Immigrant's Home in the Making through Spatial Practice

The Case of Iranians in Berlin

Dissertation zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades
Doktor- Philosophiae

an der Fakultät Architektur und Urbanistik
der
Bauhaus-Universität Weimar

vorgelegt von

Dipl.-Ing.

Mahgol Motalebi

geb. 08 Sep. 1991

Weimar, 2022

Tag der Disputation: 08.06.2023

Prof. Dr. Frank Eckardt (Bauhaus University Weimar)

Prof. Dr. John Eade (University of Roehampton)

Prof. Dr. Shahram Khosravi (Stockholm University)

For

Jina
Nika
Sarina
Hannaneh
Ghazaleh
Hadis
Minoo

Mona
Romina
Reihaneh
Atefeh
Somayeh
.
.
.

And hundreds of others…

Abstract

Due to the significant number of immigrants in Europe, especially Germany, integration is an ongoing subject of debate. Since the 1970s, with the emergence of the discussions on 'place,' it has also been realized that the immigrant experience is associated with location. Nevertheless, due to the challenges in capturing the place and migration relevance, there is a gap in understanding the role of the migrant's geography of experiences and its outcomes (Phillips & Robinson, 2015).

This research aims to investigate the extent to which both the process of objective integration and the socio-spatial practices of high-skilled Iranian immigrants in Berlin outline and influence their sense of belonging to Berlin as the new "home." The embedded mixed-method design had employed for this study. The quantitative analysis through Pearson's correlation technique measured the strength of the association between Iranians' settlement distribution and the characteristics of Berlins' districts. The quantitative analysis provides contextual data to get a greater level of understanding of the case study's interaction with place. The units of place intend to demonstrate the case study's presence and possible interaction with places around their settlement location that relatively shapes their perception. The qualitative analysis comprises ethnographic fieldwork and semi-structured in-depth interviews with a homogeneous sample of Iranian immigrants in Berlin that provide data on individual and ethnic behaviors and trajectories and analyze the complex interactions between the immigrant's experience and the role of place.

This research uncovers that Iranian highly skilled immigrants are successful in integrating objectively; However, in regards to their state of belonging, it illustrated the following: The role of socio-ethnic culture of the case study in denotation of home and belonging; Iranian high-skilled immigrants' efforts towards reaching a level of upward mobility overshadow their attempt to shape social and spatial interaction with Berliners and Berlin itself, which manifests both in their perception and use of urban space; and finally, the identification practice and the boundary-making as an act of reassurance and self-protection against the generalization of adjacent nationalities, demonstrated in the intersection of demographical settlement distribution of Iranians in Berlin and the ethnic diversity, impact the sense of belonging and place-making.

Acknowledgments

I am deeply grateful for this journey and what I have experienced to achieve my dream of becoming a Ph.D. Although only my name appears on the cover, many people have contributed to the research in their particular way. For that, I want to give them special thanks.

Firstly, I would like to thank my supervisor, Prof. Dr. Frank Eckardt, for granting me the opportunity and having confidence in me over the years to do this research. Furthermore, my gratitude extends to the DAAD (German Academic Exchange Service) for the financial support.

I want to express my sincere gratitude to the thesis committee and reviewers for their insightful comments and valuable time.

I would like to acknowledge the assistance of all who participated in the study's interviews for their willingness to share their experiences.

A special thanks goes to Siavash Saki for his treasured assistance in conducting the quantitative analysis of this research.

Getting through my dissertation required more than academic support. My warm and heartfelt thanks go to all my friends for their tremendous support.

My family deserves endless gratitude. I am incredibly grateful for their love and scarifies. They made it possible to be where I am now and always supported my adventures.

Finally, I am grateful for my friend and partner, Kasra, whose constant love keeps me motivated and confident. His happy distractions help me rest my mind outside of this journey.

Berlin, 2022

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List of Abbreviations

UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
GRE	Graduate Record Examination
Toefl	Test Of English as a Foreign Language

1 INTRODUCTION: RESEARCH CONCEPT

مارا می گردند

می‌گویند همراه خود چه دارید؟

ما فقط

رویاهایمان را با خود آورده‌ایم.

پنهان نمی‌کنیم

چمدان‌های ما سنگین است،

اما فقط

رویاهایمان را با خود آورده‌ایم.

We are being searched…

- What do you have with you?

- We just… We have brought our dreams with us.

We do not hide,

Our luggage is heavy

But

We only have brought our dreams with us.

Seyed Ali Salehi

1.1 Research Idea –Background

My interest and real-life experiences as an immigrant initiated this research's first idea and motivation. It had overlapped with the impression of losing both the sense and the scene of *Home* for me. As Ahmed (1999) nicely wrote, the sense of home for immigrants is translocated, and the place of being is detached from where the roots are. Therefore, answering this simple but at the same time significant question of "where is Home?" becomes more challenging, especially for new immigrants.

There are two roads towards the answer to this question.

> "Home is the place where we belong."

Nonetheless,

> "Where do we belong? Do we belong to the place where our family and friends are, where we have our roots, and where the people whom we recognized as our people live?"

This answer is the more organic and romantic notion of belonging that significantly affects individuals' identity. Nevertheless, the notion of home could carry a more emotional rather than intellectual meaning, closer to the following statement:

> "home is where we feel we belong." (Hedetoft, 2002, p. 4)

Home could be defined as a place where we are keen to be a part of it and identified by it and where we, especially at the start of the immigration journey, have greater hopes for it to provide us the context to be happier with a broader horizon. Home here does not point to the physical home, but it is a metaphor to imply the place in which individuals feel close and intimate. It is the place where one feels secure, comfortable, and attached. These issues became the reason and motivated me to focus on belonging and home-making.

Studying immigrants' sense of belonging, personal and ethnic culture, socio-economic integration level and processes, and the host society's history and contemporary attitude in welcoming immigrants have an extensive influence. Thus, it reflects that not only could each individual be unique in their emotional attachment to different collectives, but the burden is also on the host society's cultural and political value systems to provide the proper context for developing the feeling of belonging.

Consequently, based on my profile and geographical location, searching for the home and sense of belonging of Iranian immigrants in Berlin, Germany, became the main research focus.

Moreover, the flow of immigrants and refugees from Middle Eastern countries to Europe from 2015 onwards, the ongoing discussion of welcoming cities in Europe for new immigrants alongside the concerns of the European society to provide the context for social cohesion and diversity became a reason as well as a motivation for me to focus on the immigration path, immigrant's experiences and challenges from their point of view.

In today's super-diverse cities (Vertovec, 2007a) like Berlin, where the population is diverse in different ways by ethnicity, the status of immigrant, gender, and age, it has been assumed that boosting the immigrant's sense of belonging to the new social setting leads to higher cohesion. Thus, initially, the notions of integration and assimilation of immigrants emerged as the base frameworks while studying immigrants' home-making and sense of belonging discourse.

The Author's urban planning background and finding the gaps while dealing with the literature on the subject drives the research towards exploring the migrant's geography of experiences, such as their spatial actions and practices that can affect the subjective outcome of integration. The principal concept encompasses the longstanding discussion of people and place relations. The research aims to shed some light on how immigrants interact socially and spatially with space and how space impacts them.

Studying the context and background material on the Iranian diaspora as the focused group and Berlin, Germany as the context, alongside an extensive review of the international literature on the subject, the research perspective started to transform into a more realistic, rational, moderated, and holistic point of view.

1.2 Research Focus

1.2.1 Problem Statement

Today the number of non-nationals, who are not yet citizens of their country of settlement, reaches around 40 million in Europe. From this share, 17.6 million persons are citizens of one of the European countries living in another country, and 22.3 million have citizenship of non-European countries. The largest number of non-nationals living in the EU Member States on 1 January 2019 was found in Germany, with 10.1 million persons (Eurostat, 2020). With this significant immigrant flow in Europe, the integration of immigrants is among the significant challenges that national governments face. It also affects the diversity of today's European cities with a massive increase hence Modood (2007) called it the "crisis of multiculturalism." There is assumed to be a link between growth in the number of immigrants and having less cohesive communities (Vasta, 2010), which causes the lack of a sense of "we" and belonging (Putnam, 2007). The sense of belonging has multiple levels and outcomes. The vast spectrum of belonging, from belonging to a country to the micro-level of community belonging and also the personal involvement in the environment (belonging to a place), have significant influences on the *Civility* of the societies, which is defined by Sennett (2012) as the "capacity of people who differ from living together." (Wessendorf, 2013a, p. 397).

Within immigrants' discourse of integration and belonging, although each national and ethnic group could be different in integration and belonging, many studies did not distinguish immigrant groups and their unique integration-related needs. At the same time, it is recognized that even those with a relatively high skill set and income level have significant integration-related needs (Gidley & Jayaweera, 2010) and consequently, different mechanisms regarding their sense of home in the new society. However, there are primarily top-down approaches used in much of the literature and policies regarding immigrant integration, and "…relatively little attention has been paid to how migrants and refugees themselves feel about integration" (Rutter, Cooley, Reynolds, & Sheldon, 2007) creating an immense gap that needs to be filled.

Moreover, since the 1970s, the debate on "place" has been extensive in geography. Although it has been realized that the immigrant experience is associated with the

location, due to the challenges in capturing the relevance of "place" and "migration," there is not much available about the role of migrant's geography of experiences and its outcomes (Phillips & Robinson, 2015). On a local and national scale, the research on immigrants' experiences focuses on the objective factors of integration as the labor market, welfare, education, and some subjective factors, such as equality, identity, and belonging is extensive. However, few studies pay enough attention to the complex influence places have on individuals or groups' lives in their host society (Robinson, Reeve, & Casey, 2007; Spicer, 2008).

1.2.2 Aims, Objectives, and Research Questions

This research was an attempt to add to the body of knowledge and answer the following research questions in two sections:

Section 1:

- How is the home-making path for Iranian immigrants in Berlin?
- How does the process of objective integration (such as settlement experiences, education, work, language learning, and making a network) in Berlin outline and influence Iranian immigrants' sense of belonging?

Through a bottom-up approach, I addressed Iranian immigrants' subjective integration, focusing on the sense of belonging to their new environment consisting of the notions such as home-making, locality, and place-making, addressing their process of attaining objective integration.

Section 2:

- How do Iranian immigrants perceive and engage in the physical and social space of Berlin?
- How and to what extent do Iranian immigrants' social and spatial engagements and practice affect their place-making and sense of belonging to their new home, Berlin?

The migrants' experiences and sense of belonging are related to personal and ethnocultural factors such as biographical characteristics, education, gender, and language (Halfacree & Boyle, 1993) and rely on routines and behaviors in daily life and their practical consciousness (Giddens, 1991). Therefore;

- This research portraited the demographic data available on the settlement of Iranians in Berlin as a representation of ethnic urban performance. This step provided valuable contextual data regarding Iranian immigrants' insight into Berlin's urban space. Furthermore, I investigated the correlative effect of the perception of the urban spaces of Berlin in settlement location choice and the characteristics of the locality of the immigrants, such as ethnic diversity in reading and perceiving the city.
- While urban spaces are recognized as the context for creating contacts and promoting social cohesion among the catalyzers towards the placemaking of immigrants, I looked at the spatial dimensions of this phenomenon. I investigated to what extent their use and perception of space shape and influence immigrants' narratives of belonging to their new home while looking at the relations and influence of the possible established ethnic community.

  Based on the specific personal and ethnocultural factors in Iranian immigrants, I examined the role of:

  a. the extent and state of contacts, inclusion, or exclusion from activities or (in)visibility as an individual and ethnic community in space.
  b. physical environment (urban landscape), spatial knowledge, and readability of the space alongside feelings attributed to places such as comfort, fear, and attachment

  in the sense of belonging and home-making.

1.2.3 The Significance of the Study

Based on the above statement and objectives, this research emphasizes the importance of improving immigrants' subjective well-being (sense of belonging), which serves as a key to promoting cohesion in today's societies.

It will focus on a context-dependent case study of Iranian high-skilled immigrants with a bottom-up approach focusing on their experiences of integration and belonging. It provides situated empirical knowledge on this matter while capturing the value of space as a social arena. It investigates the places (both local and public) migrants look for to

feel belonged to them and forge a sense of attachment, which is inter-related to the immigrant's social location (Wessendorf, 2017).

