very closed to muslims. There is an increasing isolation, the society is decaying. The new generation is thinking differently, is not so etcile in communities or clubs anymore.	together, food invitations, bbqs, cultural exchange, it is very important that they learn the language, then a lot of things will change. Things will change. The languages also the right-wing political party has some supporters in Neugereut, they are very party has some supporters in Neugereut, they are very there is an increasing isolation, the society is decaying. The new generation is thinking differently, is not so infrastructure is great, many opportunities.
How are the efugees included in the general activities of the eighborhood?			
Which places do it the refugees use on the property of or the accommodation?	if the weather is nice many people outside around the playground, speaking and sitting. Women and even men, men smoke shisha, women drink tea and sit together, children on the playground, good convivality even if sometimes they don't speak the same language.	in winter when it gets dark early, the to do - more activities inside needed.	in winter when it gets dark early, the refugees don't know much what to do - more activities inside needed. Accommodation is a bit marginalized. Open space on the accommodation is open to neighbors.
How did events of the initiative		the events for neighbors and refugees in the accommodation are helpful and good for the whole neighborhood. It is always positive, this could happen more often. More admore neighbors would come, but the reserve first has to be overcome, we didnt know what kind of people they were and you hear a lot of bad things. the local refugee initiative is distributing the mood inside the accommodation to the outside and the rest of the neighborhood. To sure it has an impact on how you see each other in public. at the event the neighbors would rather stay and speak	
		with other germans, it was hard to communicate with the refugees.	"Putzaktion", refugees participate since multiple years. Neighbors see the participation and commitment of refugees in the community

(Continuation Appendix E) Neugereut (9/16)

		results in Neugereut		Neugereu
	Interview partner	Interview 8	Interview 9	Concepts
		Priest	District representative	10)
Context	What is your connection to refugees / locals?	contact with locals through church services, visits at old people's places, activities in ecumenical center, working together with citizen association, school classes, confirmation classes / little contact to refugees, events or meetings of focal refugee initiative, religious celebrations at accommodation, closer contact to one couple of Christian refugees, help with legalities.	contact with locals through church services, visits at old people's places, activities in ecumenical center, working together with citizen representing all needs and wishes of the citizens of the district. His office is association, school classes, confirmation classes / little contact to open to everybody and they can come by with any question, problem or refugees, events or meetings of local refugee initiative, religious request. Meets citizens in public events or specific meetings of different celebrations at accommodation, closer contact to one couple of characteristics.	
	Who are they?			Syria, Iran, Iraq, 130 people, 30 children, half individuals (mostly men), half families, mostly between 20-30 years old
	Wish to stay in Germany?			most want to stay
General	How long do they stay in the accommodation?			mostly here since 2 years, looking for apartments
on refugees in the accommo- dation				probably yes

Continuation Appen Teugereut (10/16)	dix E)
	depends on language/group/weather/background (urban/rural)/stress level, fear of getting lost, culture, move all over the cty often (administrations, activities through bonus card by families, library, museums, zoo, work), metro connectivity, young men in Bad Cannstatt (gym), Max-Eyth lake, Bad Cannstatt for groceries, park (also by women)
	Using max-eyth lake a lot, meeting point to have bbq and celebrate
	How do they use the city?

(Continuation Appendix E) Neugereut (11/16)

location is a bit on the edge, but still very central because of the proximity to the metro station. Walk down to the district center for shoping, children in Mot visible so much. At the public transport stops, but other than that more around/at the accommodation. Also on the meadow/playground at Graugansstraße. Shopping in the center but refugees rather use direct environment of the accommodation, sport fields. In the center/behind not so much, parents are rather focused on themselves and dort go out so much parents are rather focused on themselves and dort go out so much with the children, the possibilities are there. Possibilities to create own spaces on the area of the accommodation (urban gardening), bit workshop should also give the charce for exchange and access for neighbors/locals. General situation also has a big influence, job, housing gitability, stress). In the content of the accommodation of the accessible to everyone, but the decision to use it is personal. General situation also has a big influence, job, housing gitability, stress). In the decision to use it is personal. General situation also has a big influence, job, housing gitability, stress). In the decision to use the public open space because their rooms have very limited space, in or a high number of people, they primarily stay. design of the environment and spaces accommodation (public oven, unbarged ess accommodation fiquelcover, undergored to be the public space for a high number of people, they primarily stay. In the content of the content of the problems of time and availability of the problems of time and availability of		visible in general (only time outside of the its vs. meeting locals, tion), rather going out for nitiating to go out and nortation costs, stress	Idren playing outside	sonal. same meanings as	uation plays a role. I space.	in, connectivity/mobility e of belonging. s, feeling as stranger, ors)	ranger feeling)	nd accommodation th neighbors.
Not visible so much. At the public transport stops, but other than that more around/at the accommodation. Also on the meadow/playground at Graugansstraße. Shopping in the center but more for certain services. sport club not feeling comfortable, not knowing why they should be there.	schools and kindergardens, district center (services and infrastructure bank, playgrounds for children) but not so often, church (activities and events), youth house (women and children), sport dub and around, library (children to meet, internet, read), accommodation itself (little opportunities for activities offered, little opportunities for matrivities offered, little opportunities for metro station, playground next door, Drachenwiese parking lot to play (not anymore)		with children, crowds, security) families are alarmed to take care of chil (accident)	language determines meaning, very per	for others, stability/stress of general sit limited space inside, forced to use oper discomfort, place for hobbies (soccer)	integration, going outside, socialize, lea (metro), fleeing density/conflicts, sense misunderstandings, fear, suspiciousnes different culture (new rules and behavi	women more at home (culture, fear, st safety zone, fence less needed now.	possibilities to create own spaces around accommod buildings, open spaces for exchange with neighbors.
Not visible so much. At the public transport stops, but other than that more around/at the accommodation. Also on the meadow/playground at Graugansstraße. Shopping in the center but more for certain services. sport club not feeling comfortable, not knowing why they should be there.		location is a bit on the edge, but still very central because of the proximity to the metro station. Walk down to the district center for shopping, children in school. local refugee initiative also take thrm out of the accommodation with different activities, you cannot force anyone, but the possibilities are there.	refugees rather use direct environment of the accommodation, sport fields, in the center/behind not so much, parents are rather focused on themselves and dont go out so much with the children, the possibilities are there.	meaning is the same as for the other citizens. Depending how much they want and can use the public space, the offers and possibilities are there. Possibilities to create own spaces on the area of the accommodation (urban gardening), blke workshop should also give the chance for exchange and access for neighbors/locals.	depends on the people themselves, no way to force them. Jublic space should offer activities and make them accessible to everyone, but the decision to use it is personal. General situation also has a big influence, job, housing (stability, stress).	orded to use the public open space because their rooms have very limited space, life also happens outside the very limited refugees want to have a feeling of safety zone where they primarily stay. design of the environment and spaces around the buildings is maybe not so	adequate, little space for a high number of people, need for more open space, more possibilities to use space in the other refugee accommodation followore, unbangardening, but needs space), question if fences need for here now marke likes needed first it was needed in nother the	refugees, planning not as good due to problems of time and availability of space.
How do they use the neighborhood? What is the meaning of public		Not visible so much. At the public transport stops, but other than that more around/at the accommodation. Also on the	meadow/playground at Graugansstraße. Shopping in the center but more for certain services. sport club					
Public space			How do they use the neighborhood?				W/ho+ir+ho	Public space meaning of public and refusees
								Public space

