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„Place-making Tactics and Strategies – A Case
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Anti-Plagiatserklärung

Hiermit erkläre ich, dass ich die vorliegende Arbeit „Place-making Tactics and Strategies – A Case Study of Asylum Seekers in Bolzano“ selbständig verfasst habe; dass ich keine anderen Quellen und Hilfsmittel als die angegebenen benutzt habe; dass die Stellen der Arbeit, die aus anderen Werken, insbesondere auch aus elektronischen Medien, übernommen und eingearbeitet wurden, sorgfältig und in Detail durch Angabe der Quelle als Entlehnung kenntlich gemacht worden sind.

Wien, 10.02.2015

Michael Anranter BA

Introduction

1.1 Preface

When Kossi Komla-Ebri arrived to Italy forty years ago, reputation and barriers where much easier dissolved and African people aroused curiosity and interest, instead of reluctance based on unreflect prejudices. This has changed in the last three decades. Contrary to legislative endeavors, Italy has become an immigration destination for thousands of people annually; many risk their lives passing the Mediterranean Sea. Meanwhile, Kossi Komla-Ebri touts his dream:

„We all come out of the building and meet up in the square where we develop relationships with each other at the same level and try to make our different cultures interact. Interaction is the most important factor: encouraging and allowing the phenomenon of social cultural inclusion.”
(Kossi Komla-Ebri, n.a: URL)

I’m not sure whether Kossi Komla-Ebri is conscious of the metaphors’ significance, in terms of the physical environment providing a basis for interaction and integration. The partial acquirement of public places and the necessity to be there for personal reasons is a central question when debating Kossi Komla-Ebri’s idea.

An unfortunate mixture of crisis on the ‘old continent’ and increasing migration streams in the past three decades have shaped the perception and relative importance of newly arrived migrants from the ‘global south’ and international conflict zones. As a consequence, newly adapted policy designs on different institutional levels have been invented to keep unwanted visibility low. Urban restructuring, surveillance techniques, zero tolerance as a precept for executive authorities, repatriation, shortened asylum procedures and illiberal bilateral agreements have been implemented. This is not an Italian phenomenon, but an impression one gets when following European migration and integration debates.

This master thesis is concerned with analyzing the phenomena of place-making, utilized by asylum seekers when socializing and/ or interacting in social settings. This work will visualize the way revanchist urban spaces impact the establishment of relationships towards specific places.

February, 2015

1.2 Personal Approach and Legal Considerations

During the course of study, I learned to always look beyond man-made decisions and to question social life embedded in changing structural patterns. When I first heard the argument for police interventions near downtown Bolzano in 2012 (Stol, 2012: URL), my interest in the anthropology of migration was roused. At this time, I already had ideas on how alternative citizenship could be, what roles identities play and how policies create sets of relations and webs of meaning. As I completed a bachelor degree in political science, the contexts I looked for were related to institutional environments, which seemed to be barely connected to the roles of individual desires in society. Concentrating on contexts such as the urban area, instead of national and supranational institutions, taught me to apply my knowledge to smaller scales. Nevertheless, I always tried to keep in mind international and European developments in my papers, equally considering the individual by looking at immediate consequences for city dwellers while focusing on marginalized communities. My interest in marginalized groups may arise from my personal background as a member of an autochthone minority. I have asked myself more than once whether German speakers could be defined as Italians according to citizenship concepts, while living in autonomy. For decades, tailor-made solutions ensured linguistic, cultural and personal wealth for the German speaking minorities in South Tyrol and preserved my very own ancestors from marginalization. Today, people living in this area need to accept that other people are increasingly more marginalized, and struggle to overcome everyday discrimination in the city of Bolzano. It is ‘the others’ living under precarious conditions; for example, those awaiting their residence permit. It is the aim of this section to show differences within this group of migrants. It aims at a reasonable definition of asylum seekers as a group of people with various backgrounds, with a specific desire to stay.

In 2012, more than 15,000 migrants and asylum seekers landed on the Italian coast. Responsible national authorities pointed out the enormous challenge posed by mixed migration at their borders. In a preliminary text, the UN High Commissioner of Refugees polemicized the legal differences between migrants:

“While refugees and asylum seekers account only for a small proportion of the global movement of people, they frequently travel alongside migrants. Many of those movements are irregular, in the sense that they often take place without the requisite documentation, use unauthorized border crossing points or involve smugglers.” (UNHCR, 2013: URL)

According to this statement a wide range of migrants don't meet the requirements for *asylum seekers* in the common sense. Asylum seekers are people migrating from one country to another, with the purpose of achieving refugee status according to the Refugee Convention¹. Increasing amounts of transnational migrants, a dwindling sense of national responsibilities towards refugees, and the implementation of restrictive border management have influence on legal settings for asylum seekers.

For European Member states a harmonization in the migration governmentality system took place with the Treaty of Amsterdam, adopted in 1997. Asylum and migration policies were moved out from intergovernmental decision-making and

¹ The 1951 Refugee Convention is a key document for today's international refugee protection and defines who is a refugee. Signatory nation states convene to ensure minimal standards and services provided to international refugees. Refugee applies to every person, due to

“[...] a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it. In the case of a person who has more than one nationality, the term ‘the country of his nationality’ shall mean each of the countries of which he is a national, and a person shall not be deemed to be lacking the protection of the country of his nationality if, without any valid reason based on well-founded fear, he has not availed himself of the protection of one of the countries of which he is a national.” (Refugee Convention, 1951 Art.1A[2])

The Convention also describes obligations of refugees towards their host government and defines how the status of refugees can be denied to people with serious criminal backgrounds. The Refugee Convention was designed to alleviate consequences of international conflicts and war crimes. The aim of the Convention is to offer victims of war legal security, and help to begin a new life.

became part of legally binding harmonization policies interpreted by the European Court of Justice in case of uncertainties. The standards set up by the European Union were revised once more in a 2004 EU Qualification Directive. The status of asylum seekers was improved by additional chances for successful application and greater need for international protection. Persons entitled to protection are defined as...

“[...] a third country national or a stateless person who does not qualify as a refugee but in respect of whom substantial grounds have been shown for believing that the person concerned, if returned to his or her country of origin, or in the case of a stateless person, to his or her country of former residence, would face a real risk of suffering serious harm as defined in Art. 15, and to whom Art. 17 (1) and (2) do not apply, and is unable, or, owing to such risk, unwilling to avail himself or herself of the protection of that country.” (EU Council Directive 2004/83/EC, Art.2 [e])

In Italy regulations addressing border and territory management are based on the 1985 Schengen agreement, replaced in 1990 by the Schengen Convention and the implementation of several intergovernmental treaties. In the first article of the original interstate agreement, asylum-seekers are defined by an undecided legal status. The group of asylum seekers integrates...

“[...] any alien who has lodged an application for asylum within the meaning of this Convention and in respect of which a final decision has not yet been taken”. (Schengen Agreement/ Art. 1: 1985)

The Schengen Agreement was implemented in 1993 and further concretized in law number 40 on March 6, 1998. While most of the law's paragraph are no longer in power or have been altered, it is worth picking out one major aspect. In Article 5 the Italian lawmaker limits the status of asylum seekers to the maximum time necessary for documentation in all cases of irregular migration (see Legge 1998/ 40/Art. 5/§3 e). In §9 of the same article, the maximum time is formally limited to twenty days in which a residence permit should be issued, renewed or converted (see Legge 1998/40/ Art.5/§9) and brings up a short time-span for asylum seekers on the Italian territory that can formally be stretched up to 35 days by a territorial commission. Within these first 35 days national authorities are charged with registration and identity inspection of potential refugees. These procedures include the capture of digital fingerprints, the creation of profiles and relevant data collection submitted for the final decision. All data become part of the European information system, with the aim of protecting member states and strategic surveillance. According to a report from the Swiss refugee-aid

Schweizerische Flüchtlingshilfe in 2008 and 2009 the waiting time for the first legal registration in the Italian capital was expanded to six months due to limited in resources (see *Schweizerische Flüchtlingshilfe*, 2011: 11).

Furthermore, law no. 40/1998 introduced new infrastructure and procedures for asylum seekers. *Centri di permanenza temporanea* – or centers for temporary residence – where established in all regions of the country for the detention of asylum seekers applying for residence after having been picked up for deportation in their hometown. In 2002 the roughly criticized *Bossi-Fini* law no.189 added identification centers to those already existing for temporary residence, in order to intern asylum seekers in closed institutions and make access to services more difficult (see Legge 2002/189). The 2002 revision of the migration and asylum seeker law sustainably limited the action radius of asylum seekers and pushed them into an even more marginalized situation by making policies more restrictive.

All of these declarations, amendments, directives and laws establish a legal framework for transnational migrants on national and international institutional levels. However, they start interacting with actors, objects and institutions in new domains (see Shore, 2011: 20). As an example, in Italy the relatively extended status of indecision regarding residence permits dominates the daily routine of asylum seekers, powered by the hope for a positive decree. Affected people draw vital benefits, such as alimentation, accommodation, and reduced mobility limited to provincial borders. Limited mobility and basic human rights give asylum seekers the opportunity to create places where can meet and spend time with other people, and become visible to regular city dwellers. Over the years, I got used to observing political decisions, structural changes and dominant discourses in South Tyrol and Italy from an external perspective. Changes in the field of migration are obvious and public discourse shows decreasing respect for people at society's margins. While national legislation focuses on distributing and denying residence permits to potential refugees, place-making takes place on a local level where detailed sets of regulations are formulated and implemented by regional or municipal authorities and impact vulnerable social groups.

1.3 Thesis structure

The structure of this paper corresponds to research procedure. Initially the legal status of asylum seekers in Italy and correlated aspects of marginalization were what attracted me. For example, I never understood how large-scale police operations could be legitimized by the intention to find people with invalid or nonexistent residence permits. Such searches had become increasingly popular in

areas with sink estates, and were accomplished during sleeping hours. In terms of commensuration, it's important to keep in mind that Bolzano is a safe city. Although the percentage of crime per capita continues to rise, the overall level is still low. Statistics also show that people with migratory backgrounds are more likely to be involved in minor crimes, such as theft and drug-dealing, than former residents, while blood crimes are predominantly committed by residents (see ASTAT, 2014a: 5). Inspired by corresponding police interventions, I decided to focus on limits and restrictions arising from urban restructuring processes and tried to identify present and future challenges for asylum seekers.

To further accomplish the research question I argue that place-making strategies and tactics are interactive patterns, creating societal and emotional belongings, in a hegemonic structured society. According to Michel de Certeau there is a link between place, practice and power, culminating in the distinction of strategy and tactics for competitive societies:

„A strategy assumes a place that can be circumscribed as proper and thus serve as the basis for generating relations with an exterior distinct from it. [...] I call a 'tactic', on the other hand, a calculus which cannot count on a 'proper' (a spatial or institutional localization), nor thus on a borderline distinguishing the other as a visible totality. The 'place of a tactic' belongs to the other. [...] A tactic insinuates itself to the other's place, fragmentarily, without taking it over in its entirety, without being able to keep it at a distance.“ (de Certeau, 1984: XIX)

The direct spatial relationship between strategies and tactics operates at the same time and in the same space, helping to identify cleavages in post-modern city management and place-making. Throughout this thesis I will therefore apply the linguistic duality suggested by de Certeau and emphasize the actor's spatial power, thus dealing with place-making strategies and place-making tactics. In order to promote the recognition of multiplicity in social change, I argue that theoretical concepts with one overarching power structure, long for legal and institutional contextualization. The normative but holistic framework used for concluding supervision of applied theoretical concepts stands out due to its integrative character. It emphasizes the peoples' right to equal social membership when present at a certain place: the *New Cosmopolitan Theory of Justice for Migrants and Refugees*, developed by political scientist Seyla Benhabib, relies on Kantian and Habermasian premises and foils social duality according to principles of a universalistic morality:

“[...] The right to membership of the temporary resident must be viewed as a human right which can be justified along the principle of a universalistic morality. The terms and conditions under which long-term membership can be granted remain the prerogative of the republican sovereign.” (Benhabib, 2010 [2004]: 42)

Within this context, I believe it is worth considering a concept which argues that membership exceeds political participation and focuses on the impact of social belonging. It is possible to focus on aspects of asylum seekers' place-making tactics, but also to relate them to urban restructuring projects. Place-making, identified throughout the subsequent research process, represents conscious and unconscious emotional affiliations towards specific places or settings. The uniqueness of place-making leads to misinterpretation and challenges with those who share feelings of belonging towards the same place, but with different motivations.

Subsequent to this first theoretic passage, I describe the structure and implementation of qualitative research methods with the aim of stretching information on place-making in relation to the built environment. The beginning of the survey is marked by a description of the case studies' setting, followed by impressions, answers and visual material. The interrelation of photographs and narrative materials help make comprehensible needs and challenges faced by newly arrived asylum seekers, and explore where neoliberal city management marginalizes a specific societal group in order to increase the touristic appeal of the cityscape. In this way, asylum seekers in the city of Bolzano help exercise the impact of policies that might be described as place-making strategies.

In accordance with theoretic discussions on place-making and neoliberal policy-making in revanchist cities, the research output is organized alongside temporal patterns and repeatedly focuses on future expectations and aspirations of both; asylum seekers and the city government. The evaluation of topics mentioned in the narrative interviews exposes the needs and requirements of asylum seekers and gives ideas on how to improve equality in accordance to the logics of urban revanchism. Several fields of policy, at all institutional levels, directly impact place-making. All institutional branches of the representative democratic system shape public space and act according to an inherent logic. I decided to apply an integrative methodological approach in the development and completion of the research design. Although challenging, I preserved a personal desideratum to retain scope by looking beyond previously made assumptions during the preparation of fieldwork.

Finally, I describe that the intricacy of place-making can be understood and evaluated only if taking socio-political and economic conditions into account. Some aspects are already connected in the interpretative analysis of the research, while further dependencies will be discussed in the final sections of this thesis.

1.4 Developing a Research Question

When I first heard about place-making as a specific and sometimes artistic interaction on the built environment, I connected it to limitations and restrictions. Emanating personal experience, I realized that place-making is argued to be more or less precious for civil society. While some place-making is classified as avant-garde movements run by creative collectives, others are criticized for being a misappropriation of details. As an example, some citizens are annoyed by other people spending time on the cultivated green in a park, or attracted by somehow artfully adoptions of traffic signs. Although law prohibits both interactions, one could observe that double standards towards place-making are applied.

The coherency of double standards becomes obvious when considering the legislative and executive authorities as entities with neoliberal guiding principles. In this thesis I suppose that asylum seekers in a precarious life situation are more exposed to those principles than regular citizens. Surveillance techniques, police checks and restructuring measures in public and private space rest upon ethnic profiling, at least since the 2001 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York, and might be described as the execution of place-making strategies. Indeed the “National Analytical Study on Racist Violence and Crime” (see Rivera/ Andrisani, 2003) identifies all people with migration backgrounds as victims of racist violence in Italy. The study retains that, beyond white supremacy, even regular citizens and police forces are likely to play an active role in racial discrimination. Dramatics are emphasized by the following example:

”[...] It has been reported by associations of the sector that during police controls in the open, in homes and meeting places of foreign citizens, illegal acts and violent abuse by the State Police and Carabinieri are known to happen. Lastly, among the cases mentioned by the press, one of the worst (June 2003) had as its victim a 25-year old regular immigrant coming from New Guinea and suffering from psychic disorders, killed in his bed with two revolver shots in the stomach by one of the Carabinieri summoned by health operators. If we add item 4 [police force] to item 3 [the influence of the Northern League], the picture looks even more serious, as it shows the fact that xenophobia and racism are not mainly a spontaneous phenomenon carried out by a few isolated individuals, but

they are deeply rooted in the layers of the public institutions, reaching even the national government.” (Andrisani, 2003: 34f)

According to the survey’s report, asylum seekers can be considered the most marginalized group of people in Italy. Precarious living conditions become even more obvious when casting a glance at the Italian immigration act. Against the backdrop of marginalization, it is necessary to exert concepts and definitions sentient to this matter of fact. Since the research focus points to a variety of place-making tactics, in terms of processes that add meanings to particular locations in the built environment, marginalization has a prominent standing. I’ll therefore go back to earlier readings on place-making, considering Fred Myers (2002), Setha Low/ Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga (2003), and most prominently Amos Rapaport (1994), in order to detect coherent facets with regards to neoliberal standards and bridges towards notions of time:

“Like space, time is inescapable – everyone lives in time as well as space. Built environments as systems of settings, patterns of activities occur – and these are also organized in time, which sometimes substitutes for spatial organization, at other times reinforces it, and at yet others is in conflict with it.” (Rapaport, 1994: 497)

Rapaport herein implies that place and time influence the system of settings due to continuous interaction. Beyond this rather Universalist approach towards relations between space and time, Doreen B. Massey (1994/ 1999) emphasizes notions of time as a texturing characteristic for place-making. As an example, impacts are witnessed by place-making tactics and strategies that depend on pragmatism or future ambitions. Due to research ambitions I will focus on interrelations of space, place and time from the perspective of asylum seekers in a post-modern society.

By implication of dependencies established on behalf of Massey, it is no longer difficult to connect the dots between time as a structural category and post-modern urban concepts where neoliberal movements encounter revanchism. The French 19th century concept has been adapted for characterizing neoliberal cities by David Harvey (1990), and later by Gordon MacLeod (2002). It identifies the marginalized groups affected by restrictive national and local policies. A discussion of place-making, time as a texturing entity, and revanchist urbanism as a description of the environment, will follow in the proceeding chapters of this thesis.

It becomes apparent that intermeshed macro-level political processes motivated my research interest and provided a framework for developing an itinerary toward

asylum seekers' lives in Bolzano. The following hypotheses underscore my assumptions.

I suppose that...

- place-making tactics depend on personal needs and are applied in order to create a sense of well-being at a certain place.
- asylum seekers are urged to make places when first arriving in a new town. Corresponding undertaking transpires in the context of space and sometimes offends rules.
- time is a condition and structural category experienced by asylum seekers, as by all city dwellers, when it comes to its impact on place-making. Most significantly, asylum seekers' place-making tactics are defined by experience, and future ambitions.
- place-making tactics oppose neoliberal or revanchist place-making strategies, and become visible when some members of society are marginalized and fight to subsist a precarious life situation.
- policy-making based on neoliberal standards favors marginalization² and aims at creating differences between locals and strangers. Hidden marginalization is a widespread ambition in urban restructuring, social, and cultural integration policies.

According to my personal mindset, idem assumptions clarify dependencies of place-making tactics and strategies, including time as a structural category for people living in precarious situations in a revanchist urban environment. Emanating a miscellaneous measure combined by urban restructuring programs, spending reviews, migration experience, history, surveillance practices, and police operations, the local environment is a constraint and condition for the coexistence of place-making tactics and strategies. Invoking asylum seekers as a heterogeneous community at society's edge, the research question asks for specific interactions of this group of people in a contested space.

² Due to the research focus on asylum seekers I decided to use the term marginalization when describing a specific socio-economic and legal situation of relatively deprived persons within a specific territory. Nevertheless the ambiguity of neoliberalism as a framing concept at some passages challenges marginalization. In a more comprehensive approach, the term *flexibilisation* could be used to describe effects of neoliberal policy-making, including marginalization amongst other effects.

“What kind of place-making is applied by asylum seekers in a revanchist urban environment and how does time exert impact as a structural category?”

Assumptions and the research question, already indicate how fragile revanchist environments in the 21st century are. A defective commitment towards neoliberalism with qualified free mobility of people is evident in recent shifts in the political system and manifests in hospitality towards asylum seekers. Since the 1990's the asylum seeker influx to Italy and Bolzano increased significantly, while politics and society lastly adopted strategies to live through and overcome remnants of overheated markets in 2007. In the choice for method, case, analysis and interpretation, I followed a research question that implies structural individual needs. However, public representatives and authorities are omnipresent actors in the field of migration. The implementation of surveillance techniques and urban restructuring projects in revanchist cities are commensurate to local path-dependency in migration issues and document the cities transition according to a neoliberal political concept. The aim of the research was nevertheless to outline place-making of asylum seekers where contestation and notions of time are synonyms for power-structures in a society.

I decided to develop my arguments according to knowledge acquisition. It might make the reader feel like walking through a forest, from one tree to another, but I found the recurrent theme only in the analysis of collected materials. Time and time again, new aspects appeared and others turned out to be less important than initially thought.

At the very start of this thesis I was most interested in places where conflicts between different societal groups manifest. I therefore tried to explain how relationships between humans and places could be established. Soon I recognized that physic changes, such as building a house, couldn't be the only ways people can relate to places. For this reason I incorporated the concept of 'meaning' into my argument. As a second extension I decided to include notions of time as a structural category and tried to explain them in the context of a revanchist urban environment. According to general observations made in the course of the year, I selected Bolzano as a case with particular migration and relative prosperity. In this period I started oscillating between inductive and deductive research approaches. I finally recognized that place-making is the contestation of places where the application of distinct measures informs the observer about certainty in the life situation of the observed and indicates how precarity polarizes in the urban environment. Not only local, but also global processes of contestation cohere to future ambitions and represent power-relations in a society. It wouldn't have been possible to point out these processes without studying the historic

cultural armature of the city. The methodological approach applied legitimizes research activities supportive to the photo-interviews in order to understand place-making of people living in marginality.

In the past two decades, an inhospitable attitude toward migrants (with or without residence permits) acquired vogue in South Tyrol. Changes in economic, political and societal conditions replaced former respect for diversity with mistrust and collective fear. Historic regional fears seem to be re-activated and result in new urban restructuring projects that impact the newcomers' place-making. The question "Is there anything important you experienced in this place?" was significant not only in order to stay informed about the reason for place-making activities, but to further draw personal histories in the context of Bolzano. In the work at hand I tried to give an impression about the complexity of 'place-making' as a term, concept, and activity. Place-making is discussed in the following section, and enriched by several notions before being re-thought in the conclusion.

State of the Art

2.1 Place-Making as an Interface

According to the assumptions made in the previous chapter, people shape their relations towards the built environment by applying place-making. Amos Rapaport (1994), Tim Ingold (2000), Fred Myers (2000), Doreen Massey (1994/1999), and Setha Low/ Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga (2003) have influenced the anthropologies of space and place. The term became used more flexibly by other scholars, such as John Friedman (2013), less recently.

2.1.1 Space as a Perception and a Dynamic Organization in Itself

Cities provide spaces within a constantly changing urban environment. Amos Rapaport prominently engaged in the field of environment-behavior studies, argued in 1994 that spatial organization could be divided by temporary settings. Studies of space never remain absolutely valid when a certain setting is passed and not recorded due to manifold changes. The cause for this methodic dilemma is rooted in the ways people, structures and further contexts are related to each other. He states:

“They [settings] are temporary, although they can be periodic and even regular. [...] Such temporary organizations in space, like permanent ones, can be formed on the basis of shared values or community of interests [...]; these, then, are a specific manifestation of perceived homogeneity on the basis of which people, like other animals, congregate and cluster.”
(Rapaport, 1994: 462f)

While this first explanation is limited to human and animal interaction, he further elaborates on the significance of infrastructure and public cultural armature that shape the environment and create influence on place-making strategies:

“[...] Any environment - whether built or unbuilt – that expresses spatial organization involves relationships among people [...], between people [...] and inanimate components of the environment, and among these inanimate components themselves – the ‘hardware’ of settlements, buildings, and the like.” (Rapaport, 1994: 464f)

The variation in setting allows for the thinking of people and groups organized in space, with or without paying attention to the physical environment when repetitive or common. Moreover, Rapaport argues that one could easily presume a person in immediate relation to a place the same as an affiliation among physical spaces detached from human influence. This becomes possible due to variant combinations in *the organization of elements* such as space, time, meaning and communication (see Rapaport, 1994: 465). The research questions’ alignment limits the variety of elements and emphasizes the significance of time as a structural category and its meaning in relation to space. According to spatial organization, Rapaport differentiates between three kinds of meaning:

- a) ‘High-level’: cosmologies, cultural schemata, world views, philosophical systems, the sacred
- b) ‘Middle-level’: identity, status, wealth, power - the latent rather than the instrumental aspects of activities, behavior and settings
- c) ‘Lower-level’: material cues for identifying the uses for which settings are intended, and hence the social situations such as privacy, accessibility, penetration gradients, seating arrangements and way-finding. (see Rapaport 1988, 1990a: Epilogue, in: Rapaport, 1994: 473)

This first differentiation of meaning helps to cluster the expected research output. Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge that the meaning of things in anthropology implicates something beyond semantics, where artifacts and words have sense and reference. The meaning of things influences behavior, informational flow and knowledge, as well as the perception of the built environment, and tends to be close to the term significance (see Miller, 1994: 397). Careful consideration when dealing with *meanings* remains a challenging issue and a probable obstacle for a coherent conclusion.

2.1.2 Spaces Become Places...

The addition of meaning to a specific space is equal to its transformation towards place. Heidegger’s concept of dwelling grants places with meaning, distinguishing them from unbounded space and reinforcing the duality of space and place. Similarly, even though less restrictive than Marc Augé’s subsequent doctrine on non-places (see Augé, 1995:78), Heidegger focuses on the ways in which people,

more precisely city-dwellers, perceive and apprehend geographical space. He suggests the existence of lived relationships with places among people.

“Spaces receive their essential being from particular localities and not from ‘space’ itself.” (Heidegger, 1977: 332)

Place-making can therefore be considered a continuous action where relations are built up by adding values and meanings to specific spaces. Therefore the question for place-making might be translated into: Through which interventions/ actions do some situations or memories become related to distinguished sites in an urban landscape and can those be changed by the influence of the *other*?

To bring it back to Amos Rappaport’s starting condition, one could speak about a behavioral space located in a system of settings where the transformation of space into place has already taken place. The ambiguity of space and place is accentuated. While both Rapaport and Heidegger agree on the fact that locations belong to individuals and groups, identity and spatial organization are frequently linked one another. The comparative study of fieldworks suggests that ways of place-making can vary along manifold dimensions, possibly characterized by ownership or control, rationalities, specialization, etc. (see Rapaport, 1994: 488). According to these dimensions, I argue that multicultural complexity in a society has significant consequences for environments of various scales.

The cultural and social anthropologist Tim Ingold reaches a similar output, while utilizing a different background. He compares the differentiation between space and place with Ferdinand de Saussure’s idea that only strung together confluence of sounds and cognitive concepts result in a word.

“Just as the word, for Saussure, is the union of a concept with a delimited ‘chunk’ of sound, so the place is the union of a symbolic meaning with a delimited block of the earth’s surface.” (Ingold, 2000: 192)

Here Ingold manifests a perception of place that is strongly related to interactions taking place on a definite piece of land on the earth’s surface. Hence, the notion of place necessarily depends on the experiences of human beings who are located and interact within that entity.

“A place owes its character to the experiences it affords to those who spend time there – to the sights, sounds and indeed smells that constitute its specific ambience. [...] It is from this relational context of people’s

engagement with the world, in the business of dwelling, that each place draws its unique significance.” (Ingold, 2000: 192)

Ingold further stresses personal interference with geographically defined space for establishing places and argues for contextualizing them in an ambiguous environment. In this respect, places can't be understood without the space hosting them. The characteristics and qualities of places only turn out when comparing those to reciprocally affected neighboring places. Out of this vast variety of places it can be stated that places, generate personally defined uniqueness and advise the study of the social and structural environment.