The context of most urban research on immigrants is focused on low-skilled workers, displaced people, and working refugees (Kunz, 2016, as cited in Jaskulowski, 2020). However, until recently, some scholars have shown interest in focusing on high-skill immigrants and how their new life evolves in global cities (Kunz, 2016). By focusing on Iranian high-skilled immigrants, this research investigates the sense of belonging of the people who are called pioneer immigrants (Wessendorf, 2017).

1.2.4 Conceptual Framework

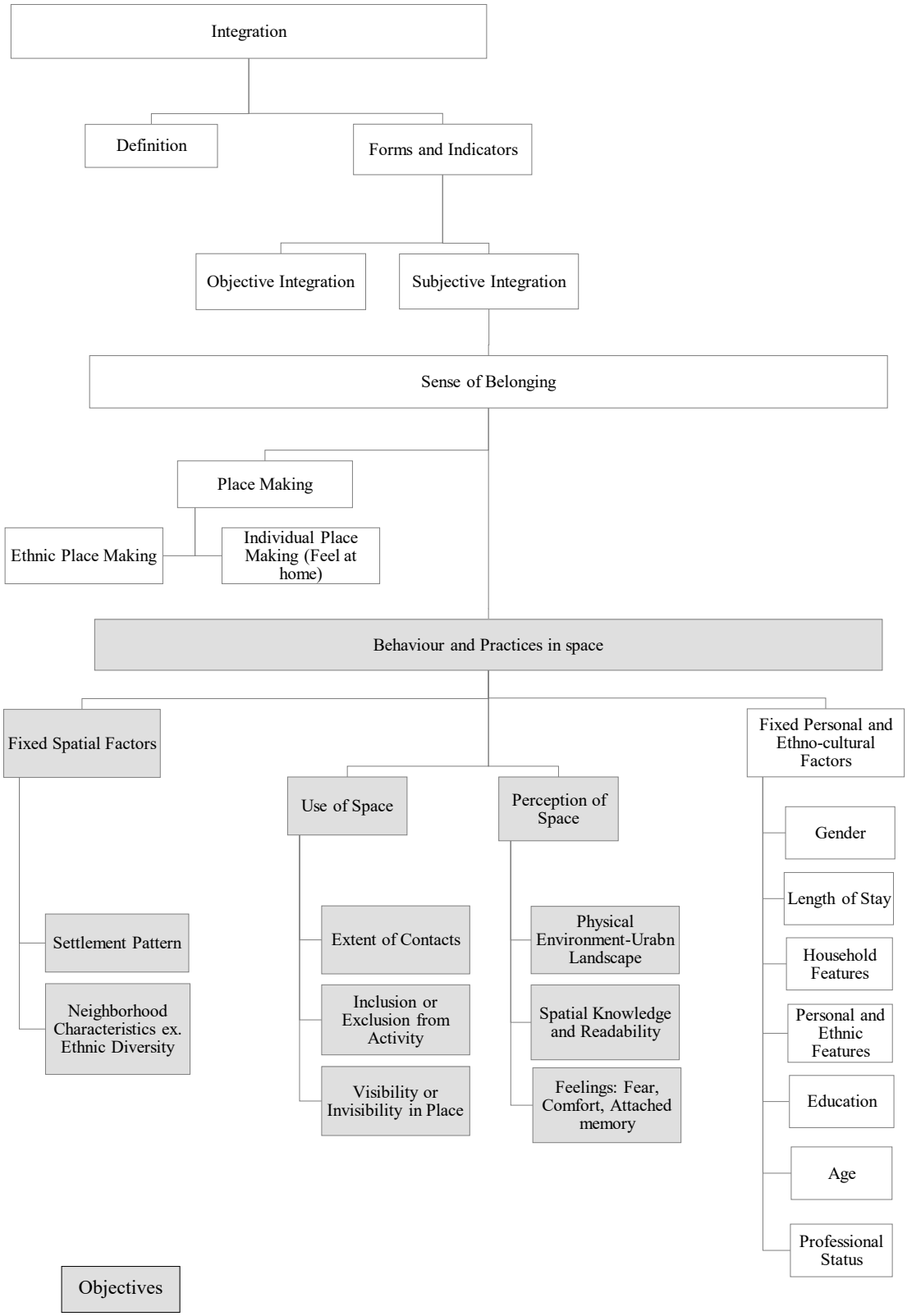

Figure 1.1: The Conceptual Framework and Objectives of the Research

1.3 Research Design and Methods

Since the 1970s, the debate on the concept of place has been extensive in geography. Nevertheless, within the migration studies, due to the challenges in capturing the relevance of "place" and "migration," there is a methodological shortage in academic literature to provide methods for investigating the relationship.

The choice of methodological approach depends on the nature of the study, the type of research question, and the type of knowledge that the research aims to contribute to. The fundamental question of this research is how humans (here immigrants) experience and perceive the physical and social world. Furthermore, how and to what extent do the experience and perception of the physical and social world affect their subjective integration? Considering the bilateral effect of people and space interaction, how people interact with space and how space impacts people is related to the individual's use and perception of space. Due to the different types of driven data from the investigation of that relationship, I apply the embedded mixed-method design. Within the embedded mixed-method design, the quantitative analysis would be beneficial when it is essential to provide qualitative or quantitative data to answer a research question within a broader qualitative analysis and descriptive nature at some stages of the study, without integrating the result to answer one research question (Creswell, 2006). Combining methods helps prevail over the limitations that accompany a specific methodology and bridge the methodological, epistemological, and ontological gaps within human geography (Mendoza & Morén-Alegret, 2013; Sui & DeLyser, 2012).

I utilize the available statistical report on the "Residents registered at the place of their main residence on December 31, 2019"[1] and the Results of the micro census in the state of Berlin 2018 on "Population and Employment," "Households, Families and lifestyles," "Living Situation"[2] and more detailed location data based on the "LOR planning areas"[3] on the residents in the state of Berlin on December 31, 2019.

Furthermore, based on the work of Galster (2001) on classifying neighborhood characteristics, I organize the data reports based on two geographical and human affect characteristics. Alongside, the demographics of the settlement of Iranians in Berlin

[1] Statistischer BerichtA I 5 – hj 2 / 19 Einwohnerinnen und Einwohner im Land Berlin am 31. Dezember 2019
[2] Statistischer Bericht F I 2 – 4 j / 18 Ergebnisse des Mikrozensus im Land Berlin 2018
[3] Statistischer Bericht A I 16 – hj 2/ 19 LOR-Planungsräume

within the same spatial scales of 12 districts are extracted from the *Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg* (Statistical Office Berlin-Brandenburg).

Employing the correlation technique through "Pearson's Correlation Coefficient (r).", I measure the extent and existence of a correlation between the Iranian population distribution in each district with respect to the division between the two models of Iranian immigrants (Foreigner) and naturalized Iranian (with immigration background) and the population assigned to each defined characteristic. It identifies the existence and intensity of spatial features within the proximity of the locality of the case study that can affect their perception of space and possibly the process of place-making. Although this analysis could not determine the causality and intentions behind the specific residential choices, by assuming that the choice of settlement is not a binding decision, portraying the heterogeneity of the population distribution gives insight into individuals and the ethnic perception of Berlin's urban spaces when comparing to the intensity of the Berlins' districts features.

Diverse cultural groups interpret and view the relations and their meanings inversely. However, as the culture develops from learned and shared knowledge, the behaviors and relationships can be construed and realized instinctively. Utilizing ethnography, I follow an exploratory and descriptive approach and study the culturally shared perceptions of everyday experiences of Iranian immigrants in Berlin.

The data collection consists of fieldwork through participation and observation in most socio-cultural events and gatherings such as concerts, cultural events for the *Nowrouz* (new year) and the *Yalda Night* (the longest night of the year), galleries and talks programmed by established Iranian organizations such as *Die Iranische Gemeinde in Deutschland* (The Iranian community in Germany) and mainly private gatherings in the forms of picnics, parties and smaller weekend gatherings among the Iranian immigrants, alongside complementary semi-structured interviews where the respondents answer a pre-set list served to point out specific research questions, but simultaneously open-ended, granting expressing the feelings and experiences at a personal pace. Homogeneous sampling is used as a strategy under the purposive sampling technique. The criteria are Iranian immigrants who have personal experience of migration to study or work in Germany; belong to the middle and upper-middle class between the age of 25 to 40 years old; and reside in Berlin no less than one and more than eight years and consequently hold a temporary or permanent residence permit or are only recently naturalized as German citizens. In total, eight interviews are

conducted with gradual questionnaire revision. The interviews are transcribed and coded twice, using Atlas Ti (a software supporting qualitative data analysis) to identify the key trends, similarities, and differences alongside keeping track of each individual's unique narrative. Due to the Covid-19 crisis, the research is carried on through digital ethnography (Murthy, 2008) via Twitter by following Iranian high-skilled immigrants and inquiring about their opinions, and the replies from the rest of the community on their everyday life experiences and their challenges as an immigrant in Berlin and Germany in general broadened my horizon in regards to comprehending the lived experiences of Iranians in Germany.

The first step of the data analysis is compiling and categorizing the raw data gathered from the researcher's field notes, vignettes, and interview transcripts. Next, transcripts are read to identify the matters related to the research focus and give each a code name. The analysis begins by loosely counting the frequency of the manifestation of certain events, phrases, activities, behaviors, and ideas. Then, by listing all the codes consisting of the data-driven codes and deductive codes that came from the topics of the interview guide and the research aim chart, the themes and patterns emerge.

1.4 Definition of Terms

This study contains specific concepts and constructs that will be explained and discussed in each related section. First, however, it is essential to define some of the terms that will assist better conception of what has been discussed in the subsequent chapters.

As presented in the title of this study, the phrases "Practice" and "Spatial Practice" need to be outlined.

The term practice (Praktik) is defined as "…a routinized type of behavior which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, 'things' and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge." (Reckwitz, 2002). Thus, this term introduces the general understanding of this research's aim to be built upon and investigate immigrants concerning their home-making path.

While "Spatial Practice" is outlined by Michel de Certeau as routines, acts, actions, movements, and functions that occur in space and are powered by being spatialized through a set of rituals and instructions that includes an individual's or group's social and cultural identity. In this terminology, people are beyond anonymous and neutral, and space is beyond a series of physical aspects (de Certeau & Rendall, 1984).

As this study focuses on the high-skilled Iranian immigrant, it is crucial to define this term in general terminology and research. Highly skilled is referred to as "persons [who] have either a specific level of education or gained the equivalence in experience." (Salt, 1997). Within the studies and statistics of skilled international migration, educational attainment is the focus used in the studies related to the Brain drain.

Although many studies differentiate between student and worker immigrants, this research draws from the database within the study of (Beine, Docquier, & Rapoport, 2007), which filters the immigrants by their age of entering the destination country to ensure the acquisition of the education (Weinar & Klekowski von Koppenfels, 2020).

Therefore, in this research, highly-skilled is defined as a foreign-born worker or student with university or post-secondary training between 25 to 40 years old. In this study, other factors regarding choosing a suitable sample are explained in the methodology section.

1.5 Research Structure

Excluding the introduction and conclusion, this research consists of three main parts:

1. The first part consists of the gradual construction and interpretation of the conceptual framework through the state of the research in three main segments and an outline of the context and the case study.

   The first section portrays my pathway through reviewing the diverse range of international debates on the broad subject of integration and its diverse dimensions and implications. Starting from the broad subject of integration, the focus of the research gradually lands on the qualitative indicator that encompasses individual evaluation and perception of the social condition—areas such as acceptance of the host society, immigrant work satisfaction, and sense of belonging. Next, place belonging, referred to as feeling at home, being safe, and having an emotional attachment to a place, is discussed and becomes the focus of immigrants' subjective integration. Thus, understanding the mobile essence of the place is crucial to focus on the reconceptualization of home, identity, belonging, and the way cities, neighborhoods, and settlement arrangements shape it.

   The second section of the chapter addresses the geographical perspective on place, spatial practice, and the role of place within the discourse of the user's experience.

   Finally, to investigate immigrants' experiences through perception and use of those places, this section investigates the variables involved in different scales of place in which immigrants' experiences shape and impact. It portrays the connection and intersection between the individual and ethnocultural indicators and the process in which the immigrants' sense of belonging and home-making forms within the framework of their spatial practices. Developing conceptual frameworks, I addressed the position of physical environment concerning the sense of place and belonging, ethnic diversity as a frequently discussed human affect characteristics in regards to the subject of immigrant's attachment, and the state of contact and social ties, especially in new immigrants, as the social measures of the places as a context for attachment and belonging.