(Continuation Appendix E) Neugereut (12/16)

ess. The ones who spend time in the neighborhood use the public space also for with children.
Many also just sleep in Neuzereut and rest of the life happens somewhere
possibilities.
Bewegungsparcours for older people, awwys benches and places to sit, Walkingstrolling around a lot, not using the car but walking, soin of sits proper and any outside also communicates, many
Different forms of spaces for different groups (playgrounds,
quality of stay" was always important in the planning of the neighborhood.
back/going out.
inet, in the underground parning areas the <mark>drug state established, proudent in the niture survenience, radying on brackenmose (united or).</mark> With students and children as well, meeting around the station when coming provisional buildings, less inviting/space.
At the metro station even before the accommodation came, young people the day (young people), drug scene in underground parkings -
Places where you spontaneously meet, spreads all over the neighborhood. (before refugee accommodation) metro station at night/during
included in the your stream carning gas rottomy passing by the above the carning area is an excurred avoice. Included the carning carning area is an excurred avoice. Included the carning carning area is an excurred avoice. Included the carning area is an excurred avoice.
d use the benches.
the areas between the buildings, bikers and hikers are passing by the sport more inviting, problem of pigeons making benches less inviting.
areas for bigger chains/shops). Metro station compensates. Life happens in project of social city brought more places to sit and made them
difficulties, the businesses have no chance for expansion, more empty, no big mostly elderly people strolling around, sitting on benches.
creates many public areas and quality of life. shopping mall is facing
District center (shopping, students, church with many public activities and
people, gatherings of young people between buildings (bbq,
strolling/walking around as mode of transport, benches for old
areas between buildings, bikers/strollers in the fields,
market square as meeting point (saturday markets, events),
district center/around schools, walking and meeting people,

(Continuation Appendix E) Neugereut (13/16)

				language parrier creates misunderstandings, perception is
				sometimes distorted, approach by locals, general positive
				perception of each other, no recognition, no negative attention,
				misconceptions of refugees' way of dressing, understanding for
				refugees' worries and situation. refugees as
				friendly/openminded/participating, not having much
				perspective, need to make use of bulky waste
		people are walking around very conciously, would recognize faces		respect
		that they see often. Some individual people which are		locals recognize faces that they see often
		psychiologically sick they are known in the neighborhood and very		
		recognizable, walk around and speak to themselves, they just	perception is very selective. Many see the "swabian" criteria of cleanliness,	traditional mindsets: cleanliness, noise and personal encounters
		belong here, no interest for new contacts.	-	as critiques // others open to different lifestyles which are more
		friendliness of refugees, perception of little perspective for	life, maybe music, maybe a bit different lifestyle than us, not so	open than ours, happy about lively atmosphere.
		refugees, not having much to do.	closed/isolated.	
		refugees look through the bulky waste and people are aware that	When it is not clean, neighbors call and complain, that is the only topic	different appearance does not strike attention, used to cultural
		they have to take from what other people throw away.		diversity in Stuttgart, but becomes more obvious, need to get
		conflicts if there is a lot of garbage around the accommodation or	the skin colour or anything does not really make a difference with all the	used to it, acceptance if people dont feel threatened by
		police/fire brigade has to come, rumours, children talking about it	diversity in Stuttgart, maybe become more conscious if there is a	conflicts.
		at school, some children hear at home critical comments against	refugee accommodation close by. it is different but it will become normal at	
	What is the	refugees. False jelousy about the state support which is given to	some point of time hist as long as they don't approach them in a pegative	conflicts around garbage rumours on incidents criticism about
	Aviide is tile	refugeres raise jerousy assources sample in 13 given to	some pome of arrest back as they are tracked and the sound arrest	commercial cannot be a second control of the contro
	perception of each	refugees and not to the local families, false assumptions of how	way or feel "threatened" or any negative incidents or attacks or personal	refugees, jelousy about state support, false assumptions of how
	other	they live.	hostility, it will be accepted.	they live
	_			
	Aro rofilator			first store of mour possessived as individuals
	stereotyped in a			instate outpes, now perceived as individuals refugees feel strange themselves, feel behavior of locals changes
	group?			around them
aci+nocroo				
each other in	each other in Do they recognize			:
public space	public space Individual faces?			individual recognition only by related people

(Continuation Appendix E) Neugereut (14/16)