Fred R. Myers, another anthropologist studying place-making, has been taught to draw attention to the variety of how people see different places in one specific geographical site. In his concept it remains unclear whether the idea of space is posterior or anterior to the existence of place. He thrusts aside the chicken and egg problem and implements the above-mentioned ontology on dwelling and activity in reference to Ingold:

“I fully endorse Ingold’s formulation that it is through dwelling in a landscape, through the incorporation of its features into pattern of everyday activities, that it becomes home to hunters and gatherers.” (Myers, 2000: 77)

The difference between Myers and Ingold is in the degree of activity they suppose for making a place peoples’ point of reference. For Myers, music, activities of kinship, social relations, and adaptive pursuit undertaken by dwellers are part of the inner representation of place. He introduces different layers of experience beyond hunting and gathering and formulates:

“However, places, or ‘country’ are not only the environment of experience and process. Such places and their value, I have argued, are also brought into being as objects of exchange [...] between social actors and as components of the socialization of persons. These processes may select or define as socially valuable particular dimensions of places.” (Myers, 2000: 78f)

The difference in the degree of activity is carved out by the continuity of actions. While Ingold mainly focuses on short-term activities, such as hunting and gathering, as relevant factors for place-making, Myers adopts a broader approach which is further represented by Elizabeth Povinelli (1994) and Sylvie Poirier (1995). Both scholars observe diverse fields but insist on the continuity between

ritual objectifications and everyday practices of dwelling, where a place becomes a bearer of social identity (see Myers, 2000: 80). At this stage Myers provides an alternative to Ingold and stretches the peculiarity of place-making. Ever since the millennium, critical urban anthropology took advantage of the extension of the term significance. The ambivalence of place-making can be monitored in various case studies and fieldworks carried out in urbanized environments.

Charles Rutheiser, senior associate at the Center for Community and Economic Opportunity, describes the making of a user-friendly Atlanta. Without further specifications of the Atlanta context, the description for 1990's place-making strategies is top-down and instrumental for a user-friendly city:

“The notion of user-friendliness also assumes that all users have the same needs and identities, or that certain groups, such as the poor or homeless, are excluded outright from the category of desired users.” (Rutheiser, 2005: 328)

This is where the debate on place-making shifts into a socio-political debate for hierarchy and ownership patterns, and where differences between strategies and tactics manifest. Different people and groups are in relation to each other and represent contrapositive arguments towards a specific place. The contestation of place informs them about society's diversity within a specified administrative entity, such as cities. According to the research question (the embedding of asylum-seekers' place-making tactics in a rather specified environment) the project's horizon should include a differentiation of levels of action related to power structures.

An appropriate understanding of place-making had been used in the research of the lower Omo River by researchers of the Max Planck Institute, who distinguished three levels of action. First, they analyze place-making of inhabitants, then move to a larger scale of regional administration, and finally identify place-making in a context where national authorities, far from the geographic and social place of the lower Omo River, intervene. Regarding a specific geographic place, anthropologist Felix Girke confirms overlapping emotions of belonging:

“[...] I portray three more specific conceptions of the Omo River Valley, existing in synchronic and parallel discursive and experiential universes, all balancing perception and imagination. Even as they clash they are kept rhetorically separated. These conceptions, as they are propagated,

defended, or simply lived, sometimes echo one another, and one can find traces of each in each.” (Girke, 2013: 2)

The study argues that place-making isn't a one-sided interaction of people. The environment and conditions faced by a person or group have an impact on their decisions and restrict people when making places. This also includes forms to relay places due to standards and regulations (see Girke, 2013 5f). The research project also reveals that place can be made without even getting in touch with it via sole discursive place-making and blames the government for not respecting the secluded tribal way of life. It concludes that place-making projects are built on underlying assumptions about people (see Girke, 2013: 17ff). In 2004, Tim Cresswell resorted to other research fellows in the field of anthropology and promoted an understanding of place with a distinct impact on place-making strategies. The whole passage is worth quoting:

“The work of Seamon, Pred, Thrift, de Certeau and others show us, how place is constituted through reiterative social practice – place is made and remade on a daily basis. Place provides a template for practice – an unstable stage for performance. Thinking of place as performed and practiced can help us think of place in radically open and non-essentialized ways where place is constantly struggled over and re-imagined in practical ways. Place provides the conditions of possibility for creative social practice. Place in this sense becomes an event rather than a secure ontological place rooted in notions of the authentic. Place as an event is marked by openness and change rather than boundedness and performance.” (Cresswell, 2004: 39)

However, the idea of thinking of place as radically open and independent from boundaries and performances has not impacted urban restructuring policies thus far:

“[The] local state is typically unaware of sacrilege when it reduces a neighborhood to rubble in order to make a way for a profitable real estate venture such as an office building or shopping mall. By whatever name, whether it's a slum clearance or gentrification, the results are the same: the erasure of places is a violent act, as established patterns of human relationships are destroyed.” (Friedman, 2013: 157)

While the following section will elaborate more on the aspects and conflicts between the parties involved, the operationalization of the research question demands a limitation on the term place-making. In accordance with a rather

negative empirical cognition elaborated on by Friedman and Girke, for the course of this thesis I suggest adopting a perception of place, dominated by interactions and conflicts contingent upon the needs of individuals and groups. Although places are dynamic, they are constantly remade in a way that every snapshot is nothing more than a moment in the flow of their life. As such, asylum seekers also create and inhabit places structured by their very own identity.

2.1.3 ...and Contested

The underlying cause for contested places is the complexity of a society that is increasingly forced to adopt highly-competitive behavioral patterns in order to meet socio-economic standards according to a western neoliberal narrative. Within such an environment migrants provide diversity and could be seen as a powerful source for mid-size European cities. Place-making as an action implemented by a number of groups leads to a diversity of settings, specializations, linkages and separations.

“[...] a number of developments take place that have significant consequences for spatial organization. These effects seem quite clear, whatever the current status of social evolutionary models. As the number of groups and their heterogeneity increases, these groups and the spaces or settings they occupy tend to become more complex. This is not simply a matter of an increase in the number and diversity of settings, in their specialization, or in their linkages and separations.” (Rapaport, 1994: 489)

Rapaport argues that the appropriation of place becomes a crucial cause for opposite positions, while Myers re-thinks geographical places as generally contested. He embeds those places in a defined environment, such as the city, and adds the term constructed.

“As [...] the meaning of these places, their value, must be understood as constructed [...] that constitute relationships within a system of social life that structures difference and similarity among persons, a system of practices for which ‘land’ is one medium.” (Myers, 2000: 82)

In order to understand struggles for defined places Myers interlinks a rather holistic notion of place-making to the idea of a right and duty for responsible city management. Indeed the manifold restructuring processes in European cities witness conflict, which became visible when people didn't agree with decisions of local governments. Some examples include migrant riots in the suburbs of Marseilles in 2005, recent protests for continuance in *Wagenplatz Zurich* and

ongoing debates on gentrification in several European cities. Although Myers did not refer to postmodern societies in a western realm, his writings suggest approaching place-making as civic-engagement which derives from socially and historically constituted schema's of practical activity, but denies absolute determinations referring to pre-existing cultural manners and attitudes. (see Myers, 2000: 105ff) This will help focus on the needs of asylum seekers as a heterogeneous group in a fairly unknown environment.

As mentioned in the preface, the *new cosmopolitan theory of justice for migrants and refugees* underpins normative considerations and supports an ambition to constitute asylum seekers as regular city dwellers. The argument is based on physical attendance in a specific place and contravenes to democratic iterations. Benhabib therefore plies for a new right of hospitality:

“The interlocking of democratic iteration struggles within a global civil society and the creation of solidarities beyond borders. Including a universal right of hospitality that recognizes the other as a potential co-citizen, anticipate cosmopolitanism – a cosmopolitanism to come.”
(Benhabib, 2006: 177)

Beyond legal and political considerations the claim for accepting a potential co-citizen likewise supposes a liberal definition of emotional co-ownership. Emotional co-ownership derives from the axiom that only city-dwellers which use the cities potential will be able to fully identify with a place and release it from abstraction (see Dumreicher/ Kolb, 2003: 246). It describes strong connections between architecture and socio-cultural activities, places, and the social meaning that happens within an urban setting. The relevance for a universalist approach entails a high potential for feeling responsible for a specific place in the present and future, by creating spaces of possibility and fields of action for empowered city-dwellers which take part in the decision making processes. Consequences of place-making may be evaluated according to their success in the every-day struggle for specific places. The implementation of asylum seekers as a regular group in society and the deconstruction of groups seeking the very same place facilitates the manifestation of hegemonic structures. Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga state:

“We define ‘contested spaces’ as geographic locations where conflicts in the form of opposition, confrontation, subversion, and/ or resistance engage actors whose social positions are defined by differential control of resources and access to power. [...] In this way, contested spaces give material expression to and act as loci for creating and promulgating,

countering, and negotiating dominant cultural themes that find expression in myriad aspects of social life. Spaces are contested precisely because they concretize the fundamental and recurring, but otherwise unexamined ideological and social frameworks that structure practice.” (Low/Lawrence-Zúñiga: 2003: 18).

Related significances find expression in the dualism of inclusion and exclusion connoted to defined areas. Physical aspects of social production and structure leave room for conflict potential and not all groups can be treated equally owing to needs and requirements. The differentiation of both aspects helps match contesting place-making. While social production happens by the synthesis of background knowledge and environmental dispositive, the construction of place is based upon experiences and social interaction. Conflicts may arise from different inscribed meanings, personal perceptions of the environment, specific needs, and the appropriation of resources.

Anticipating the concept of an entrepreneurial or revanchist city (see MacLeod, 2002), it can be stated that exclusion and marginalization are not just waste products of diversity but also tools for city management. It is important to be evocative of government-run place-making efforts which more or less gain authority from democratic decision-making structures. Due to legal approval from the city council, it seems to be an entirely democratic itinerary when some places are kept under surveillance, structurally re-shaped, culturally and representatively re-activated or simply sold. MacLeod criticizes that political and economic elites can't embody the public because of the eclectic dissolution of boundaries and lacking democracy (see MacLeod, 2002: 615). However, correlations between space and time in postmodern societies contribute to the state of life for city dwellers in a revanchist urban context. Doreen Massey argues that the undemocratic and uncontrolled compression of space and time is what makes place-making an important tool for self-orientation.

“When time-space compression is seen as disorientating, and as threatening to fracture personal identities (as well as those of places) then a recourse to place as a source of authenticity and stability may be one of the responses.” (Massey, 1994:122)

Social interactions guided by the fear for losing personal identities, shifting power coalitions beyond the majorities reach, and altering needs of the population are possible characteristics of a revanchist city. Simultaneously, increasing cleavages between the economic and political elite and less privileged groups

intensify the search for new places in order to anchor the complex settings of postmodern societies.

Taking a more optimistic perspective Setha Low and Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga re-introduce the term *spatial tactics*, meaning the use of space as a technique or armature of power against establishment (see Low/ Lawrence-Zúñiga: 2003: 30). Michel de Certeau, already mentioned in earlier sections, as well as Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga, revert to *tactics* and confirm the terminology of unequal distribution of power and equivalent tools in post-modern societies. The authors argue that the assumed neutrality of space can be used to obscure these relationships and conceal its role in maintaining social systems (see *ibid*: 2003: 30). The concept was first developed by Michel Foucault and is based upon Jeremy Bentham's plan for the *Panopticon*³. Foucault considers space as a strategy for taking control where architecture becomes a tool for decision makers:

“Michel Foucault (1975, 1984) approaches the spatial tactics of social control through the analysis of human body, spatial arrangements, and architecture. He examines the relationship of power and space by positing architecture as a political ‘technology’ for working out the concerns of government – that is, control and power over individuals – through the spatial ‘canalization’ of everyday life. The aim of such a technology is to create a ‘docile body’ (Foucault, 1975: 198) through enclosure and the organization of individuals in space.” (Low/ Lawrence-Zúñiga: 2003: 30)

Foucault adds that one should be disposed to accept the idea of persistent retention of power and should consider the existence of different rules within narrow radii or places (see Hofmann, 2003: 4f). Accordingly, the recent and continuing struggle for places is inherent to social environments characterized by distinct interests and means. The application of spatial tactics in correlation to power structures is a key characteristic of urban revanchism most likely explained by looking at marginalized groups.

³ The concept of the panopticon is to allow a single person to observe all people in an institutional building. Although it's physically impossible to look at all rooms at the same time, the panopticon benefits from the fact that people in the rooms cannot know whether they are under surveillance or not. Bentham described the panopticon as „[...] a new mode of obtaining power of mind over mind, in a quantity hitherto without example“. (Bentham, Jeremy, in: Bozovic, Miran: 1995). According to Michel Foucault the synthesis of space, power, and knowledge evidences what he calls, structural organization of space' and serve disciplinary ends.

Considerations of power structures at specific places developed and gained attention in 21st century policy-making as the place-related dualism of *Anatomo-* and *Bio-politics*. These make reference to regulatory measures for control in order to enhance and multiply forces of life. Finally, Foucault remains vague and concludes that every person has his or her place, while every place needs at least one person (see Foucault, 1993: 181). Consequently, spaces are places where dimensions of power structures gain visibility by influencing perception and authority within the economized space of revanchist cities. Instead, I call contested places those where some demographic groups (such as asylum seekers) are in conflict with ideas from those in power. These possible obstacles for those marginalized are limitations in place-making, according to political and economic incentive.

2.2. Space-Time Relations: Interfaces of Place-Making and Revanchist Urbanism

When it comes to power structures in certain locations, Doreen Massey has already been introduced as a scholar looking at space/place in relation to time and the impact of such a condensed conceptualization of people in a society. As a preliminary point the concept of places is in accordance with who is arguing against essentialist notions, where places are processes without clear boundaries, giving space to multiple identities. Massey further argues that places depend on different space-time constellations as the spatial is supposed to be a sphere of juxtaposition:

“[...] ‘Places’ may be imagined as particular articulations of these social relations, including local relations ‘within’ the place and those many connections which stretch way beyond it. And all these embedded in complex, layered histories. This is place as open, porous, hybrid – this is place as meeting place [...]. This is a notion of place where specificity derives neither from some mythical internal roots nor from a history of relative isolation – now to be disrupted by globalization – but precisely from the absolute particularity of the mixture of influences found together there.” (Massey, 1999: 22)

The aspect of time in this quotation is due to the *absolute particularity of the mixture of influences* found in a specific moment. Constellations may change rapidly, or at a later time. Without paying too much attention to the scientific debate about notions of time, the concept of space/place-time is a major hub for interconnecting place-making tactics and strategies to the concept of urban revanchism through the adoption of a temporal dimension. The aim for

representing modernity as a key characteristic of revanchist cities, for instance, elaborates on the thinking of space itself by including dimensions of time:

“If, however, the spatial is thought of in the context space-time and as formed out of social interrelations at all scales, then one view of a place is as a particular articulation of those relations, a particular moment in those networks of social relations and understandings. But the particular mix of social relations which are this part of what defines uniqueness of any place is by no means all included within that place inside. Importantly, it includes relations which stretch beyond – the global as part of what constitutes the local, the outside as a part of the inside.” (Massey, 1994: 5)

Massey further assumes:

“The view [...] is of space-time as a configuration of social relations within which the specifically spatial may be conceived of as an inherently dynamic simultaneity. Moreover, since social relations are inevitably and everywhere imbued with power and meaning and symbolism, this view of the spatial is as an ever-shifting social geometry of power and signification.” (Massey, 1994: 3)

Both quotations imagine the immediate relationships between social relations and spatiality contingent to ‘modernity’ and allegoric to slogans referring to causes and effects of ‘globalization’. Structural interweaving of global and local conditions are central aspects when it comes to migration and correlating power structures. What might the asylum seekers role be within an ever-shifting social geometry of power of a specific place? This question is not easily answered and requires the exploration of behavioral patterns related to place-making processes.

For Massey the secret to success is bringing space and place alive – to make it dynamic, and to emphasize how important they are in the lives of people. In opposition to an idealized notion of places inhabited by homogeneous communities, increasing uncertainty is one possible outcome of current fragmentation and disruption (see Massey, 1994: 147). She remarks that the uniqueness of place is due to highly complex social, communicational, and geographical differentiations, instead of internalized history:

“The specificity of place is continually reproduced, but it is not a specificity which results from some long, internalized history. There are a number of sources of this specificity – the uniqueness of place. There is the

fact that the wider social relations in which places are set, are themselves geographically differentiated.” (Massey, 1994: 155f)

Massey clearly states her ideas on interrelations of an internalized history and the transfigured comprehension of place according to essentialist concepts of spatial belongings. A major problem inherent to right-winged populist political movements in South Tyrol (see section 3.2.) is the persistent identification of place with social groups and communities. However, according to a dynamic understanding of place-time, the intended equalization fails to deal with multiple senses ascribed to a place:

“On the one hand, communities can exist without being in the same place – from networks of friends with like interests, to major religious, ethnic or political communities. On the other hand, the instances of places housing single ‘communities’ in the sense of coherent social groups are probably – and, I would argue, have long been – quite rare. Moreover, even where they do exist this in no way implies a single sense of place.” (Massey, 1994: 153)

With the objective to contextualize place-making in revanchist urbanism, multiple senses of places further imply decreasing feelings of security. Speed-up processes of spatial reorganization are caught up in the reconstitution and increasing spread of relations. In reference to revanchist urban environments the reevaluation of (in)securities affects socio-political groups within society and constitutes a major societal challenge. In opposition to scholars who focus on insecurity and unsettling effects because of time-space compression, Massey highlights:

“[...] The search after the ‘real meanings’, the unearthing of heritages and so forth, is interpreted as being , in part, a response to desire for fixity and for security of identity in the middle of all the movement and change. A sense of place’, of rootedness, can provide – in this form and on this interpretation – stability and a source of unproblematic identity. In that guise, however, place and the spatially local are the rejected by many progressive people; as almost necessarily reactionary. They are interpreted as an evasion; as a retreat from the (actually unavoidable) dynamic and change of ‘real life’.” (Massey, 1994: 151)

The reactionary moment of space/place-time is represented best by the constitution, enclosure and envelope of boundaries:

“Now, boundaries may be drawn around either places or cultures: geographical boundaries or institutional ones. Sometimes there may be attempts to force their coincidence. Whether or not such boundaries are drawn will be a result of, and an expression of, social power [...].” (Massey, 1999:22)

The duality of progress and tradition is thus performed by establishing boundaries with the aim to limit control and utilization of place-time with the help of inclusive and exclusive mechanisms. Likewise, the cultural armature of a city, their self-representation and definition becomes part of revanchist urbanism and, in reference to the extended case method, sets it as a wider framework of global forces influencing place-making for asylum seekers. From this perspective all attempts to establish boundaries are social contests, battles over the power to label space-time. The meaning is attributed to a space for a defined span of time (see Massey, 1994: 5).

Massey's space/place-time dualism can be traced back to structuralism. Anthony Giddens assumed changes of the space/place-time fabric and identified place as a socially connected space. He became a source for Massey's reflections on multiple identities and their effects on dominant images of place:

“[...] One way of thinking about place is as particular moments in such intersecting social relations, nets of which have over time been constructed, laid down, interacted with one another, decayed within the place; others will stretch beyond it, tying any particular locality into wider relations and processes in which other places are implicated too. [...] Thinking of places in this way implies that they are not so much bounded areas as open and porous networks of social relations. It implies that their ‘identities’ are constructed through the specificity of their interaction with other places, rather than by counter position to them. It reinforces the idea, moreover, that those identities will be multiple. And this in turn implies that what is to be the dominant image of any place will be a matter of contestation and will change over time.” (Massey, 1994: 120f)

By themselves, the comprehension of fluid, dynamic, and porous places is a matter of contestation and a major issue for post-Fordist city management. Urban restructuring involves different stakeholders that experience highly contrasting shifts. Even the trajectories of change are different from one place to another. National, regional or urban institutions are involved in restructuring processes, as well as regular and irregular city-dwellers. The diversity of stakeholder constellations makes one place contrast another where process-driven outcomes of

change are significant to the stakeholder's experience of the world (see Massey, 1994: 127). As a consequence political power structures might be gathered from variant spatial constellations, as they are likely to be contrasting to a similar extent. That is where urban revanchism and actor-related reflections come into play.

2.3. Relation to Asylum Seekers: Research Framed by Place-making

On behalf of improving technologies and changing patterns of attitudes, the last decade was characterized by scientific and political approaches that aimed to emphasize self-empowerment. With regards to place-making the shift from a primarily scientific debate towards theoretical one leads to a greater awareness of places of belonging. Arts in public space gain more attention, as do interventions of a creative class that focus on active participation by small modifications in a self-centered world⁴. Furthermore, metropolitan and urban areas developed tools and policies where place-making became part of the vocabulary, even though they focused on gentrification, re-urbanization, etc. By virtue of this thesis' ideological target to visualize asylum seekers as self-empowering groups, I suppose that the significance of place-making increases when visibly participating in the environment.

The materialization of place-making for migrants has become more prominent and is evidenced by raising awareness in society. Beyond scientific and political debate in a neoliberal era, formal and informal representation of the marginalized urban population has risen and is consistently represented by migrant museums or photo exhibitions. The importance of visibility lies in the perception of marginalized groups as participating members of society, as exhibitions prove a desideratum for self-determination. Migration and translocality have destabilized existing meanings and identities of places and give opportunity to re-envision place-making in the context of shifting cultural meanings. Due to mobility experiences place-making conducted by asylum seekers may be described as transcultural.

⁴ Jakob Johann von Uexküll (*1864 Mihkli, Estonia; †1944 Capri, Italy) was a biologist and philosopher who undertook basic research related environmental basics. Although later criticized for peoples' non-reaching cosmopolitan attitudes, the variety of considerations regarding *Umwelt* still find their way into debate. As such, Giorgio Agamben, Michel Foucault and further scholars treasure the definition of environment. In this thesis I use the description of *Umwelt* by referring to the assumption that every individual owns his or her subjective place and time and that all behavior is due to interactions in a unique and subjective world.

“Distinct from interculturalism it addresses not only the intercultural exchanges but also the cultural trans-formation that takes place in urban places and through urban placemaking. It sees cultures not as isolated from each other in today’s urban environments but able to be mutually influenced, constituted, and transformed. It recognizes the importance of trans-locality and trans-location in the processes of identity formation and placemaking, in which our affiliation with, and attachment to, place may be not be tied to a fixed or singular location. It focuses on the capacity and agency of individuals and communities to adapt and transform the cultural landscapes of today’s cities. Furthermore the concept of transcultural placemaking addresses transcultural processes and understanding as a building block for a more inclusive democracy and critical embrace of diversity.” (Hou, 2013: 7)

Within this environment, groups adopt tactics that may vary from one another and relate to their backgrounds. Assuming diverse strategies for asylum seekers from local inhabitants is therefore not far off. Results from participatory photo interview research in downtown Seattle showed that specific places sometimes became specifically relevant for immigrants.

“While the repeated images may confirm a similar pattern of uses and reactions, the interviews also show that the same element may carry different meanings for different residents. For example, one elderly woman took a picture of the streets near the site to show how the steep slope presented a challenge for her, given her heart condition. On the other hand, a younger, middle-age woman took pictures of the same streets to show how she used the sidewalks everyday as a place to exercise by walking. In terms of aspects of the neighborhood that were disliked, one woman photographed trash on the street, while another photographed places where homeless people and transients tend to gather.” (Hou, 2013: 227)

In the interviews respondents talked about daily struggles, friendships and points of reference which are part of their identity. In the case study it turned out that open spaces should support interactions and networking as a critical aspect, especially for elderly people, and identified one specific place as the most valuable for meeting different people: an allot settlement. It also turned out that some structural adaptations of the environment have been made; I’m curious whether a place-making intervention is a reasonable interaction for people expecting a residence permit.

In order to proceed it is reasonable to complete this theoretical section with several statements which aim to make place-making an integrated part of this thesis in a way that can easily be operationalized in the research process. In the context of competitive societies, place-making is...

- ... a (un-)conscious action aiming to satisfy personal feelings and needs. Place-making happens in the context of multiple interests and represents belonging to distinguished sites. Therefore, any limitations with regards to positive or negative connotations are given.
- ... an articulation of power. Power-structures define places and gain formal legitimization in representative democracies. The quality of power makes the difference between place-making strategies and place-making tactics.
- ...a first step towards social and political self-empowerment when arriving in an unknown city. Therefore place-making might be classified as an activity which shapes and consolidates discourse and identity.
- ...an action categorized by strategies and tactics which are applied by different groups according to their social, political, financial, and cultural capabilities. Sizeable divergence of a group's or individual's capability favors the emergence of conflicts within society.
- ...an action related to time.

These five statements enable the application of the term place-making without further explanations in the following sections. Furthermore the statements provide categories for analyzing the manifold implications of actions which have been undertaken in order to promote migrants' visibility and place-making within the public arena. Some of these initiatives such as the *migrant museum* will be analyzed in the methodological section of this paper as their creation and implementation will always require time.

Case Study: Characterizing Bolzano

3.1. Post-Marxist Concepts on Spatial Power

The post-Marxist geographer David Harvey hypothesizes that augmentation of power is based on an actor's capability to influence the production of space. In reference to the French intellectual Henry Lefebvre, Harvey argues that the production of space is controllable, yet fragmented, when produced homogeneously. The distinction developed by de Certeau regarding strategies and tactics according to power resources relies on similar theoretic assumptions. Similar to Foucault, de Certeau can be considered a post-Marxist spatial theorist. Both philosophers agree that space is not established by subjective experience and concomitant expert knowledge on usability, but determined by the external due to exchangeable valences. Therefore revanchist and contested conceptualizations of cityscape postulate the continuous adaption of place-making strategies and tactics in order to meet requirements of an ever-changing environment. The revolutionized production of goods in the post-Fordist reworking of the crisis had already shown that more fluid spatial organization has been developed since the 1970's in order to surmount spatial units.

„The incentive to create the world market, to reduce spatial barriers, and to annihilate space through time is omnipresent, as is the incentive to rationalize spatial organization into efficient configurations of production.” (Harvey, 1990:232)

The fastened overcoming of boundaries became reality even in post-industrial Bolzano and main subsidized industries were brought down since the 1990's. The starting point for industrialization (and consequently de-industrialization) in Bolzano was initiated by a silk-mill in early 1848. An excursion on the cities' geostrategic posture and historical contexts helps to develop arguments about Bolzano as a revanchist city.

Beyond the exporting silk-mill, some of the first regional industries specializing in food processing had been established in the first century of industrialization. Within this era, the 1919 annexation of South Tyrol by Italy with the treaty of Saint-Germain, was a major watershed regarding industrialization, migration and cultural armature of the city⁵. In 1933 Giuseppe Mastromattei was perfectly deputized and assimilation policies were relieved by population policies and offensive governmental place-making strategies emphasizing industrialization (see Fogale, n.a.: 77). In 1946 a total of 5,000 (later 8,000) Italian working migrants were engaged in the national car and magnesium industries at the city's edge. Geopolitical posture and the ease of border controls following Italy's ratification of the Schengen agreement helped the local government replace essential production of big industry with small- and middle-sized enterprises with high specialization. Indeed, economic and political crisis management of the past three decades testifies to assumptions made by David Harvey and other theorists working at the interface of space and time.

As a consequence to the compression of time and space, spatial obstacles have become less relevant for economic and financial power interests. They preserve the capital's sensitivity by establishing highly specialized locations. Symptoms include: fragmentation, flexibilization, insecurity, and inequalities between locations and habitats for money circulation on a unified global scale as well as a societal and individual level. It is important to outline interrelations between the city-dwellers and their local identity, interdependences between the city and the state, and a city specific cultural armature.

Another driving force for the typesetting of a specific urban context is the divergence between city and state. It should therefore be evaluated from a Lefebvrian perspective on power. The German sociologist Martina Löw prominently elaborated on the very issue:

"[...] basic spatial concepts of society are constituted not by the city country dichotomy but by the distinction between spatial inclusion logic, the structural openness of the modern city, and spatial exclusion logic, the closed container construct of the modern nation state. The construction of

⁵ Detailed information on the drawing up of new frontiers in Austria, previously including South Tyrol, have been made according to the treaty of Saint-Germain and communicated in Staatsgesetzblatt 90 (Austria), 1920, nr. 303, pp. 1028-1033. Significant was the break-up of an autochthonous similar population against their will, which made German-speaking inhabitants of South Tyrol a minority population in the Italian republic.

the national territory requires borders, territorial boundaries that increase internal homogeneity; the construction of the modern city denies the unambiguity of borders and boundaries, hence increasing both, density and heterogeneity.” (Löw, 2008: 26)

Both, the concept of revanchist urbanism and the city's self-representation due to path-depending cultural armature describes contexts faced by asylum seekers when coming to Bolzano. The autonomously governed region only holds administrative competences in the field of migration and citizenship policies, and might be considered a pawn in the hands of global economic, political and migratory forces. However, the city has self-made policies and urban restructuring plans following the idea of being a transalpine interface between Italy and Austria by actively participating in the global location challenge. Bolzano follows a vision; but at the same time is urged to respect its moral and humanist duties.