Chapter three included an overview of the state of migration and its legal framework in Germany. Also, an impression of Berlin as the context and its critical features associated with the research's purpose is presented. Finally, through a hierarchical representation, Iranians in Germany as the under-study diaspora are introduced and classified utilizing available statistical data.

2. The second section is limited to chapter four, where the actual "doing" part of the research is positioned. First, the methodological approach is clarified in detail to ensure the validity of the adopted approaches and methods. Then, the qualitative and quantitative design, including the methods for data collection, analysis, and organization of the results, is explained in two sections.
3. And the final section is shaped through chapter five. It includes the reporting of the research findings and discussion. Integrating the qualitative and quantitative analysis outcome is the central part of this chapter. Confronting the Iranian diaspora settlement pattern as a representation of ethnic urban performance, the representation of the result of the correlation analysis with the ethnographic analysis of the interviews and fieldwork notes, I provide insights regarding Iranian immigrant's perception of Berlin's urban space and a detailed description of the intersection of spatial practice and sense of belonging in Iranian immigrants.

Finally, within the conclusion section, I present some direction for further research on the broad theme of immigrant integration, particularly demonstrating the positionality and importance of the "place" in sociological research to catch the complexity of the people and place relations. Moreover, formulating the new immigrants as strangers in space, I suggest that the insight into the perception and use of urban spaces is also beneficial in investigating ongoing discussion of urban predicaments and urban social dynamics such as accessibility, hospitality, and inclusion.

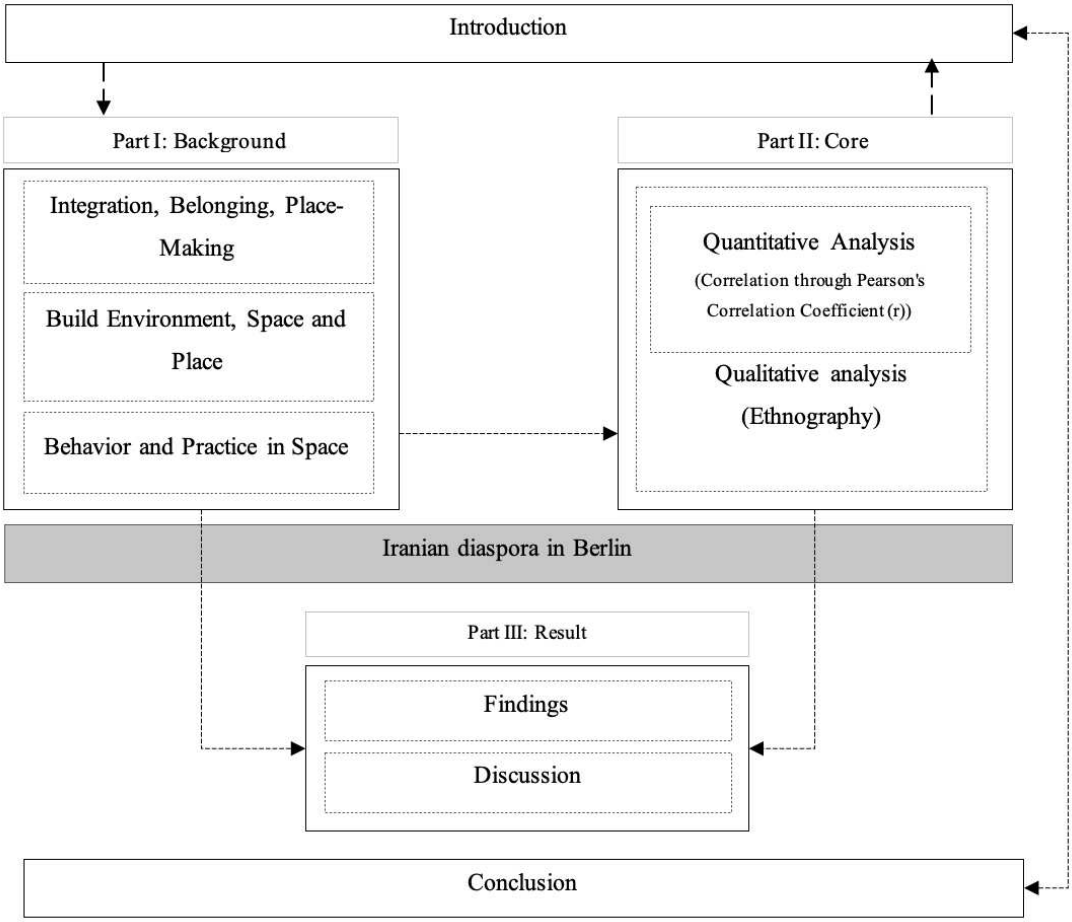

Figure 1.2: Research Structure

2 STATE OF RESEARCH ON MIGRATION, INTEGRATION, AND BELONGING

ما آزموده ایم در این شهر بخت خویش؛ بیرون کشید باید از این ورطه رخت خویش؛

“I tried my fortune in this city lorn:, From out its whirlpool must my pack be borne "

The Divan of Hafiz Shiraz

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discussed the theoretical background based on the research objectives. This research attempts to define diverse spatial and cultural factors in immigrants' integration and belonging discourse. I explained each theme to grasp the interplay between the main topics in this research, definitional and hierarchical narratives.

Within the first section, I addressed the sense of belonging based on an overview of immigrant integration and its indicators.

Second, I addressed spatial practice, the nature of space, and the scale in practice within the discourse of immigrants' sense of belonging by developing conceptual frameworks on how spatial practice impacts immigrant experience and place-making within the host society.

Third, after defining each sector, I explained the connection and intersection between spatial and personal factors as the primary theoretical paradigm to describe the research question.

Finally, based on the theoretical overview and the research construction, I described how this research could contribute to new science within migration and urban sociology discourse.

2.2 Migration and Subjective Well-Being

Based on the long history of migration to Europe and between the European states, especially since 1950, there are categories of migrants with differences in years of residence, ethnic background, gender, and general objective well-being, that lead to the unique integration process, mechanism, and requirement for each group of immigrants. Therefore, within literature and policies on integration, it is of great importance to clarify and indicate the specific groups and types of migrants.

Historically, the concept of migration emerges from human beings' desire to improve their quality of life. Today, the globalized world has provided easy and rapid access to means of transport and changing geographical locations for individuals. This feature of our modern societies results in a significant global flow of people.

The notion of migration comes from the general terms of geographical movement, which involves people with different reasons and conditions to relocate. The geographical movement includes two emigration processes: leaving the national country or the place you are born in and immigration (arriving in the new country). This relocation could be both permanent and temporary, voluntary or compulsory, and internal or external. Internal migration refers to changing the geographical location within the national boundaries, such as rural to urban migration due to urbanization, which occurs in developing countries to search for better jobs in big cities where the main economic activity exists. On the other hand, external or international migration refers to movement across international borders. The immigrants who try this type of migration are categorized into different groups due to various reasons such as higher education and employment attainment, known as highly-skilled and business immigrants; joining family members, known as family immigrants; dissatisfaction with the political situation of the home country, known as refugees, forced migrants, asylum seekers, long-term, low-skilled immigrants and temporary labor immigrants.

In many cases, migration results from a strategy to improve a person's life situation, translating into subjective well-being (Hendriks, 2015; Jong, Chamratrithirong, & Tran, 2002). However, there are controversies about the effect of migration on immigrants' life satisfaction and subjective well-being. While Mähönen, Leinonen, & Jasinskaja-Lahti (2013) stated that positive changes had negative influences on the life satisfaction of the immigrants who won the lottery to immigrate to New Zealand, migration had a significant positive outcome on their objective living conditions (Stillman, Gibson,

McKenzie, & Rohorua, 2015). Therefore, it seems that both the immigrants' and the host countries' characteristics significantly affect the result (Hendriks, 2015). Plenty of studies have stated that the Nordic countries have a higher rank among other European countries regarding the life satisfaction of immigrants (Mähönen et al., 2013). In contrast, those who had immigrated to countries like Germany, France, Portugal, and Spain were generally less satisfied with their migration and the after-migration state of their life (Safi, 2010). Therefore, a series of indicators and characteristics associated with the host country can affect the immigrants' experience of migration and their subjective well-being. Some indicators are objectively involved, such as immigrants' positions on the host country's hierarchy of the socio-economic situation and the number of opportunities for immigrants' employment (Koczan, 2013), while others are more related to the host countries' socio-cultural occasions. For instance, the extent to which an immigrant's cultural values are comparable to the host country's culture (Senik, 2014; Voicu & Vasile, 2014), the level of tolerance of host country nationals that form immigrant's perception of their level of discrimination and exclusion to the society (Safi, 2010).

A broader discussion on the host society's engagement as the point of arrival, with its bundle of economic, social, and historical characteristics, and the immigrant's unique position and experience in the process of integration and home-making to improve well-being will be explored in the next section.

2.3 Integration, Belonging and Place-Making

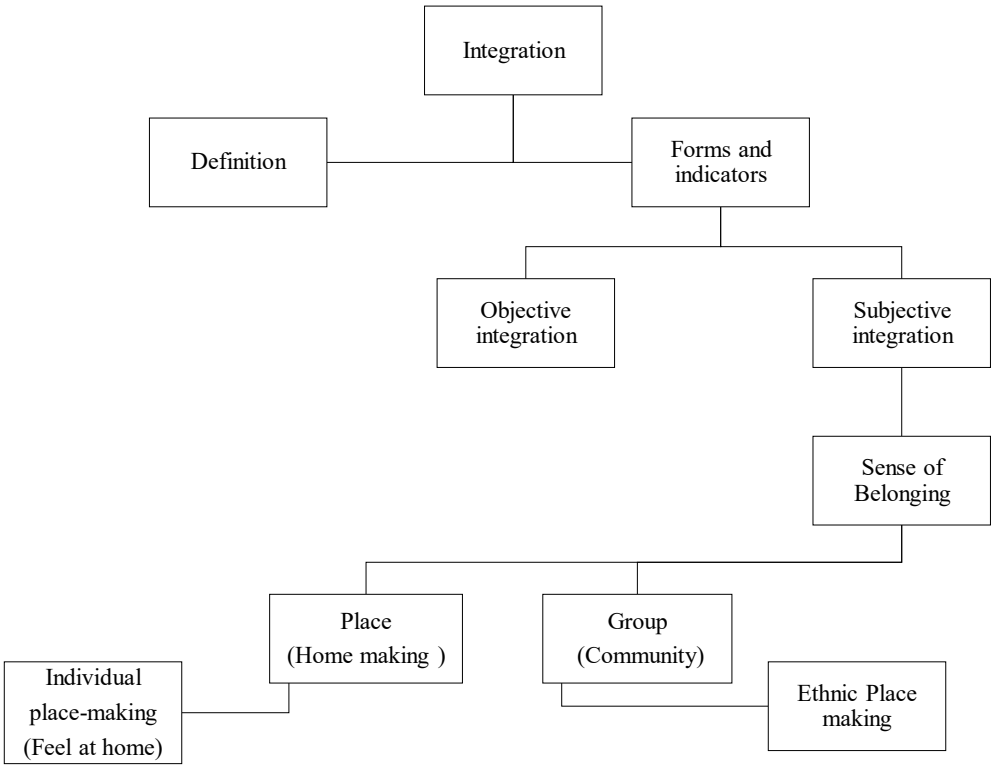

Figure 2.1: Overview Chart of the Review of Literature

2.3.1 Integration

There are many debates on "integration," particularly the integration of immigrants into the host societies. However, no settled definition can fully explain this broad concept (Ager & Strang, 2008; Castles, Korac, Vasta, & Vertovec, 2002). Besides, there is not much anticipation in reaching a unifying concept (Robinson, 1998, as cited in Ager & Strang, 2008). Therefore, although it is impossible to define the notion of integration that would apply to every debate, it is worthwhile to attempt by looking at the literature. Integration is a two-way process to which both immigrants and host society should adapt. According to Bernard (1973, as cited in Kuhlman, 1991)

> "Integration is achieved when migrants become a working part of their adopted society, take on many of its attitudes and behavior patterns, and participate freely in its activities, but at the same time retain a measure of their original cultural identity and ethnicity" (p. 87).