Mixing is only happening at the metro station and Happy that something is done for the refugees, but incursit, ped for the sobserve/father distance, anyways very high diversity in Neugereut that anyways the yeal with so many nationalities need to go to more people (refugees). very successful/peaceful, challenge with such big and cultural differences has been solved very well, calm, but not much interaction. many are just happy if they don't have to do anyth refugees, some use any incident at the accommod many are just happy if they don't have to do anythirefugees, some use any incident at the accommod wery active in the community are againsts refugees, wery active in the community are againsts refugees because they showen they came and were not received anything When they came and were not received anything When they came and were not received additional condens. Maybe small conversations/interactions at the bus and they are perceived as every friendly, help old pan and they are perceived as every friendly, help old pan and they are perceived.	vidual	or against stereotypes (women cannot go out alone, children cannot play on the street anymore without being harassed, more burgary, more dirt and garbage, more criminality and drugs, prostitution, diseases at school, living quality will decrease (inflation of prices for apartments and land) which decrease people have for specific scodia group, but many enthic German between see people have to to specific scodia group, but many enthic German also became linked to right-wing political criticism (fiver and anonymous publications).	Ing with the and volence case, used against the regress some shoperings, inside the accommodation sudden against rerugees some case, used against rerugees some shoperings. Generally no begative incidents. The advolved case are supported against rerugees some shopers, same shopers, same shopers, same shopers, same shopers, same shopers, rather coexisting because of single services, ideal image of meeting and visiting each center (elevrices) planned activities - but not much contact in purple, space show show that is not only contact in public space. Schools and district center; where mixing happens in small scale, not so much contact set refugees also want to be forthermapers delevelvee, making contacts at events on in activities or inegration happens in sevel energiese. The strength of the space is a sevent or integration in contact at events or in article sor integration happens in specific contact at events or integration happens in specific private environments/planned slive in the specific private environments/planned and integration happens in specific private environments/planned and situation in activities or integration happens in specific private environments/planned and situation in activities or integration happens in specific private environments/planned and situation in activities or integration happens in specific private environments/planned and specific private environments against the refugees also want to be or the propers.	participated, approach by locals (refugees shy to speak), offering help, greeting, play with dogs, smiling back, visual contact, small interaction at metro stations (helping to get into metro) - not many spontaneous interactions in public space, spontaneous interaction between people of similar background, sharing food between groups in park depends on groups in park depends on group/individual, language, interest: refugees' interest is high, but few chances, locals have insecurities with
	happening at the metro station and schools. mething is done for the refugees, but no individual	help is acknowledged (except for rers observe/rather keep the restry in Neugereut, maybe think nany nationalities so there is no gess.). Help amount of people nge with such big amount of people n solved very well, everything is	happy if they dont have to do anything with the te use any incident at the accommodation to speak our refugees, 25% (ight-wing party voters in Neugereut also big number). Sain-Germans (ethnic German immigrants) who are the community are against refugees, surprising also came as refugees, say that they did not get thit by came and were not received so friendly. spersed, but many Russian-Germans live in	ulidings of the neighborhood) Ny interested in contacts, locals not much in sations/interactions at the bus or metro stop hed as very friendly, help old people to get into hed as very friendly, help old people to get into

(Continuation Appendix E) Neugereut (15/16)

				•
	Why/why not?	each other surgers each other anymore each other surging wants to dont feel comfortable, not many activities/ reasons to come to the each some teer for the refugees, there are some bars but they are not attractive for refugees since many dont drink alcohol, maybe at the threshold for contact bakery. Not many possibilities for them to stay. Intrinsic motivation intercultural exchange, people are every focused on sometimes refugees themselves. And much "heave" incounted or sometimes refugees themselves. And much "heave" in public space, people are issues/fraumatized, saturated of social groups. Additionally to friend groups and family in general concept, no other contacts are needed and it would not change much.	riess and ress, in other neighborhoods they don't know newconers against long-established locals, not participate in public life, but chance to be integrated, ness. Participate in public life, but chance to be integrated, ness. It's everywhere the same, depends on personalities. It's everywhere the same, depends on personalities. It's everywhere the same, finding job,), and or contacts (learning german, finding job,), and off sometimes you need to initiate something, dont want it because they have personal that works, it is individual (individual interests and task is to enable/provide opportunities.	refugees: discomfort. nothing to do. language, culture (interest to talk? How to approach?), adaptation, creates sense of belonging, social isolation community feeling disappears, social isolation, personal/individual choice, intrinsic motivation and external opportunities for contact/encounters in public space, need to initiate, locals very focused on themselves, saturation with existing social groups.
Interaction with each other in	How do locals live together?	small active circle of 100-200 people who like to always meet each other in many places, participate in events and activities, but it is always the same, having strong relations (linked to the citizen initiative). Maybe the citizen house will enable more mixing or open the group for more people again. There are communities that are more excluding themselves (turkish and russian), not much contact to them. In protestant kindergarden which has around 80% foreign families everyone is very friendly but no willingness to further engage into exchange or events (always the same few families).	Neugereut is a small "village", everyone knows each other, news are spread very fast. Fast speculations/rumours if the police came to the accommodation for example. Strong community at the core, not everybody but around 100-200 people who are active, project "social city" also plays a role, citizens participate in the development of the neighborhood, high commitment. Citizen association (Bügerverein). Encounter is happen. People greet, talk with people they know, more like a village but direct connection to the city. Missing the people if you dont see them in the usual place, relations more like in a village.	Community is very close and engaged, village atmosphere/social relations, encounters in the pedestrianised areas (greeting, talk with people you know), usual encounters at same places and times, small active circle at the core, some more isolated groups (russian/turkish), friendly but no interest to further engage.
Temporality	Does the uncertainty of the refugees stay have remorally any influence?	for refugees it makes a difference for their stability of life, but not directly for the convivality. Not mentioned by locals either.	influence on the personal relations (especially in the local refugee initiative) when people have to leave, certain emotional involvement, happens everywhen sproblematichow much help is needed and how much people want to be independent in order to integrate, integration is support towards many refugeas would like to find an apartment here in this neighborhood, but chances are very low, utopia.	yes; some are demotivated & dont go out. Some are increasing chances (contacts for jobs or education/training). neighbors think it is temporary, getting used to people needs time, but change rate here is not high, Acceptance from locals needs time, influence on personal relations. line between support and independence. no: refugees want interaction/contacts anyway, refugees are not allowed to move far away, want to stay here (hard).