3.2 The Revanchist City

The concept of a revanchist city is epistemologically derived from the French word *revanche* and constitutes a definite undertaking. Revanchists were a group of bourgeois nationalist reactionaries in the late 19th century, which opposed the monarchy and liberalism of the second republic. They developed a strategy mixing militarism and moralism with the claim of restoring streets. In 1991 the geographer Neil Smith was the first to re-vitalize the concept of revanchist cities and tried to theorize social polarizations within urban space. Consequently Smith concludes that policies since the 1960's were designed in order to further marginalize minority groups:

“Whereas the liberal era of post-1960's period was characterized by redistributive policy, affirmative action and anti-poverty legislation, the era of neoliberal revanchism was characterized by a discourse of revenge against minorities, the working class, feminists, environmental activists, gays and lesbians, and recent immigrants; the public enemies of the bourgeois political elite and their supporters.” (Slater, 2010: 1130)

The renaissance of entrepreneurial policies, including place-making strategies in most European regions aim to succeed in the global standpoint competition between cities. This causes intense debate on the effects of neoliberal policies that create and reflect dominant assumptions at the time of their formulation, with impacts on fields studied in anthropology:

“The importance of policy as a subject of anthropological analysis arises from the fact that policies are major instruments through which

governments, companies, non-governmental organizations (NGOS's), public agencies and international bodies classify and regulate the spaces and subjects they seek to govern. Policy is a fundamental 'organizing principle' of society which, like 'family', 'nation', 'class', or 'citizenship', provides a way of conceptualizing and symbolizing social relations, and around which people live their lives and structure their realities." (Shore, 2011: 3)

Accordingly, geographer Gordon MacLeod acknowledges, that cities are spaces where actors with different agendas and tools interact by the configuration of interlocking practices often regulated by specific policies. Due to the unpredictability of these interactive processes it is nevertheless impossible to reproduce another city's situation and approach detached from immediate policy-making assistance, to get closer to that which is problematic in revanchist cities (see, MacLeod, 2002: 619). The concept rendered by Gordon MacLeod rests upon David Harvey's perspectives for neoliberal cities related to prior writings on postmodernism. Three major assumptions formulated by Harvey are:

- The new urban political arena is ever more imbued with the influence of powerful business interests, especially through the much-heralded public-private partnership;
- This business-led agenda is much less concerned with wealth redistribution and welfare than with the very enabling of economic enterprise, although the latter is viewed to generate societal benefits through the impact of trickle-down economies;
- Urban entrepreneurialism is driven by a political economy of place rather than territory: the benefits of flag-ship projects like convention centers and festivals, are often more readily experienced by those, like tourists and place-mobile capitalists, who live beyond the immediate locality (see MacLeod, 2002: 604f).

Even though the concept of revanchist urban spaces was first developed in order to comprehend changing structures in former industrial cities, all arguments can also be applied to smaller towns with a vivid, prosperous and dynamic economy. The concept therefore goes beyond a shift from an industrial to service-dominated society. Since the 1960's, flag-ship initiatives have become a common tool supporting place-making strategies of mid-sized European cities. Without having analyzed the cities' cultural armature and strategic restructuring plan, Bolzano may be labeled a revanchist city, as Neil Smiths' conceptualization does not determine the abolition of social welfare policies as a primary aspect. The revanchist city is indeed more than divided by groups:

“It is a divided city where the victors are increasingly defensive of their privilege, such as it is, and increasingly vicious defending it [...]. The benign neglect of ‘the other half’, so dominant in the liberal rhetoric of the 1950s and 1960s, has been superseded by a more active viciousness that attempts to criminalize a whole range of ‘behavior’, individually defined.”
(Smith 1996: 227)

Keeping in mind background policies on municipal, regional and national levels helps to reflect on dominant beliefs at the time of their implementation. The advantage of anthropology is its capacity to understand meanings and subjective understandings of policy makers by applying an interpretative approach that challenges policy as a hierarchal process (see Shore, 2011: 8).

3.2.1 Asylum Seekers: The Marginalized Ones

Beyond election-based democratic participation, new opportunities for re-defining urban spaces arise from post-crises policies. They comprise debates on public space for a wider citizenry and the relation of use and value (see Harvey, in: MacLeod, 2002: 605). Exclusive mechanisms seem to be just one requirement for the rather global economic and political elite also engaged in making urban spaces. According to global economic forces, the economization of space leads to city planning where street people are made to be invisible. Centrally located areas have especially come into focus for urban restructuring, as their upscale hotel industry, glittering shopping centers, gentrification and the elaboration of pre-defined leisure zones became a guarantee for a flourishing economy in global competition (see MacLeod, 2002: 605). Restructuring projects, such as the re-planning of Bolzano’s railway station and a nearby shopping center, influence correlations of value and use for a specific area. They therefore have an impact on inhabitants and city dwellers. As noted, the city’s makeover risks deepening pre-existing socio-economic cleavages and peaks in several mechanisms for systematic displacement, observation and disciplining.

Together with an increasing social gap between local elites and regular city dwellers, more and more electors have started voting for populist right-winged parties⁶. These parties won 30% of the vote at the South Tyrolean Landtag elections in 2013. While there are differences in party-structures and agendas, all of them might be characterized as belonging to the region and promoting a

⁶ Die Freiheitlichen 17,9% - Süd-Tiroler Freiheit 7,2% - Unitalia 1,7% - Lega Nord 2,5%, La Destra Minniti 0,6

secluded, historically determined understanding of culture and local identity. Supposed future disadvantages for Italian and German-speaking home country nationals, in comparison to a homogenized ‘migrant threat’ were proclaimed by right-winged election campaigns. Corresponding observations may be generalized on a European level as border security and less integrative supranational polity. This was a popular claim emphasized by regionalist and nationalist parties in the European parliamentary elections of 2014. Populist parties tried to identify the villains against the mobility of the elite. Equal to the economic elite, asylum seekers are assumed to have tapped their previous ties and reached Europe without taking into consideration the probable reinforcement of precarity in wealthy regions.

“The new and rapidly swelling urban folklore puts the victims of the planetary out casting in the role of the principal ‘villains of the piece’ – while collecting, collating and recycling the transmitted lore of hair-raising horror stories, for which the insecurities of city life have generated, now and in the past, a constant and ever more avid demand.”
(Bauman, 2007: 43)

In order to make public spaces in Bolzano re-accessible to the local public domain, a zero-tolerance policy towards minor crimes in connection to migrants was officially claimed by right-winged populist parties. For example, on September, 19th 2013 the general secretary of *Die Freiheitlichen* published a press release describing Bolzano as a city where people are afraid to walk in concrete areas, where local authorities have no detailed security concept. Former ministry for integration Cécile Kyenge and her efforts towards less restrictive access to Italian citizenship were heavily criticized (see Demanega, 2013: URL). Plenty of other press releases addressing and mixing up migration, security, citizenship, criminality, and video surveillance could be found on all party homepages (quoted in footnote no.6). Even though populist parties in South Tyrol aren’t the ruling power at the regional or municipal level, we should take note that populist statements and actions at the formal and informal political level increase and exert the electorates’ influence on policy, even though right-winged populist are not part of the Bolzano city government. The rhetoric of the populist right-winged sector is well-known from inner-European discussions and doesn’t require further reproduction. Only an ongoing oscillation between insider and outsider perspectives makes critical reflection on policies possible (see Shore, 2011: 15). It provides a tool for understanding how systems of governance construct some subjects as objects of power, and others as subjects relatively deprived of power. From an anthropological perspective it may be assumed that the aforementioned contents in public debates...

“[...] challenge the notion of a common humanity by differentiating among people at the deepest level of their being, looking for the marks of origins. Racial discrimination is founded on an insurmountable difference because it is inscribed in the body, indeed even in the genes.” (Simpson, 2000, in: Fassin, 2001: 5)

Neoliberal ideology and the embodied perception of security dominate parts of society and have significant impact on those groups marginalized due to visible differences. From the results of the regional elections of 2013, South Tyrol might be classified as revanchist – those who appealed for a mixed public by reciprocal respect lost, and right-winged populist parties won. Foreigners who do not fit to specific ideas of an essentialized white citizenry are those on whom revenge is directed.

3.2.2 Urban Restructuring in Bolzano

The crux of the matter for including regional power representation into municipal issues is that plenty of decisions made in the region's capital are strongly affected by higher institutional entities. As an example, infrastructural projects and the implementation of video surveillance in the South Tyrolean provincial capital are regionally debated by politicians and the local society. Therefore, decisions cannot be considered independent. The Landtag relishes significant power of intervention on strategic urban intersections, investment programs, integration and public security. During the recent economic crisis the Landtag and the city council of Bolzano articulated their interconnectedness, promoting large-scale restructuring projects supportive of the local construction industry. Two major urban restructuring projects turned out to be of distinguished importance due to their interference with major sleeping, meeting and recreation points of asylum seekers.

3.2.2.1. Kaufhaus (Big Box Store) Bozen

The first urban restructuring project falls under the responsibilities of city government and foresees the augmentation of shop floors in an area next to the historic city center. The original submission for the investment program, named *Kaufhaus Bozen*, motivated local politicians, competitors and city dwellers to discuss the project's impact on city development. Since the first project submitted was associated with an international investor (Renè Benko and Signa Holding), relations between the local economic and political elite became visible. Signa Holding is one of the most successful real estate companies in Europe and implemented major urban restructuring programs in Germany and Austria. Paradoxically, for revanchist urban contexts, the local economic and political elite

immediately attempted to stop or limit the investment program. Later a consortium of local tradesmen submitted their own project proposal to secure their monopoly within the city.

The promise given by Signa Holding was to re-design a formerly neglected area next to the city center, and to bestow city dwellers with the first modern shopping mall in downtown Bolzano. At a local cracker-barrel, as well as distinguished in local media, Renè Benko was celebrated as the prince coming to arouse Bolzano from a deep slumber (see Zukunft Bozen, 2014: 8). For quite some time, residents and locals demanded the region's first shopping mall in walkable distance to the city center. They complained that shops located under the *Bozner Lauben*, near historic shopping arcades, are too expansive due to lacking competition and highlighted the immoral interrelations between local elites. In Bolzano the aspect of prosperity in trade and tourism has been long forgotten due to a lack of foreign capital and the local elite's unwillingness to investments. Today, shop owners in the *Bozner Lauben* are known as the 'kings of the arcades'.

The first project submitted by Signa Holding was to comprise the region's first inner-city shopping center, an upper-scale hotel, upper-class housing and representative office buildings. Furthermore, the urban restructuring plan designed by architect David Chipperfield includes a new comprehensive plan for green areas by traffic abatement, emphasized by the remaking of the central bus station to a regional public transport hub in public-private partnership. Beyond the gentrification of the concerned area, Signa Holding advertises more than 1,000 sustainable jobs, to be created in and around the shopping center and coquettes, so people will no longer need to travel to Innsbruck, Verona or Affi for modern shopping experiences (see Kaufhaus Bozen-Bolzano, 2014: 3ff). Additionally the master plan addresses a sore point of local authorities and residents: the comeback and transformation of the station alley and associated station park. The neglected appearance of the station alley is to be replaced by a broad walking boulevard where people can stroll, while the station park was initially replaced by real estate projects with public green areas on the building's top floor.

A 2014 revision of the local development plan by city authorities limited the cubic content for future buildings in the area to 22,000 m³ and further conserves the stations park. As a consequence, both competitors were forced to adapt their project proposals.

During the writing of this thesis, the municipal government finally conceded the project to Signa Holding, with opening scheduled for early 2018. The application documents adapted according to the criteria formulated by the city government

provide a concept for increased security standards and in/exclusion of marginalized people, who can find several services in the area (see David Chipperfield Architects, 2014: 73-77, 80).

3.2.2.2. Bahnhof (Railway Station) Bozen.

Another project with severe impacts for the area neighboring the city center is the urban restructuring of the areal railway station. The call for projects addressed the recovery and re-making of the railway station in close proximity to the city center. With more than five million annual passengers, Bolzano railway station has been one of the most important transport hubs in the region since 1859. Due to structural changes in transportation technologies, service-based surplus production and political stability in Europe, railway stations need to adapt their functions in the context of urban spaces. The winning project was first presented to regional and municipal authorities in 2012. In 2014 the award-winning consortium, led by architect Boris Podrecca, presented a comprehensive master plan that meets recent urban restructuring activities of the past years. Public offices, the municipal theater house and Bolzano's biggest parking garage were minor infrastructural projects since the 1990's, with the intention of adding value to the area. The centerpiece of the urban restructuring project is the recovery of 475,000 square meters through the replacement of old building and the railway station's track system with new housing areas, combined housing and manufacturing, and a polyfunctional center for tertiary functions and culture. The railway station's old entrance building will function as a foyer to the city, from which users can easily access public transports, shopping, gastronomy and innovative infrastructure (see Projekt Bahnhof Bozen, 2014: URL). The project is one of the most heralded public-private partnerships; some investments are made by public authorities, the partly privatized railway service provider *Trenitalia*, and independent investors from the real estate sector.

On the one hand, the recovery vision of an area next to the city's heartland seems reasonable for development in the 21st century. On the other hand, the area under consideration has never been successfully modernized in recent decades. It became relevant for people compelled to prostitution and hosts notable infrastructure for established migrant communities and asylum seekers. Asylum seekers in and around the railway station find several services, such as food distributors, the largest asylum seekers hostel and washing rooms, migrants with long-term residence permits find tiny grocery stores for Asian and African cooking, prayer areas and cheap housing. In these terms the most important streets are *via Garibaldi* and *via Macello* where construction activity has increased since the announcement of the central railway station's restructuring. Most prominently,

Hypo Tyrol and Cineplexx erected new buildings and the local Volksbank group decided to relocate their headquarters to the area.

Both urban restructuring projects work hand in glove with the municipal and regional authorities and underline the revanchist tendencies of the city. The railway station and its park could become the business card of a modern city alongside the inner-European north-south axis. For members of society marginalized due to socio-cultural and economic reasons it will be a challenge to relocate, this is only emphasized by political discourse. The expected enhancement of surveillance, rental prices and consequent displacement will impact place-making tactics. Similar outcomes have been observed in several other European cities. Large-scale infrastructure, investment projects and correlating security concerns identify migrants as victims of cultural essentialism, in the context of insecurities, and deny a universalist approach. For neither of the projects is collaboration with German or Italian welfare institutions envisaged. Even the regional ministry for migration is excluded from consultations for the restructuring of the overall area⁷.

3.2.3 From Security to Surveillance

As already mentioned, video-surveillance and increased police presence are a major sectorial policy approach for revanchist cities, and often considered tools to control areas designed to exclude specific groups. In this section I debate the term security in the context of revanchist restructuring ambitions by following neoliberal agendas and the idea of ‘unwanted visible diversity’. Both aspects are necessary in order to highlight connections between neoliberal urban restructuring processes and their effects on people with a recognizable migration background.

“Being a permanent component of city life, the perpetual and ubiquitous presence of strangers within sight and reach adds goof measure of perpetual uncertainty to all of the city dwellers’ life pursuits. That presence, impossible to avoid for more than a brief moment, is a never-drying source of anxiety and of an aggression that is usually dormant, yet erupts time and again.” (Bauman, 2007:85)

⁷ The lack of collaboration amongst project planners and marginalized groups (and their representatives) was confirmed in two e-mails from the migration department on September, 22nd and 29th of 2014. Helmuth Moroder, director general at the municipality of Bolzano and the person in charge of the urban restructuring project *Kaufhaus Bozen* didn’t answer a request for planning cooperation. Similarly, both welfare associations supporting this research project declined collaboration with the city government regarding both projects.

When the economies of major industrial locations in Europe and the U.S. weakened according to post-Fordist deindustrialization, first and foremost, immobile low-skilled workers faced the brutality of precarious living. Leftist theories extended the meaning of the term security, which from now on was perspicuously related to employment, housing, education and health-care. The working class of the 1970's and early 1980's Detroit, Manchester and Glasgow molded society's connotations to security – limiting it to external threat. Its significance can therefore be classified differently. The adoption of neoliberal policies created a new, privatized understanding of security:

“In its neoliberal mode the state (or local authority) relies on individualizing techniques of governmentality to free itself from the various responsibilities of maintaining its subjects, conferring on those subjects themselves the daily obligations of self-maintenance and self-regulation.” (Goldstein, 2010: 492)

The anthropologist Daniel M. Goldstein argues how easy it became to observe local and national authorities interpreting security⁸ without its contextualization of care. Depositing moral duty to the burdens of citizens, suspicion becomes a key element for encouraged individuals in every situation deemed to be potentially threatening or unfamiliar (see Goldstein, 2010: 492). In the context of a modern revanchist city, the powerful would enforce their voting public to observe minority groups in order to pay back for elapsed acknowledgements. By recognizing that neoliberal concepts emanate from top-down approaches excluding marginalized groups, Goldstein explains:

“[...] rather than contributing to the seamless reproduction of neoliberal governmentality, security, like so many other components of transnational political economy and its accompanying discourses, has been adopted and reconfigured in unexpected and challenging ways, serving not necessarily

⁸ In the political science academic debate approaching security, critique from *Linguistic Cercle Linguistique de Copenhagen*, more commonly known as *Copenhagen School*, assumes that the articulation of security in *Speech-Act-Theory* designs social reality. Based on social structuralism, scholars argue that social realities are dynamic and related to interacting people. Plenty of empirical studies and political comments evidence that increasing securitization had become a common tool for authorities. Securitization demands a constructivist approach where people react to stigmatized wording, developing their own theories. Scholars argue that the altered meaning of security in official speech and writings emphasizes the extrusion of security from public to private duty with selected competences. Gender Studies and Cultural Relativism are similarly grounded on social structuralism.

to deepen a neoliberal hegemony but to contest the very parameters of governmental responsibility and citizens' rights." (Goldstein, 2010: 499)

The legitimization of various surveillance and monitoring mechanisms is vindicated by positive effects on public security. The identification of perpetrators is only one argument that supports the installation of modern surveillance techniques, including that in public space. In regions where cultural essentialism is widespread, anxiety becomes a nodal point where race, nationality, culture and social classes are woven together. A neoliberal conception of security therefore suites revanchist structures in urban space. Due to activating policy everyone is individually responsible and, security becomes an ambiguous term sometimes used in a constructivist, legitimizing way.

Goldstein suggests exploring the contexts in which particular security visions win out over others by recognizing distinct ways in which political communities position their values according to different actors. To ensure research which is critically universalist and holistic, I aimed to adopt a discourse of security underpinning particular representations and practices rather, than the act of 'securitizing or de-securitizing' (see Goldstein, 2010: 493). A considerable amount of the citizenry supports parties that try to avoid the creation of places where interferences between locals and foreigners may take place. Those who do not match raw notions of a German, Italian or tourist model are likely to be excluded throughout police investigations and a neoliberal understanding of monitoring. The revanchist city does not consider preexisting inequalities in society, but addresses a third group. For this reason migrants are severely affected by characteristics of revanchism. In his essay *Liquid Times – Living in an Age of Uncertainty* Zygmunt Bauman analyzes:

"The spectre of social degradation against which the social state swore to insure its citizens is being replaced in the political formula of the 'personal safety state' by threat of a pedophile on the loose, of a serial killer, an obtrusive beggar, a mugger, stalker, poisoner, terrorist, or better still by all such threats rolled into one in the figure of an illegal immigrant, against whom the modern state in its most recent avatar promises to defend its subject." (Bauman, 2007: 15)

Video-surveillance of public spaces, most likely defined as local crime hot spots in major European cities, has become increasingly popular and extraordinarily debated since the millennium. Beyond data security concerns related to data retention, Bauman and other scholars (see Fassin, 2001) argue that surveillance mechanisms based on suggestive heuristic, identify irregular migrants, asylum

seekers, refugees, and even regular migrants and citizens with migratory backgrounds as a potential thread.

„[...] Nationality no longer suffices to define the basis for exclusion of ‘the Other’: the concrete criteria according to which a landlord refuses housing, an employer rejects a job application, a policeman decides to check for identity papers, or a nightclub owner chooses who enters his establishment, must be considered. These are phenomenological criteria that tend primarily toward appearance, particularly skin color, and mainly target people not identified as European, specifically those coming from North and sub-Saharan Africa.” (Fassin, 2001:6f)

In relation to the research question for place-making strategies, the suitable question is how the panoply of emotional, physical, linguistic, and technological mechanisms to monitor and regulate the behavior of city dwellers influences asylum seekers’ undertakings and attitudes. It cannot be questioned that police investigations, video-surveillance and polemic rhetoric criminalize asylum seekers, although they gain spatiotemporal right of residence.

3.3. Bolzano’s Cultural Armature Regarding Migration and Asylum Seekers

Beyond surveillance techniques and place-making strategies, authorities’ cultural armature of cities contextualizes the cities’ historic allocation, self-representation and the integration of cultural armature into research on place-making of asylum seekers. This supplements economic, political, and demographic arguments of why some places integrate newcomers with greater ease than others. At all institutional levels societal acceptance and inclusion of immigrants, and thus asylum seekers, is evident for sustainable policy making. In accordance to complex task allocation in the field of migrant politics, Jaworsky explains why city governments are affected more by cultural armature than state authorities:

“We inductively came to think of cultural armature as a combination of each cities (1) history and geography, (2) urban self-representation, (3) cultural responses to demography, and (4) prevailing ethos towards immigrants, which is particularly evident in municipal responses.” (Jaworsky e.a., 2012: 78)

The incorporation of cultural armature aspects into the description of a field makes it a tool for looking beyond the knowledge generated in field research by embedding it into a historical, social and cultural context. The identification of

cities' cultural armature supports a holistic description of the environment and cumulates in a unique urban setting which enables an approach to transnational experiences from multiple perspectives. Transnational studies put into question categories which are taken for granted and aim to conceptualize interactions among trans-societal and trans-organizational realities. In local history the overcoming of national borders impacts the local cultural armature and characterizes transnationals as ,brokers', ,gatekeepers', ,travelers', 'bridgers', and ,diffusers'. Transnational movements contribute to the spread and transformation of norms and practices, and promote cross-cultural understanding (see Khagram/Levitt, 2008:10) Scholars of transnational studies research at the interface of global and local structures. This is where transnationalism, but also transculturalism get close to significant characteristics of urban revanchism due to their impact on societies:

„Transnational economic forms and processes have a lot in common with their transnational political and religious counterparts, and these arrangements challenge deeply held notions about citizenship, democracy, and identity.“ (Khagram/Levitt, 2008:1)

Subsequently, research about all communities drives home the caution for making an uncalled conclusion. It further demonstrates the significance of individual agency, local knowledge and cultural practice. In accordance to the concept of revanchist cities and specifications of tourism, small and middle enterprises are indicators for the cities' relative prosperity.

In South Tyrol museums are the main public facilities, with the mandate to document and shape the past, present and future of the region. Only administrative distinctions need to be made between city and region at this point. In general, museums in this context aim at strengthening self-identification and provide a resourceful tool for the communication of significant occurrences, values and visions at the behest of public authorities. The extensive interweaving between museums with mission statements, partially formulated by authorities, implies political dependency and manifests in the distribution of concessions and funding. In the province of Bolzano, all museums funded by public means are encouraged to attract single attendants as well as regulars, by focusing on specific topics. They should further enforce cultural exchange between the three dominant local linguistic groups and support local institutions (see Provinz Bozen, 2014: URL). The role of tourism and trade aimed at economic partnership is highlighted throughout the regions' claim for being a recreational facility with scientific pretension.

Cities are embedded in wider regional, national or international frameworks contributing to the past, present, and future. City governments are not the only important policy-making institutions that have to organize and re-organize manifold settings of immigration and inclusion of foreigners. Due to outstanding cultural and linguistic needs, the states given monopoly over the cities' cultural armature after World War Two significantly decreased in the capital of an administratively autonomous province in the Northern Italian alpine region. The elaboration of separated and collective memories of three autochthone groups living in the region became the major purpose of museums. Today, the fragmentation of collective memories arises from individual, scientific, ethnic, and religious plurality in a transnational environment, detached from nation states, pretending the interpretation of local cultural heritage and self-identification. The intake of such developments is a challenge for public institutions:

"The state's given previous (attempted) monopoly on shaping collective pasts has given way to a fragmentation of memories borne by private, individual, scientific, ethnic, religious, and other mnemonic agents. Although the state continues to play an important role in how we remember its history, it now shares the field of meaning production with a host of other players. Modes of collective memory are being cosmopolitanized and also exist on supra- and subnational levels." (Levy/Sznaider, 2010: 12)

Beyond focusing on autochthonous groups in certain regions, research on transnational dynamics shows that cultures, rather than nations are the texturing logic in present day societies. A short extract from research in Queens, NYC suggests the vivid role of up-to-date city museums aimed at the inclusion of all societal communities in the making of a less static self-understanding of cities.

"Culture is the logic by which we give order to the world. No one stands outside of it. In Queens, one comes to recognize that nations are not walled fortresses but rather permeable containers for the fluid shifts of culture. Here, multiculturalism does not imply a static representation of international identities but rather an ever-changing shift amongst multiple cultures that blurs ethnic, racial, gendered and ideological boundaries." (Fuentes, 2012: n.n.)

The city of Bolzano obviously can't be compared to New York, a city which has been founded and raised on behalf of transnational experiences. The cities' self-understanding instead rests upon a geostrategic bottleneck, important for an inner-

European mobility of goods, services, and people. The geostrategic placement of the city outperformed conflicts between German and Italian linguistic groups.

Looking forward to the analysis of museums' representation of Bolzano, I anticipate that their alignment is connected to characteristics and conditions of revanchist urbanism, rather than transnational dynamics and experiences, such as migration. Unsurprisingly, the 2014 summer exhibitions at all public museums in the city addressed transnational movements only in two cases: migration during the last ice age, and migration in the course of fascism. Even the museum of contemporary arts did not make reference to marginalized groups during this period. A lack of explicit representation of transnational city-dwellers, and especially asylum seekers, in the local museum scene (related to content, administration and decision-making) forced me to look at socioeconomic, political, artistic, and historical exhibitions when exploring complex environments and responses given by asylum seekers. The assumption that behavioral patterns of specific groups are uniform in all places and abstract from the environment was indeed controversially debated in migration studies. To counter the 'city as a constant' argument, Nancy Foner argues for an approach sensitive to contrasts among immigrant groups in changing urban contexts. She concludes:

"The particular features of specific urban, or suburban, contexts cannot be ignored or taken for granted – and need to be an integral part of studies by anthropologists and other scholars who seek to comprehend that complex dynamics of migration and multiculturalism in a [...] society that continues to be dramatically transformed by the recent ongoing massive immigration." (Foner, 2007: 1018)

Accordingly, the descriptive approaches towards the *City Museum* and *Merkantilmuseum* need to be contextualized by urban revanchism and associated to their impact on asylum seekers. Without adopting extreme urban relativism, much of what follows emphasizes the particularities of Bolzano and provides a critical analysis of institutions dealing with singular groups of society and the collective memory of a city.

3.3.1 The City Museum

Founded in 1882, the city museum is home to plenty of cultural and artistic goods of regional relevance and aims to get back on track since the museum's closure for restoration in 2003. The museum hosts statues, paintings, folkloristic objects, and crafts concentrating on traditional and predominantly Christian values that emphasize regional cultural achievements. At the museum's 2011 re-opening, city councilor Patrizia Trincanato prominently held a bilingual speech about cleavages

in the coexistence of Italian and German speaking communities (see Municipality of Bolzano, 2011: URL). The June 2014 museum visitation testified to what both the temporary and permanent exhibitions convey between the Italian and German speaking societies, but excluded other cultural influences from the museum context.