With all the different definition regarding integration, it seems that most researchers have concluded that integration do not and should not acknowledge as assimilation because "it is often used still to imply a one-way adaptation or acculturation to the dominant culture and way of life" (Threadgold & Court, 2005, p. 8).

Integration is based on dual responsibility. First, it is an interactive process between immigrants and the host society.

> "For the immigrants, integration means the process of learning a new culture, acquiring rights and obligations, gaining access to positions and social status, building personal relationships with members of the host society, and forming a feeling of belonging to and identification with that society. For the host society, integration means opening up institutions and granting equal opportunities to immigrants." (Heckmann & Bosswick, 2006, p. 13)

This critical aspect was emphasized in the European Union Council in 2004 as a standard basic principle for the immigrant integration policy.

2.3.1.1 Forms and Indicators of Integration

The problem of lacking a cohesive definition of integration is also reflected in defining the indicators. Therefore, "what it means to be integrated influences how indicators are defined" (Castles et al., 2002, p. 129). It would be easier to evaluate this concept by realizing how to define successful integration and confront society's judgment regarding this success. As long as the question of "how to measure integration" remains unanswered, it will not be possible to improve our understanding of the integration process (Kuhlman, 1991). Therefore, realizing the indicators becomes the key to further knowledge regarding immigrant integration. The Multi-dimensionality of integration consists of spatial, political, legal, psychological, cultural, and economic factors, different among immigrants (Kuhlman, 1991). The classification was introduced by Zetter et al. (2003, as cited in Phillimore & Goodson, 2008) and provided four frameworks for integration: Social, functional, legal, and statutory. Later on, four forms of integration, such as structural, cultural, interactive, and identification integration, were realized as the primary indicators (Castles et al., 2002; Esser, 2000; Heckmann, 2005; Heckmann & Bosswick, 2006; Heckmann & Schnapper, 2003). This classification is conclusive enough to grasp the concept of integration in this research which will be defined as in-depth as follows:

a. Structural Integration

Structural integration is defined as the acquisition of rights and the ability to have membership and status in the host society's prominent institutions. In that regard, the housing system, welfare state institutions, economy, labor market, and eventually, citizenship count as core institutions. Most immigrants' intention is to improve their social status and the chances they need to enter the host society's core institution. In many cases, this core institution entrance will substitute entirely with participation in transnational and ethnic systems. However, the problem with this model is that although it could fasten the fundamental integration processes, it has limited opportunities for economic and social improvement. In some cases, it can instead become a mobility trap (Wiley, 1967).

b. Cultural Integration

It is referred to as participating in the learning and socialization process to accuse cultural standards and knowledge, resulting in cognitive, cultural, and behavioral change. This process of cultural integration, also referred to as acculturation, is a mutual process that affects the immigrants initially and the host society as well. It is a process by which immigrants can learn about the host society's culture to achieve a successful interaction with society. For some immigrants, adjustment to the host society's culture will bring isolation and depression when an unfavorable comparison between cultures happens (Ager & Strang, 2008). Of course, this process does not mean that the immigrants should give up their home country's culture, but it takes effort to capture the culture, especially the host society's language.

c. Interactive Integration

This aspect, also referred to as social integration, is the process of accepting immigrants within the host society’s social networks, which was previously a misleading concept that refers to “structural assimilation” (Gordon, 1964). Cultural integration is the precondition for interactive integration to be possible (Heckmann & Bosswick, 2006). The importance of social contact has been significantly mentioned as a mechanism for integration. As it is mentioned repeatedly, “Frequent interaction between immigrants and Member State residents is a fundamental mechanism for integration” (European Commission, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee, and the Committee of the Regions, 2005 Section 7). Besides, social connections or interaction (Esser, 2000) or interactive integration (Heckmann & Schnapper, 2003)

were critical components of an integrated community. It is worth mentioning that, in the definition of social integration, there are different areas of the social structure, such as social inequality and social differentiation, which will influence immigrants in the process of integration into the host society. Immigrants' social integration process has consequences on the structure of inequality and community and group formation.

d. Identification Integration

Identification integration, or what (Esser, 2000) called placement, is referred to the process of identifying with the core institutions such as education, economics, or citizenship. It is also related to individuals' identity in social system domains to feel part of society with emotional and cognitive aspects. The placement process helps the immigrant acquire social, cultural, and economic capital. Local identification mostly occurrs before national identification and often is stronger.

In the integration process, there are occasions in which migrants integrate into marginalized subcultures due to poverty, lack of language, and cultural competencies. Such a process, called "segmented assimilation" (Portes & Zhou, 1993) or segmented integration, may lose its identity over the place. As full integration into the host society's values did not occur, and simultaneously, the link with the home country has been cut or reduced, the immigrant belongs neither to the host nor to the country of origin. It is related to the cognitive and emotional aspects related to the social system. The immigrant's sense of belonging and attachment to the host society is an aspect of identification integration. Therefore, in general, the process of integration is concerned with notions such as recognition, identity, and self-respect.

The review of the literature on integration, its meaning, forms and indicators, and the domains of integration of immigrants have revealed that success in integration is not realized only by the immigrants' achievements through their life in the host country. Similar to the categorization of structural integration, such as education and employment, real success in integration needs qualitative indicators to confirm that an immigrant is integrated into the subjective aspect of living in a foreign country (cultural, interactive, and identification integration). To clarify what this research is trying to address, the integration indicators will be sorted as "objective" and "subjective." Objective indicators are the ones that are quantitative and measurable, and the "qualitative "or "subjective" indicators are based on individual evaluation and

perception of the social condition—areas such as acceptance of the host society, immigrant work satisfaction, and sense of belonging.

2.3.2 Sense of Belonging

The sense of belonging is a personal and fundamental psychological well-being factor. Although most societies believe that material wealth and better infrastructure promise an enriched life, there are evidences that show the sense of belonging should not be underestimated. According to Loader (2006), the very first instinct question of "WHO AM I" is connected and followed by the question of "WHERE DO I BELONG?", which makes the subject of the sense of belonging essential to investigate (Antonsich, 2010).

Like any other social term, the sense of belonging is multi-dimensional, self-explanatory, and could be defined in many ways (Yuval-Davis, Anthias, & Kofman, 2005). Although Buonfino and Thomson (2007) found the subject of the sense of belonging very intuitive, which makes it challenging to define, Hagerty et al. (1992) structured the notion of the sense of belonging by defining it as "the experience of personal involvement in a system or environment so that the persons feel themselves to be an integral part of that system or environment" (p. 173).

The system and environment in the mentioned definition could be categorized into three components: place, group, and system (Birka, 2013) as "modes of belonging" (Sicakkan & Lithman, 2005). The sense of belonging to a place refers to the physical territory in which one can feel physically and emotionally comfortable at home. Sense of belonging to a community or group is defined as the feeling of having similar values and beliefs with the group, being recognized, identified, and welcomed by them, alongside having the freedom of choice to be part of the community (Soroka et al., 2007, as cited in Kitchen, Williams, & Gallina, 2015). The final category, the sense of belonging to a system, deals with sets of contributions, and as a result, an expectation of benefits (Birka, 2013). This categorization is also valid by Fenster (2005), as he distinguished between belonging as a personal and intimate feeling of attachment to a place that can be strengthened daily and belonging as a membership structure that can translate into citizenship.

Sense of belonging is also being used almost consciously as a synonym for ethnic and national identity and citizenship (Antonsich, 2010), but rather, it is more efficient to say that sense of belonging includes notions like citizenship and ethnicity.

It is essential to notice that the notion of belonging should not misinterpret the "politics of belonging" (Yuval-Davis, 2006). Politics of belonging decide which group includes or excludes in the socio-spatial arena, which does not fit within the scope of this research.

The sense of belonging has dynamic states. People and groups could belong in several ways and by different personal and organizational factors. On the other hand, belonging could evolve in different levels and scales from macro to micro-level (Christensen, 2009; Yuval-Davis, 2006). Like nationalism and religious communities, the imagined communities, which are the base of creating otherness, are at a macro level (Anderson, 2006; Butler & Spivak, 2007; Yuval-Davis, 2006). This type of belonging is not based on familiarity but is crucial for nations to emphasize the creation of "Us" and "Them." It is focused on political value systems that define people's perception of "others." For instance, in the case of war, people are willing to scarify their lives based on this imagined belonging. Meso level of belonging includes smaller movements, organizations, and communities created based on the ideology and belief of the members and induce the feeling of belonging and differentiate who is included or excluded (Tilly, 2002). Finally, at the micro-level of this classification, there is belonging to the local community and group, which includes group identity (Gullestad, 2006; Jørgensen, 2010; Savage, Bagnall, & Longhurst, 2005).

2.3.2.1 Factors that Affect Sense of Belonging

From the individual perspective, the sense of belonging is affected by five factors: inspirational and auto-biographical (Antonsich, 2010), relational and interactional, cultural, economic, and legal factors (Buonfino & Thomson, 2007; Pollini, 2005).

a. Inspirational/Auto-biographical factors

Inspirational and auto-biographical belonging is related to childhood memories, understanding, and history that attach an individual to a location (Fenster, 2005). The place in which one is born stays in a central place in mind. In the case of immigrants' belonging, the autobiography will be replaced or, better say, coexist with inspirational factors, since with the new reality, experiences and memories are reduced and

simultaneously expanded to the experiences and perceptions created through immigration, which is a never-ending process of belonging.

b. Relational and Interactional factors

Interactional belonging is related to the ties one has with friends and family, which can be very strong or weak, depending on the relationship's quality. Specifically, in the case of immigrants, the importance of social interaction in the integration process and the development of a sense of belonging has been mentioned by previous studies (Bratt, 2002). "Social connection" as the factor which generates a sense of connectedness and belonging for the immigrants and host society has been introduced in the literature on immigrants belonging (Ager & Strang, 2004).

c. Cultural factors

Cultural factors such as, language, traditions, habits, or religion can play a role in creating belonging. As language is the primary way of communication between two sides, it is the leading actor in social interaction and brings the feeling of closeness. Communication in the host language can serve the immigrant as a factor that improves the level of belonging by building group identity and giving meaning to place (Valentine, Sporton, & Nielsen, 2009); while the position of language as "a situated practice in (re)making identities in local contexts" bring closeness between people and induce intimacy between two sides (Hooks, 2009).

d. Economic factors

Economic factors create safety and comfort and, unfortunately, in some cases, respect for individuals. So, it is evident that having the mentioned values in a society not only leads to feeling more hopeful for the future (Jayaweera & Choudhary, 2008; Sporton & Valentine, 2007), but that economic freedom also acts as a necessity to generate place-belongingness (Chow, 2007; Threadgold et al., 2008). Mainly, full-time employment and education are other factors that can affect the immigrant's perception in terms of the sense of belonging to the host community and their perception regarding whether others recognize them as belonged members. Therefore, economic integration and the hope of future residence development affect immigrants' safety and sense of belonging (Sporton & Valentine, 2007).

e. Legal factors

Legal factors like citizenship are necessary for individuals to feel they belong to a nation (Buonfino & Thomson, 2007; Sporton & Valentine, 2007). Citizenship will bring safety in the sense of stability for individuals to study, work, and when needed to grant social benefits. As Fenster (2005) mentioned, participation in many collective societal activities that affect citizens of a nation or society, being a partner, will bring a sense of belonging. Furthermore, the negative correlation between uncertain legal status and belonging have been studied (Fenster & Vizel, 2006; Kaptani & Yuval-Davis, 2008; Nelson & Hiemstra, 2008). In the case of immigrants, they tend to be much less happy than nationals, resulting from differences in participation rights. As the immigrant wishes to participate and become a real community member, they decide to become a citizen of the host society (Frey and Stutzer, 2000, as cited in Birka, 2013). Therefore, it could be concluded that the immigrants' legal status can be an essential factor as a starting point in developing a feeling of belonging, and citizenship rights would influence further satisfaction**.**

From the abovementioned level and factors of belonging, it could be realized that sense of belonging can be linked to three aspects: first, the social locations of individuals; second, the emotional attachment of individuals to different collectives; and third, the cultural and political value systems based on which individuals measure and compare their own and other's belonging (Yuval-Davis et al., 2005). Regarding immigrants' case, belonging to the new society is related to their ethnic culture, socio-economic and social integration, and transnational relation to their home country (Brah, 1996; Levitt, 2001; Sigona, Gamlen, Liberatore, & Neveu Kringelbach, 2015). Therefore, within the discourse of immigrant's belonging, as mentioned earlier, it is vital to discuss the place belonging referred to as feeling at home and safe, and having an emotional attachment to a place. At the same time, the similar value system, aligned purposes, or challenges encourage the feeling of belonging to a group or community, that in this research is considered from the standpoint of ethnic place-making that I have reviewed in the following sections.