(Continuation Appendix E) Neugereut (16/16)

smaller groups for accommodation to increase chances for contacts, cleanliness around the accommodation, care taken of donations, more activities together, improving language, more openness from locals, less social isolation and more participation in community more accessible chances for people to meet, encouragement, awareness, acceptance inviting, attractive, well-designed public spaces for diverse user groups/generations to enable encounters, mingle through games/not focused on talking to make contact/uncomplicated	weys d increasing community sense, people dont know each other anymore (social isolation) adults are more closed and fixed, not so much space for new contacts, children are easy to make contacts without stereotypes and words	church has little activities with refugees.	gender specific use, no conflicts, children playing with bulky waste (conflict?), in winter people dont go out	improves neighborhood community, reduces the reserve and stereotypes, transparency about life at the accommodation, influences perception in public, still exclusive groups (language barrier), neighbors see commitment of refugees in community, diverse group of volunteers
:	pougle, chees belief to summer for unroughing entiring animage traindent lange animage traindent lange traindent lange animage traindent lange traindent lange animage traindent lange traindent lange animage traindent language around the youth house might change and the part of a community, they need a place for the encounter, need increasing community sense, people dont know each other new traindent language around the youth house might change and the change are stored through talking when it will be less contact through talking make it lively attractive, people throw each other in the same street maybe, but not more language, and the same activities, need for more open public spaces. Communicate without words, not so biased/stereotyping.			the local refugee initiative is not only Germans but also different generations from migrants, very diverse group of volunteers. Events of "social city": projects for the general well-being of the meighborhood, refugees are a part of the neighborhood, initially they were strange / allen diverse group of volunteers.
more initiatives needed to mix via the children, children festivals, cultural exchange, actively promoting and enabling contact. Adults are very fixed in their plans and social groups, not so much space/poteness for new contacts. Public spaces: at the market source their could he more noceshilities to minde through parmes	square true could be into possibilities to imige intogen series adjust cells the counters. The new public space around the youth house might change and revitalize/enable contacts or minging when it will be inaugurated in June. there will be possibilities, it will be less contact through talking but more through games and playing to make contacts, committee and playing assiet to make contacts, communicated, assiet to sale to so this experience.	Church: little activities with refugees. Cooking group, but it shifted to the accommodation. Only exceptions which participate regularly in church events. Little mixing is happening.		
	What should change for better convivality in public space?	How are the refugees included in the general activities of the neighborhood?	Which places do the refugees use on the property of the accommodation?	How did events of the initiative change the convivality in public spaces?
	Improvemen t			Specific questions

10.6 Appendix F: Assessment of Focus Group Interview (Neugereut)

Neugereut (1/2)

						03.05.18
ses do vou use?	places	how using it	evaluation	why using the places	problems	using public spaces in home country
		3	few trashbins, dirty after the			
			weekend, not enough lightening at		not wanting to go out alone,	big gardens, green areas, recreation areas at the
	Max-Eyth See	barbecue, strolling, sitting	night	distraction, boring to stay home boring	boring	river, big square
	Local library		too small, not so many people	calm environment	afraid to get lost	knowing where to find nice places
					not knowing which places to go	
	City library		too far, takes time to reach	making new contacts	to/what to do there	strolling through city center
			not wanting to only meet Arab			
		Meeting Arabic speakers afterwards, every	people, there are Germans but	proximity, not wanting to go so		
	Mosque in Bad Cannstatt	week	they want to practice Arabic	far	in Neugereut only old people	barbecue with big family or friends group
				not knowing other places, not	currently only contact with Arab	
	Wilhelma	going with German family		wanting to go to other places	people	not going out alone, many friends to call
			few games to play, other children	doing any activity/signing up for		
			come mostly by car (come from	any activity just to get to know		
	playground next to accommodation going with children	n going with children	far)	people	not knowing many people here	meeting people outside
				rather staying in Neugereut,		women cannot do anything outside and alone in
		going by bike or by bus, sitting and talking,		once knowing people then going	once knowing people then going always going out with the same	home country, very happy here to go out and work
	skateboard place	watching, enjoying view		more to the rest of the city	people (from the accommodation)	people (from the accommodation) and go to school, no metro or bus station there
					weather is mostly not good	knowing the language, having the family and friends
	street next to accommodation	playing with children			enough	around
						inside the city there are not so many parks or green
	Königstraße (shopping street in city	*				areas, only restaurants and shopping areas, green
	center)	shopping and strolling	boring when shops are closed		no time after work	areas outside
						here you always make appointments and have to be
	streets in Neugereut	strolling	seeing only old people, few people			punctual
	many nice places and beautiful					
	views/landscapes		weather is mostly not good enough			
	Bad Cannstatt		not wanting to go to Arabic places			
	there are many places		but no people			
		hanging around the accommodation, interacting with other residents of the	Sundays are horrible, nothing to			
	not going out so much	accommodation	accommodation			

meanings	feelings	Public space as meeting point	interactions	perceptions
going out of the room/small place,	feeling uncomfortable because of language		going out with family, friends,	only old people here, not all of them are open to
distraction	insecurities		sister - mostly not alone	refugees
	feeling normal but not when people show			
gives motivation, need to go	that they are afraid of you (does not happen		mostly refugees approaching local	
outside	so often in Neugereut)		strangers	hard to meet people with stereotype of refugees
			"no time to speak", "not	
			interested because you dont	
fresh air, calm erwironment	no problems to be outside		speak well enough"	refugees are "dangerous", "not speaking German"
	maybe people are very nice but we dont			
there are many places but problem	there are many places but problem know them, feeling as strangers here a lot,			language as a barrier (refugees afraid not to speak
is about people (with who to use	because we are new, maybe later it will be		old people are interested to speak	old people are interested to speak enough, afraid to speak German, but wanting to
them)	better		(good to practice German)	practice)
			refugees are interested in more	
meeting new people, learning			interactions, open to strangers, to	interactions, open to strangers, to locals are afraid of refugees (visible on the street),
German			interact	thats why they dont want to speak with us
everyone is a stranger, strong				
community feeling as in a village				
would make it easier to get to know			spontaneous interactions: holding	
people, people are not so			the door open for the refugee and	
interested in getting to know others	52		starting to chit-chat, old lady	women with headscarfare perceived negatively,
in the city			asking for help with shopping	locals not wanting to speak with them
places are important, to spend free				
time			wanting to practice/learn German	wanting to practice/learn German refugees are perceived very negatively, generalizing
			trying to approach people, but it is so hard, demotivated if people	
public space is social space			dont want to speak	people are not so open to speak or to make contact
			when people know that we live in	
problems in the accommodation			refugee accommodation they are	refugee accommodation they are "refugees dont do anything", misperception has to
with many different people, living			arraid, makes a big problem in	be changed, showing the interest to learn and
together			meeting people	interact
			sometimes people come and want	
			to talk to you	people think the refugee accommodation is bad

(Continuation Appendix F) Neugereut (2/2)