In the entry hall of the museum stands an iron board behind a human-sized wooden crucifix. It remembers the time where the city museum was controlled by fascist governors that declared a preference for Italian (as opposed to Tyrolean) crafts and arts. The iron board has been preserved to remember the museums drastically renovation, enrichment and reorganization according to the visions of the national ministry of education between 1935 and 1937. A tribute is paid to 21st century art movements through three installations that articulate recent challenges. All of these treat visitors as participants in the museum space. Most interestingly, at the time of visitation, the museum hosted a project where students from the design faculty at the Free University of Bolzano elaborated upon suggestions for the museum's corporate identity. Beyond subjects of temporal and permanent exhibitions, the reopening of the buildings' tower in 2011 emphasized the significance of recent history and articulated the need to bridge memories of multiple collectivities in Bolzano. The tower had been stripped down during Fascism, as it was one of the tallest buildings exemplifying traditional regional architecture, located in an area where the predominantly German downtown clashed with the new town, mainly inhabited by Italian newcomers. Today properties in this area are distributed more equally between Italian and German-speaking communities. Zeitgeisty, the new tallest building, was built upon the bequest of Italian power brokers on the other side of the river *Talvera*. The new building, the *Fascist Victory Gate*⁹, became one of the most intensively debated buildings to date; it still separates Italian from German-speaking cultural essentialists. Since the city museum and associated tower's reopening, it became possible to face the victory monument from a perspective that allows visitors to literally encounter the fascist victory monument on equal footing. The reopening of the building's tower therefore gives visitors a new perspective of a monument that became an ideograph of German/Italian relations in the 20th century. Together

⁹ The victory gate in Bolzano was inaugurated in 1928 by King Vittorio Emanuele III and bears the hallmarks of Italian Fascism. On the façade, the following script can be read (in English): *Here at the border of the fatherland set down the banner. From this point on we educated the others with language, law and culture.* Consequent to long-standing debates in public society, in 2004 four boards were installed to explain the background of the monument in German, Italian, Ladins and English. During fieldwork in 2014 the local authorities and Italian cultural secretary Dario Franchescini inaugurated a documentation center about South Tyrolean history from 1918 to 1945.

the permanent and temporary exhibitions, as well as the reshaped tower, emphasize the city museum's aim to give a balanced insight into both linguistic groups whenever possible.

3.3.2 The Museum of Trade and Fair Bolzano

Prior to the development of major industries in the 19th century, the city of Bolzano was dependent on trans-Alpine trade. Supraregional fairs and markets had already developed in the Middle Ages and were revitalized with the first modern fair shortly after World War Two. Trade was established as a major economic pillar, alongside agriculture and tourism, during the 20th century turnover. A short glimpse at *Merkantilmuseum* and the recent *Messe Bozen* program with a relocated standpoint since 1998 helps to understand the role of post-fascism trade.

The museum of trade focuses on Bolzano's role as a trading place since the 17th century. Objects featured in the exhibition refer to legal statuses developed in the age of the Italian Renaissance, when Bolzano was the most significant administrative and cultural interface between Italian and German trade nations. Today, the *House of Trade* represents the city as a catalyst between two major cultural and linguistic societies, establishing a new upper class and an open-minded culture of trade with regional and international stakeholders. In order to meet the requirements of a museum, the institution focuses on the preservation of arts and an architectonic renovation. Two more floors were added in 2008 and impart knowledge on daily routines and ambitions of the political and economic elite of the 18th century. Most prominently the permanent exhibition portrays and documents the undertakings of the most influential trade family in Bolzano. The Menz family achieved regional nobility status, including some outstanding privileges for trading operations in 1721. In 2013 *Menz* palace was sold for 6,8 million Euro to René Benko, initiator of the new shopping center in downtown Bolzano. The international investor holds the majority of real estate in proximity to the city center and a purchase option on the nearby recreation area *Virgl* (see Salto.bz, 2014: URL). Meanwhile, the exhibition at the museum of trade has a clear focus on history and lacks the contextualization of challenges in trade and economic development since the 18th century.

Fair Bolzano is currently the institution, which manifests the cities' trade ambitions and is considered one of the most important fairs for German- and Italian-speaking businessmen. In the mission statement of *Fair Bolzano* states:

“Fairs and congresses mainly concentrate upon Alpine economic issues. [...] The emphasis is on dining and leisure time, agriculture, and issues

involving the Alpine industry, attracting over 2.500 exhibitors and more than 220.000 visitors from throughout Europe.” (Messe Bozen, 2014: URL)

The most important fairs give a comprehensive outline of major industries and economic developments in the region:

- hotel business (HOTEL, AUTUMN TRADE FAIR, ARREDO)
- leisure time activities (TEMPO LIBERO, PROWINTER KREATIV)
- agriculture (AGRIALP, INTERPOMA, BIOLIFE, NUTRISAN, AUTOCHTONA)
- alpine technology (ALPITEC, CIVIL PROTEC, VIATEC)
- sustainability (KLIMAHOUSE, KLIMAMOBILITY, KLIMAINFISSE, KLIMAENERGY)

For obvious reasons, *Fair Bolzano* cannot be considered a museum, as it is assigned to a present-day economic function with limited purpose for social and cultural education. Nevertheless the schedule shows high specialization on niche markets and enhanced emphasis on the tourism industry. Both indicate attitudes of revanchist urbanism. The number of international meetings and conferences has significantly increased in Bolzano, similar to other European cities with unique economic features. These meetings depend on transnational knowledge transfer from highly skilled experts, often articulating socio-economic or cultural cleavages and challenges in society. As an example the artist-network *ar/ge.kunst* explicitly aims to encourage conference participants in critical self-reflection on personal and institutional levels.

3.3.3. ar/ge.kunst

The recent exhibition hosted by *ar/ge.kunst* in June, 2014 was named *Making Room - Spaces of Anticipation*, curated by Emanuele Guidi and Lorenzo Sandoval. The exhibition room of the cross-linguistic private museum association, rich in contacts to international artists and collectors, is located in the heart of downtown Bolzano; it substantially addresses social issues, such as migration, identities and changing cultural patterns within and beyond the city. According to its' mission statement, the association aims to increase experimentation within contemporary art and demonstrate openness and confidence towards the

complexity of art in all its manifestations. The interest of *ar/ge kunst* lies in producing and presenting artists who demonstrate cultural awareness in terms of research and innovation (see *ar/ge kunst*, 2014: URL). Indeed, the exhibition showcased in the summer of 2014 explored space in relation to curatorial, artistic, and cultural strategies.

Most interestingly the curators give space and dedicate time to both alliances and conflicts by emphasizing the notion of “care”.

“[...] a domestic environment, a salon or a school, a display system, a cultural association or an art institution can all still be considered as models for facilitating possible encounter and common user ship. In this context, the notion of ‘care’ is central to rethinking the way these ‘places’ can be designed, experienced and (collectively) maintained.” (ar/ge.kunst, 2014: URL)

By following the *CARE* exhibition proposal of American artist Mierle Laderman Ukeles, the composition upholds a critical approach towards institutions that compose the cultural armature of a city. The maintenance-artist stresses physical and emotional interventions in order to support place and reveal a complex set of life-regulating relations (see *ar/ge.kunst*, 2014: URL). The critical approach claims equality in the field of arts and beyond, exemplified by the role of women in the museum sector. Why shouldn't there be a museum focusing on the coexistence of a culturally pluralist city, including transnational history, starting from what most of them were at their arrival: asylum seekers?

3.3.4 A lack of Cultural Armature?

It's astonishing that none of the major public museums in Bolzano address transnational experiences and stories, even though places of trade are known for being points of cultural intersection. Without taking into account the migration of Italian and German-speaking communities, international migration towards Bolzano wasn't significant prior to the 1990's. Unaffected by the migration of bilingual individuals for a long time, the amount of asylum seekers coming from the Balkan States and Eastern Europe began to rise. Major influx waves of asylum seekers from the African and Asian continents soon followed (see Girardi, 2010: 16ff), becoming a considerable challenge for regional and communal authorities since 2006. Comparative research on north-American cities and their cultural armature shows that regions with little migration history most notably embed upcoming challenges in wider institutional frameworks and abet societal fears:

“As new immigrants move increasingly into communities that have not dealt with large number of foreign-born residents, these new destinations variously accommodate, celebrate, and resist their new residents before. Their local experiences reverberate and contribute to national debates and policies. Furthermore, the current national security context imbues residents with worries and fears and brings them into direct contact with the power of the state through arrests, detentions and deportation.”
(Cadge/Curran/Jaworsky/Levitt, 2010: URL)

De facto, on 31.12.2013 more than 45,469 European and non-European migrants were registered in South Tyrol and comprised 14,6 % of all city dwellers in the regions capital (see ASTAT, 2014b: 5). One third of migrants (including asylum seekers, refugees, and labor migrants from EU member states and third nation countries) come from the African and Asian continents, most prominently represented by people with Moroccan and Pakistani citizenship. Due to low birth rates in the regional capital city and a continuous influx of regular, irregular, local and transnational migration streams, the demographics of Bolzano have systematically changed (see ASTAT, 2013b:10). Although the influx of asylum seekers and refugees has helped to overcome the region's unbalanced age distribution, discussions on in- and exclusion have been published by popular local media. Hospitality, as a key competence of touristic places, has reached its limits. As a result, asylum seekers are stigmatized and face marginalization at formal and informal conversational levels. A low amount of local socio-cultural outsiders in a bilingual region with separate and collective memory forms a complex environment and also impacts the place-making tactics of those marginalized. The neoliberal restructuring of economic power, financial crisis dynamics, large scale interventions, and global cultural forces affect the societies' realities; it is likely that city dwellers increasingly establish interdependence between ethnicity, identity and socio-cultural changes:

“[...] Ethnicity was found to be particularly relevant to migrant scenarios, since it highlighted the malleable, context-contingent negotiation of markets and boundaries of ethnic groups and identities, as contexts changed due to migration, anthropologists found, so would ethnicities.”
(Vertovec, 2007: 963)

Vertovec supposes that revanchist urban concepts influence residents as well as newcomers. The existence of marginalized groups, surveillance techniques, and *user-friendly* public space policies provoke and impact paradox distinctions regarding the categorization of insiders and outsiders. At the heart of the debate on asylum seekers in Bolzano a nation state law revitalizes cleavages, as it only

gives permission to provide Italian language classes in a province dominated by German-speaking inhabitants. Here I refer to the province, rather than the capital city, where a majority of inhabitants already claim to be members of the Italian language group because of the institutions' political and financial impacts on urban restructuring projects and integration policies. Although asylum seekers are still far from direct access to the democratic representative system, once they sign a clarification of affiliated language it requires the adoption of proportional representation in public administration according to language skills (see Girardi, 2010: URL). Right-winged political parties during the 2008 and 2013 regional elections employed aspects of these interrelations in simplified terms. The analysis of both publically financed museums showed that segregation of Italian- and German-speaking neighborhoods hasn't been left behind yet. Here national legislation indirectly influences the cultural armature of Bolzano, in that it still elaborates on its language gap and increasingly supports efforts of cross-linguistic approaches on several levels.

Today, plenty of politicians, but also regular city dwellers, would agree that conviviality between Italian and German-speaking communities turned out to be a unique cultural surplus for Bolzano – the linguistic proportional system in all public facilities managed to overcome conflicts between both communities. More recently, the political and economic elite and privileged city dwellers¹⁰ have been effectively forced to re-think their double-sided diversity management. Correspondent to regional prosperity, the city of Bolzano created an environment with up to date infrastructure, a model education system and high welfare standards. While most social services had been permanently improved during Fordism, the distinguished performance of the local economy guaranteed high labor force participation in all relevant sectors. Due to a preponderance of small and middle-sized enterprises and powerful tourist and trade institutions, the small industrial workforce exerts power by formulating partly disintegrative policies and enhancing cultural representation.

The bottom line is that dynamic socio-economic contexts impact the behavioral patterns of asylum seekers and locals. In reference to a marginalized group, such as requested by the concept of revanchist urbanism, the case study of Bolzano shows interferences between transnational and institutional interests, hospitality

¹⁰ In 2009 the region's GDP was by far the highest in Italy. A total of 37.000 € per capita and a high density of small and middle-sized enterprises support these assumptions, also in comparison to European standards. In 2009 South Tyrol was the 19th wealthiest region in the EU. South Tyrol also managed to keep the GDP at high levels in the aftermath of the 2007 global economic crisis.

and local collective memories. The exploration of three museums and Fair Bolzano indicate the necessity for a non-judgmental discussion on integrative mechanisms in lockstep with revanchist attitudes. Cultural diversity is not yet a main criterion for the city's self-image, although it's present on the city's streets. Paradoxically, it is a tiny, non-public, transnational museum association that is interfering with the public institutions discussed and articulating failures regarding transnationalism by adapting a self-critical concept of care.

The environment provided by the city government (with little right-winged populist influence), residents, and the economic elite in Bolzano evidences distinctions between a transnational economic elite and asylum seekers. Long-term differentiations have an impact on the cultural armature of a city, as well as the environment. Even though Catholicism, traditional regional arts, craft, trade, the peaceful conviviality of two linguistic groups, and excellence in the hotel industry and tourism has been promoted; hospitality for asylum seekers was proscribed due to the sectors' economization. This pushes asylum seekers into illegality when trying to survive a cold winter night. Although the diversity of newcomers continues to increase, non-citizens with transnational experiences, connections, financial and social remittances are rather invisible in the institutionalized public space. Unconditioned cultural diversity is not the main criterion for the cities' self-image, but politicians in power follow the principles of revanchist urbanism in a global setting.

The abandonment of asylum seekers and transnationals from storytelling in museums funded by public means fails to address everyday diversity, and drifts away from revanchist preferences for transnational movements. Surveillance policies and museums carefully select visible attributes for observation and representation of topics. Most significantly, it would be necessary to accept that valid residence permission is not equal to full participation in a defined space, as it is only one aspect of citizenship and political participation in representative democracies. Little institutional presentation of transnational alliances, synergies and connections gives an advantage to policy-making that addresses the limitation of visibility of marginalized people at tourist and other consumption-oriented places. Frequent conflictive interactions towards asylum seekers elucidate Bolzano's cultural armature, which presents itself as an open-minded and culturally diverse city.

Methodology

4.1. Research Approach

Finding a suitable methodological approach wasn't an easy task. In several debates with my supervisor, friends, colleagues, and during an inspiring lecture on the role of museums as a cultural armature for cities and state governments held by the sociologist Peggy Levitt at University of Vienna, I felt that place-making needs to be embedded and that I couldn't see social reality without theory. For organizational reasons I was urged to first complete desk-based research prior to fieldwork in order to prove and re-think previous assumptions. In addition, the vast complexity and implications of place-making strategies for asylum seekers made choices even more difficult. Insofar it was my decision to reevaluate my horizons and give interview respondents the opportunity to express their perceptions of places. Right before going into the field I deepened on the methodological approach and how to implement my desired research tool in theory. In Michael Burawoy's 'The Extended Case Method' I found some basic acknowledgements on reflexive ethnography:

"First, we do not strive to separate observer from participant, subject from object, but recognize their antagonistic coexistence. No matter how we approach our research, we are always simultaneously participant and observer, because inescapably we live in the world we study.

[...] Second, there can be no microprocesses without macroforces, macroforces without microprocesses. The question is how to deal with their relationship. It requires that we recognize how theoretically embedded we are when we enter the field.

[...] Third, history and sociology do not occupy watertight compartments; we are living history as we do research.

[...] Finally, theory lies like a stagnant pool if it is divorced from its lifeblood, empirical research, which, paradoxically, also threatens its very existence.” (Burawoy, 2009: 8)

In the extended case method the role of theory is heavily emphasized. Burawoy claims that theory should be brilliantly wrong, rather than boringly right, and exists in order to be extended (see Burawoy, 2009:13). He therefore confirms that researchers should accept the principle of starting with theory. According to Burawoy’s commitment towards a reflexive model of science in reference to Michael Polanyi, he defines research objectivity by following Thomas S. Kuhn, Karl Popper and Imre Lakatos.

“Objectivity is not measured by procedures that assure an accurate mapping of the world but by the growth of knowledge, that is, the imaginative and parsimonious reconstruction of theory to accommodate anomalies.” (Burawoy, 2009: 20f)

As a methodic answer to societal changes in the early twentieth century, Max Gluckmann developed the extended case method and focused on individual competition for resources in daily life embedded as a framework of conflicting and inconsistent norms (see Rössler, 2003: 144). The extended case method is usually connected to long-term observational research, local language skills, detailed knowledge about the field, historic and recent contexts. It has the opportunity to establish mutual trust between researcher and the target group. For Burawoy it is necessary to distinguish [...]

[...] “(a) research method [...], which is the deployment of (b) techniques of empirical investigation (...) to best approximate (c) a scientific model [...] that lies out the presuppositions and principles for science [...].” (Burawoy, 2009: 23)

[...] when developing an argument on how the production of knowledge in the extended case method is related to science. The approach he proposes is contextual reflexive science as the starting point. In reference to Burawoy, the first context is the interview that is an intervention into the interviewees’ life. The second context relates to the multiple meanings attached to interviewer’s ‘stimulus,’ as there is a double reduction by aggregation and condensation of experience that creates situational knowledge:

“[...] situational knowledge is knowledge located in a specific space and time. Neither space nor time can be frozen, and so situational knowledge’s

are in continual flux. [...] In this instance the reduction is an aggregation – the aggregation of situational knowledge into social processes.” (Burawoy, 2009: 41)

The third context refers to structural relations between daily routines and global changes.

“Reflexive science insists, therefore, on studying the everyday world from the standpoint of its structuration, that is, by regarding it as simultaneously shaped by and shaping an external field of forces. This force field may have systemic features of its own, operating within its own principles of coordination, and contradiction, and its own dynamics, as it imposes itself on multiple locales.” (Burawoy, 2009: 42)

At this level the cultural armature of Bolzano, the neoliberal setting in competitive European cities, and the circumstances of a specifically revanchist urban environment are taken into account and once more refer to a combination of situational knowledge. The fourth and last context announced by Burawoy relates to the priority of the social situation over the individual, aiming to elaborate existing theory by creating a more inclusive generality. Indeed dialogue is a principle for research corresponding to all four contexts and a unifying principle of reflexive science (see Burawoy, 2009: 43). He defines domination, silencing, objectification and normalization as four power effects inscribed into ubiquity and therefore not detached from research. Domination can't be avoided in the research process – me being an Italian citizen, with all its advantages, and the targets group's status being defined by seeking asylum including the threat of being at places where some people are silenced according to the ruling cultural setting or ideology. Instead, the third context is in peril of objectification, which describes the [...]

“[...] hypostatizing (of) social forces as external and natural.” (Burawoy, 2009: 59)

According to this, the political, economic, financial and cultural power of social systems shouldn't be emphasized too much. Inherent to exaggeration in interpreting relations, Burawoy argues that reconstructing theory is coercive of double-fitting and likely to tailor complex situations in order to fit theories and vice-versa. Regarding the research technique applied, it is probable that acknowledgements will be made after the research process.

The extended case method offers an opportunity to perform research in a defined space-time continuum with changing social and cultural patterns embedded in a framework of theory and contexts. Theory is important to guide interventions, constitute knowledge and locate consequent social processes in a wider context of determination. It therefore supports previously made assumptions on Bolzano with historically defined cultural armature and corresponding global forces of challenge and specialization. The approach emphasizes access to the field, but considers interviews and more alternative approaches suitable techniques if the researcher is able to give a comprehensive analysis of the examined case. The theoretical approaches revised in this paper refer to the production of place, the new cosmopolitan theory of justice for migrants and refugees, and the assumptions made when characterizing Bolzano as a revanchist city.

4.2. Technique of Empirical Investigation

Corresponding to my personal enthusiasm for sharing experiences abroad supported by visual means, I became familiar with various facets of photography. Today, plenty of professional and amateur photographers attract attention by documenting and staging societal and cultural behavior all over the world. For instance, in 2006 a social arts project exposed photographs taken by homeless people documenting the streets of Bolzano. The exhibition, named *A Walk through Bolzano*, combined photographs and written explanations trying to communicate insights into the perceptions of the homeless (see Città di Bolzano, 2006: URL).

From an academic perspective, photography has become a tool for ethnographic documentation and research, starting with Charles Darwin's *The Expression of Emotion in Man and Animals* in 1872, which included photographs taken by Oscar Gustave Reijlander. Photo-interviewing was also used by Franz Boas while studying the culture of Trobriand Island and it became clear that photographs are not just pictures of the world, but resources and mediators that give shape to ideas (see Radley, 2010: 268). It can therefore be stated that photography already has a long-standing tradition in anthropological disciplines.

Today, photography is a nearly unavoidable instrument for anthropologists and other social scientists, who accomplish qualitative research abroad and at home. While some prefer using visual support for documentation or dissemination, other scholars put a focus on actively implementing photography into fieldwork and data collection. It is therefore necessary to ask what anthropologists could derive from photographs. In 1986 Howard Becker published an article that critically examined fundamental questions and possible lessons learned from photography.

“Normally, we find photographs interesting because they answer questions about something larger than the immediate subject, and photographers usually give us to understand that their images have such broad meaning. [...] But [...] we quickly jump to such generalizations, for without them the photographs would never command our attention at all. So we usually inspect this kind of photograph with an eye to answering some general question about social arrangements or processes.” (Becker, 1986: 622)

Further arguments, which critically examine photography as a methodological tool, had already been introduced in 1976. The research of early photographs as ethnographic sources showed that American Indians had dressed and positioned themselves in a manner deemed more appropriate to the white man’s perceptions (see Scherer, 1976; in: Becker, 1986: 280). Other concerns focused on the validity of visual material. Censorship, photographers’ preferences and manifold ways to change meanings when post-processing the material are still a hot issue today.

In my research I followed the principle that the more background information I provide, the less it could be predisposed to statements criticizing transparency. In order to comply with recommendations I adopted a research method that recently became popular in anthropology and combines open interviews and photography. The method is named photovoice or, participatory photo interview¹¹.

“Photovoice is a process by which people can identify, represent, and enhance their community through a specific photographic technique. It entrusts cameras to the hands of people to enable them to act as recorders, and potential catalysts for change, in their own communities. It uses the immediacy of the visual image to furnish evidence and to promote an effective, participatory means of sharing expertise and knowledge”. (Wang/ Burris, 1997: 369)

The most significant aspects of this method are the combination of narrative interviews with visual material for both research and empowerment. For specifications on the research design and implications of the participatory moment during and after research, and for the integration of visual data evaluation, I make

¹¹ Photovoice and participatory photo interview are similar to each other but slightly differ in the weight of visual and narrative materials. In this paper I will prefer the term „participatory photo interview“ according to Bettina Kolb, as it gives more interpretative scope than photovoice. When talking about the merging of visual and narrative material, the weighting of different kinds of data is left to the discretion of the researcher. This makes it impossible for me to use photovoice that transports the idea of a closed range theorem.

recourse to Viennese sociologist Bettina Kolb (Kolb, 2008a, 2008b), Rosalind Hurworth (Hurworth, 2003), Alan Radley (Radley, 2010) and the previously cited Caroline Wang/ Mary Ann Burris (Wang/ Burris, 1997). The methodic aspiration to combine visual data with interview input suggests the implementation of a research design that first elaborates on both data sets after having been matched to the interviewee when telling personal stories attached to the places represented in the photographs. Together with the data from interviews, a subjective but holistic narrative can be construed and become an opportunity for research. The specific focus for this research is the interconnectedness of places and people, demonstrated by self-made photographs and stories.

4.2.1. Participatory Photo Interview

Highlighting interrelations of people, place and time, participatory photo interview aims to identify topics that matter for persons when arriving in Italy without a residence permit. As stated before, the research significance lies in the meanings of considered places, the values and structures that require understanding as carefully made by hand. Considering statements made by Kolb, the often multi-layered targets of research can be accomplished by participatory photo interview:

“Using the photo interview, local cultural and social settings become visible as residents take photos that show their perspectives on the research question and their experiences with and understanding of the local context.” (Kolb, 2008a: 2)

The photo interview has three targets. First, participatory photo interview has the aim to record and reflect communities’ strengths and weaknesses; second, it should promote critical debate and knowledge within interview respondents and, finally, reach policy makers (see Hurworth, 2003: 3). Differences, especially in terms of empowerment and critical reflection, have been observed more intensively when including communities or established groups, rather than individual people. A wider perspective is desired. Even though asylum seekers show characteristics of travelers, as opposed to residents, similarities in behavior and action patterns can be assumed due to the exclusion that physical presence already qualifies for in getting in contact with the built and un-built environment. People constitute relationships within a social system and structure differences and similarities among persons; a system of practices for which place is a medium.

Some carefully developed assumptions provide a basis for the research:

- Asylum seekers have little or no idea of the built and un-built environment when they first arrive in a medium-sized city such as Bolzano after migrating to Italy. Loose connections, according to a lack of foreknowledge on the contexts provided by Bolzano, enforce asylum seekers to create new places.
- Places are constituted by different interventions. These are probably related to personal knowledge, experiences, aspirations, fears and networks, and help the recipient to distinguish and categorize geographic sites. According to asylum seekers' mobility, it seems obvious that none of the remarks made can be conceived permanently and/or generally accepted.
- Remarkable places for asylum seekers can be everywhere. They tend to be situated in public space because of limited privacy in detention centers and working restraints during the asylum procedure. A constant correlation cannot be identified between place-making and the duality of public and private places.
- Revanchist environments promote active place-making according to urban restructuring plans that follow an exclusive logic. Therefore, geographic sites are contested and show cleavages between those at the societies' margins and those at the center.

4.2.2. Four Phases of Research

Structurally, participatory photo interviews can be divided into four phases: opening phase, active photo shooting phase, decoding phase and analytical scientific interpretation.

The opening phase: In the opening phase researchers invite their future interviewees to consider a research question, reflect on the question and develop an idea about how to visualize it (see Kolb, 2008a: 6). It isn't necessary to formulate the overall research question, but to extract aspects. According to the desire for more information on place-making strategies, sub-questions ask for the personally determined important places. Which places are connoted to specific experiences? Correspondents will think on the questions through their own lenses, life experiences and concepts – it can therefore be categorized as being auto driven, as informants guide the interview by reflecting upon their own behavior (Heisl/ Levy, in: Hurworth, 2003:2). Hurworth explains that the participatory photo interview [...]

“[...] can challenge participants, provide nuances, trigger memories, lead to new perspectives and explanations, and help to avoid researcher misinterpretation.” (Hurworth, 2003: 3)

The photo-interview is an especially powerful tool for researchers when trying to build a faithful relationship with the interviewee. It is therefore a preferred method in comparison to others. As such, it also fits the terminology of ‘science’ developed in the extended case method.

The active photo-shooting phase: In the second step, participants visually translate their thoughts by taking pictures of distinguished elements and persons in their personal environment. The active shooting phase visualizes the social and material surroundings of the respondents by keeping in mind the sub-questions proposed in the first meeting between researcher and participants (see Kolb, 2008a: 6). According to the research question, photographed subjects may vary, but are expected to represent places that symbolize social and cultural aspects of the interviewee’s daily life. For asylum seekers in a revanchist urban environment places might be related to fear as well as hope. Cop shops, markets, railway stations, the city center, courthouses, green areas, but also industrial plants or further infrastructure, would be possible locations with distinguished meaning for asylum seekers.

The decoding phase: The decoding phase is meant to be the interview according to the extended case method. Although the interview is designed as a narrative, it will stick to theoretic assumptions. Most importantly, it will give participants the opportunity to have a serious dialogue on daily life based upon places.