2.3.2.2 Sense of belonging to a Place/ Sense of Place

As mentioned earlier, belonging could be recognized as a personal and intimate feeling of attachment to a place by being part of a neighborhood, a group, or a community that can strengthen daily. Therefore, it is essential to shed some light on the definition and forms of the sense of belonging to a place or the sense of place.

Sense of place initially had a vague concept, mentioned by Lewis (1979, as cited in Shamai & Ilatov, 2005) as "quite useless to try measuring" (p.40). However, the more current literature recognizes the sense of place as a holistic concept that combines personal and social interaction and a place's physical (environmental) aspect (Jorgensen & Stedman, 2001). The first component is defined as the interaction at a place, activities, and memories that one collects (Eisenhauer, Krannich, & Blahna, 2000). The latter is based on the feeling and uniqueness of the place, such as the scenery, its geological, and its environmental setting (Eisenhauer et al., 2000; G. Rose, 1995). Based on Relph (1976), the concept could be explained as "… examining the links between place and the phenomenological foundations of geography" (p. 4). He emphasizes the importance of living in a place to feel the essence of the location, landscape, and personal involvement alongside symbols and rituals that form the sense of place.

Nevertheless, it is essential to mention that the location is not a fixed entity with a border, but rather a social relation boundary. Therefore, the natural and cultural environment, social activities, traditions, and history are essential elements in creating attachment and bonding between residence and place (Kaltenborn, 1997). Furthermore, the socio-spatial nature of the notion of the sense of place has been emphasized by Entrikin (1997) by mentioning that the experience of place "…is filtered through the language of collective narratives and public discourses that continually blend spatial scales and move between relatively centered and relative decentered perspectives" (p. 266).

As stated by Datel & Dingemans (1984, as cited in Shamai & Ilatov, 2005), "the complex bundle of meaning, symbols, and qualities that a person or group associates (consciously and unconsciously) with a particular locality or region…" (p. 135) form the notion of the sense of place. Hence, the attachment of people to place has different dimensions. It could be conscious or unconscious and dependent on individual social identities such as age, gender, ethnicity, and class (Cattell, Dines, Gesler, & Curtis, 2006). Moreover, the scale in practice, as mentioned above, could be personal and collective. The events associated with a place are essential in the meaning-making process at the individual and community levels. For instance, having a sense of community could foster a higher sense of place-making.

Overall, although the level and scale of belonging are interrelated and could not explore individually, with a hierarchical point of view, the main focus in this research will be

immigrants' sense of belonging from an individual perspective. Therefore, it is vital to understand how an individual's emotion is attached to a specific place and thus create a sense of belonging. Antonsich (2010) mentioned this mechanism as "place-belongingness," referred to as place-making in this research.

2.3.2.2.1 Individual Place-making

Individuals' willingness to discover and contribute to their identities is connected to attaching meaning to a place and defining themselves concerning the place. Thus, as the bond between personal identity and physical environment, place identity is one of the notions to explain the sense of place (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983). Among psychologists, the open question is whether place-belongingness is a basis for place identity (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000); or whether place identity acts as a basis for place-belongingness (Arcidiacono, Procentese, & Di Napoli, 2007).

Due to globalization and the change of locality, place-making becomes an unstable and sometimes repetitive process. Moreover, in some cases changing the locality could result in disability to perform the practices that create a relationship with the place; therefore, the sense of place could get lost.

Regardless of positive or negative attribution, the individual's signification with place could be due to trauma or change. However, it has been understood that people try to give positive meaning to places where signification is realized through changes (Friedmann, 2007). Immigrants can be excellent examples of the endeavor to render meaning to a place or become the actors that foster the move to a place where they are more synchronized with their current self-understanding and goals. Therefore, this interaction between change and meaning-making could be a two-sided way. The change of place could lead to meaning-making, also the willingness to express how and with whom they want to be recognized could result in a change of place (Saar & Palang, 2009). In other words, the relations that individuals shape with others throughout a specific place can make it meaningful, and interchangeably a particular place could help form meaningful relations. In addition, certain feelings like comfort, fear, and attached memory could stimulate through places, and the relation, perception, and even history can result in place-making. However, it is not only the perception of a place that brings meaning to it but the way it is used through activity (Tuan, 1977). Thus, both the

perception and use of a place can help individuals reach a level of reflection, self-understanding, and identity formation.

2.3.2.2.2 Ethnic Place-making

In the literature, the notion of ethnic place-making is being used to refer to the situation in which the migrants try to shift their belonging perception and claim a collective identity towards the new society by the accumulation of legitimacy of a new community both physically and conceptually (Gill, 2010). However, although it is assumed that place-making would be constructive for immigrant integration, it could also have some disadvantages. Thus the process of ethnic place-making holds a dual position in the migrants' integration process.

Regarding understanding the relationship between local settlement and the immigrant's experience of integration and belonging, many studies are investigating the extent to which living in close proximity to the ethnic community would facilitate new immigrants to settle in the host environment. However, this fact can have a two-sided effect.

First, this, as Portes (1995) calls embeddedness, can help the immigrant who currently lives in the same area and happen to come from the exact geographical location to get social support; the cluster of ethnic communities with the same or similar background is also proved to provide a sense of security and identity. This process is most beneficial because the immigrant communities are already established in the host society and are well aware of the bureaucratic challenges, availability of resources, and, in many cases, their ethnic community service and facilities (Kesten, Cochrane, Mohan, & Neal, 2011).

Moreover, regardless of status, living among the co-ethnics or similar cultural backgrounds helps the immigrant overcome economic and social exclusion alongside shopping facilities and recreational opportunities. Moreover, spatial proximity and informal networks can provide a barrier against alienation and more accessibility to housing and employment opportunities (Drever, 2004). The new immigrants look for their sense of belonging in the ethnic social network (Pemberton & Phillimore, 2016); especially in societies where immigrants experience harassment and prejudice reaction from the host society, the tendency to live among people from the similar cultural background with the hope of feeling more comfort and perception of having power is

high (Vertovec, 2007a). Ehrkamp (2005) explores Turkish immigrants' place-making in Germany to prevent rejection by the host society and control power relations by gaining local ownership of their neighborhood and introducing local place identity to feel more comfortable being Turkish in their local place. The ethnic place-making of immigrants is an approach against the issue of discrimination (Castles & Davidson, 2000).

Therefore, the studies suggest that there would be fewer negative assessments from the immigrant's side and less general tension between immigrant and host populations if immigrants choose to settle in or in the adjacency of a neighborhood with established ethnic composition. However, it is not to say that there would be no tension between more established minority groups and new immigrants.

From another perspective, the research on migrant place-making mainly focuses on the large single-ethnic concentrations within neighborhoods. However, many have demonstrated the negative impacts of spatial concentration as the basis for exclusion and a reason for discrimination from mainstream society (Castles & Davidson, 2000; Drever, 2004). It results in exclusion in areas such as the labor market and housing, related to their objective area of integration in the immigrants' case. The study of Gill (2010) has confirmed this fact, as in his study the Polish immigrants in Birmingham consider the negative impact of ethnic-based place-making and count it as a drawback to integrating into the scale of the city (Phillips & Robinson, 2015).

Finally, regarding the intersection of the community (ethnic community) and place, the new transnational studies on immigrants, unlike the early versions (Mitchell, 1997), have shifted the meaning of place and community as fixed and bounded and instead acknowledge the hybrid identities. These overlapping social fields influence how the transnational experience is shaped (Levitt & Schiller, 2004). It has been realized that in the case of immigrants unfixed and metaphoric places of belonging do not mitigate the immigrant attachment to the local physical places and the host communities (Leitner & Ehrkamp, 2006). However, it is crucial to understand the mobile essence of the place in order to focus on the reconceptualization of home, identity, belonging, and the way cities, neighborhoods, and settlement arrangements shape it.

2.4 Nature and Scale in Practice

Much research deals with the vast subjects of identity, integrating different socio-spatial scales from local to national regarding different immigrant groups. However, although it has been realized that the immigrant experience is associated with the location and places, there is not much available about the migrant's geography of experiences and its outcomes (Phillips & Robinson, 2015).

Since this research focuses on adding to the body of knowledge regarding the influence of place on migrants' feeling of belonging, in the following section, I aimed to break down the scale of the place in practice within the discourse of place-making and belonging.

First, engaging with a geographical perspective on place, spatial practice, and the role of place within the discourse of the user's experience will be investigated.

Second, the scale(s) and the variables involved in the influence of place in different scales in which the immigrant's experiences shape and impact will be the base to investigate immigrant's experiences through perception and use of those places.

This section explores the characteristics and, consequently, the roles of physical context in immigrants' narratives of belonging in different scales, from more public to local spaces. Since the meaning-making process in place could not be reliant on the scale in practice, there is no intention in this research to be strict on differentiating the outcomes by traditional categories of the physical scales.

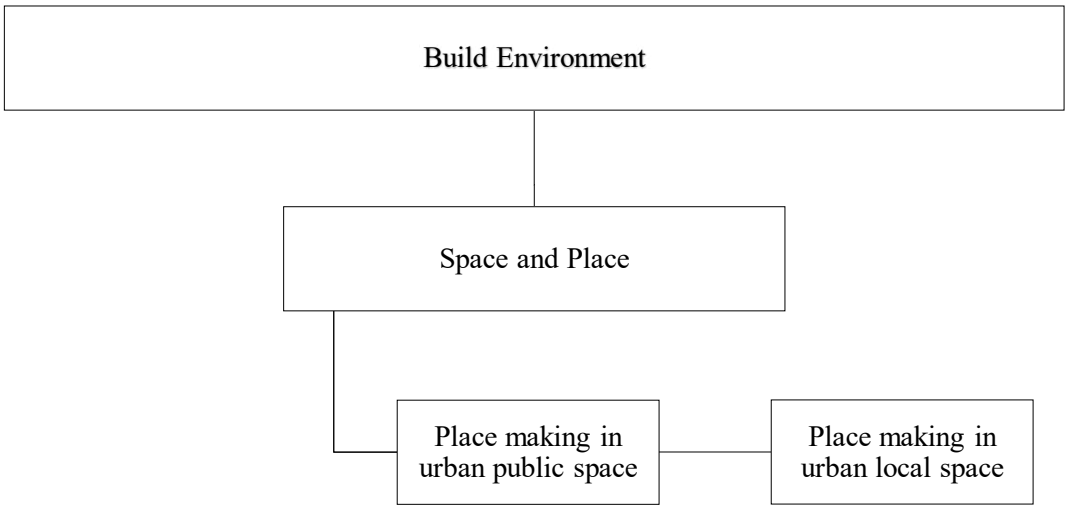

Figure 2.2: Overview Chart of the Review of Literature

2.4.1 Build Environment, Space, and Place

The role that the built environment plays in everyday social activities has been discussed extensively. Environmental determinism is one of the theories which remains an ongoing discussion claiming that the physical environment influences the individual's performance. This theory was primarily implemented to emphasize the dependency of human settlement and culture on the physical environment. However, due to the ignorance of non-physical factors like (social relations, religion, economic situation, and culture), the significance of the physical factor claimed by this theory was notably challenged during different periods across academia.

Thus, there has been no denial about the theories and practices regarding the physical environment's influence on individuals' sense of living. Architects, designers, and urban planners continuously attempt to design environments for people to use and feel comfortable and safe. One step further, the policy's agenda is to provide a high-quality environment with an outlook toward sustainability and cohesion, as it is claimed that a proper physical environment could result in better social inclusion. However, this idea of the proper environment could be misinterpreted in practice because providing a potential in place, such as green space, improves the physical characteristics of a local arena and is meant for the neighbors' social engagement. This straight and causal connection does consider the other circumstantial or even non-physical influences. Consequently, there are no determinants and formulas within the scoop of the built environment to define social outcomes.

The notions of space and place have been extensively used within everyday discussions and in different academic disciplines as an alternative to the built environment. However, the notion of place and space is not limited to the physical environment. This research aims to examine the role of immigrants' practices and perceptions in space (place) in their narratives of belonging; it is crucial to differentiate and define space and practice in space.