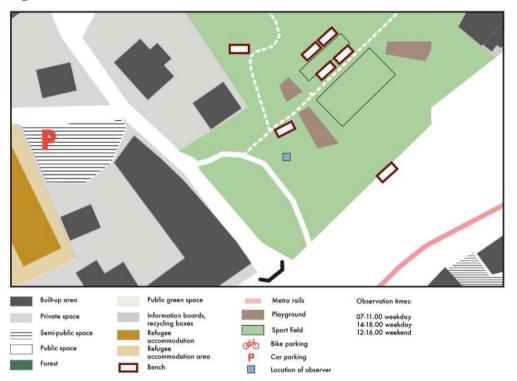
Temporality and public space	How long do you want to stay in Germany?	influence of temporality / uncertainty on use of public space		Improvements for future	Garden
	can probably stay in accommodation 18 more months	does not matter			young people
		can meet people better when they are not			space without people is not
	want to stay in Germany dont want to stay in	living in the accommodation anymore			interesting
	accommodation, hard to find	want to stay in Neugereut because they			offering something that you can
	appartment	already know the place			do together
					space where you can meet and
					speak with people, knowing that
					criey are open for speaking space should not directly
					connected with refugee
					accommodation
					a public space as meeting point
					maybe only old people will come
					wanting to go out and getting to
					know more places
					better to separate children from
					other user groups
	People:				
	Nationality	Age	Gender	Time spent in Germany	coming from city or village?
	Syrian	24	male	2 years (mostly in Neugereut)	village
	Syrian	27	male	2 years (mostly in Neugereut)	city
	Syrian	25	male	2,5 years (mostly in Neugereut)	city
	Iraqi	28	male	3 years (2 years in Neugereut)	city
	Afghan	25	female	<i>د</i> -	city

10.7 Appendix G: Observation Sheet and Behavioral Mapping Observation sheet

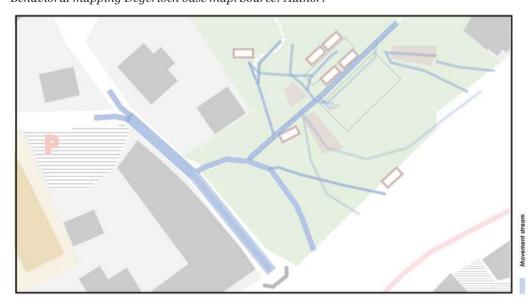
C	Observati	on sheet Date:		Tim	ime: Loca		Loca	tion:			
Д	lge .										
< 15	<u> </u>	15 - 30		30 - 50		50 - 70			>	70	
F	ormation									Ref. ac	com.
Indiv	vidual	Parent-child		Pair/Cou	ple		Grou	р			
							Stoup				
	asser-byers	1	B:1:		347 H						I
Wall	king by	Jogging	Bikin	g	Walk	ing w	/ dog	Wal	king w	stroller	Listening to music
	tayers						ı				
Wait	ting			Sitting		Reading				Liste	ning to music
Phor	ne	People-watch	hing	Resting							
lı	nteractors	<u> </u>									
Waiting Talking					snoə	Visual / Smiling					
Pla	Talking				Spontaneous		eeting				
	Sitting				Sp	end					
	Standing					Ask hel	ing fo	r			
	Playing						t-chat	ting			
							king				
						Pla	ying				

(Continuation Appendix (Coninuation of Appendix G) Behavioral mapping (1/6)

Degerloch



Behavioral mapping Degerloch base map. Source: Author.



Behavioral mapping Degerloch movement pattern overlay. Source: Author.

(Continuation Appendix G) Behavioral mapping (2/6)



Behavioral mapping Degerloch staying pattern overlay. Source: Author.

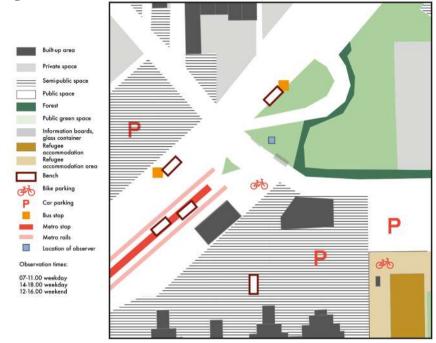
(Continuation Appendix G) Behavioral mapping (3/6)



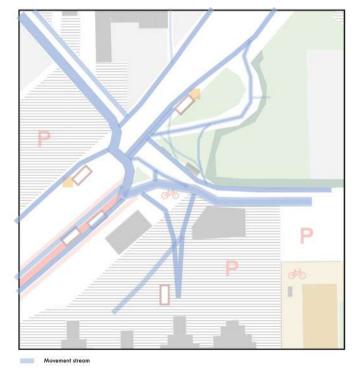
 $Behavioral\ mapping\ Deger loch\ interaction\ pattern\ overlay.\ Source: Author.$

(Continuation Appendix G) Behavioral mapping (4/6)

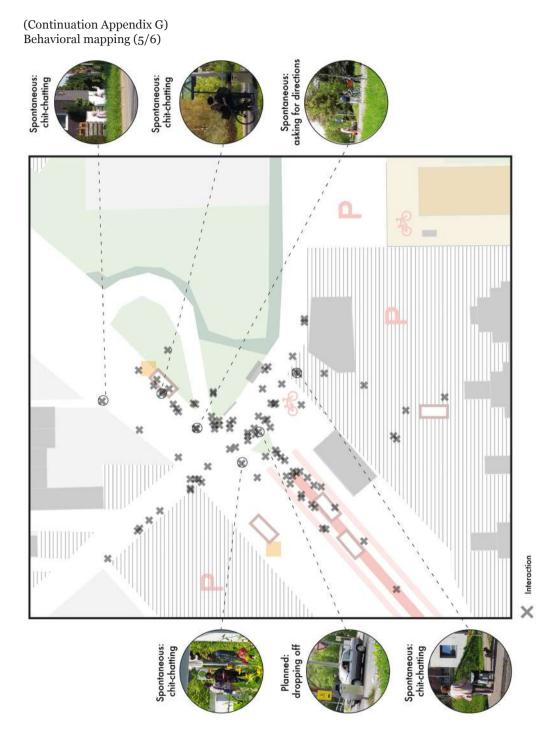
Neugereut



Behavioral mapping Neugereut base map. Source: Author.