“The decoding phase follows the active shooting phase and gives participants the possibility to explain the ideas and thoughts to the researcher. In the third phase [...] participants consider their own photos and verbalize their thinking in an interview with a researcher.” (Kolb, 2008a: 6)

According to assumptions made by Burawoy, when dealing with people acquainted with specific knowledge, photographs taken by asylum seekers do not provide scientific evidence, as they are labeled ‘situational knowledge’. Photographs are neither the summary of individual or strictly separable stories, but rather concrete statements of a social condition within a specific environment. In this study, voices from participatory photo interviews represent disadvantaged or marginalized groups rather than single persons (see Radley, 2010: 269). In the qualitative interview it is possible to raise selected questions leading participants

towards notions of place-making tactics and strategies. More precisely, the interview is characterized as semi-open, emphasizing the participatory quality of the research method. Patricia Labaw, a staunch defender of narrative interviews, states:

“Presumably, although this is often forgotten, the main purpose of an interview, the most important goal of the entire survey profession, is to let the respondent have his say, to let him tell the researcher what he means, not vice versa.” (Labaw, 1981: 132)

According to theories in mind when entering the field and the explanations given to interview respondents prior to the active photo-shooting phase, it is a challenge to find equilibrium between narrative and semi-open interviews. Admitting that open-ended texturing questions the mission is to leave place for questions emerging from the dialogue with the interview partner. The aim of texturing questions is to bring interviewees back to the research focus once they have lost track. Being aware of the contexts of intervention, process, structure and reconstruction (see Burawoy, 2009: 38-42), a list of questions related to place and place-making (as it is the shared research focus) is exerted:

- What exactly happened at a certain place? Why is this event of so much importance for you?
- Do you remember similar places back home? What are the differences between those places?
- Are there places that were once important to you, but have since lost importance? When and why did this happen?
- Have you actively changed the design/shape/characteristics of a specific place? What sorts of changes have been made?
- Is there any place you’d like to develop for your own interests? For which reasons and how?
- Is there anything you’d like to add to this interview?

The interviews did not include group discussions (as indicated by Kolb) and lasted ninety minutes. The interview design is correlated with a mixture of completely open narrative and a more purposeful, guideline-based interview.

The analytical scientific interpretation: This last phase occurs without the interviewee and is accomplished by the researcher. An evaluation of the collected material starts with a transliteration of the interview and the collection of visual material. Beyond the analysis of the represented, occasional surprises arise as to what asylum seekers might want to show or talk about with the researcher:

“The act of photography is one of separation of self from surroundings – even if only briefly – so that what is picked out defines boundaries, transitions, preferred and disliked orderings and invocations. To be given a camera in this situation is to be invited to turn upon one’s setting, to objectify a relationship that one has so far been living out.” (Radley, 2010: 270)

Radley also raises a significant danger for analysis dominated by the researcher in relation to the four power effects on reflective science. In order to overcome these obstacles, theory comes back into play, as I’m mainly looking for interfaces between a revanchist environment, asylum seekers, and place-making:

“Theory is essential to each dimension of the extended case method. It guides interventions, it constitutes situated knowledge into social processes, and it locates those social processes, in their wider context of determination.” (Burawoy, 2009: 55)

Details on the analysis are described in section five.

4.3. Technical and Administrative Issues

Fieldwork abroad requires careful scheduling in order to ensure successful data ascertainment. One of the most difficult tasks to fulfill within the research project was restricted time during a period where hundreds successfully crossed over the Adriatic Sea in 2014. Beyond unceasingly overwhelmed personnel, the large influx of people caused a remarkable and often unforeseeable fluctuation of asylum seekers. Continuing redistribution efforts by national authorities and repeated calls for support to European member states evidence a state of calamity regarding asylum seeker hostels in 21st century Italy. Accordingly I decided to limit collaboration with single participants to a maximum of two weeks.

Prior to fieldwork I got in touch with two non-profit organizations engaged with asylum seekers in Bolzano. Both VOLONTARIUS and CARITAS help people at social margins in a rather wealthy environment with revanchist ambitions. While services provided by CARITAS address all types of people, VOLONTARIUS has

a clear focus on people with migration backgrounds. Utilizing listening as a main tool, VOLONTARIUS is responsible for the only permanent housing and sleeping facility for asylum seekers in Bolzano and provide shelter to adolescents without parents and homeless people. On the contrary, CARITAS runs only temporary facilities for asylum seekers, which open and close again according to requirements determined by the regional council. During the research period, from June to September 2014, both the temporary and permanent asylum seeker hostel in Bolzano remained open. Both associations are involved in plenty of social, political, and creative projects and provide services for documented and undocumented people living on the streets. Part of these services includes the distribution of food and clothing, but also legal support and informal language classes. Both NPOs are supported by public authorities for the implementation of required services, but also rely on donations from individuals and several small and medium sized enterprises with long-standing tradition in South Tyrol.

The duty of both associations was to preselect a total of ten asylum seekers inhabiting an asylum seekers' hostel during the time of research. The hostels are *Ex-Gorio* for VOLONTARIUS and *Haus Sara* for CARITAS. Out of these ten asylum seekers, I then aimed to choose a minimum of three volunteer participants from each house. Beyond offering field access, both associations should provide rooms for interviews. Although both associations collaborated with great enthusiasm, the research at *Haus Sara* could not be accomplished due to political interferences in August. While the first research phase at *Ex-Gorio* was successfully conducted with four volunteer participants in July 2014, the second research phase was cancelled without substitution. Just before going into the field the Italian authorities presented an official communication imposing the removal of all inhabitants of *Haus Sara* to other housing facilities in Southern Italy. Subsequently, all asylum seekers rejected every kind of collaboration, volunteering and research. Therefore, I had to switch to expert interviews with the personnel of *Haus Sara* and anthropologist Elisabeth Tauber at the University of Bolzano in order to strengthen and confirm the validity of research results. The description of both interview situations, including the photographic project “*Sehen und Gesehen werden*,” follows in Section 4.4.

4.3.1. Arrangement of the Interview

Eligibility criteria for interview partners were based on availability and followed criteria of diversity. Beyond diversity by nationality, gender sensitivity has become a necessary research requirement. In the case of asylum seeker facilities led by VOLONTARIUS and CARITAS the situation changes. At the time of research, the associations did not have access to female asylum seekers in the hostels. The study is therefore limited to male asylum seekers in the province of

Bolzano. Nevertheless, none of the selection could have been performed prior to the first encounter at the two housing facilities. I have to admit that the total amount of people seeking asylum for the first time in Bolzano is quite small. In 2012 less than 1,606 asylum applications were issued to first-time applicants, predominantly migrating from central Asian war zones and Africa (see ASTAT, 2013a: 5ff). Deviations are possible from children who are registered on their parents residence permit. According to this data it would be interesting to get in touch with people from both continents to include different perspectives, skills, cultural patterns, networks and memories. However, the initial idea and decision to include no more than six people into the research led to the view that diversity in cultural, social and historic background is considered an advantage but not a necessity for comprehensive output. Due to the sudden failure of asylum seekers at *Haus Sara*, the total number of participants taking part in research amounted to four individuals that had migrated from Pakistan, Afghanistan and Bangladesh.

Furthermore, respondents play an active role in interpreting the research questions from their perspective and become research partners more than subjects:

“Photo interview respondents are not ‘research subjects’ but rather active participants as they consider the research question and identify issues and topics of interest to themselves and their community. Respondents become partners with social scientists as they ask for explanations, feedback, and information.” (Kolb, 2008a: 6)

These change mechanisms for selection challenges the researcher with recruiting participants willing to occupy an active role in the research process. Therefore, the opening phase is a crucial moment for establishing a diverse pool of interview respondents.

4.3.2. Getting in Touch with Asylum Seekers

According to personal experiences, contacting people in precarious living conditions usually requires time and local knowledge and often doesn't work out without first involving responsible persons from welfare association. As described above, for accomplishing the research I first got in touch with representatives of the institutions. As confidence is a key-issue for research where gatekeepers are required, meetings in June 2014 were necessary. In this ante-research meeting without asylum seekers we decided together on how to define the target group properly and how to approach the research participants. Due to the later failure of collaboration with asylum seekers hosted by the CARITAS, the following paragraph describes the only pathway conducted at the asylum seeker hostel *Ex-Gorio*.

I first contacted asylum seekers together with a representative of the association. Together we met at their place of rest. In the early beginning of the research participants were told that pictures could be of anything that seemed important for them, although the focus is on places and place-making. After a brief introduction and the distribution of cameras, all participants entered their own social field without any control or influence from the researcher. Most asylum seekers did not hesitate to immediately raise specific questions on how to meet the requirements of the exercise. I can highlight a descriptive observation made by Kolb:

“Photo respondents often find this phase empowering as they make their perspectives explicit in their photos as they engage in a very personal way in the research question, and think about how it matters in their lives and communities.” (Kolb, 2008a: 7)

The collection of cameras followed the second meeting with the participating group. Together we set up a timetable for the final interviews and had a quick conversation. The aim of these rather informal talks was to give interview participants the opportunity to make acknowledgments of the research topic, applied techniques, and photo-equipment. The third and last meeting with interview respondents was again conducted in the asylum seeker hostel, as none of the research participants desired to change location. Prior to the individual scheduling I had given all participants the opportunity to select other meeting places in order to ensure a comfortable setting where asylum seekers didn't need to worry about free speech.

4.3.3. Equipment and Documentation

The photographs were taken with one-way cameras of adequate quality. The quality mark of one-way cameras is a flashlight, as it advances shutter speed and therefore obviates blurred pictures. At the same time it was necessary to choose a camera that excluded manual varieties in order to make novice users feel comfortable. Although handling became much easier with digitalization, it couldn't be taken for granted that all respondents had previous working experience with cameras. The adjoining interview was documented with a recording device for later transcript. Beyond that, memory minutes supported the documentation of personal impressions in order to gain knowledge of the analysis of the research outcome.

4.4. “*Sehen und Gesehen Werden*” – See and to be Seen

Due to the failure of participatory photo research at *Haus Sara*, I had to include further data assessed in a project similar to mine. Although „*Sehen und Gesehen werden*“ was allocated in the field of applied anthropology, there are several visible similarities between both projects. In addition to a study of representative material published during the course of the project, I decided to conduct an expert interview with Elisabeth Tauber, anthropologist at the University of Bolzano and the academic advisor assigned to the project. While some passages of the expert interview are implemented at this juncture in order to describe project aims, difficulties and outputs, some further statements will follow in the reflective sections of this paper. The expert interview was conducted in German on September, 10th 2014, just after the rejection of participation from asylum seekers' at *Haus Sara*.

The photo-project was implemented in the aftermath of the Arab Spring and was initially funded exclusively by *Benno Barth Stiftung*. Co-funding was later appropriated by the local department for German culture, education and integration. “*Sehen und Gesehen werden*” wasn't designed as a research project but aimed to create a counter statement to common media representation of asylum seekers. The project participants, all living in an asylum seeker hostel in a small village named *Vintl*, were accompanied by an anthropologist and a professional photographer throughout the project. During the course of the project most asylum seekers completed several activities, such as excursions to distinguished sites in the region. Even though conditions for asylum seekers taking part in the project were different from those experienced in Bolzano, it is a pity that scientific research was not of major interest. Because of the attendance of official representatives from the project, asylum seekers had access to specific institutions, such as the regional Landtag, and visited regional food-processing industries and gained credence from a majority of the rural population. For the concluding exhibition the asylum seekers selected from a pool of more than 8,000 self-made photographs and, together with volunteers and internal associates, developed pertinent text passages which describe the publicly depicted visual material and their present social reality. Moreover, participants of *Sehen und Gesehen werden* formed a homogenous religious group, while numerous people of Christian and Islamic faith live together in *Ex-Gorio*. Statements relating to religious behavior and conflicts within the asylum seekers' hostel community can't be compared to each other.

Theoretic background for „*Sehen und Gesehen werden*“ is the concept of gift-exchange preventing asylum seekers from ‘de-humanization.’ Elisabeth Tauber made reference to Harrell Bond, Didier Fassin and Marcel Mauss in the interview and argued how the conception of the project was already a demonstration of gift-exchange:

„[...] throughout the project I was anxious in highlighting that those people participating in the project [...] did not have any tangible capacities which could be returned. But it was their stories, their presence and their willingness to participate in the project that already was an incredible gift. It also assisted us in overcoming common imbalance in power.“ (Interview Transcript Tauber, 2014: 4)

The thesis in hand is based on theoretic assumptions framed by Seyla Benhabib's *New Cosmopolitan Theory of Justice for Migrants and Refugees*, and focal ideas of both theoretical approaches remain uncontested. Beyond the compatibility of two theoretic foundations, the tasks to be fulfilled by participants and the interrelation between asylum seekers and places differed in both projects. For „*Sehen und Gesehen werden*“ participants had to take pictures of everything that impressed them or was new to them. In that sense participants took photographs of actions and interventions, rather than locations. Although it is not possible to compare photographs from both projects, the visual output from *Sehen und Gesehen werden* alleviated challenges of action-related consistency in the fieldwork conducted at *Ex-Gorio*:

„Participants have not taken pictures of people or characteristics of the region. Their aim was not to take prying photographs of the environment, but to spot themselves in this new world. [...] At the end I understood [...] people which are new to a specific environment first experience the necessity to locate themselves in this new world despite looking at the others.“ (Interview Transcript Tauber, 2014:7)

Beyond all differences between the applied anthropology project and the thesis' fieldwork, in hindsight this statement confirms asylum seekers' relation towards places and underlines the necessity for at least emotional place-making when being new to a specific geographic, social, and cultural environment. On the other hand, it furthers arguments brought into the field and emphasizes that place-making and the correlating social reality of asylum seekers (as well as locals) is volatile. Recognizing this, it is important to amend that visual material and corresponding statements and interviews need to be located in one context, and can't be adapted to future scenarios. It will therefore be important to differentiate

between the representation of a single reality and the anonymized scientific output that might be able to cluster subjects that relate to theoretic assumptions. At this, the difference between an applied anthropology project and research comes into view and develops a warning for making a distinction between the social reality embedded in behavioral patterns and the social reality of one individual.

Data Evaluation

Subsequent to data assessment and editing I decided to present the research output as an integrative report that simultaneously includes both narrative and visual materials. These first deliberations include assertions made by both experts: Dr. Elisabeth Tauber, anthropologist at the University of Bolzano, and Romina Keim, project manager and social worker at *Haus Sara*.

During interview data conditioning, it turned out that different research participants frequently mentioned similar topics and places. It therefore became possible to establish subject-related clusters. At an early stage of the research process, one out of five interview participants dropped out for personal reasons. This sudden exit occurred on the day I returned the developed photographs, and fortunately didn't impact the variety of nationalities. Due to a lack of corresponding explanations, and in order to prevent misinterpretation, I decided to not include pictures from participant no.5 into data evaluation.

Concerning data evaluation, I first started with the analysis of the research participants' interviews and then clustered the visual material. Lastly, statements made by experts were integrated in order to confirm perspectives and information provided in the participatory photo interview. Statements authored by Elisabeth Tauber support the ambition for maintaining a critical attitude when dealing with the significance of singular topics. In order to make the evaluation process open to scrutiny, all interviews were transcribed and subsequently furnished with codes, amendments, and thoughts from the researcher. All of the following text passages are organized alongside subjects that rest upon arguments developed by asylum seekers. The subjects are:

- Bolzano – Our City
 - Like a Tourist
 - Living in an Asylum Seeker's Hostel

- Places for Communication
- Public Parks
 - Station Park
 - Railway Station
- Omnipresent State Authorities
- Religious Institutions – Between Churches and Mosques

A major challenge for the mimesis of research output was to create a balanced representation of narrative and visual material. While subjects derive from the evaluation of interviews, I decided to include visual material to support the arguments developed in interviews. Photographs, in addition to being scientific evidence, are part of the communicative and interpretative process and introduce personal stories of research participants (see Kolb, 2008b: 3). In combination with the interview, the visual material reveals local experiences, sense of belonging and opinions of a specific place or situation:

„Participants’ visual and interview data involve a lot of information for analysis, including the spatial analyses that reveal local opinions – positive and negative – of a place and the analyses of the local social context, grounded on subjective perspectives, and nested in a wider social and historical context“ (Kolb, 2012: 121)

Although scientific evaluation methods for visual materials are ample in the arts and political sciences, I did not perform image recognition including pre-iconographic, iconographic and iconologist descriptions. The corresponding scientific approach developed by art historian Erwin Panofsky suits pictures with representative character and those used in order to (re-)create a specific image. Hand photographs were taken in the context of research, without the scope of public representation. It is further important to acknowledge that asylum seekers have experienced and continue to experience precarious living conditions, which challenged the researchers' empathy and personal distance. Misinterpretation of the visual material becomes a hazard and should be raised to question in the frame of allegedly objective evaluation methods. To that effect, I decided to implement some of the photographs by contextualizing them with original text passages from the interviews. This gives the reader an opportunity to individually assess the

significance of acquired visual material, and furthers access to the research participants' cogitations.

5.1 Bolzano, City of Us

Research generally showed that asylum seekers favorably perceive the environment provided by the city of Bolzano. All participants referred to the city as a space where most people appear friendly and generous, and where the society makes them feel at home. While all participants agreed on the beauty of the old downtown quarters and some major sights situated in the area, in the descriptions



Figure 1: Ropway Bolzano - Renon, 2014

This picture is very important. It's the lift. [...] While you are a refugee you're going for some tourist places. But while we were here (Ex-Gorio) some of the guys told us to go and visit Oberbozen. So we told him, we were three guys; we told him that we don't have money. How could we go there? So they said they are going to cheat in some way. He pulled the guys in and said: OK, no problem. So we got there without tickets. First we felt scary that the police will catch us. But still he was a little bit a naughty guy and brought us to Oberbozen. So we went there and it was a good place. Very nice. The snow was there. We went there without tickets and chilling there for a while and then just came back. This was a nice place. That day it wasn't snowing and we enjoyed very good scenery. (Interview Transcript P3, 2014: 18)

of the self-produced photographic materials, P1 and P2 elaborated on the technical and economic advancement in comparison to their country of origin. While P2 was mainly focused on the strengths and finesse of military crafts situated next to the railway station, P1 tried to explain differences by bringing together the construction of street lanes and a high amount of motorized vehicles in almost paradox quiet (see Interview Transcript P1, 2014: 13).

The city's calm is further underlined by its geography. As an example, P1, P2 and P3 mentioned strong ties to alpine landscape as an advantage for the city in their interviews. The geographic positioning of Bolzano provides manifold places for recreation and provides an opportunity to easily observe the city from a bird's-eye perspective. This initial and very general impression might consequently be interrupted by positive and negative highlights, depending on previous personal experiences, the amount of help needed, religious orientation and the individual motivation for migration.

5.1.1. Like a Tourist

In previous sections Bolzano has been categorized as a revanchist environment attracting trade and tourism at high rates. Surprisingly, all participants in the study made reference to tourist attractions, although it was limited to photographic material and did not play a significant role in subsequent interviews. All participants took pictures of the historic main square in downtown Bolzano, hosting a memorial fountain dedicated to middle age minstrel *Walther von der Vogelweide*. Consequent interviews with all research participants nevertheless uncovered that historic testimony is less important than pictures with non-touristic motifs by underlining the elegance of the city center or making reference to situations that occasionally happened in Walther Square, questions about tourism and associated interactions (such as taking photographs of representative memorials) were answered. It cannot be ruled out that pictures of sights and tourist attractions are a byproduct of the research question and initial embarrassments in approaching the research target. Most of the pictures representing tourist attractions were made at the onset of photo sessions and prompt the conclusion that asylum seekers referred to touristic sites in order to meet the researchers' expectations.

Surprisingly, none of the participants was able to name the central square and further tourist hotspots. This is contrasted by their ability to name other places, such as libraries, language school, police stations and especially churches and charitable institutions. However, all participants were able to directly or indirectly describe the location. Even more important is the fact that asylum seekers took pictures of themselves in those places and most likely described them through

their position in society. Tourist hotspots where research participants photographed themselves included Walther Square, the victory monument and the ancient fruit-market. I decided not to publish pictures where participants are reproduced in front of any relevant place.



Figure 2: Walther v.d. Vogelweide, 2014

This is in the middle of the city; it's a very touristy point. It's very nice. Sometimes we're going there for sitting. I think it's a nice place, for the tourists. It's like the heart of the city, you know? It's for the tourists and I like it. [...] Of course there is a difference between us and the tourists here. I think we are not tourists. We're living here. We got the documents; someone has not got them yet but will get the documents soon. So when you have a residence here, when you move to some place and start living there for a long time... Once you have a residence permit then you start to be no longer a tourist. [...] Still people treat us the same as tourists. Of course they will think we are tourists. Because it's very rare that a local walks around in order to take photos; because they are locals. They don't take any interest. So of course they would define us as a tourist. Obviously. (Interview Transcript P3. 2014: 20f)

The taking of self-portraits appeared only in relation to tourist hotspots and describes the first tactic of place-making. Furthermore, it supposes chronology in common action patterns as locating seems to be a condition for getting interested

in residence. A contested connotation in the interviews dealt with the participants' self-understanding as asylum seekers or tourists. Correlating ambivalences are also articulated in the statement associated to picture no. 2. P1 and P2 argued that they feel like tourists when visiting places that are often reproduced for promotion and advertisement of the city. On the other hand, research participants admitted that they don't spend time at tourist hotspots on a regular basis. They further mentioned that sightseeing implicates an opportunity to forget upcoming challenges. Taking photographs in a place where people with different backgrounds and origins take pictures pushed them into the temporary role of a tourist and made them feel labeled, but accepted, by locals. P3 and P4 argued they couldn't feel like tourists in Bolzano, as they are both engaged in starting regular life. Apart from Walther Square and other tourist hotspots in the city center, participants grasped the chance to leave communal borders behind and move to places near the city that allowed them to gain new experiences and take in new perspectives.

Although it turned out that photographs of tourist hotspots were barely related to stories from the participants (only P4 mentioned how Walther Square became lifesaving during his first night in Bolzano because of the water dispenser at the bottom of the memorial), tourist images helped get the interview started and elaborated on the participants' self-assessment. In combination with statements from experts and personal observations, during the reworking of the photographs it became obvious that the action of shooting pictures is an opportunity to compile a personal life story. This is also the reason why Elisabeth Tauber suggests that these pictures are a positive byproduct of the research and show the impact of participatory photo interviews on individuals. While a byproduct, taking pictures of historic sites or memorials can't be considered a regular place-making tactic for asylum seekers due to fact that it is barely affordable to take pictures with one-way cameras for people with meager financial support. Still, I argue that the taking and ownership of these pictures could improve the participants' sense of place-making when returning to daily life and connoted impressions. A confirmation of these statements is derived from the fact that all images representing tourist hotspots were made at the early beginning of the project. This way, they functioned as a starting point for interviews and as an active photo-shooting phase. For the thesis' conclusion, implications of photographed tourist hotspots, including self-portraits, are of methodological (versus substantial) relevance.

5.1.2. At Home in an Asylum Seekers' Hostel

The asylum seekers' hostel, abbreviated as 'camp' during the interviews, is probably the most ambivalent place with impact on asylum seekers. First, it

deprives asylum seekers of the burden of homelessness by providing shelter, hygienic facilities, selected leisure time activities, social services, legal support and a labor market. Nevertheless, reports and pictures taken of the camp turned out to be contradictory. While some participants argued that the camp is like home, others argued it can't become home because of the limited period of time they are allowed to stay without being removed. Residence in the asylum seekers' hostel is confined to a one-year limit. Asylum seekers with or without a residence permit then have to move into another facility. These second stage asylum seekers' hostels are designed to help them find work and suitable private accommodation. After six months asylum seekers lose the right of abode in public facilities and revert to homelessness in case of failure in the regular employment market (see Interview Transcript Keim, 2014: 10). People who no longer live in a camp are not allowed (controlled by surveillance techniques) to enter the facility, regardless of existing relationships. Temporal restrictions once more enhance precarity, augment pressure, and influence asylum seekers' realities.

Another prominent aspect related to the perception of asylum seekers' hostels is based on inner conflicts. All participants argued that conflicts happen on a regular basis and some feel afraid of camp authorities. Help is likely to be deferred and rumors could be a reason to lose accommodation and risk homelessness. These allegations couldn't be proved during research, but show that asylum seekers' dependence on camp authorities is ample. Furthermore, research participants claimed that community activities have been cancelled. For example, financial cuts and consequent staffing shortages were reasons for replacing group-based cooking activities with a cheaper food delivery service.

Besides encounters between camp authorities and asylum seekers, the atmosphere is charged by conflicts with roommates and other inhabitants, and sometimes reproduces religious conflicts between Muslims and Christians. Most conflicts arise from the multi-linguistic setting that dominates:

“This is my room. We are eight people living in here. Not everyone is nice. Some people are bad. [...] There are people from Bangladesh, Africa, Pakistan and Afghanistan. One of them is really bad. He is badmouthing and always nervous. [...] Usually it is quiet, really quiet in our room because we're living together but we do not speak the same language. They don't speak Italian, and I don't talk Italian either.”(Interview Transcript P4, 2014: 26)

Statements made in the interviews showed that there is a difference between friends and roommates. Even asylum seekers supporting the organization as volunteers haven't necessarily been characterized as friends. This further underlines the conflictive situation in the asylum seekers' hostels. Nevertheless, a pronounced distinction between people from inside and outside the camp regularly appeared in all interviews.



Figure 3: Bicycle repair shop, 2014

He repairs bicycles for free. More than 3000 bicycles until now. A couple of days an Italian guy passed by and asked him to repair his bicycle and wondered why it was so economic. But why can't he just open his own little shop, why is it so hard for him to find work? Why aren't locals supporting him in creating his own agency? He's a very smart guy. [...] Now he raised prices. It's two Euros for good people and five for bad people. People from all over Bolzano come here and drop their bicycles off because he performs well and you just have to pay him a coffee, or two. Take the bicycle out of your Ferrari, wait ten to fifteen minutes, put the bicycle into the Ferrari again: Two Euro. That is it. (Interview Transcript P4, 2014: 27)

Another aspect mentioned by participants when it came to the asylum seekers' hostel referred to leisure activities and work opportunities. Two major alternations have been made to the concrete structure provided by the province of Bolzano: a fitness corner was furnished and a makeshift bicycle repair shop for camp

inhabitants and outsiders was set up. Both adaptations have been made at the asylum seekers' hostel in a relatively deprived neighborhood at the city's margins. Both scopes are related to camp authorities and have been established in collaboration with former inhabitants of the asylum seekers' hostel.

Furthermore, pasteboards edge the sidewalk between the camp and a street leading to downtown. Similar to the fitness corner and bicycle shop, pasteboards are long-term structural changes forming a base for those who spend their day waiting for people to deposit clothes in the clothing drive container near the hostel. With a pasteboard people can comfortably sit on the sidewalk for hours; folded twice, pasteboards may be used as a bolster during the hot summer. According to remarks made by P4, the infrastructure isn't used only by newcomers with urgent need for clothes, but dominated by second hand traders establishing an informal working environment (see Interview Transcript P4: 24). Similar to the bicycle repair area, the placement of pasteboards is a physical change made in the immediate public surroundings of the camp that aims to augment job opportunities.

Local anthropologist Elisabeth Tauber further confirmed the impact of working experiences. Although the work is not necessarily the same as regular gainful employment, it creates a moment of reciprocity where two partners can exchange without pushing one another into de-humanization. In the context of *Sehen und Gesehen werden*, volunteer work for the local community was experienced positively by everyone involved:

"It's remarkable that those enthusiast young men worked without getting paid for months. They asked by themselves for getting told off for shoveling snow in the winter months. They also had the opportunity to deny volunteer works: No. Why should they shovel snow for free? Obviously it was huge motivation for them to see that locals give thanks. They brought flowers for the community garden, collected cloths for the winter and summer seasons and offered German language courses. Both parties saw it as a possibility for equal exchange." (Interview Transcript Tauber, 2014: 7)

Unfortunately the situation in the *Ex-Gorio* asylum seekers' hostel varies a lot from the situation at *Fischerhaus*. More than one hundred asylum seekers live together in a rather marginalized urban area of Bolzano, and contact to the social environment is cursory. All research participants mentioned job opportunities that were irregular/regular, paid/unpaid and determined/undetermined. In doing so, they stressed their disposition for work and participation in a new environment.