The phenomenological approach distinguishes place as objective and subjective. Objectively, the place is a physical dimension, distance, and direction of the location, an abstract notion without extensive meaning. The subjective dimension focuses on the attachment of meaning to the place. The place is counted as part of the physical space occupied by persons that bring meaning and value (Madanipour, 1996) and infused with

social, economic, and community relationships that affect people's sociocultural meanings and opportunities.

In the human geographical framework, post-structuralism theorizations defined space as both physical and social landscapes that incorporate meaning through different scales and practices; however, the concept's duality was challenged. Lefebvre (1992) and then Soja (1996) defined those scales as perceived, conceived, and lived space. The perceived space, as equally named "first space" by Soja (1996), is similar to physical, material, and virtual spaces. This definition is the closest to the spatial practice term that is used in much of the literature. The description represents "… the practical basis of the perception of the outside world" (Lefebvre, 1992). Conceived space "… is a place for the practices of social and political power; in essence, it is these spaces that are designed to manipulate those who exist within them" (Lefebvre, 1992). It is the knowledge of space created by professionals, architects, planners, and researchers to create lifeless or conceptualized space. Finally, lived or third space is the conjunction of all objective and subjective spaces as the space of representations. It defines a space that people experience in their everyday life and where social relations take shape.

As the place has been conceptualized as a network of social relations, its position should not be underestimated in an individual's life, as every person has a micro-society consisting of friends, family, and informal relations (Forrest & Kearns, 2001). Through relation and social interactions, that place, as a physical sense alongside the meanings that individuals attach to it, is created, implying a sense of place (D. Massey, 1994).

The place is constantly changing and rearranging by the way the users interact with it. The two-way interaction between place and individuals is based on environmental probabilism, indicating that what happens in a particular environment depends on the users. It refers to the fact that the places are not only to be made but are also dependent on their specific potentials (Carmona, Heath, Tiesdell, & Oc, 2010). Aiming to understand the social aspect of space on a greater level, it seems necessary to clarify the characteristics of the place and then investigate which characteristic could result in which social outcome (Lupton, 2003).

Hence, it would be possible to conceptualize place as it is experienced and based on different ethnicities, ages, and genders, which can help us define the complex relation of place and identity, belonging, and community attachment (Phillips & Robinson, 2015).

The different dimensions of place-making are interrelated. Especially in the case of immigrants, some types of place-making could not easily be categorized under one dimension. The meaning-making could be due to a more general cultural factor or even entirely personal, which could be affected by one or several special events. Moreover, the features that trigger the place-making process could not simply be divided by the physical scale dimensions. While, the identity takes shape in different spatial scales within the individual's belief system, memories, conscious and unconscious mindsets, feelings, value systems, and goals.

However, despite the long history of addressing urban spaces as public and local, the social study of the spaces has been primarily differentiated by these spatial scales. Therefore, only to state the literature on this subject, the traditional public and local classification is retained.

2.4.1.1 Urban Public Scale of Place-making

> "…public spaces are more than just simply containers of human activity. Rather, they possess subjective meanings that accumulate over time." (Cattell et al., 2006)

Many authors have tried to conceptualize and understand urban public space. There are many discussions about the meaning, goal, usage, and future of urban public spaces. The notions of "state" and "society" are the fixed definitions to explain public space (Madanipour, 2003). It has been defined as a shared space that is open, accessible, and belongs to everyone (Orum & Neal, 2010). As initially explained by Walzer (1986), Public spaces are

> "…where we share with strangers, people who are not our relatives, friends, or work associates. It is a space for politics, religion, commerce, sport, peaceful co-existence, and impersonal encounter. Its character expresses and conditions our public life, civic culture, and everyday discourse." (Wari, 2018, p. 83)

Traditionally, urban public spaces comprised parks and streets as open and accessible (Madanipour, 2003). Today, the change in lifestyle regarding the development of technology has shifted the social relation rhythm and has blurred the boundary between what is public and private in urban space. Moreover, due to an increase in population and diversity in globalized cities, there are acts of privatization and exclusive control in many urban spaces that distance them from the definition of public space that is supposed to be accessible to everyone. This fact leads to a new label of space, which

has the value of social spaces. de Solà-Morales (1992) had named these spaces as collective space, which

> "… are not strictly public or private, but both simultaneously. These are public spaces that are used for private activities, or private spaces that allow for collective use, and they include the whole spectrum in between." (de Solà-Morales, 1992)

Oldenburg (1991) introduces the concept of "Third space" which gathers places in an informal manner where people visit them between work and home. He argued that third places are essential for establishing contacts and promoting a sense of place. In the influence that third spaces can have regarding the feeling of home in urban spaces, he mentioned:

> "In order for the city and its neighborhoods to offer the rich and varied association that is their promise and potential, there must be the neutral ground upon which people may gather. There must be places where individuals may come and go as they please, in which no one is required to play host, and in which we all feel at home and comfortable" (Oldenburg, 1991, p. 22).

With the emergence of super-diverse societies due to the fast pace of international migration, cities are growing and becoming more populated with diverse inhabitants. Therefore, homogeneous societies transformed to become a society of strangers (Madanipour, 2003). Although some scholars argue that the emerging urban public spaces do not influence civic culture as much (Amin, 2008), there are different debates about the role of public space in providing the context to increase social interaction and trust alongside becoming the encounter space to fight intolerance and avoid conflicts between the strangers and achieve social inclusion (Parkinson, 2012).

The main endeavor of the government's policies, urban initiatives, and designers is to create safer, greener, and cleaner inclusive places that can meet the diverse needs of the users. They also proposed some principles such as "robustness, enclosure, character, permeability, legibility, diversity and adaptability" (Aelbrecht & Stevens, 2019) for the design and evaluation of urban public space to promote sociability (Gehl, 1971), comfort (Shaftoe, 2008, as cited in Aelbrecht, 2016) and informal social use (Aelbrecht, 2016), which all are addressing social cohesion in the diverse contemporary society. Social cohesion could be referred to as having a sense of belonging and solidarity as a set of values among individuals from diverse backgrounds (Forrest & Kearns, 2001).

Different approaches, perceptions, and behaviors in urban space (Madanipour, 2003) attract many social scientists' attention toward the relationship between user and space. By employing urban space, people create social interaction and ties to cities, neighborhoods, and communities. Many scholars have agreed that public spaces have a unique position in one's social experiences and identity, influencing mental, physical, and emotional well-being (Amin, 2006; Cattell et al., 2006; Sennett, 1977); however, it is not only a one-way relation.

Immigrants also transform the cities through their presence, social practices and institutions (Portes, 2000). By looking at Lefebvre's (1996) notion of 'rights to the city' with an ethnicized lens, it is possible to capture the difference in the multicultural potentials of what is called by Amin & Thrift (2002) "the ethnic style" in different cities. Through that, it is possible to capture the importance of cities to provide contexts for immigrants to find their place in the city by appropriating urban space to live in and occupy it and also the right to have a say in the production of space and decision making and redefining their living patterns.

Therefore, it could be supposed that the diversity in cities results in creating various practices in public spaces as a platform that reflects the behavior of different cultural groups, genders, age groups, ethnicities, and classes. These practices varied the attitude, perception, and knowledge of the public space, generating different meanings and roles for space (Loukaitou-Sideris, 1995; Low, Conn, Taplin, & Scheld, 2006).

There are considerable diversities in the context of immigrants' experiences due to variable reasons for international immigration. Consequently, there is various research on urban contextuality of immigrants' experiences and lives, suggesting that place in the scale of the city is vital in immigrant's settlement experience, community formation (Binnie, Holloway, Young, & Millington, 2006; Gill, 2010), and belonging (Phillips, 2014). However, there has been scarce research on the intersection of urban research and the sense of belonging and cohesion of immigrant groups, which focuses on the particular needs and behavior of the cultural group and cultural context and the way these shape the understanding of urban public space as a context for cohesion and belonging. For this reason, it is necessary to perceive public spaces as the social context and try to analyze and explore the immigrant's understanding, knowledge, and pattern of use of public space in order to explain their state of well-being and belonging.

2.4.1.2 Local Scale of Place-making

The growing diversity at the beginning of the 21st century resulted in advancing spatial and social inequality. As a result, many European cities were endangered in case of co-existence and loss of community.

The emergence of "urban", which implied the termination of the community and resulted in many debates and attempts to investigate the social practices of urban life with a particular focus on neighborhoods (Allport, 1979) that later led to the labeling of the local neighborhood as a context for community building and belonging, has also been criticized (McGhee, 2005; Robinson, 2005).

From the individual place-making point of view, there are studies that investigate the direct relation between place and enhancing the immigrant's belonging and community formation on the local scale by portraying the immigrant's experiences through time or other comparative approaches (Cheong, Edwards, Goulbourne, & Solomos, 2007; Hickman, Mai, & Crowley, 2012; Kesten et al., 2011; Netto, 2011; Robinson et al., 2007). By looking closely at the literature regarding the neighborhood's understanding and dynamic, it could be noticed that there are mainly two different threads. One line of research arises from the study of the community. By studying the socio-economic position of the neighborhoods, mainly focusing on disadvantaged areas, these researchers tend to set neighborhoods as a scale unit in their study of community and its social inquiry. The other research focuses on how a neighborhood's spatial unit could affect individuals through different social and economic factors, such as employment rates and educational outcomes. These research lines also cope with the inequalities and how neighborhood as a context matters alongside the individual situation. Nevertheless, these study lines complement each other by linking area-based variables to individual outcomes in those contexts but stand as two strands of work.

Today, there are many debates regarding the importance of neighborhoods in shaping people's social lives. One line of thought based on modernism initiated the idea that stated a reduction in the importance of neighborhood and community in people's modern lives due to the increase in the circle of social relations (Bolt, Burgers, & van Kempen, 1998). Blamed on globalization (Giddens, 1981), staying anonymous and keeping a certain social distance has become more demanding. From this point of view, the neighborhood has little to no influence on people's social lives as the notion of the

neighborhood has no special meaning and function more than proximity to the location where someone's home happens to be located (Bolt et al., 1998).

Likewise, the German literature overemphasized this line of thoughts by expressing that the contacts that take shape in the workspace, school, and through recreational activities are not necessarily shaped in the proximity of living space and can have more effective roles (Bürkner, 1987) and, especially regarding the integration processes, neighborhood's roles and effects are exaggerated (Friedrichs, 1991, as cited in Drever, 2004). In this line of argument, social life has no spatial boundaries. Therefore, the neighborhood inhabitant's and user's social activities and capital could not affect social inclusion and exclusion.

Also, many scholars, especially in the field of urban studies, highlighted the ongoing importance of the neighborhood by emphasizing that decrease in the social contact with the neighbors due to the increase in mobility, as an effect of globalization, is not as demonstrative (Knies, 2009). Wilson (1987, as cited in Bolt et al., 1998) stated that "... a person's patterns and norms of behavior tend to be shaped by those with which he or she has the most frequent or sustained contact and interaction." (P. 61). Since many of these contacts and interactions are localized or, in other words, take place in a limited spatial area (like a neighborhood), we can talk about the possible role of the neighborhood in people's lives.

Thus, the urban neighborhood remains an essential context for social actions between different social and ethnic groups (Forrest & Kearns, 2001; Livingston, Bailey, & Kearns, 2010; Robinson, 2010; D. Rose, Carrasco, & Charboneau, 1998). More recent studies also demonstrated that the neighborhood still evaluates a vital socio-spatial place, which results in a considerable level of attachment, especially in immigrant groups (K. Dekker & Bolt, 2005; Kohlbacher, Reeger, & Schnell, 2015). Moreover, emphasizing the importance of local context for immigrants, Wessendorf (2017) also analyzed how the conviviality pattern in a neighborhood that immigrants accommodate influences their sense of belonging. She concluded that the neighborhood where immigrants gain their locality in its proximity impacts their sense of belonging, not the overall ethnic proportion of the city itself. The study of Kalandides and Vaiou (2012) deals with the sense of belonging and its connection to having the rights to the city and investigates how different spatial scales affect the practice of belonging of citizens and immigrants. By looking closely at the neighborhood scale, this study reveals that immigrants, irrespective of their status, give special attention to their locality, as their

participation in the neighborhood provides a feeling of local belonging. Through the neighborhoods, immigrants could practice their legitimacy in regard to having a sense of citizenship without necessarily having a legal one (Kalandides & Vaiou, 2012). Consequently, a neighborhood can be counted as an arena for everyday life by means of the material, relational and institutional resources through what is called by Lefebvre (1996) "habiter" (inhabitance), the process in which individuals claim their rights and consequently grow to feel belonged and localized. These resources provide the context for familiarization and having a sense of security and belonging to a place through the neighborhood's everyday routine.