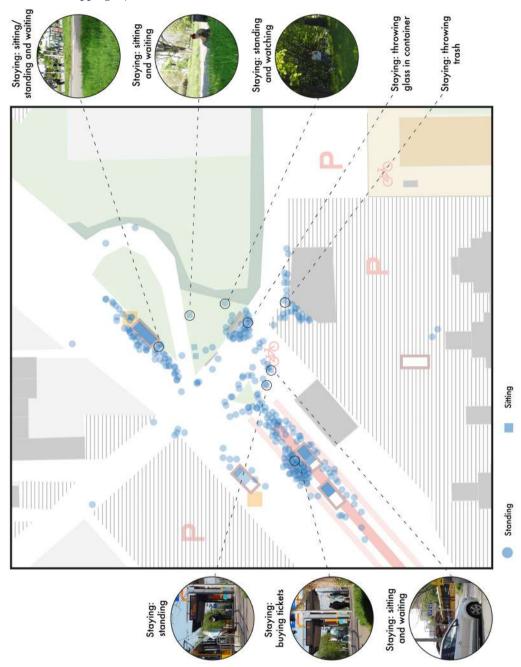


 $Behavioral\ mapping\ Neugereut\ movement\ pattern\ overlay.\ Source: Author.$



Behavioral mapping Neugereut staying pattern overlay. Source: Author.

(Continuation Appendix G) Behavioral mapping (6/6)



Behavioral mapping Neugereut interaction pattern overlay. Source: Author.

10.8 Appendix H: Quantitative Results of Observations

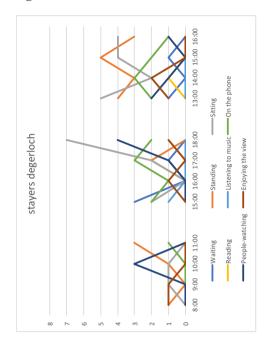
Quantitative Results Table (1/2) Degerloch

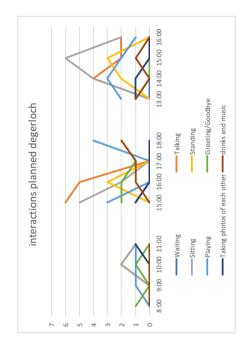
Degerloch																	
	Weekdays Weekend	7.00-8.00 8.00-9.00 9.00-10.00 10.00-11.01 Sum	0-9.00	00-10.00 10	00-11.00	E N	14.00-15.0	14.00-15.015.00-16.0116.00-17.0117.00-18.0(Sum	6.00-17.0117	.00-18.00	ш _л у	12.00-13	3.0(13.00-1	14.0114.00	5. 12.00-13.0(13.00-14.0(14.00-15.0(15.00-16.00	Sum 0-16.00	Ε
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Age	< 15		7.7	7	×	108	ς/	44	53	S	777		77	74	79		18
	15 - 30	13	22	21	12	71	26	23	56	53	104		22	23	20		123
	30 - 50	39	51	19	30	139	19	32	37	4	128		13	16	28		127
	50 - 70	6	6	9	11	32	9	4	11	10	31		18	10	2	6	45
	> 70	0	0	c	4	7	4	1	1	1	7		1	1	0	0	7
Formation	Parent-child	13	7	4	2	56	2	4	9	9	81		9	9	7	12	31
	Pair/Couple Group	∞ m	e 0	0 1	7 3	15	18	6 9	13	7 2	33		2 4	14 5	28	17 6	52
Refugee acco	Refugee accommodation resident	35	25	10	21	91	30	43	31	30	134		18	25	22	10	75
Decor-hyper logging	logging	2	-	2	,	7		c	c	,	٣		c	-	c		,
9220-0250	Riking	41	32	٦ <u>۲</u>	4 4	. 6	17	. 4	A 4	7 2	, 6		, ,	33	. 22	. 19	192
	Walking with dog	t m	1, 1	; ↔	4	, 6	0	9 0	2	3 -	'n		; 0	7 2	1 1		
	Walking with stroller	0	0	9	0	9	1	0	0	H	7		2	1	1	7	9
	Listening to music	1	9	4	0	11	2	0	e	2	7		3	2	e	1	12
	On the phone	0	2	T	0	9	4	0	3	2	6		0	2	2	1	œ
	Checking availability/pec		7	2	2	9	0	2	9	2	9		0	2	m	1	6
Stayers	Waiting	0	0	0	0	0	e.	0	П	0	4		7	0	1	0	7
	Standing	П	0	1	က	'n	0	0	2	0	7		4	3	2	m	12
	Sitting	0	П	1	0	7	2	0	2	7	#		2	2	4	4	12
	Reading	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	т	-		0	1	0	0	7
	Listening to music	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	-		0	0	0	0	0
	On the phone	0	0	0	H	-	2	~	m	7	œ		2	c	7	7	œ
	People-watching	0	0	m	0	m	0	0	П	4	'n		2	—	0	П	4
	Enjoying the view	1	1	0	0	7	0	1	0	1	7 0		1	7	0	0	m c
											•						>
Interactors	Waiting	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1		0	0	0	0	0
Planned	Talking	0	0	7	Η.	m	9	S	0	0	#		0	4	7	7	∞ :
	Sitting	0 (0 (2 0	⊣ (m d		5 5	0 (0 0	۲ ,		0 (4 (9 (7	12
	Standing	0 0	o +	o -	, c	، د	o (nc	> 0	> <	n r		۰ ر	7 (n r	۶ -	n o
	Flaying Greeting/Goodbye	o -	- c		- c	, ,	0 6	۰ د	> -	4 C	۰, ۲		7 -	n c	۷ 0	٦ ٥	۰ -
	Taking photos	0	0	0				0	0	0					0	0	. 2
	drinks and music	0	0	0	0	0	0	П	1	2	4		1	0	1	0	7
Interactors	Visual/Smiling	0	1	0	0	-	2	0	0	0	7		0	2	0	0	7
Spontaneous	Spontaneous Contact to me	2	1	0	0	m	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0
	Greeting	0	0	7	0 '	7	7	5	5	7	19		7	_ '	Η .	m I	13
	Accidental encounter	0 (0 (0 (- 0	0	0 0	0 (0 0	۰ ،		0 (m d	0 (0 (m d
	Asking for help	0 (0 0	n	o 0	n	7 .	o •	7 7	ο,	4 ;		o ,	o 1	7 ,	o ,	7 (
	Cult-chatting T-II:in-	0 0	o 0	0 0	o 0	- 0	n	4 0	⊣ +	٠,	‡ '		٠,	n +	٦,	٦ ،	۰ م
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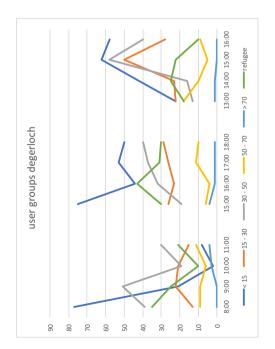
(Continuation Appendix H) Quantitative Results Table (2/2) Neugereut