Providing food and shelter, the camp remains a deceitful point of reference from the perception of asylum seekers. I learned that constant monitoring and internal conflicts don't constitute a pleasurable environment and push them toward public space. The camp itself might be considered a space rather than place where inhabitants in collaboration with one another or with social workers and volunteers need to grasp the opportunity to actively define places while human needs are only satisfied to some degree.

5.2. Communicative Places

Similar to places in proximity of the asylum seekers hostel, some other locations such as public squares, libraries, language schools and the university campus are relevant for asylum seekers for specific services. One of these services might be circumscribed by communicative support, including language classes, literature, free Internet access and gossiping. Communicative places differ from each other and are situated at different sites in the historic city center. Distinct settings and locations support the individualization of asylum seekers and fragment a group that is often perceived homogeneously. Indeed, all research participants showed high variance in the selection of communicative places and only the university campus was mentioned more than once. Apart from the Free University of Bolzano, research participants mentioned Italian and German city libraries, three different language schools and meeting points for young locals. While the libraries and university were connoted to inclusive experiences, meeting points for young adults in the city center were mostly perceived as exclusionary and reinforced difficulties of getting in touch.

Besides free Internet access most facilities enlisted make reference to language acquisition and reading. In the interviews, participants confirmed that language schools gain little importance because of several deficits. P3 argues that language schools have little intensity and irregular scheduling. Furthermore, teachers are often replaced by volunteers and language schools defect on a regular basis (see Interview Transcript P3, 2014: 19). Romina Keim states:

„Language courses are offered and compulsory for people in asylum seeker hostels. [...] Some people feel unchallenged by language courses, which is probably also because of the classes' size. The insert of new contacts is limited on teachers and volunteers as asylum seekers know each other already from the camp. Therefore socializing is not an allure to asylum seekers attendant in language classes.” (Interview Transcript, Keim, 2014: 10)

To contrast, libraries have been argued to be important for improving language skills and were described as having an integrative character because of constant staffing. The importance of both official languages was recognized by all research participants and associated with getting in touch with locals, finding a job and participation in volunteer associations. In relation to place-making I argue that discrepancies between language classes and libraries arise from continuously changing settings when compared to language schools and their compulsory character.

In opposition to language schools, the inner-city university campus and nearby libraries were identified as major meeting points for asylum seekers in Bolzano. Although they become prominent in winter season, they are still attended year-round because of specific qualities. It is peculiar that people from outside and inside the asylum seekers' hostel mix up these places when sitting in the library or in front of the building. Romina Keim remembers:

"An asylum seeker living at Haus Sara once talked about his experiences at the university. He told me that at university nobody is asking for his origin, nobody is interested in his legal status. So he could talk to them as a regular student and felt fully integrated to the student's life. Sometimes he attended lectures and seminar classes in order to improve language skills and specific knowledge. He would always hide his real narrative."
(Interview Transcript Keim, 2014: 11)

Libraries and the university campus established an environment where socio-cultural background and legal status count are irrelevant. This pleasant setting is challenged by the 'outside,' a public space where populist statements inspire anxieties in the locals. As an example, P3 and P4 mentioned that interactions with locals beyond the university campus and libraries are rare and have an isolating character. Bars and pubs visited by locals, tourists or business travelers are too expensive for asylum seekers entitled to benefits equal to €40/month. Several economic, social and cultural barriers complicate interactions with locals. Varying experiences in semi-private places and locations have become a second connotation to the city environment were places segregate.



Figure 4: Free University of Bolzano, 2014

This is in front of the university building. For people living at Ex-Gorio and people living on the street this is the place where you have access to WIFI, but there are also books and you can hang out there for the whole day. People here don't have to pay and we're all doing the same: sitting around, sleeping, everything, one can find a bathroom and toilets. It's like a bar which is open from the early morning hours until midnight. And it's big, really, really big. If you're out of money and need to make a phone call you can just go there and use the Internet. [...] There are further places in Bolzano which are similar to this one. But only similar, not equal ones. At most places internet access is limited by time. (Interview Transcript P4, 2014: 23)

5.3. Public Parks

Parks are places with distinguished relevance for asylum seekers. Most prominently, Bolzano's Station Park was connoted to various stories and temporarily shaped by physic place-making interventions. It will therefore be particularized in a singular section. As money is scarce and time ample in the first six months on Italian territory, parks are reference points where some needs are satisfied. P1 visualized and mentioned an abandoned basketball court adopted by him and some other asylum seekers to convert to a cricket field. Cricket is popular in most former colonies of the British Empire. Adaptions were made by simply placing some stones that emulate bases



Figure 5: Cricket, 2014

In the city of Bolzano everyone plays soccer. But I like cricket much more. Here you can see we're two people playing cricket. [...] We are pretty good and passers-by stop to have a look. Most of them say: Look at him, he is very good! [...] But there aren't any fields where you can play cricket in Bolzano. Not even one. So we placed a simple stone on the field in order to make it a cricket field. Most of the other fields are associated to soccer, some to basketball, but here now you can play cricket. [...] Here people play soccer – in France, in Germany, in Italy. But we from Pakistan, India and England love to play cricket. (Interview Transcript P1, 2014: 12f)

Other research participants mentioned a small park next to the main police station, as well as the spacious waterside promenade alongside the river *Talvera* and green high roads at the edge of Bolzano's communal borders. These green spaces are considered major interfaces between locals and asylum seekers. Contrary to positive experiences, the sole presence of asylum seekers in public parks and greens is enough to evoke surveillance and police controls in a revanchist environment. Because of the topics complexity, experiences with state authorities will be treated in a separate section. Nevertheless, it is important to keep in mind the spot checks' impact on place, the perception of place and connoted place-making.

5.3.1. Station Park

Beyond qualities as a meeting point, the green area in front of the central railway station is connected to human necessities and has strong personal ties. The significance of stories related to Station Park emphasized differences in place-making, with and without physical adaptations to a predefined environment. For P2, the park retains memories of looking for a place to get some sleep his first night after arrival. That night P2 reinterpreted a compound for birds as a place appropriate for sleeping. Because of the irrigation system, the adoption of the place had turned out to be only partially successful. P3 also stated that he still remembers this first morning at Station Park when walking by, but he's glad to have surpassed those very difficult first days. The park was needed for shelter during winter nights and he luckily found a sheet hanging in one of the trees. While telling stories about that first night in Bolzano, P3 showed strong emotions. He commented:

"So, sometimes I just look to this place and think: Oh my God. This was the first night I spent in this city. It is not a place where you can sleep. But when you don't have any choice, of course you will have to do something."
(Interview Transcript P3, 2014: 16)

The exact reproduction of the first night's memories are common to all interview participants and shows place-making led by pragmatism and supported by short-term adaptations of places with alternating determination.

Physical changes for the construction of sleeping places have been made in the public and private spheres in order to produce roosts. Beyond the station park lorry-triggers and abandoned houses are squatted, but only the first night experience stuck in the research participants' memory. It also turned out that first-night experiences, although followed by serious health consequences in some cases, are positively connoted, as they are left behind in their personal migration history and correspond to the perception of the alpine city. At this stage of the interview, conflict situations, such as police interventions, were retained for the sake of the story.



Figure 6: Station Park, 2014

Almost one year ago I arrived in the city of Bolzano. That night I slept over there (pointing at the bird house). I slept there together with another guy and with pigeons. In the early morning I woke up and everything was wet. And both of us, we did not really get the point why everything was so wet. I slept there with another person, anyone else. Looking around there were no other people. Later I recognized: The irrigation system for the parks' green had started in the early morning. I have the same picture even on my mobile phone. (Interview Transcript P2, 2014: 14)

Further necessities attributed to Station Park are on-line and face-to-face communication. Similar to other places in the public space, it was equipped with unlimited and free WIFI access for mobile devices from 2013 until early 2014. Common network applications, with the aim of enhancing transnational

communication for little investment, are a considerable way to stay in contact with family members and friends left behind. Three out of four participants underlined this socio-cultural necessity and forcefully called to mind that the limitation of free WIFI infrastructure in the case of Station Park caused the places' transformation, because the most important precondition for places of communication is their functional value. As an example, P4 explained that his family denies contact owing to religious objections. Thus, he evades what I labeled communicative places. In addition to wants for transnational communication, free WIFI access is also important for leisure activities:

"A majority of people would come to this park, especially refugee people... They are surfing the Internet in a simply way, downloading movies, watching... But it is also a sitting point, gossiping with friends, so it became an assembly point for us. All people go there." (Interview Transcript P3, 2014: 18)

Interview records confirm that places, which gain importance by virtue of specific services, lose their meaning once specific infrastructure is no longer allocated. The limitation of free WIFI hotspots in some places, as well as the augmentation of equal or similar WIFI areas, might be considered a powerful tool for urban development planners with revanchist backgrounds. Interestingly, a dichotomy arises: on the one hand, free WIFI access and permanent interconnectedness are part of what is meant to be a post-modern, neoliberal world. On the other hand, WIFI is also a tool for asylum seekers that aren't a target group for revanchist cities. This dichotomy articulates a dilemma for revanchist cities where economic liberalism and contemporary spatial restrictions are pushed into the same discursive arena. Unquestionably, Bolzano's Station Park lost some of its qualities after shutdown and became a less important interface for asylum seekers or well-trained mobile experts with demand for ubiquitous access to Internet.

5.3.2. The Railway Station

Special emphasis was put on the city's central railway station, providing services that satisfy some basic human needs. Currently, asylum seekers in the station building find an ample washing room and toilets, frequently used by people living on the streets, but also by those who spend time in Station Park. Personal hygiene was a focal connotation for all research participants once the railway station was addressed in the interviews (see Interview Transcript P3, 2014: 18). But what happens when people are forced to pay fees for the washing room and when facilities for solicited needs are no longer provided by public structures? It is not without reason that future urban restructuring plans for the central railway are expected to impact the asylum seekers' perception of this place:

„(For the moment) it's free. Thanks god it's free, because otherwise it would be very costly. [...] Of course I've seen so many places where you have to pay. It is strange when you don't have money and no license – it's difficult. Guys, it's a human need! It is about washing before breakfast. This way we could wash our face and hands!“ (Interview Transcript P3, 2014: 18)

Regarding the railway station, all participants' highlighted importance. However, only P3 was sympathetic to explain the public facilities role in more detail. Surprisingly, none of the research participants connoted it to mobility or as a major public transport hub; even though two admitted that they used trains more than once for regional excursions. Even though asylum seekers are illicit to move freely within the territory administered by the province of Bolzano, little sustenance impedes connotations towards mobility and travel. The railway



Figure 7: Railway Station, 2014

This is another, very important picture. It is the train station, so – when we were sleeping outside, so – just like when you are in your house and get up early in the morning – you will have to wash your face, your hair is like.. You know what I mean? You can't be like.. You can't go outside with the hair everywhere. So we just go into these toilets to refresh ourselves. We come to the toilets for washing our faces and mouths, to brush our teeth. And sometimes shaving as well. Because we don't have a house, nothing. It is the train station, be we're using it as a bathroom. (Interview Transcript P3, 2014: 18)

station's functional significance for asylum seekers differs from the perception of regular city dwellers with no restrictions on trans-regional and transnational mobility.

5.4. Omnipresent State Authorities

Interview passages and photographs associated with the topic showed that any place in Bolzano is a potential place for police interventions. In general, relations towards state authorities were described by randomness, omnipresence, dependency and anxiety. Lawfulness, order and security were positively connoted qualities— sometimes with regards to executive authorities, sometimes not. Interview statements have further been supported by the non-existence of visual material, with the exception of one photograph showing two police cars in a street near the central railway station. Most participants waived to represent state authorities visually but delineated their appearance in the interview. Rather than photographs of the local police station, policemen, or immigration office, pictures in which participants started to contextualize the significance of state authorities included parks, abandoned houses and traffic circles. Only the arrangement of traffic signs, in combination with local geographic knowledge, could indicate the actual location of the picture. Regarding the missing attendance of state authorities, Romina Keim answered with a couple of sentiments:

„I suppose that anxiety is a prominent reason. The atmosphere in the department for migration is quite charmless. Stories that have been told by asylum seekers start from verbal abuse to... However, the bursary is not a friend and helper to asylum seekers and merely connoted negatively. Probably your research partners just didn't want to hang on to these experiences.“ (Interview Transcript Keim, 2014:10f)

The want to forget, or at least to not visually preserve memories and experiences with state authorities, is not the only way asylum seekers reacted upon them in interviews. Statements corresponding to the only picture were state authorities were visualized show that unique moments are powerful in terms of place-making. The picture lacks clear handwriting and leaves the impression it could have been made somewhere in the city. The actual location of the police experience becomes representative for every street, exemplified also by a missing distinction of the executive corps. All participants talked about the police, but none of them made distinctions between state, border, military and/or communal police.



Figure 8: Police control, 2014

My residence permit was finishing, so I had to pick up my renewed residence permit from the local police station and then go to the doctor straight away. So I took a bicycle from the guys to go quickly, you know [...] On the way in the city, while I was riding the cycle the police stopped me. They just gave me a penalty because I was cycling without light. It was about 27, or 29 Euro. I wondered how they could give me such a penalty on such small things. And he just told me: You don't have a light. I didn't argue with the police, but I thought: What is the reason during the day? If it was the night, then it would have made sense. But during the day no one needs a light. [...] Then I went to the post office and deposited the money. I was scared they would come after me. (Interview Transcript P3, 2014: 19f)

P1 and P2 also reported about frequent identity checks in the public space. P4 emphasized the significance of physical characteristics, such as skin color, clothing style and religious items that qualify for profiling.

„When you go and stay in a public park, police will come immediately. They know my face, because it is the same people that work at the police station where I have to ask for my residence permit. I don't know what they are thinking. [...] Probably it's because I'm black, I'm from Asia and not from Europe. [...] It's impossible that you see someone and then first look at the person's ID. Then, if a person is black it's easy to ask: What is about you? What's in your bag? They don't respect people.“ (Interview Transcript P4, 2014: 25)

P3, P4 and even Romina Keim confirmed that police officers know asylum seekers by name but still conduct preventive identity and residence checks. P3 recounts:

"Yesterday the police cached us and just checked our ID. Just for the security purpose they checked our documents. So when you are sitting there is much more possibility that police will inspect you. It happened so many times to me, while we were 'outside' sitting next to the train station." (Interview Transcript, 2014: P3)

In order to incorporate theoretical concepts, I reiterate that discriminative practices are only one characteristic of revanchist public space. Participants also talked about police officers' behavior in the station where asylum seekers need to regularly show-up and prove a consistent history of residence and working permits. Both actions are related to individual temporal dependencies for asylum seekers and cause additional uncertainties, with impact on the city's image. It was therefore remarkable that all research participants distinguished between regular members of the local society and executive authorities. During the study it was possible to observe and document discontinuities between ideas of the civic society, policy-making, and implementation. This suggests an approach that detaches revanchist urbanism from the inhabitant's sentiments and actions. Furthermore, three out of four participants mentioned that regulations and limits are admirable and differ to their country of origin. Regarding photography of the military armory, P2 argued that it is used for keeping peace instead of making war. He chose this picture in order to show difference to his state of residence, where the army is just one of several enemy parties. P2 was the only research participant who took pictures of the military armory loaded on train triggers.

5.5. Religious Institutions

Asylum seekers perceived religious institutions and buildings associated with confessions differently. The relevance of Christian churches and Islamic prayer areas is derived from the services they provide for homeless people and asylum seekers. They are also a place where people find social warmth and religious support. Several photographs and correlated narratives document the significance of religious institutions for asylum seekers in Bolzano. Most prominently, research participants took pictures of churches and monasteries associated with the Christian faith. While asylum seekers with an Islamic background highlighted food distribution and leisure time activities, participants with Christian



Figure 9: Church above Bolzano, 2014

This church is nearby a little bit above Bolzano. It is a very small and a very ancient church. It opens once a week and I've been there for several times and went inside. But for the prayer I go to another, less remote church. Padre Mario does the prayer there. He is a very nice person and he performs very well. (Interview Transcript P1, 2014: 11)

backgrounds pictured them as transcultural places for conviviality and peace without discrimination.

Comparing Muslim and Christian asylum seekers, it turned out that Christians are more strongly related to religious institutions. As most research participants originated from countries with Christian minorities and Muslim majorities, the motivation for flight away from conflict-zones towards Europe can be different. According to P1 and P4, who both left their home countries for religious reasons, conflicts between Muslims and Christians are also present in the asylum seekers' hostel. This means that the motivation for flight has an impact on the perception of the environment. For P1 and P4 religious buildings are extremely important and articulate local aspects of place-making in an international setting of faith.

Most impressively, P1 drifted towards Christianity as a major topic during the interview, even though photographs showed places without religious facilities, such as squares, mountains or the moon. Almost every description provided to explain photographs referred to Christianity, Christian architecture and Christian value systems. It turned out that his decision for flight was motivated by the desideratum to freely practice his faith without persecution.

„Where I am from Christ's and Muslims have problems in conviviality. There are many Muslims, and only a little Christian community. Muslims ask: Why do you believe in Christianity. It's not good for you to be a Christ. Why do you prefer churches? You should change! You should become a Muslim too! If you don't become a Muslim you're dead. My father was a protestant; I'm catholic. But recently my father died. Muslims went into the church and killed more than one hundred people. My problems have never been money or work, my problem is life.“ (Interview Transcript P1, 2014: 13)

For P1, Christian symbols and buildings appeared to be more important than any other photographically visualized motifs and indicate place-making tactics with strong ties to the country of origin. To summarize, religious freedom and security for both Christian asylum seekers in the research panel were confirmed by the knowledge of local prayers and prayer service timetables.

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, asylum seekers with Islamic faith cherish local religious institutions for distributing food to homeless people, therefore satisfying a basic human need. Furthermore, Muslims find religious connection in the local Muslim community. For instance, P3 argued that he and some other homeless people were allowed to stay and warm-up in the mosque

during wintertime. He also underlined religious beliefs and demonstrated belonging to the local community by selecting one picture of the prayer room, and a second one showing him in preparation for Ramadan festivities.

Discussion

6.1. Empirical Findings Relating to Place, Place-Making, and Power

At the end of data assessment and evaluation, it was necessary to reflect upon assumptions made before and during the research process. In terms of content, the research process uncovered major outputs on places, place-making tactics and strategies, as well as the meaning of future perspective in place-making. Both topics are treated in the first section of this chapter and rest upon output from expert interviews and a summarized account of the participatory photo interview.

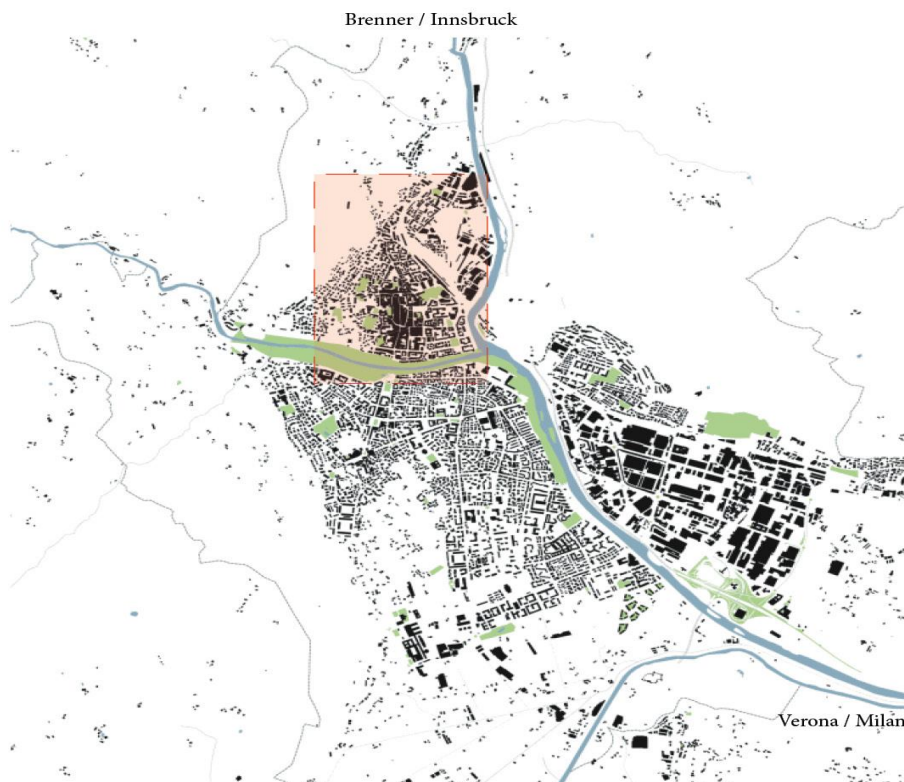


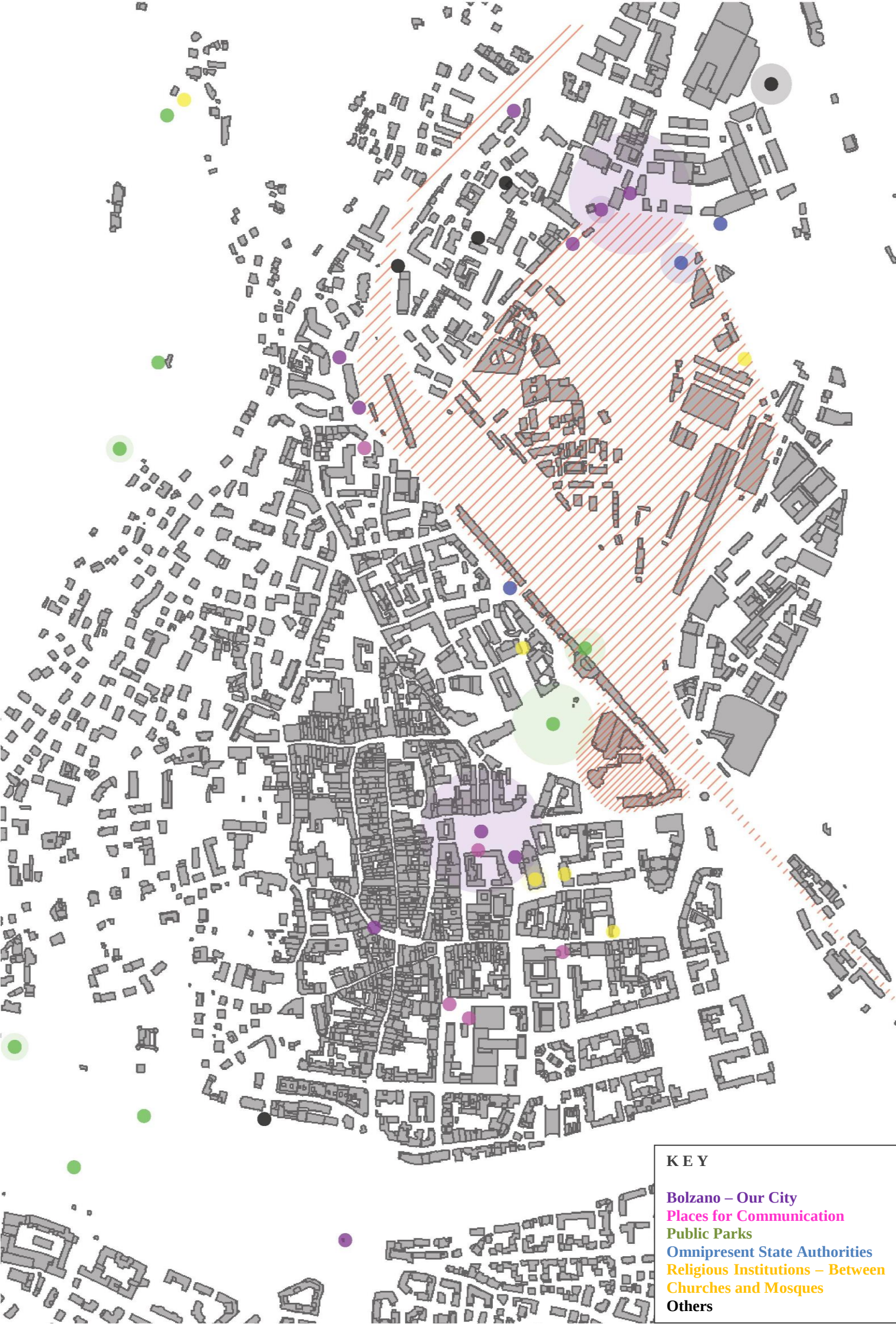
Figure 10: City plan of Bolzano and geographical positioning. In red: Area of interest for the research process according to photographs made by participants.

These first inferences will further challenge theoretical and methodological deliberations in order to find possible suggestions for improvement. Both topics will be discussed independently of one another.

6.1.1. Geographic Interfaces: Urban Restructuring Meets Place-Making of Marginalized Groups

Challenges for successful conviviality arise due to police interventions, revanchist attitudes from the local government and asylum seekers in the same location. This hypothesis needs to be validated or falsified in order to identify characteristics of place-making. Visual data from the research emphasizes that points of reference for asylum seekers and urban restructuring projects share the same places at the moment of arrival, but then slowly shed functionality for asylum seekers. An overview, followed by a detailed map of the city center (including places of personal relevance for asylum seekers), contextualize where and for which interest place-making was performed by the research participants. Processed information does not derive from alternative methods, such as mind maps or movement profiles. Places made according to subjects have been made clearly visible on the maps by the appropriation of different colors. For details, see the key in Figure 2.

Figure 11: City map of Bolzano downtown. The highlighted areas are subject to both large scale urban restructuration projects described in section 3.2.2.1.-3.2.2.2. of this thesis. Furthermore the map shows all places where research participants have taken pictures. Any of the research participants left the outtake in order to take photographs of the city.



The map details several findings related to the five subjects previously described:

1. Photographs have been taken only in a small part of the city and indicate the limited mileage of asylum seekers when it comes to place-making. Unsurprisingly, asylum seekers made reference to areas directly or indirectly affected by two major urban restructuring projects.
2. Most images characterized in Section 5.1 were shot near Piazza Walther in the city center and at the asylum seekers' hostel. Both are places lacking clear statements in the interviews. While some research participants adored the local environment, others acknowledged serious and sometimes degrading moments. Furthermore, places in the immediate vicinity of the asylum seekers' hostel are connoted to job opportunities and indicate future life planning.
3. Pictures associated with communicative activities are distributed more equally over the city center. This testifies to the volatility of places 'made' for functionalist reasons. According to information and communication technologies' quick evolution, some places loose and win relevance.
4. Pictures representing public parks and green areas need to be differentiated. Only P1 took pictures of green areas that aren't in close proximity to the city center. Different first-time experiences and place-making tactics driven by pragmatism encouraged all research participants to talk about the central station and the park out front.
5. As already pointed out, state authorities became a matter of fact only in subsequent interviews. The absence of state authorities in the visual media, but their ample presence in the interview narratives, confirms asylum seekers' difficult relationship with state authorities.
6. Such as places are important for their communicative character, religious places are also well distributed throughout the city. Religious places are not connoted with competition. Nevertheless, religious institutions and places where religion is practiced also

transport meanings for asylum seekers with relevant motivation for migration.

According to the research output, I suggest a differentiation between a) places where activities follow a defined function and b) places where asylum seekers spend their free time. Both places are affected by police interventions, but places with a functional character in the narratives seemed to be deprived of unfavorable episodes in the new city. For example, police interventions in the narratives turned out to be frequent in the city center and in public greens. Walther Square and Station Park are only two examples of public space where the local government pushes revanchist place-making strategies in order to make Bolzano more attractive for highly skilled and affluent groups of society, as well as tourism and trade.

In order to get back to post-Marxist concepts about spatial power, it is important to recognize polarization at places where unpredictable interactive processes are expected in the next few years. Two major public-private urban restructuring projects witness increasing revanchist tendencies in municipal and regional policy-making. Exempli gratia, local elites legitimize discriminative police interventions, such as ethnic profiling, by an inconvenient public debate about the immigration system. Integration of local experts with marginalized members of society is not foreseen in the decision making council implementing *Kaufhaus Bozen*. Authorities had to admit that socio-cultural competence is not foreseen in the realization of urban restructuring projects (see Annex 1). We can therefore assume that prescriptions made by Signa Holding after the submission of the first project proposal were not to meet requirements of marginalized groups, but to satisfy local interest groups. The maintenance of Station Park, as well as paid bathrooms within the reconstructed central station, is for the interest of majoritarian city dwellers, local traders and hoteliers.