The third line of thought focuses on the neighborhood as a context for including similar social groups. Some studies argue the ethnic minorities' desire to live in proximity to their own or similar ethnic group (Bolt, van Kempen, & van Ham, 2008; Phillips, 2007) by emphasizing the interactions within the spatial scale of the neighborhood between populations of the same cultural, ethnic and almost similar social situation, which can promote upward mobility of the inhabitants. These studies encourage further research on the correlation of diversity and social cohesion and, consequently, a sense of belonging, which I discussed further.

2.5 Factors that affect sense of belonging

In this section, I discuss the individual and ethnocultural indicators that impact immigrants' feelings of belonging and place-making and investigate the process in which the immigrants' sense of belonging and home-making forms within the framework of their spatial practices.

Overall, by developing a conceptual framework for contextualizing immigrant's experience on a different scale and their place-making within the host society, I aim to explore furthure the connection between migration, community, and place.

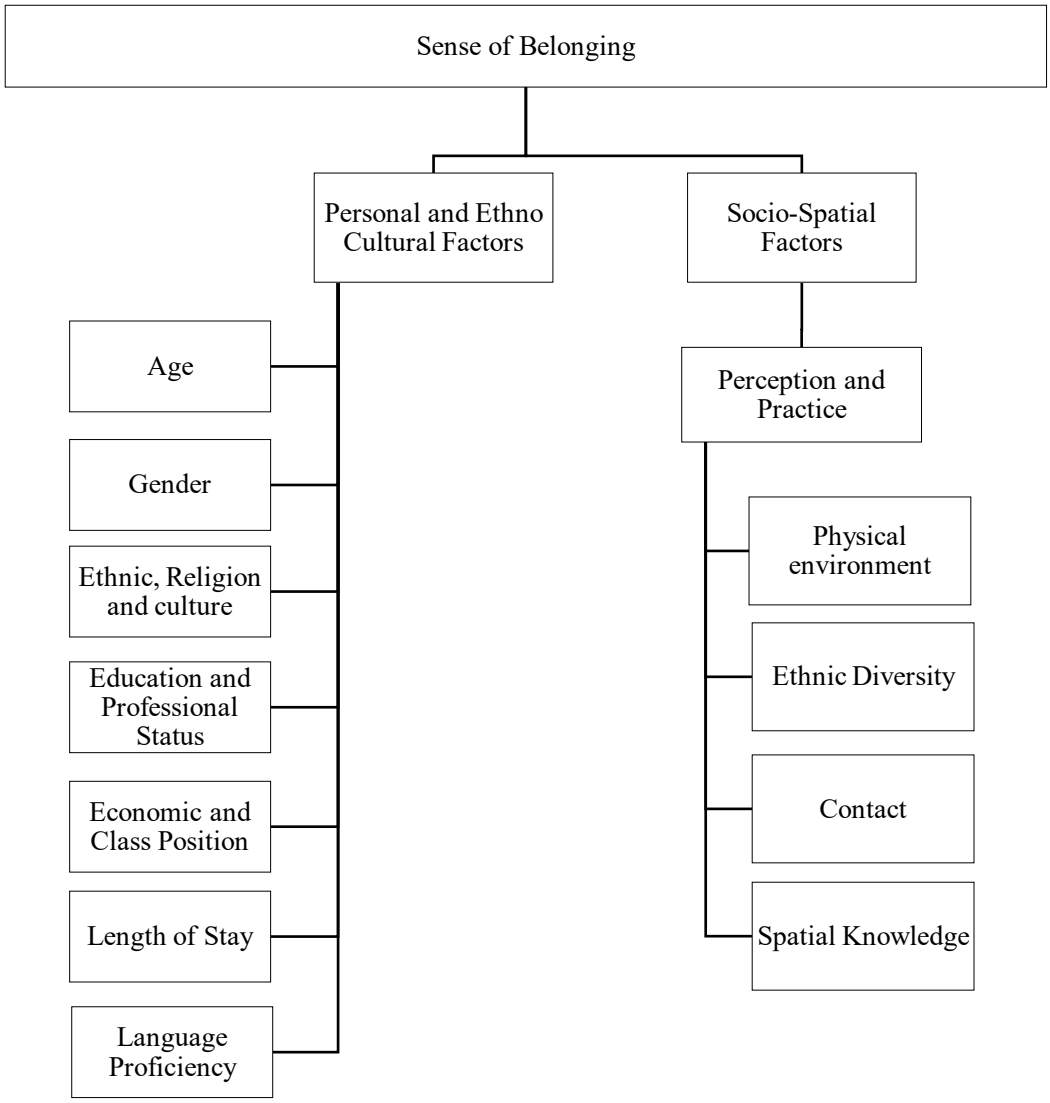

Figure 2.3: Overview Chart of the Review of Literature

2.5.1 Personal and Ethno-Cultural Factors

It is vital to emphasize that the way socio-spatial places are being used is diverse. Based on the individual's differences, their experiences of a social space would be diverse, which can significantly affect the outcome of investigating the effect of the place. For instance, some people's neighborhoods would be more important than others. The low-incomes would have a greater relationship with their neighborhood than inhabitants in advantaged areas (Forrest & Kearns, 2001); furthermore, some personal characteristics such as age, gender, and ethnicity could affect the relationship between individuals and the neighborhood (Lupton, 2003). Different aspects can influence how new immigrants' experiences and perceptions shape the notion of home-making and a sense of belonging, which is necessary to address in this research.

First, the relations between the immigrant and host society can vary among different ethnic and cultural groups; due to the extent of conditions such as individual and ethnic social networks, availability of support, and resources (Lupton, 2003).

Second, some personal characteristics such as age, gender, culture and ethnicity, religion, the economic and class position of immigrants themselves, and language level reflect the immigrant's ability to integrate into the host society and can play an essential role in their sense of attachment and belonging.

A series of individual, ethnic, and cultural characteristics have been understood to influence immigrants' sense of place. Older studies demonstrated that the family schema and gender can be recognized as indicators of place attachment. Families with children tend to have more social interaction locally (Henning & Lieberg, 1996): as women were previously the primary caregivers in the families, women who had young children tended to have more contact locally and therefore formed stronger local place attachment (Campbell & Lee, 1992; D. Rose et al., 1998). More recently, age has become one of the indicators as it has been realized that older people tend to have more place attachment, for their spatial mobility is limited, and their interaction and presence are limited to the scoop of the neighborhood (Lewicka, 2011; Livingston, Bailey, & Kearns, 2008; Völker, Flap, & Lindenberg, 2007). Length of residence can also positively affect the sense of place (Campbell & Lee, 1992; Livingston et al., 2008), since a feeling of being local is developed over time, resulting in deeper and more meaningful relationships between individuals and place (Smaldone, 2006).

Like the age argument, the professional status of individuals and income levels can be determinants of their local place belonging (Barlow et al., 2000, as cited in Drever, 2004). Employed individuals tend to leave their local proximity more often than professionally inactive persons; therefore, they are less dependent on their locality (Turley, 2003).

Regarding the impact of education in this discussion, there are a series of controversies in the literature. However, it has been realized that more educated individuals have expanded their social networks (K. Dekker, 2007), but these social networks are not generally in their residential location level. Moreover, higher education levels generally can result in a more positive perception and attitude towards the residential location and, therefore, the sense of place (Woolever, 1992, as cited in Kohlbacher et al., 2015). By contrast, Livingston et al. (2008) demonstrated no noticeable effect on the relationship between professional and economic status and education with a sense of local attachment.

Overall, monitoring the mentioned individual-level factors to some extent and having a controlled range of socio-demographical indicators such as age, gender, level of education, and professional status, although realized not to be the primary determinant in the place belonging, could foster a better-defined analysis in examining the sense of belonging of immigrants within their new home.

2.5.2 Socio-Spatial Factors

Based on the explained concept of place, place's social and spatial aspects have a harmonical co-existence. Therefore, it is possible to consider the place as a physical space with attached meaning and value embedded in social relations. In this section, first, I investigated where the physical environment stands concerning the sense of place and belonging.

Next, the discourse of ethnic diversity as a frequently discussed human affect characteristic regarding the subject of immigrant attachment and belonging is reviewed. Finally, as ethnic diversity potentially influences the state of contact and social ties, especially in new immigrants, the social measures of the public and local places as a context for attachment and belonging are explained.

2.5.2.1 Physical Environment

The physical aspect of place holds a unique position in providing the context for immigrants' identity (Finney & Jivraj, 2013; Valentine, 2008, 2014). However, this might be less important for the younger generation due to the existence of social media networks (D. Massey, 2013). In the case of immigrants, the work of Valentine et al. (2008) focused on the relationships between identity, belonging, and place through the lenses of immigrant youth and mentioned how the "complex webs of emotion and identification" with a place could affect the feelings of integration in immigrants.

Within the study of local attachment and belonging, the attractiveness of the streetscape and the quality of the building appearance could be a predictor of place attachment for immigrants regardless of their background history. For example, residents in deprived neighborhoods are significantly less attached to their neighborhoods than individuals who live in higher-quality neighborhoods (Kohlbacher et al., 2015; Livingston et al., 2008).

Therefore, by approving that the condition and quality of the urban streetscape directly influence the attachment factor, it should be a remark that the physical environment independently encourages the immigrant's identification with the place through the positive or negative perception of and the experience in place. Moreover, as the immigrant's personal and ethnocultural characteristics stimulate the perception of place, the sense of belonging could vary dramatically among individuals.

Consequently, the factors that directly and indirectly influence the triangular association between people, place, and belonging are diverse and co-dependent at different levels. Analyzing the German SOEP reveals that although immigrants are more socially comfortable living within ethnic neighborhoods in Germany, they are not fully satisfied with their settlement situation and recognize their standard of living as deficient (Drever, 2004), while immigrants' satisfaction regarding their neighborhood has been realized to be positively impacted by the ethnic diversity in the local area of immigrants, which will be discussed in the next section.

2.5.2.2 Ethnic Diversity

As European cities host flows of immigrant groups, the debate on diversity has been developed in two controversial ways. On one side, urban scholars admired the European cities' cosmopolitanism as a positive result of diversity (Binnie et al., 2006), which

provides the context for intercultural and interethnic social encounters creating hybridity.

On the other hand, diversity has been raising concerns regarding social cohesion in societies. Consequently, the past decade's public debates and policies have shifted against multiculturalism and diversity and more toward assimilation (Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010). The concept of immigrants' isolation and living parallel lives within their neighborhood territories in many European cities has publicized the crisis of multiculturalism as a problematic issue. Within the scoop of social science research, some studies have also emphasized the negative association between ethnic diversity and social cohesion, trust, and friendship, which are the factors that can foster local attachment (Putnam, 2007). Other studies also emphasized that as diversity is the cause that creates heterogeneity and disorder, a weaker sense of neighborhood attachment in the areas is expected (Markowitz, Bellair, Liska, & Liu, 2001). Another confirmation is by the study of (Uzzell, Pol, & Badenas, 2002), expressing that attachment and cohesion are higher in areas where inhabitants share similarities and foster more closeness.

Despite all the discussion on the decrease in the social capital of diversified cities in Europe, there is not much research to indicate how diversity works in context (Wise, 2009). It is important to note that these studies look at the correlation between ethnic diversity, social cohesion and neighborhood attachment from a general perspective and a top-down approach. However, what is essential within these studies is how diversity interferes with or fosters immigrants' sense of attachment and belonging in their locality.

Regarding the local impact of immigrant settlement, some studies have been focused on the correlation between diversity in the local arena and the adaptability and integration of immigrants (Hickman et al., 2012; Jayaweera & Choudhary, 2008; Netto, 2011; Robinson et al., 2007). These studies suggested that living in an ethnically diverse neighborhood could help immigrants access local resources, provide contacts and social bonds, and, in some cases, support for the new immigrants. Furthermore, drawing on the US studies, it has been indicated that there is a higher sense of neighborhood attachment in more ethnically diverse areas (Campbell & Lee, 1992; Lee & Campbell, 1999). At the same time, there have been some controversies (Greif, 2009) regarding the satisfaction and attachment of immigrants.