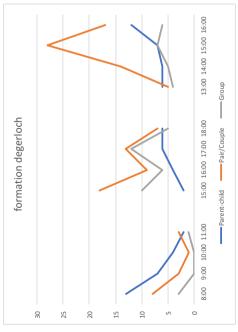
Neugereut																
	Weekdays 7 Weekend	7.00-8.00 8.0	.6 00.6-00	7.00-8.00 8.00-9.00 9.00-10.00 10.00-11.0 Sum	00-11.0 s	Ę	14.00-15.0(15.00-16.0(16.00-17.0(17.00-18.0(Sum	0-16.0(16.	00-17.0(17.00	-18.00		S 12.00-13.0(13.00-14.0)14.00-15.0(15.00-16.00	0-14.0114.00	-15.0(15.00	Sum 0-16.00	ε
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	15 - 30	92	59	40	25	129	40	69	72	36	217	28	54	36	32	180
	30 - 50	75	20	20	25	227	9	90	155	65	375	62	80	42	49	233
	50 - 70	25	59	92	41	160	32	45	47	37	161	42	41	30	78	141
	> 70	11	13	15	25	91	14	59	17	18	78	16	15	13	6	23
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Formation	Parent-child	70	2	2	4	34	12	24	23	16	52	6	17	10	12	21
	Pair/Couple Group	17	٥ م	18	16	8 28	18	14	11 2	19	13 62	21	24 6	6 /	3 17	77
Refugee acc	Refugee accommodation resident	9	9	7	9	52	13	10	11	19	23	16	16	12	11	22
Decea-hyperclogging	logging	c	c	c	C	-	c	c	-	c	,	2	c	c	c	,
	Biking	2	o ro	0 00	o ro	25	o 6	13	50 2	22	, 2	1 0	۸ د	10	000	31
	Walking with dog	9	e	12	1	22	2	4	2	1	6	2	1	2	7	10
	Walking with stroller	1	2	10	4	17	9	6	14	4	33	æ	1	1	0	2
	Listening to music	13	9	11	4	34	8	15	4	25	25	11	9	2	2	24
	On the phone	∞	9	9	2	22	ß	∞	10	2	78	7	2	ж	1	16
	Strolling	0	0	ĸ	0	e	1	1	2	1	∞	e	4	0	1	œ
Stayers	Waiting	13	7	30	12	62	16	34	19	12	8	10	19	20	13	62
	Standing	4	∞	22	13	47	14	17	14	6	24	14	16	11	9	47
	Sitting	12	0	9	00	56	12	2	7	7	31	9	6	∞	7	30
	Reading	1	0	0	0	-	0	0	0	7	7	0	0	0	0	0
	Listening to music	3	1	2	0	9	0	8	0	0	m	0	0	3	7	2
	On the phone	9	m	2	4	12	0	1	4	m	œ	1	2	1	0	7
	People-watching	1	2	2	0	Ŋ	0	0	1	1	7	2	0	0	0	7
	Buying ticket	6	10	21	6	49	7	m	14	c	72	13	12	10	4	33
	Smoking	9	S	m	7	16	S	1	m	4	13	2	4	4	0	9
Interactors	Waiting Talking	0 9	0 -	2 9	0 -	7 4	7	0 0	- -	0 m	7 9	2 1	00		0 m	7 9
	Sitting	0	0	П	0	н	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Standing	0	1	4	0	2	2	0	2	2	9	2	0	2	7	9
	Playing	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	7	1	0	1	0	7
	Greeting/Goodbye	S	0	1	0	9	4	4	S	m	16	4	4	2	m	16
Interactors		0	2	-	1	4		1	1	0	m	0	0	0	0	0
Spontaneo		0	2	2	9	16	П	1	0	Н	m	0	0	0	0	0
	Greeting	1	0	4	n	œ	2	7	4	c	4	e	1	4	1	6
	Accidental encounter	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Asking for help	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	Н	e	0	0	0	0	0
	Chit-chatting	4	m	9	4	17	-	4	_	4	16	1	п,	0	н .	m
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(Continuation Appendix H) Quantitative Results Graphs (1/4) Degerloch

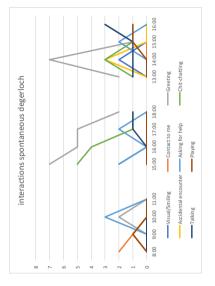


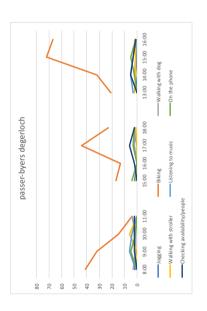


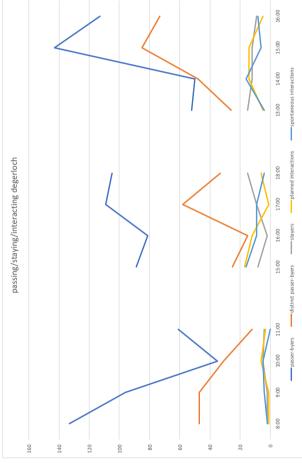




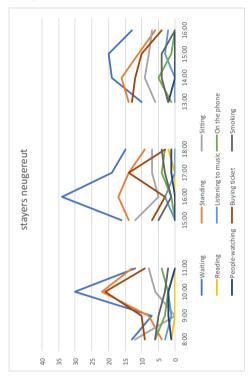
(Continuation Appendix H) Quantitative Results Graphs (2/4)