The alternation of place-making strategies and tactics is articulated through continuing counter activities of opposing social groups that try to provide places with favorable characteristics. The needs and requirements, but also the groups' capacities, influence the choice of specific tools and durability desired. One tool that has been selected by local authorities in order to increase security is identity checks. They constitute a method of surveillance and are likely to address those who live at societal margins. Beyond the omnipresence of state authorities, misgivings about surveillance and associated techniques have been voiced in reference to the asylum seekers' hostel. Statements from research participants showed the Janus-faced character of relationships between asylum seekers and social workers. On the one hand, social workers provide help and support asylum

seekers in their daily lives. On the other hand, most research partners described relationships as a redoubtable dependency. Although the asylum seekers' hostel is administered by friendly societies, communal and national responsibilities are not questioned and suggest proper legislative meaning when dealing with asylum seekers and refugees.

6.1.2 Lack of Perspectives – The Significance of Time

The participatory photo interview brought into focus the requirements, needs and associated adaptive interactions in private and public space that I didn't expect to be relevant for asylum seekers' place-making at the onset of the research project. I had expected some aspects to be relevant which were visualized or mentioned only in tangent. It is therefore necessary to critically break down single place-making initiatives used by asylum seekers in Bolzano and to categorize them alongside a structural pattern of notions of time. A timeline of place-making patterns divides notions of the past, present and future and helps us to comprehend interrelations between memories shared by asylum seekers and individual practices. One of the research participants created a mental timeline for the interview and commented that he would like to start with the worst situation and then gradually move forward to the good. This was symbolized by his recent situation in Bolzano (see Interview Transcript P3, 2014: 17). During the interview he shared memories focusing on his first months in the city, which became less important with the overcoming of single obstacles. Most of P3's places were related to homelessness, including strong ties to the central station, food distribution and various kinds of shelter. Before immersing in temporal patterns of past, present and future, it is necessary to reiterate that place-making for asylum seekers is merely related to the past and present. During the research project, none of the research participants dared to look forward and articulate future hopes and aspirations for individual initiative.

Most places that were considered significant by the research participants in the active photo-shooting phase made reference to experiences from the first couple of days. Pictures were taken of sleeping places, places for personal hygiene and food distribution. The research output confirms that in this first stage of homelessness, place-making of asylum seekers is not emphasized (or only marginally emphasized) by structural or physical changes, but by memories and some short-term adaptations of specific places. The reinterpretation of originally predetermined infrastructure, such as bird houses, lorry triggers and car parks, happened by placing a sheet or forming a pillow somewhere in the new environment. Although all participants had overcome these places, they were still allegoric to pathway and encouraged the establishment of further relations toward selected structures in the public sphere. As a matter of fact, place-making with the

objective of survival for asylum seekers in a new city is driven by pragmatism. It focuses on vital human requirements, categorized by the maximum effort necessary and the least effort possible. Nevertheless, it has parallels to place-making as a physical intervention.

Equal to place-making associated with human necessities, communicative and religious places did not bring out sustainable changes in the built environment. Although there is no doubt about the places' significance due to unequivocal functionality, little or no physical adaptations were made. Due to some participants' strong ties with religious institutions and an inalienable requirement for face-to-face and online communication, these two subjects evince that place-making is not necessarily an alternation of space. In the case of religious and communicative infrastructure, the high volatility of places limits interactions and prevents asylum seekers from establishing relations stronger than mental ones. Furthermore, all places characterized by clear functions give advice and support the suggestion that place-making (including physic changes or adaptations) loses relevance when the interests of asylum seekers and providers of specific services blend. Here asylum seekers completely renounced place-making tactics beyond cognitive power.

While renouncing place-making in settings with functional character, or limiting it to short-term experiences while homeless, persistent changes to the built environment of Bolzano were made in and near the asylum seekers' hostel. Sport activities and informal work experiences, such as the bicycle repair and trade, turned out to be major reasons for adapting places through infrastructural changes of mid-range durability. Although it is not possible to formulate general statements about the location of places where mid-range changes were made, it's astonishing to observe a slow but continuous extension of the asylum seekers' hostel into the public sphere. Most probable, the composition of place-making tactics with mid-term character can be traced back to the hostel as a focal point for research participants. These places simply illustrate the current situation of asylum seekers and motivate them to take their personal fate in hand. Accordingly, it can be argued that place-making with unambiguous purpose and expected mid-term durability contrasts to short-term adoptions. Those were relevant only during the first months, while awaiting accommodation in detention centers.

Finally, the sequence from short-term and pragmatic to mid-term physical changes to the built environment, suggests that long-term adaptations are a next step. However, long-term place-making requires legal, economic and cultural consistency. This last step of place-making is not an option for asylum seekers.

Besides a lack of active place-making, even stories related to their personal future weren't connected to specific photographs and places, but hinged upon the researcher's request. Furthermore, both experts highlighted that regular and irregular work relations are a relevant criterion for asylum seekers in order to think about their aspirations and expectations towards their new hometown. Elisabeth Tauber states:

“At the beginning of ‘Sehen und Gesehen werden’ for most participants it was too early to think about futurity. Today it would be different. If we would distribute cameras to the same participants today, many things would be different. Some are well integrated into local communities, others found good work. Five participants today save money for going back to Africa, buying land and building up subsistence peasantry. For some that is a precise future ambition. [...] Some others don't want to go back as they managed to build up existence in the region. [...] Pictures that were taken in the local food processing industry or flower production didn't relate to their own future as a worker, but represented the absurdity of industrial production and improved skills for self-location in the new environment.” (Interview Transcript Tauber, 2014: 5)

An undoubtedly challenging circumstance for asylum seekers in the post-crisis job market was reported by research participants and further confirmed by both experts. Only fifty percent will find regular work after performing in local enterprises. Future perspectives are limited and stimulation decreases day by day (see Interview Transcript Keim, 2014: 10). It may be amended that labor as a concept is less strictly related to regular employment and often substituted by volunteer or irregular work. Nevertheless, work is a tool for self-identification. P2 defines himself by reference to his function as an advisor for newbies at the asylum seekers' hostel and his efforts in the Muslim community. Both activities are unpaid and rely on the principle of giving and receiving (see Interview Transcript P2, 2014: 14).

Synthesizing upon interrelations between place-making tactics and temporal patterns, it can be argued that perspectives, aspirations and hopes relate to long-term, irreversible place-making. At this juncture it could be argued that asylum seekers are relatively deprived of future assessments, although they previously showed tendencies for constituting their surrounding environment. Superseding pragmatism-driven, short-term structural changes with emotional attachments is not enough for talking about future place-making. Only one research participant recounted his ambition for family reunification in Italy, which according to national legislation requires plenty of collateral from the applicant. Irreversibility

was identified in touristic places which seem to be unchanged for decades. Unfortunately those pictures did not express the asylum seeker's place-making tactics, but undertakings by local authorities to maintain the city center. Differences among the asylum seekers' immediacy and the city government's long-term strategies in place-making precipitate a contestation of space where long-term visions are the currency of power.

6.2. Research Process Revised

Difficulties in the research process and the discussion of the research output suggests a rethinking of applied research methods and tools, aimed at knowledge creation in a comprehensible environment. The interconnection of various processes was supported through various tools, including: participatory photo interview, expert interview, and the analysis of Bolzano's cultural armature in terms of migratory movements, trade and tourism. According to methodological principles articulated in the Extended Case Method, continuous expansion and interrelation of data by ethnographic fieldwork was initiated first.

Initially, I had selected the participatory photo interview as a tool for data collection. Some other research methods were later integrated in order to adequately answer the research question. The participatory photo interview benefits the pace and deepness of collected material and provides information on rituals and behavioral patterns in comparatively small time spans. Even though alternative methodologies have become more popular in the field of cultural and social anthropology (see Hannerz, 2010: 78f), participatory observation is a dominant methodic approach and a basic tool, even for Burawoy. As a strategy for performing research combining several case studies, the Extended Case Method focuses on participatory observation. Undisputed long-term participatory observation is at the core of researching societies and their cultural behavioral patterns, and profits from short-term studies that might help close the gap between different fields.

In participatory photo interviews the research output is clearly related to appointments and depends on decisions made by participants. Referring to differences in the relationship between researcher and research participants, Hannerz argues:

“If anthropology by immersion and anthropology by appointment are actually often about different kinds of relationships between other people, what sort of depths, of experience and interpersonal closeness we can

reach [...] is perhaps really a little bit beside the point.” (Hannerz, 2010:79)

In order to escape the risk of being characterized as ethnography (see Hannerz, 2010: 79), a concluding discussion of methodical considerations and their significance for selected aspects is suitable. I will therefore analyze research tools from three perspectives: narrative data, visual data and implications of anthropology at home.

6.2.1. Narrative Data

Narrative material in the research project is comprised of four participatory photo interviews and two expert interviews that have been carried out after research at the asylum seekers' hostel. Both interviews have a deepening and interpretative character. The quality of participatory photo interviews differs from expert interviews due to their openness and strong ties to the previously acquired visual materials. All research participants made deliberations based on photographs and used them to explore several topics. Remarkably, the setting for the interview was less important than previously assumed. Even though all interviews with asylum seekers were carried out in the asylum seekers' hostel, the institutional setting was freely criticized and surveillance was a major issue for research participants. It therefore prompts that participatory photo interviews enable the collection of information in hostile environments.

On the other hand, expert interviews with Romina Keim and Elisabeth Tauber explain and embed the output and interrelations from research activities with asylum seekers. While the interview with Romina Keim focused on policies and administration in the field of migration, the interview with Elisabeth Tauber was established in order to reflect upon the significance of visual material. According to Burawoy, both interviews can be characterized as extensions of the case, aimed at correlating research output from the participatory photo interview and the built/unbuilt local environment.

6.2.2. Visual Data

Photographs in the participatory photo interview prepare participants and, according to necessary procedure, constitute a feeling corresponding to their active role in the research project. The research method enables participants to freeze and consequently reflect upon situations in time and space. Asylum seekers experience a precarious situation, dominated by their residence approval and work permission. Precarity of different kinds underlies constant change. Most significant is that research participants had no consciousness about the final

adjudicate for receipt of their temporary residence permit. Continuation would have provided research participants with an opportunity to learn about the new environment and critique restrictive migration systems in European multilevel polity. In this case, societal, economic and political participation could react to individual determinations.

Certainly the most important acknowledgment for the application of visual material in applied research projects is correlated to notions of time. According to legislation, most services and institutions are limited to a certain timeframe and impact the asylum seekers' perception of certainty. The research showed that such a statement could be confirmed by limitations on individual, institutional and societal levels. While asylum seekers don't experience certainty for their immediate future in the asylum seekers' hostel, some of the welfare facilities underline temporal restrictions. The expected closure of *Haus Sara* is symptomatic of short-term policy-making in the field of migration and impacts the pragmatic character of place-making. The usage of visual data that freezes situations implies evanescence and requires accurate contextualization.

“This relationship is imaginary not because it is unreal, but because it enables the observer to envisage his or her stance towards the image to be of a certain kind, to anticipate a certain state of affairs, and to allow a reconstruction of past actions”. (Radley, 2010: 278)

Photographs discussed during the interviews were central to the research, as they made the asylum seekers' world more sensible. However, everything represented in photographs depends on a connection between the interview respondent and the pictured setting. Only in combination with interviews does the careful mapping of places and situations pictured in the visual material gain importance. De-contextualized depictions of visual material would have led to interpretations that differ and or lack information. Only because of the interviews was it possible to cluster photographs according to relevant subjects and connect them to definite geographies. The distribution of places on the map gives us an impression of the environment asylum seekers in Bolzano are referring to. For moral and ethical reasons, some of the places have neither been represented in the map, nor addressed in the paper.

Another challenging issue when dealing with asylum seekers arises from awkward language settings and the impossibility to learn languages spoken by research participants during the implementation of the participatory photo interview. Poor Italian and English skills unveiled another disadvantage of all research methods that excluded language learning from the research process. It adversely affects the

quality of output when the question posed at the beginning of research was too narrow. Linguistic barriers and a possible clash between the participants' and researcher's interests may limit necessary explanations of the research question. It may happen that participants take pictures with a different intension than those of the research partners. One out of five participants dropped out after the active photo-shooting phase without providing further explanation of visual material or a reason for declining collaboration.

The implementation of the research method and the distribution of cameras to people in such precarious conditions is another topic that demands debate. Five potential research partners at *Haus Sara* declined to collaborate in voluntary projects after the announcement of relocation. While Elisabeth Tauber thought it almost arrogant to confront asylum seekers with cameras in order to take pictures for the project, the difference here is between applied projects and research projects (see Interview Transcript Tauber, 2014: 3). Her critique includes the charitable character created by a setting where participants find themselves in a phase of indecision and spare time. Unfortunately, there is no possibility to react differently upon the critique by applying methods with long-term alignment. The implementation of participatory observation could be an addition for further research according to Burawoy's Extended Case Method. Insights would differ and probably focus upon activity patterns in the asylum seekers' hostel, hierarchies among asylum seekers, daily routines and more. The application of participatory photo interview has exclusive qualities for cultural and social anthropology, but is at the limit of proximity and distance to research participants.

To conclude, it might be mentioned that photographs in their printed form are material objects that can be stored, given away or destroyed. Pictures are fluid representations that act upon space and time. When they do no longer stick to recent situations, they still frame the present and past by playing a role in the production of memories.

"The meaning of the picture is not separable from this work or from the temporal distance that is desired. As has been noted, the meanings and memories deriving from viewing a photograph can change with time, and may even be an occasion for an expression of conflict." (Kuhn, in: Radley, 2010: 276)

In a couple of years, asking about the pictures taken in this research may give us an impression of changing patterns of belonging. Although associated to photographs, some places and meanings manifest in absence. Repeating interview sessions is therefore suggested. For future application of the participatory photo

interview, I further consider the admittance of pictures taken by participants with their personal mobile devices. Such photographs are likely to address similar subjects, as they were taken in real life situations without the artificial context incorporated into the research. Pictures made with the use of personal cameras and printed souvenir photos inherited the very same idea.

6.2.3. Anthropology at Home

Besides the interesting context of migration history and cultural armature, personal interest in the city's development and vision further influenced the decision to select Bolzano. As someone born and raised in Bolzano, deciding on locations where place-making strategies are applied by asylum seekers is difficult without visual evidence from research participants. However, it's not just the difference between place-making and 'passing-by' that brought difficulties for some earlier anthropologists,¹² but the idea of 'anthropology at home.'

Performing anthropology at home implicates that the researcher's memories and expectations are taken into account in the description of the research process, and change the relationship between participant and researcher. For example, during the interview P4 asked whether I could identify a specific place, locate it correctly on the map and pronounce it. Similarly, P1 and P3 questioned my personal knowledge in several questions. One could critically argue that these situations promote hierarchies among the researcher as a citizen and the asylum seeker as a person, often considered to be out of place in dominant discourse. On the other hand, I experienced increasing sensibility towards problems faced by disadvantaged groups in society. It is important to accept differences between the researcher's social and educational background and to compare them with the peer group's conditions. While structural settings marginally change (in this case citizenship and attendance for residence permits), it is important to acknowledge, recognize and accept that dependence constantly changes and that home is relative to the field of expertise, geographic contractedness, setting, and environment. Accordingly, Ulf Hannerz emphasizes:

"For them, what their local colleagues will see as 'away' will in one way be also 'at home,' although in another country. That situation may entail

¹²In his books "In the Metro" and "Non-Spaces", Marc Augè wrote essays on the qualities of railway stations, metro stations and more. According to his observations Augè argued that people in metros behave in a way that excludes those urban spaces from the probability of becoming a place filled with personal inscriptions. His assumptions regarding non-spaces are still contested in the scientific debate on place and space.

its own complexity, of experience and in relationships.” (Hannerz, 2010: 86)

In his statement Hannerz points out the relativity of anthropology at home and simultaneously underlines the importance of contextualizing research, the standpoint of the researcher, and the interrelations between researcher and participant. For the work at hand it was important not to create assumptions upon personal appraisals, but to carefully outline interrelations between the built environment, urban restructuring projects and place-making tactics of asylum seekers. Challenges arising from anthropology at home amplify the peril for misinterpretation in case the researcher isn't sensitive to repercussions of their personal context. This may happen either at home or abroad.

6.3. Re-think Theory. The Context of Benhabib and Others

Consequently, the last part of this section questions theoretic concepts that frame the research through methodic and methodological evaluation and elaboration of interrelations between place-making tactics and outputs with regards to dependencies between spatial tactics and strategies. While Doreen Massey's concept works as an interface between place and time, place-making and revanchist urbanism are two major concepts thwarted by *The New Cosmopolitan Theory of Justice for Migrants and Refugees*.

6.3.1. Place-Making

The study of newly arrived asylum seekers in the northern town indicates that place-making tactics and strategies are two different undertakings based on power structures and individual requirements. In accordance with Rapaport I, argued that different settings of space impact place-making tactics and strategies and regroup asylum seekers due to distinguished interrelationships with the built environment. During the interview research participants emphasized the low, middle, and high-level meanings connoted in the visual material (see Rapaport, 1988, 1990a: Epilogue, in: Rapaport, 1994: 473). Narratives were merely related to pragmatic place-making activities of short-term persistence. One could assume that research participants failed in balanced commenting. Instead, I argue that those lower-level meanings dominate their first experiences in a new place and relate to basic human needs. Place-meaning tactics for the lower-level meanings asylum seekers establish didn't intervene in adapting places for higher-level meanings. Asylum seekers borrowed existing structures, such as churches and touristic places. Most difficultly, asylum seekers attached middle-level meanings to a specific

environment. Identity, status, wealth and power are topics out of reach during the first year as an asylum seeker in Italy. Nevertheless, it can be observed that place-making related to work manifests in the creation of places with mid-term durability in order to facilitate entrepreneurialism at the edge of legality. Concrete changes of long-term durability haven't been made by any of the participants thus far.

Taking photographs of selected places according to the guidelines of a research project isn't considered to be excellent place-making because of a missing link to daily situations. Obviously, research participants interact with the built and unbuilt environment while taking photographs, but established relations have a clear purpose and little effect on the asylum seekers' situation. Similarly, not all places represented in photographs can be considered places where sustainable place-making took place. Some places were photographed because of subjectively perceived aesthetics, but lacked added value for individual situations. These places are represented in the map and concentrate at the outskirts of the city.

In this thesis I perceived place-making as an action that intervenes with relationships depending on conflictive individual and collective needs. Adding meaning is a central issue for place-making and indicates experiences and expectations toward a specific place, emphasized by the distinction of tactics and strategies. According to research cognitions, I suggest redefining place-making as the art of accepting place as a box of experiences and expectations appealing to all people within a society. Put another way, place-making is about learning to respect and challenge coexisting relationships on behalf of situational knowledge. People accumulate opportunities where a person's relationships or emotional co-ownership towards a specific location is strengthened. When people are newcomers to a city, they choose adoptions, reinterpretation and minor physical changes to root themselves. In the case of precarity, they avoid changes in terms of concrete building. All research participants demonstrated consciousness in terms of preexisting relationships towards places in the environment, and added new meaning in order to relocate and survive. According to interviews with research participants and experts, differences between place-making tactics and strategies come from a) planning certainty, b) economic and political power, and c) an ability to aspire. The research revealed that differences between asylum seekers and local authorities are alongside these interrelating characteristics and create a variety of opportunities for action with different access to power.

Most directly, the ability and potential to aspire pronounces a person's long-term willingness to introduce oneself into a contested context. Having individual vision is meant to be significant for respecting specific places as ones for multiple

contested visions and address all members of society at equal rate. Place-making includes individual aspirations and demands references toward an environment expressed by rootedness in places with consistent individual meanings. In this way, place-making becomes a tool to admit or deny emotional co-ownership in a city and questions the idea of hosts and guests in revanchist urbanism and *The New Cosmopolitan Theory of Justice for Migrants and Refugees*. Additionally, long-term comparative studies on this and other groups of society could testify to these assumptions. The life-study of asylum seekers in a narrative manner, as well as the repetition of similar studies with locals, would strengthen statements on relationships between people, places and time.

As a concept, place-making remains a melting pot of interactions influencing relations between individuals and the environment. The works of Heidegger, Rapaport and Myers show that unique and collective social practices are a demand for establishing relations towards built and unbuilt environments. Functions and meanings are a relevant criterion for places. However, de Certeau, Girke and Friedman highlight place-making as a tool for the man-made landscape, urbanization and the retention of power. Accepting place as a box for experiences and expectations for people in society makes it possible to retain the multiplicity of actions and allows for the pooling of subjects and for locating them along a structural timeline.

“Part of the respect for the other is allowing them their own autonomy and not trying to draw them in too tightly to your own. That’s my point about multiplicities, that these are genuinely different trajectories, genuinely or at least potentially other stories. In the end maybe that gap cannot be crossed; that is real alterity.” (Massey, 1999: 68)

On behalf of the research participants, I looked at place-making from a perspective that aims to integrate notions of people with outstanding experience in precarity with transnational mobility contextualized by a contested space. According to the research output, one could assume that not all subjects gain equal relevance and meanings associated with persons are of different levels. Denying these two aspects definitely costs accuracy, but helps avoid misinterpretation when it comes to the identification of potential coherences. It is therefore the only way that place-making, as a concept, can be operationalized in the socio-political framework of city management.

6.3.2. Revanchist Cities

The second core concept adopted for this thesis is revanchist urbanism characterizing Bolzano and other mid-sized cities in central Europe. Due to specific conditions in terms of migration history, distribution of power and economic prosperity, comparability is limited. Arguments developed by Gordon MacLeod according to the re-structuralisation of former working-class Glasgow need to be adopted.

All characteristics for revanchist cities can be identified in Bolzano, but seem to have less impact on inclusive and exclusive mechanisms when a broad majority of the society lives at relatively high standards. The influence of powerful business and public-private partnership has become increasingly used in order to replace unprofitable social services and finance urban development. The revival of Fair Bolzano augmented investments in various economic sectors, while active labor market policy and urban restructuring projects emphasized characteristics of revanchism. Then the exclusion of some people at the margins of society is under increasingly stringent surveillance.

Research showed that asylum seekers, even though formally limited in participation, considered themselves to be members of society. While daily routine can entail negativity, they didn't claim extraordinary exclusion by virtue of visible cultural and social diversity. In fact, all research participants emphasized positive connotations in terms of people and places. As I am a white, male student who originates from the region, it is important to acknowledge that some topics might remain unaddressed by some of the research partners. An expressive moment happened during the interview with P4, who suddenly grabbed my left arm in order to exclaim whether I'd take it back or not. Meanwhile, he started to talk about everyday racism in the city:

"I don't know what they're thinking about us. [...] They don't respect us. [...] When I'm walking on the street and there are two women crossing they switch to the other side of the street. Why? It's because I'm black. It seems like there is a scripture in my face saying mafia, evilness, ugliness. When I spend some money with some friends somewhere in the public space they look at us with a shake of the head. When I sit down in the autobus some other people immediately get up and switch their seats. Why? They don't want to sit next to me. But I'm not sick." (Interview Transcript 2014: 24)

Despite these very vivid remarks, only state authorities were mentioned as a rather homogenous group that regularly distinguishes between city-dwellers and asylum seekers according to essentialist manners. Revanchist urbanism implies the existence of a dominant group that takes revenge upon another. Nevertheless, it is important to emphasize that actively performed exclusion by state authorities in representative democracies requires the support of the voter community. Although experienced differently by asylum seekers, electors exert power and support the political elite in representative democracies by legitimizing policy-making and implementation.

The difference between the case studies performed in Glasgow and Bolzano are not demographics, socio-economic structure, external powers or material welfare, but a lack of historical political opposition between the working class and the establishment, as well as a bilingual cultural armature. The most significant cleavage in the South Tyrolean political system is based upon a rather essentialist cultural understanding related to a claim for independence. Historically, these German and Italian parties argued for succession according to historic borders and demanded restrictive migration policies in order to keep pace with local identities. Although these parties aren't in power on any polity level relevant for the region, they impact public immigration and integration discourse and create a common enemy for German and Italian speaking citizens: chiefly, asylum seekers.

The rather objective description of the socio-political environment faced by migrants in Bolzano is in contradistinction to the perception of asylum seekers. It can be stated that behavioral patterns in revanchist societies don't imply intimate conviviality and are limited in the variety of social interactions. It isn't possible to make the arguments of Gordon MacLeod for an individual, but to continue on a structural level of place-making. Nevertheless, the concept helps identify a city's cultural armature and development aims. It indicates the changes that should be expected in contested areas according to a neoliberal and exclusive way of thinking.

6.3.3. The New Cosmopolitan Theory of Justice for Migrants

Many authors implore metatheoretic arguments in order to emphasize their own research and introduce moral arguments to the field. Support for the adaptation of core values in Seyla Benhabib's *The New Cosmopolitan Theory of Justice for Migrants and Refugees* was motivated by the embedded research output. Making reference to those values might be reputable, but would not impact the concepts developed by research. The substance of outcomes would have been equal, as output is related to the research object and not to the researcher's self-assessment. Personal acknowledgements will therefore be made in the final epilogue.

The dominant idea presented in the *New Cosmopolitan Theory of Justice for Migrants and Refugees* is hospitality requiring hostility. In her writings based on Emmanuel Kant, Will Kymlicka and Bonnie Honig, Benhabib concludes that [...]

“[...]ambivalences of hospitality extend beyond the initial entry of the stranger into another’s land to his reception by the hosts over a period of time. This liminal condition of hospitality/hostility is, of course, exacerbated when the ‘other’ has no rights or very few ones and depends for the duration of his stay upon the ‘beneficent contract’ to be granted by the sovereign.” (Benhabib, 2006: 156)

In the context of the liberal understanding of citizenship represented by European democracies, Benhabib emphasizes that all kinds of membership and citizenship produce exclusive and inclusive mechanisms. Similar to many other scholars quoted in this thesis, she criticizes discrimination towards migrants (see Benhabib, 2006:166f). Discriminative executive practices, such as surveillance, have outstanding tradition in European history and were revitalized in the aftermath of the Fordist era. Bolzano conformed in the late nineties, when refugees from the Balkan countries started to seek asylum, and right-winged populist parties gained popularity. Most recently, local political and economic elites find themselves faced with the choice of forming a governmentality that reduces citizens to objects of administration and normalization according to neoliberal ideology. The theoretical framework provided by Benhabib leaves space for interpretation and gives an opportunity to highlight changes in the dominant thinking of institutions, politicians, investors and society.

According to Benhabib’s assumptions, the remaining question asks for inclusion and exclusion, hosting and being hosted, rule or being ruled in a universalist society. Which people are entitled to rule themselves according to the postulate of self-determination in liberal democracies? Even though Benhabib addresses the nation state as a principal actor for policy-making processes, she admits that bounded communities are necessary for informal caucusing and argues that these groups and locations are relevant for depositing memories and meanings. Again, place-making is important for the argument. As an alternative to the migration regime, Benhabib promotes an approach where core nations constitute themselves in more universalist terms. Benhabib suggests a liberalization of asylum and refugee policies, amnesty for those without documents, socio-economic equality, and the expansion of civil and political immigrant rights, while considering them as people who contributed to the formation of the nation (see Benhabib, 2006: 174). This approach challenges the idea of hospitality in liberal democracies, but

also requirements of an accelerated economy of place in accordance to revanchist and neoliberal ideology.