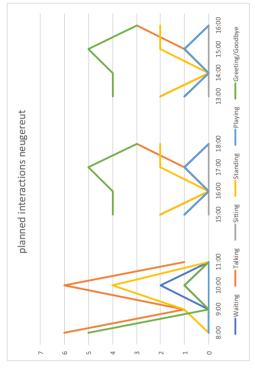


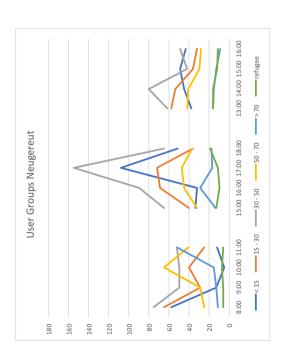


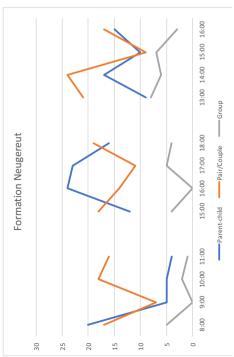


(Continuation Appendix H) Quantitative Results Graphs (3/4) Neugereut

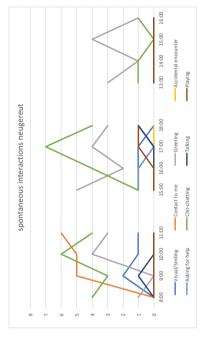


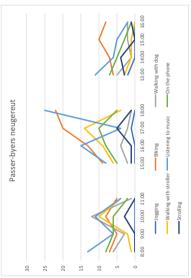


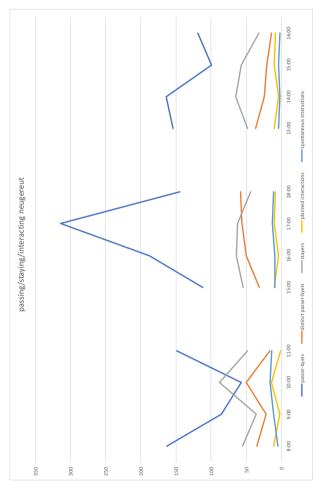




(Continuation Appendix H) Quantitative Results Graphs (4/4)







Abstract in Arabic

يستخدم هذا البحث طبقات البناء الاجتماعي للفضاء (ليفبفر ١٩٩١) كأداة لتحليل العيش المشترك بين السكان المحليين واللاجئين في الأماكن العامة المفتوحة. في دراسة الحالة عن حبين حضريين في مدينة شتو تغارت بألمانيا ، يتم تتبع التفاعلات الزمنية للاجئين والمقيمين المحليين مع وداخل المساحات العامة المفتوحة من خلال التحليل المكاني والطرق النوعية للمقابلات والملاحظات ومجموعات التركيز. يتم تنظيم نتائج جمع البيانات وفقًا للفضاء المادي والذهني والاجتماعي ومعالجة الخصائص المكانية للأحياء, العوامل الثقافية والزمنية, تصورات وخبرات ومعاني الحيز العام المفتوح, و الأنشطة واللقاءات في الفضاء العام المفتوح. تتم مناقشة النتائج من خلال استخدام الاختلافات في دراسة الحالة ، وتحديد التحديات والإمكانات الخاصة بالعيش المشترك المشتركة بين المجموعتين في الفضاء العام المفتوح ، وكذلك من خلال تقييم أنماط بناء الفضاء الاجتماعي والعيش المشترك الموقت. ووفقًا للنتائج ، فقد تم استنباط التوصيات في شكل شروط للعيش المشترك والتي يمكن أن يستند إليها عند تصميم وتطوير الأماكن العامة المفتوحة في أحياء حضرية متنوعة قستضيف سياقات دراسة الحالات المختلفة أشكال مختلفة من العيش المشترك في الفضاء العام المفتوح على أساس أساليب العيش المتسامح معًا في كلتا المجموعتين في حين أن وضوح اللاجئين كان منخفضًا نسبيًا في الأحياء العامة لدراسة الحالة. إن الهدف من العيش المشترك في هذا السياق لا يقتصر فقط على تعزيز القيم الديمقراطية والاجتماعية للفضاء العام ، ولكن أيضًا لتعزيز الإمكانات الإبداعية للحياة الحضرية مع الغرب

إقرار

هذه الرسالة مقدمة في جامعة عين شمس وجامعة شوتجارت للحصول على درجة العمر ان المتكامل والتصميم المستدام. إن العمل الذي تحويه هذه الرسالة قد تم إنجازه بمعرفة الباحث سنة ...

هذا ويقر الباحث أن العمل المقدم هو خلاصة بحثه الشخصي وأنه قد اتبع الإسلوب العلمي السليم في الإشارة إلى المواد المؤخوذه من المراجع العلمية كلٌ في مكانه في مختلف أجزاء الرسالة..

وهذا إقرار مني بذلك،،،

Simone Ciretsal : التوقيع:

الباحث: سيمونا جريتش

التاريخ: ۹ ۲۰۱۸/۰۷/۲

العيش المشترك المؤقت للغرباء و الإنتاج الاجتماعي للفضاء العام

مقدمة للحصول على درجة الماجستير في العمران المتكامل والتصميم المستدام

أعداد: سيمونه جريتش

أ.د. يوهن يسن أستاذ التصميم والتخطيط العمراني جامعة شتو تجارت لجنة أشر اف أ.د.محمد صالحين أستاذ التخطيط والتصميم العمراني المتكامل جامعة عين شمس

لجنة الحكم أ د الممتحن الخارجي أستاذ المعة المعامة ال	التوقيع
أ د أستاذ جامعة	
أ د أستاذ جامعة	تاريخ المناقشة:
الدراسات العليا	
ختم الإجازة	أجيزت الرسالة بتاريخ:

جامعة عين شـــمس

موافقة مجلس الجامعة .../...

موافقة مجلس الكلية // /...



العيش المشترك المؤقت للغرباء و الإنتاج العيش الاجتماعي للفضاء العام

تتبع التفاعلات المؤقتة بين اللاجئين والسكان المحليين في و مع الأماكن العامة المفتوحة في أحياء شتوتجارت

رسالة مقدمة للحصول على درجة الماجستير في العمران المتكامل والتصميم المستدام

إعداد سيمونه جريتش

المشرفون

أ.د. يوهن يسن أستاذ التصميم والتخطيط العمراني جامعة شتوتجارت أ.د.محمد صالحين أستاذ التخطيط والتصميم العمراني المتكامل جامعة عين شمس