“The fraying of the social contract and the dismantling of sovereignty suggest that the transcendence of the nation-state is occurring hardly in the direction of cosmopolitanism but more in the direction of the privatization and corporatization of sovereignty. These trends endanger democracy and popular sovereignty by converting public power into private commercial or administrative competence. This is the truth behind contemporary theories of empire: the flight of power from the control of popular jurisdiction. [...] The interlocking of democratic iteration struggles within a global civil society and the creation of solidarities beyond borders, including a universal right of hospitality that recognizes the other as a potential cocitizen, anticipate another cosmopolitanism – a cosmopolitanism to come.” (Benhabib, 2006: 177)

With this concluding statement Benhabib shows how deeply democratic participation interrelates with new forms of mobility for people, goods, large migration streams, and economy disconnected from territory. Bottom-up political systems are expected to become more significant if democratic societies (not only in Europe) decide to defend universalist promises and cosmopolitan norms in order to ensure stability and economic success. While Benhabib argues for cosmopolitanism, it is also important to mention that humiliation and the implementation of rights and duties are always located in smaller entities and emphasize this aspect with the suffix ‘to come’. At the end of the research process, some amendments were made to the *New Cosmopolitan Theory of Justice for Migrants and Refugees*. I’ve summarized them in five points:

- 1) Universal human rights should be emphasized not only in terms of hospitality, but also in terms of free movement of labor for people that have already immigrated. According to article 23 in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*¹³, work is universal a right. All research participants agreed that early work opportunities would have given them a chance to find themselves in a strange society. Conceding asylum seekers

¹³ Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 23. §1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favorable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment. §2) Everyone, without any discrimination has the right to equal pay for equal work. §3) Everyone who works has the right to just and favorable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of interest.

access to the labor market and supporting their entrepreneurial ideas could be an opportunity for cities hit by financial crisis. A more liberal approach towards asylum seekers would help overcome discrepancies between de-territorialized economies and political institutions that are defined throughout a confined territory.

- 2) Even 'cosmopolitanism to come' and entities that provide help in the first days and months of stay deserve administration. Entities that are most acquainted with the social and cultural environment are located on regional and municipal levels. The research showed that misunderstandings between local and state authorities in the case of South Tyrol led to an inconvenient continuation of language conflicts. I argue that solely removing competences in the field of migration policy from national to global or supranational frameworks wouldn't meet asylum seekers' requirements. The city and region's institutions have a major role in the distribution of goods and in the creation of a friendly environment for foreigners.
- 3) The right of hospitality is dominated by the idea of moving back to the country of origin. Rethinking citizenship from a cosmopolitan perspective would imply conceding certainty of stay for people with transnational experiences. In the case of Benhabib's theoretic approach, 'hospitality' can't be determined by the idea of moving backwards. Using hospitality as a central concept for a theory where open-mindedness and respect for the international are prevalent questions the imperative duality deriving from the 'hospitality' itself. Interviews with asylum seekers and experts confirmed that return is not an option for those newly arrived. Problematic is that most asylum seekers, before making a decision for or against settlement, need to handle a new situation in an unknown environment. After spending years abroad, some migrants legitimately choose the option of returning, while others stay in the host country. These two options are needed in order to permit individual decisions that shouldn't be limited by liberal democracies, aware of their responsibilities towards mankind.
- 4) The cultural armature of Bolzano revealed that migration doesn't play a role in the cultural self-understanding and policy-making of the city. Little representation of diversity, beyond bilingualism in museums and fairs supported by public funds, confirms the city's lack of history and experience towards transnational migration. The revitalization of the language cleavage, as well as the exclusion of marginalized groups from urban restructuring projects, shows that institutional actors in the

migration regime are not fully aware of their responsibilities. Benhabib's plea for anchoring a cosmopolitan approach in civic societies demands the awareness of responsibilities on local institutional levels and the activation of promotional skills. This is another reason why I suggest complementing global citizenship with alternative ways of belonging on a local level. Obviously, these forms of participation also need to be officially recognized by representatives of national liberal democracies.

- 5) Place-making is inherent to Benhabib's theory, even though she focuses on global citizenship in order to raise awareness about recent challenges at the external borders of the two most important political unions. According to the *New Cosmopolitan Theory of Justice for Migrants and Refugees*, Benhabib admits that attending a place legitimates social, cultural, economic and political participation. In the thesis at hand I showed that the significance of places exceeds participation in societies. In combination with argument number two, it becomes obvious that places are in a category such as time. They give asylum seekers the opportunity to relocate themselves in a specific setting. In order to meet theoretic assumptions from a participatory perspective I've suggested a significance of place stronger than the one outlined by Benhabib.

To conclude, I argue that democracies that are aware of their responsibilities have a duty to enhance freedom for asylum seekers in expectation of long-term stays. The 'beneficent contract' offered by state authorities has an anthropologic dimension exemplified by behavioral patterns discussed in the research. Some of these patterns are action-related and manifest in the local confrontation of two or more opposing parties from inside and outside the state territory. The extension of hospitality towards the right of work would probably increase and mitigate local conflicts and react to de-territorialized, fluid economies in accordance to liberalism. Seyla Benhabib is affiliated to political science and impacts policy-making in the field of migration. Resulting changes in tactics and strategies have influence on perception and approach towards 'the other'. At a local level, formal and informal behavioral patterns are issues investigated by anthropologic research that looks at dominant power relations in a global framework.

Conclusion

This master thesis is concerned with the analysis of place-making used by asylum seekers. It visualizes the way revanchist urban environments influence means and behavioral patterns, establishing relationships towards specific places. To conclude, I will revert back to the research question and hypothesis raised earlier in the research. What kind of place-making is applied by asylum seekers in a revanchist urban environment and how does time exert impact as a structural category?

It became obvious that place-making applied by asylum seekers follows the logic of tactics, rather than strategies. The difference between strategies and tactics is not only access to power, but includes temporal effects upon place-making due to an ambivalent idea of security. Place-making tactics lack certainty and meanings attached to places, and are marginally connoted to future aspirations, desires and ambitions. The research showed that asylum seekers are relatively deprived of certainty in their lives. Research participants and field experts suggested the early distribution of work permits and the accelerated processing of application documents. They emphasized how interrelations between individual needs and well-being are relevant for place-making. Although the assumption made in the first hypothesis was very general, individual needs are decisive for asylum seekers' place-making. The variance of needs became visible in the photographs and was articulated in the interviews. The 'creation of a sense of well-being' mentioned in hypothesis one is similar to 'relocate oneself in a new environment'.

The lack of certainty in asylum seekers' lives and the necessity to quickly relocate themselves may lead to minor legal offences. Undertakings transpiring in the context of physical and legal situations range from squatting to biking without a light at night, thievery or irregular work. This second hypothesis was derived from statistics and easily verified in the interviews. Research participants admitted to being knowledgeable about minor legal offences attributed to precarity, but also about ignorance of local customs and legal restrictions. Furthermore, research participants narrated stories about thievery and black market activities at the interface of the camp. Unfortunately, most legal offences become regular when

asylum seekers lose security and stability after the one-year residence allotment at the asylum seekers' hostel. The context of space, emphasized in hypothesis two, then becomes obvious: Squatting in abandoned houses and camping above the city's bridges is irregular and aggravates access to the labor market because of unstable housing.

Hypothesis three argues that time is a condition and structural category experienced by all city dwellers. Time is a decisive factor in all activities, and is equal for all. Nevertheless, different perceptions of time relate to specific conditions; it is worth mentioning that asylum seekers experience precarity as they have no certainty of residence. This dimension is important for behavioral patterns and actions, but lacks a structural quality when research doesn't aim at cross-social comparability. The dimension of time that impacts place-making activities is pronounced in characteristics that become visible when comparing the kind of place-making with intended durability. The comparison between long-term urban restructuring projects following a neoliberal vision with strategic mid-term positioning of boxboard, as well as the short-term interpretation of existing structures, left no doubt about the strategic component derived from certainty and access to power. Place-making tactics applied by asylum seekers are defined by past and present experiences, and lack future ambitions. The research of revanchist attitudes informed about how the political and economic elite increased means to confront place-making tactics with strategies. On the municipal level, investors aim to increase profit margins in formerly decayed areas and executive authorities ensure 'public safety'. On the state level, the precarious situation for asylum seekers is further increased. The distribution of short-term residence permits and the limited entitlement for stay at the asylum seekers' hostel are two examples of policy concepts that include time as a legal tool. Hypothesis three was partially verified by the research output, but only future ambitions are inherent to people living in undetermined regularity because of valid citizenship and access to (democratic) power.

The interrelation between place-making tactics and strategies is ambivalent, but likely to challenge the other. Research showed that place-making interventions near the city center are likely to offend revanchist, consumer-oriented place-making strategies because of mere attendance: financial means disqualify asylum seekers as potential consumers for most spending opportunities in the city. Mapping places photographed by asylum seekers and a comprehensive urban development plan further supported the dimension of confrontation between asylum seekers and the political and economic elite. Most places addressed by asylum seekers are expected to drastically change in the next two decades, when large-scale restructuring projects are concluded. Some major sleeping and food

distribution places for homeless people and asylum seekers are situated at the edge of the newly designed city quarters. It would be worth evaluating the situation again after realization of both projects. The Station Park planned by Signa Holding and architect David Chipperfield already indicates future conflicts, as it is organized to sustain surveillance and increase individual security by creating an atmosphere characteristic of a controllable space.

The last formulated hypothesis states that policy-making based on neoliberal standards favors marginalization, as it distinguishes between locals and strangers. I observed that policy goes beyond this idea, and focuses on everything that is not congruent with what is admired in a revanchist city. While national laws create differences between persons in possession of citizenship and those without citizenship/residence, policy-making on the local level has the power to separate. In the case of revanchist environments, cleavage is created alongside consumers and non-consumers for standardized European city centers and alongside ethnic diversity. Some of the policy fields enhancing marginalization include: the installation of a park easy to monitor ongoing debates about the admission of surveillance techniques, gentrification and recovery of areas formerly unattractive to foreign capital, and advertisement to tourists with a stereotyped self-image of the region and city. Insight into the city's cultural armature further showed that diversity beyond bilingualism is not yet an issue for public representative institutions, even though it is considered an admirable feature for cities that follow neoliberal principles. Consequently, we could derive that municipal and regional policy-making based on neoliberal standards impacts the daily lives of asylum seekers and migrant groups. Hidden marginalization does not pass judgment on inclusion or exclusion from participation in society according to a person's legal status, but according to religious and ethnic diversity. Migrants coming from Germany, Austria and Switzerland don't face these difficulties. Hidden marginalization strategies can therefore be characterized as urban policies reacting to claims and liabilities from right-winged populist politicians.

During field research I also became knowledgeable about the limits of this thesis. Different aspects of asylum seekers' place-making are vowed together, and conditions can be described as precarious at all levels. Throughout the research, I considered asylum seekers as a group of people trying to make places in a new environment. Only at the end did I come to think of asylum seekers as highly mobile transnational groups of people that refused to be at places where they had earlier life experiences. Leaving behind an established setting also means breaking down relationships and creating new ones. Unfortunately, I didn't integrate that aspect into field research or participants' narratives about their hometown.

Another limitation arising from the comprehensive approach of this thesis refers to the fact that places play an essential role in the life of asylum seekers and residents. Output referring to long-term durability of place-making would have been more convincing with comparative research from at least two other societal groups living in Bolzano. Concepts associated with the same places but with different societal groups would probably support the significance of collective meaning and illuminate struggles for places in the revanchist urban context.

Beginning with the hypotheses, reworking the research question gives a comprehensive component to the final answer. Place-making applied by asylum seekers is of short or mid-term quality. Revanchist urban environments only have a limited impact on this output. Although revanchist policies have a disintegrative character in some policy areas, uncertainty is the reason why asylum seekers don't apply long-term place-making strategies. Urban restructuring projects, surveillance techniques and increased police searches may impact the selection of sites chosen for place-making, but not the kind of place-making itself. Place-making activities correspond to personal needs and accumulate in sleeping, drinking, and eating during the first stage of arrival. Once at the asylum seekers' hostel, place-making activities emphasize the asylum seekers' need for self-relocation: leisure activities, early (informal) work opportunities and places for online and direct communication are qualified examples representing their needs. Nevertheless, interrelations between a specific place and even physical adaptations made in space weren't constructed to last for more than one year. This could be because some places will be substituted after the first and only year at the asylum seekers' hostel. The impact of time as a structural category is ample. The absence of certainty in terms of work and residence permits distinguishes asylum seekers from residents. It deprives them of thinking about their personal future in the new environment and from establishing relations towards places by any kind of long-term place-making activities.

Epilogue

When I started working on this master thesis in February 2014, my ambitions and expectations towards the field of interest were ample. It took some time to identify a research question that I was capable of answering with limited means. While elaborating upon definitions and finding a suitable theoretical approach was easy, I wasn't sure about the right long-term method. As time for field research was limited and locality was determined by a willingness to fasten relationships with my home, I looked for a method that was able to substitute participatory observation without losing an anthropological perspective. In the end, the combination of theoretical concepts and multidisciplinary methodological approaches contributed to the research output and enabled me to finalize a comprehensive description of asylum seekers' place-making in Bolzano. Bettina Kolb's participatory photo interview, Gordon MacLeods concept on *Revanchist Cities* and Seyla Benhabib's *New Cosmopolitan Theory on Justice for Migrants and Refugees* are all prominent in this thesis, but derive from disciplines beyond anthropology. Still, I argue that both enriched the research output by providing an efficient research tool and a concept focusing on the responsibilities of asylum seekers.

During the research I made several adaption to the research outline. After having resolved some initial difficulties arising from the question of how to incorporate notions of time (by using it only as a texturing category in the analysis of the research output), I had to decide on a methodological framework that was able to deal with the substitution of participatory observation and the idea of interrelating knowledge from distinct research activities and disciplines. While I was personally stuck, my supervisor advised me to read Michael Burawoy's *Extended Case Method* and resolved a major problem arising from the sudden countermand of four participants. The continuous extension of knowledge allows for the interrelating of research results from different sources. Expert interviews especially demonstrated a good opportunity for completion.

Less complicated was the integration of studies on the city's cultural armature into theoretical contexts. During my visit to Bolzano in May 2014, and after having

read relevant papers authored by Peggy Levitt, I decided to include an analysis of museums in order to describe analogies and discrepancies between public institutions and private actors in the field of migration. The study of Bolzano's cultural armature according to Levitt was then deemed perfect to support some of the previously made assumptions, and confirmed dramatic cultural conflicts between residents and 'others.' The analysis of Fair Bolzano and the description of two major urban restructuring projects emphasized characteristics inherent to urban contexts described as *Revanchist Cities* by Gordon MacLeod. Describing the environment by contested places is a linkage towards place-making *tactics* and *strategies*.

For me as a researcher, field experience and interviews gave me interesting insights into the daily lives of asylum seekers. Two rather bizarre outcomes have yet to be mentioned because of their irrelevance to the research question. Surprisingly, none of the research participants were interested in having legal authorship to the visual material, in re-checking their statements, or being informed about the output. I re-checked field notes after a debate with Elisabeth Tauber and can confirm her observations. The idea and concept of authorship could be an interesting starting point for future research. The second interesting detail described limits of the European migration system. In the research, three (!) asylum seekers and the social worker interviewed explicitly confirmed that most inhabitants of Ex-Gorio have migrated to Italy after having passed through other European countries. Unfortunately, none of the experts were able to give a comprehensive explanation regarding these statements, but both admitted that migration movements are selected by asylum seekers through deep knowledge about human rights and European migration law. Research on inner-European administrative irregularities in the migration system should be performed not only by political scientists with expertise in transnational migration regimes and policies, but also reveals new perspectives for anthropologists. People that have migrated throughout Europe collect specific knowledge and experiences in different but interconnected migration systems. They are already used to being confronted with European legislative principles in their application for residence. Additionally, various migration trajectories impact the asylum seekers' perceptions of temporalities according to former national discourse amongst European member states and constitute a new topic for anthropologists engaged in the field of migration and transnationalism.

A last impression from the field research closes this thesis, together with the introductory statement made by Kossi Komla-Ebri that brings together place, relationship, interaction and the phenomenon of social and cultural inclusion. Most narratives were connected to experiences I can't imagine, but one participant

raised more awareness than the others. His background was dramatic, his affiliation to religion strong, and his ambitions grand but realistic. While participating in his christening ceremony after the interview, I had the opportunity to take part in his individual place-making strategies. I was invited as a friend, photographer, catholic and community member from ‘outside the camp’. This was a perfect example of what Kossi-Komla Ebri desires.

References

Source edition is determined by the classification of primary and secondary sources. Primary sources comprise reports made in the field, including the visual material created during fieldwork in Bolzano in 2014. Subcategories comprise field notes, interview reports and photographs. By contrast, the secondary sources are categorized by type of publication. Secondary sources have been used in order to base all theoretical concepts applied. Subcategories are further sectioned by bibliography, studies, research reports, newspapers, press releases and public announcements.

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Interview Transcript P3 (2014), Caserma Ex-Gorio, Bolzano, 18.07.2014

Interview Transcript P4 (2014), Caserma Ex-Gorio, Bolzano, 24.07.2014

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The Refugee Convention 1951/ Art. 1A[2] URL: <http://goo.gl/rRZE87>, last file call-up: 18.12.2014

9.1.2 Register of Illustrations

Figure 12: Walther v.d. Vogelweide (2014) photographed by research participants.

Figure 13: Ropway Bolzano - Renon (2014) photographed by research participants.

Figure 14: Bicycle repair shop (2014) photographed by research participants.

Figure 15: Free University of Bolzano (2014) photographed by research participants.

Figure 16: Cricket (2014) photographed by research participants.

Figure 17: Station Park (2014) photographed by research participants.

Figure 18: Railway Station (2014) photographed by research participants.

Figure 19: Police control (2014) photographed by research participants.

Figure 20: Church above Bolzano (2014) photographed by research participants.

Figure 21: City plan of Bolzano (2014), schwarzplan.eu (free license), remixed by Alexander Herrle.

Figure 22: City map of Bolzano downtown (2014), Amt für, Raumplanung (free license), remixed by Alexander Herrle

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Annexes

Annex 1: E-mail Communication, Michael Anranter – Department for German Education and Culture, Integration, 08.09 - 22.09.2015

Am 22.09.2014 09:48, schrieb YY, XX:
Sehr geehrte Herr Anranter,

vielen Dank für ihre E-Mail vom 08. September. Im Auftrag von Landesrat Achammer darf ich Ihnen mitteilen, dass es im Zuge der Restrukturierung des Bahnhofgeländes von Seiten der Gemeinde Bozen keine Anfrage zur Kooperation gibt. Allerdings wird sich der Landesrat mit den Verantwortlichen der Stadt Bozen in Verbindung setzen, um in Erfahrung zu bringen, ob Interesse an einer Zusammenarbeit besteht. Gerne wird er sie sobald als möglich diesbezüglich informieren

Beste Grüße
XX YY

Bitte drucken Sie diese E-Mail nicht, es sei denn, es ist unbedingt notwendig!
Non stampare questa e-mail se non è veramente necessario!
Präibel ne stampede nia chëst'e-mail, ater co sce al mëss propi ester!

-----Ursprüngliche Nachricht-----

Von: Michael Anranter [michael_anranter@xx.xx]
Gesendet: Montag, 8. September 2014 10:01
An: Achammer, Philipp
Betreff: Zusammenarbeit LR Integration/ Gemeinde Bozen in Hinblick auf Restrukturierung des Bahnhofareals

Geehrter LR Phillip Achammer,

im Rahmen meiner Abschlussarbeit an der Universität Wien beschäftige ich mich mit der Integration von Asylwerbern mit Fokus auf die Stadt Bozen. Im Rahmen der Erhebungen zeigte sich, dass der Bahnhofspark, ebenso wie der Bahnhof selbst und an das entsprechende Areal angegliederte Einrichtungen (Essensausgabe usw.) von zentraler Bedeutung für Asylwerber sind. Dies gilt insbesondere für Asylwerber ohne Obdach (und betrifft Neuankömmlinge ebenso wie jene die kein Anrecht auf Unterbringung in Erst-, oder Zweitaufnahmezentren haben). Im Zuge der Restrukturierung des Bahnhofgeländes, sowie der Neubebauung des Gebietes zwischen Südtiroler-Str./ Garibaldistraße/ Bahnhofsallee wollte ich nachfragen, ob es von Seiten der Gemeinde Bozen oder weiteren verantwortlichen Behörden eine (Anfrage zur) Kooperation mit dem Ihnen in Funktion als LR für Integration gibt. Wenn ja, könnten Sie mich bitte über die Form der Kooperation informieren, bzw. an die zuständigen Mitarbeiter in Ihrem Amt weiterleiten? Zuvor habe ich mich bereits mit der CARITAS in Verbindung gesetzt und festgestellt, dass keinerlei Zusammenarbeit von CARITAS und Projektträgern besteht.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen,
Michael Anranter, B.A.

Annex 2: Abstract (engl.)

This thesis deals with place-making tactics of asylum seekers in the city of Bolzano. What makes the situation unique is the region's long-term socio-economic performance, peaceful conviviality of a bilingual society and a history greatly influenced by struggles for and against identities and their correlated marginalization. Only since the 90's have new dimensions been added to the South Tyrolean demographic realm. People from different countries migrated and decided to stay.

This thesis shows how people with limited knowledge about a specific environment build up a relationship supported by the use of public parks, the railway station or the city library. Most importantly, public structures impact asylum seekers' daily lives – not only because of memories and future perspectives, but also because of basic needs that can be satisfied at these places.

European cities such as Bolzano feel economic pressure and make continuous progress in order to fit a profit-oriented image. Neoliberal policies and large-scale urban restructuring projects are a common tool for those who want to make cities more secure for shoppers. Even though solid power relations seem to dominate the struggle for place, one could never talk about eternity and outcome as unpredictable if too many people with conflicting connotations take part. Asylum seekers adopt spatial tactics in order to create an environment that enables the collection of ideas for their own future perspectives.

The data in this thesis was retrieved through participatory photo interviews implemented in a combined methodological approach. Four asylum seekers took pictures and talked about place-making strategies at selected sites in Bolzano. A description of the environment was accomplished by researching the city's cultural armature. Two expert interviews informed about the situation of asylum seekers in the city and province of Bolzano.

Annex 3: Abstract (deutsch)

Die vorliegende Arbeit beschäftigt sich mit Place-Making Taktiken von Asylwerbern in Bozen. Die Einzigartigkeit des Falls ergibt sich aus der ökonomischen Situation der Region und dem seit Jahren erfolgreichen Zusammenleben zweier unterschiedlicher Sprachgruppen. Die Geschichten beider Bevölkerungsgruppen waren nicht selten von Marginalisierung und der Bedeutung von Identitäten geprägt. Erst seit den späten 90'er Jahren kam es zu einer nachhaltigen Erweiterung des demografischen Spektrums: Erstmals kamen auch Migranten und Migrantinnen und ließen sich langfristig in der norditalienischen Provinzhauptstadt nieder.

Ziel der vorliegenden Masterarbeit ist es aufzuzeigen wie Personen mit geringen lokal spezifischen Vorkenntnissen ein Verhältnis zu ihrer neuen Umgebung aufbauen. Dafür nutzen sie öffentliche Parks, ebenso wie Bahnhöfe oder auch die städtische Bibliothek. Insbesondere der Bezug zu Orten und Strukturen im öffentlichen Raum stellt sich als einer mit unmittelbaren Auswirkungen auf das alltägliche Leben dar. Die Bedeutung kann dabei nicht nur auf Erinnerungen oder Zukunftsvisionen, sondern vor Allem unmittelbare Bedürfnisse zurückgeführt werden.

Andererseits erleben europäische Städte, sowie auch Bozen den ökonomischen Druck und formulieren das Bedürfnis sich und ihr Image gewinnbringend weiterzuentwickeln. Neoliberale Politiken und großangelegte städtische Restrukturierungsmaßnahmen sind weit verbreitete Maßnahmen um Städte für diejenigen, die Einkommen sicherer zu gestalten. Aber selbst wenn im Kampf um Orte klare Machtverhältnisse zu dominieren scheinen, bleibt der Ausgang meist zeitlich begrenzt und unvorhersehbar wenn zu viele Menschen mit zu unterschiedlichen Konnotationen am Prozess teilnehmen. Raumtaktiken werden von Asylwerbern entwickelt und genutzt um eine Umgebung zu schaffen die das Denken der eigenen Zukunft vor Ort zu ermöglichen versucht.

Die Datenerhebung im Rahmen der Masterarbeit basiert auf einem kombinierten Ansatz, wobei das partizipative Fotointerview im Feld stattgefunden hat. Vier Asylwerber machten fotografische Aufnahmen von selbst-gewählten Motiven in Bozen und kommentierten diese anschließend. Für eine umfassende Charakterisierung wurden mehrere Museumsbesuche im Kontext der Fragestellung reflektiert. Interviews mit zwei Expertinnen gaben Auskunft über die Situation von Asylwerbern in Bozen.

Annex 4: CURRICULUM VITAE

Anranter Michael, BA

Bozen, Italien

Nationalität: Italienisch

Beruf: Student, Projektassistent

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Ausbildung

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Universität Wien, MA CREOLE – Cultural Differences and Transnational Processes

Universität Wien, MA Politikwissenschaft

2011 Universität Wien, BA Politikwissenschaft

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- seit Oktober, 2013 - Projektassistent bei *OIKODROM – Forum nachhaltige Stadt*. Inhaltliche und administrative Koordination von Projektanträgen (Horizon2020, EuroEast Cultural Partnership, European Civil Society Projects, MA7)
- 2013 - Seminarbegleitung beim *Institut für Kulturkonzepte* in Wien. Begleitung des Zertifikatskurses Projektmanagement, Koordination der Seminare, Schnittstelle zwischen Institut, Lehrbeauftragten und KursteilnehmerInnen
- bis 2013 - Promoter und Kundenberatungen im Bereich digitale Fotografie und Video, Schwerpunkt Spiegelreflex- und Systemkameras bei *flexible marketing*, Wien
- 2012 - Praktikum beim *Amt für Innovation, Entwicklung und Forschung der Autonomen Provinz Bozen*, Bereich Statistik, Gutachten und Spesenabrechnung
- 2012 - Teilnahme an der *NMUN* Konferenz in Lille (F) als Faculty Advisor der Delegation der Universität Wien, Koordination und Briefing der Delegierten
- 2011 - Teilnahme an der *NMUN* Konferenz in New York als Head Delegate der Delegation der Universität Wien

- 2011 - Assistenz des Fraktionsvorsitzenden der Südtiroler Volkspartei im *Südtiroler Landtag*.

Sprachkenntnisse

1. Sprache: Deutsch/ Muttersprache
2. Sprache: Italienisch/ fließend
3. Sprache: Englisch/ fließend, IbT: 96

Besondere Interessen

- Transnationale Prozesse und Migration
- Neue Identitäten, Citizenship-Studies und visuelle Kultur, Cultural armature
- regionales Interessenfeld: EU und die arabische Welt – insbesondere die Mittelmeerregion, Spezialisierung auf urbane Räume
- Reisefotografie und Video, Erfahrungen im Bereich Dokumentarfilm
- Mitglied der Freiwilligen Feuerwehr Oberau / Haslach in Bozen

Weiterbildungen / Zertifikatskurse

Projektplanung, Betriebswirtschaft für Kultur, Controlling in Kulturorganisationen, Kultursponsoring, Kulturmarketing, Kulturprojekte über die Grenze, Umgang mit Konflikten, Kulturkonzepte 2.0.

Publikationen (peer review)

Anranter, Michael; Dumreicher, Heidi; Kolb, Bettina; Levine, Richard S. (2015, in print): „Exploring Spaces of Possibilities for Arts, Culture, Public Space, and Civil Society - A Project in the Eastern Partnership Region”, in: *The International Journal of Social, Political, and Community Agendas*, Vol.X, Common Ground Publishers, ISSN 2326-9960.

Publikationen

Anranter, Michael; Dumreicher Heidi; Kolb, Bettina (2014): „Inszenierung am Heldenplatz – Vorgestern, Gestern und Heute; eine TwitPic Analyse“, Oikodrom – Forum Nachhaltige Stadt, URL: <http://goo.gl/XpRWjy>, letzter Aufruf: 11.12.2014