It is not only the case of immigrants, power relations and intolerance are noticeable within differences in most contexts (Wise, 2009). More diverse neighborhoods do not necessarily indicate positive interethnic interactions (Wessendorf, 2013a). These intercultural interactions do not promote long-term relationships and, in some cases, create tension (Valentine, 2008; Vertovec, 2007a).

Another line of research recognized a relationship between diversity in the local place and immigrants' visibility, affecting their sense of belonging and place. The literature on urban civility previously stated that that the increase in diversity helps those who are visually different not to stand out in their local context, promoting a sense of inclusion (Simmel, 1950; Tonkiss, 2003), which is also connected to the notion of "stranger" as one who is not unknown but is recognized as not being from the place (Ahmed, 1999). Therefore, Visible difference is an essential determinant of whether immigrants feel they fit in a place (Wessendorf, 2017). In addition, the existence of ethnic diversity makes immigrants "feel accepted in their otherness" (van Leeuwen, 2010, as cited in Wessendorf, 2017), at least within their local area.

Although ethnic identity holds a unique position in place-making and identity, the immigrants' visibility could be more important than ethnic identity, especially in diverse areas regarding their attachment to their local area (Pemberton & Phillimore, 2016). Consequently, while studying a specific ethnicity with inline visual characters, the determinant concerning the notion of visibility is the ethnic composition of the area itself and how individuals and ethnic cultures would have identified themselves.

The correlation between the local social interaction and what is considered local shapes the narrative of belonging to a place connected to each place's indicators and characteristics (Hickman et al., 2012). For instance, what is called the "habits of intercultural civility" (Noble, 2013) is a determination to promote a feeling of inclusion and exclusion for immigrants within the local context. In the areas where ethnic diversity is notable, the residents already have the habits and essential skills regarding intercultural interactions and may foster a sense of "intercultural belonging" for immigrant groups (Noble, 2009; Wessendorf, 2013b).

From another point of view, for the immigrants who could not find and project a shared identity into their less or newly diversified neighborhood, the process of place-making shifts its weight from the place itself and operates around the immigrants' cluster of social network (Pemberton & Phillimore, 2016). By assuming that the diversity in the local arena will influence the extent and quality of interethnic contacts, it is essential to

investigate first whether interethnic relations could perform as an approach to enhance social interaction in place. Second, what are the roles and forms of social contacts regardless of ethnicity in creating interactions and friendships in place? And finally elaborate on how social contacts lead to a higher sense of belonging among immigrant groups.

2.5.2.3 State of Contact

Regarding the abovementioned determinants of attachment and sense of place, it could be mentioned that recent studies demonstrated that socio-demographic factors are not essential elements in the sense of place attachment (Kohlbacher et al., 2015; Livingston et al., 2008). However, social contact and interaction, and the place attachment are demonstrated to be highly interrelated (Altman and Low 1992, as cited in Kohlbacher et al., 2015; Lewicka, 2011). Therefore, it could be assumed that the state of contact can influence one's sense of place. The study of (Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001) emphasized the significance of the social environment and state of contact more than the physical component of a place in creating and fostering attachment to the living environment (Kohlbacher et al., 2015). It is vital to investigate the two important contact and conflict theories based on understanding diversity, interethnic social contact, social cohesion, and a possible sense of belonging. While conflict theory suggests that the interethnic community will result in more conflict and tension (Valentine, 2008; Vertovec, 2007b), the immigrants' everyday encounters in space are evidence of conviviality and tension (Kesten et al., 2011; Phillips, 2014).

On the other hand, the contact theory indicates that the more contact an individual has with those different from them, the lower the prejudice (Allport, 1979). Thus, the contact hypothesis implies that frequent intercultural interaction at the neighborhood scale will result in a sense of belonging, identity, and attachment.

The study of Forrest and Kearns (2001) also realized that the neighborhood's interethnic social ties escalate the perception of local attachment and sense of place. The demonstrated importance of neighborhoods as social arenas for interaction and cohesiveness draws attention to further investigating the nature of the contacts and their extent of influence on attachment and place belonging. The local arena contacts are primarily ordinary and insignificant but can promote inclusiveness, although their importance should not be overestimated (Phillips & Robinson, 2015). The comparative study of Kohlbacher et al. (2015) in three neighborhoods of Vienna demonstrated that

although the attachment degree may vary between the different chosen neighborhoods, even weak but everyday contacts in the form of small talk increase significantly the immigrant attachment to the neighborhood as it also increases social capital. It is worth mentioning that, concerning the immigrants and native residence interactions in diverse places, the positive correlation between regular contact and the positive outcome of cohesion and attachment could be simply due to the tendency of the individuals (here natives) to live in a more diverse neighborhood and being in contact with different ethnics rather than the contact itself that generate positive attitude (Wessel, 2009).

Interestingly, some scholars have expressed some criticism about the state of the contact hypothesis, especially in ethnically diverse neighborhoods. Putnam (2007) introduces the constrict theory, proposing that diversity reduces social capital and cohesion. This theory did not consider the qualitative character of everyday encounters gained from empirical research on the contacts within the local context. The main determinants are the quantity and the subjectivity of the social interactions by the involved individual's perception of the belonging narrative.

Many studies and policy discourses failed to accurately represent the reality of interactions regarding the nature of contact and its dependability to provide the context for attachment and belonging. The study of Hickman and Mai (2015) investigated the immigrant's local place to realize the position of place in performing quantity and quality of social contacts. The study realized that the complexity of the dominant narrative of a place as the localized culture, more than the number of contacts, could be a determinant and provide both safety and sense of belonging and serve as a medium for exclusion and isolation.

Moreover, it would be wrong to assume that the neighborhood's socioeconomic situation necessarily correlates with the weaker state of contact due to the polarization of the neighborhood's residence (Noble, 2011; Wise, 2005). Immigrants from negligible minorities live in low-diversified neighborhoods and socialize even more with their co-ethnics (Pratsinakis, Hatziprokopiou, Labrianidis, & Vogiatzis, 2017).

Although everyday urban spaces become anonymous, the frequency of contact in these urban spaces makes them essential to sustain social life (Aelbrecht, 2016). It has been stated that frequent interactions in public spaces called "weak ties" hold an important place in creating one's social self (Buonfino & Thomson, 2007). However, based on the "belongingness hypothesis" (Baumeister & Leary, 1995), these relations are conditions to create belonging. Not all everyday and occasional encounters generate belongingness

(Mellor, Stokes, Firth, Hayashi, & Cummins, 2008). It is required regular, stable and positive relationships that cannot be gained by "everyday life micro-publics" (Valentine, 2008).

Recent studies took everyday encounters in daily life routines in space into more significant consideration (Amin, 2002; Blokland & Nast, 2014; Noble, 2013; Wessendorf, 2017; Wise & Velayutham, 2009). Especially in the case of immigrants, these everyday encounters, even in the form of a nodding relationship (Bridge, 2002, as cited in Kohlbacher et al., 2015; Schiefloe, 1990), play a significant role in the social integration of immigrants. It is worth mentioning that interethnic everyday encounters should not be translated into actual friendship (Blokland & Eijk, 2010). Nevertheless, they are essential in immigrants' sense of belonging because the sustained and regular interactions help immigrants and mainstream society adapt to the cultural differences (Wessendorf, 2017). Thus, it is not only the social contact in the individual's neighborhood that promotes close relationships, but the continuity and the ordinary sense of these contacts, which is only possible in each individual's routines, is the key to making social cohesion and a sense of place.

Therefore, shifting the focus from the state of frequent social interaction to the frequent state of being and consequently using the space, it is possible to find a new angle to investigate immigrants' sense of belonging, as the practice and use of space reflexively promote spatial knowledge, locality and familiarity. The notion of locality and its connections to attachment and belonging is debated in the next section.

2.5.2.4 Locality and Spatial knowledge

The locality is the concept that can link the two notions of the sense of belonging and practice in places. Noticing the process of “Becoming local” for immigrants introduces a line of thought about migrants’ relations with urban spaces. Investigating through the local lenses is interesting, as the locality is not affiliated with the notion of nationality or citizenship: it could be both, but not necessarily. A person is called local when they have spent time in a place and have an excellent intimate understanding of that place from different perspectives. This can include simple knowledge, like how to transport through a city by knowing the schedule of the buses and where the metro station is located, or the knowledge of where specific places are located and what are the best routes or shortcuts to get there (Binnie et al., 2006).

Locality grants a degree of familiarity and knowledge about a space to act in specific ways that non-locals cannot do; this knowledge includes the answers to the questions of "where to go, what for, and the rules of access and social engagement" (Knowles, 2011, as cited in Buhr, 2017).

In that realm, Blokland (2017) introduces the notion of public familiarity, which produces comfort zones, expressing that the sense of belonging is a matter of being expected and tolerated and the general feeling of trust (Blokland & Nast, 2014) by understanding the social codes and rules in a public space, as comfort is coupled with a feeling of effortlessness in regards to understanding the socio-spatial setting. Therefore, especially in the case of newer immigrants, the vital aspect is to feel at ease in the place and not necessarily identify oneself with it or like it to feel belonged to the place. Therefore, simply developing some level of knowledge of people and environment even if there is no -or only a superficial- social interaction or identification with the place but it is at the same time known as recognized and safe, can bring the feeling of belonging (Blokland, 2017; Blokland & Nast, 2014).

The public familiarity and locality open the discourse to revise the spatial dimension and scale in practice within the study of immigrants' belonging. Although the local spaces are fertile contexts to host weak social ties, in this research, it is assumed that the studies on immigrant spatial practices at the local level do not imply that the process of immigrants' attachment process to their new home will only be affected by the downscaled borders of the neighborhood. On the contrary, it captures that immigrants develop a feeling of locality, meaning developing spatial knowledge, probably first in their most-used spatial circle, such as neighborhood, which can further provide insight into their spatial practices. Moreover, robust social ties could not be dependent on a particular physical place. The analysis of the participants in the study of (McGhee, Travena, & Heath, 2015) in two different neighborhoods in the UK illustrated that the immigrants do not feel at home by a division of spatial scale as in their locality or within their city, preferably in their routines of everyday lives which includes their daily practice. Therefore, the sense of belonging could be a matter of habit and routine (Giddens, 1991), associated with objectivity and practice (Brah, 1996). Immigrants' ability to integrate spatially into their space and how space influences their spatial knowledge and memories could capture their sense of locality and belonging, frequency of use, and general perception of the place as a whole.

2.6 Research Standpoint

Concluding from many of the previous studies on the immigrant settlement, their experiences, place-making processes, and the intersection with spatial performance on a different scale, the following factors are considered as the gaps in this sector:

- **Insight on the profile and quantities of immigrants**

The previous studies focused mainly on race-based clustering without having other categories such as age, education level, class, and reason for immigration. As a result, there is a lack of insights on the numbers and status profile, skills and qualification background, and migration categorization of new immigrants.

- **Over-focusing on the neighborhood as the scale of analysis**

The policy-based literature also did not consider the different spatial scales that would affect immigrant integration (Thorp, 2008, as cited in Phillips & Robinson, 2015). The importance of housing in immigrant settlement overshadows and re-conceptualizes the neighborhood studies from a scale choice objective to the only imagined scale of analysis. Fewer ethnographic studies have explored and put together the different dimensions of place in shaping immigrants' experiences (Forrest & Kearns, 2001).

- **Emergence of belonging through immigrant's practices**

Although the meaning of the sense of belonging is demonstrated in the work of the previous scholars, there is not any clarification on how belonging can emerge through individual's practices and insight, such as their perception of conditions, their relations with residents, their challenges, and their understanding of what in which scale can help them to overcome these challenges alongside their own opinion on their integration process to foster the process of developing social space.

- **The pattern of immigrant's settlement and its rationale**

There is no research on the immigrant demographic based on district and neighborhood, the factors that shape their choice of residence, the possibilities or constraints that influence their settlement-changing pattern, and the impact each settlement location has on their experiences and challenges as an immigrant.

3 THE SOCIO-HISTORICAL CONTEXT

"Some have stamps in their passports, emblems of official entry.
But the places charted
on this invisible map
are etched softly
in the curve of my spine.
Some women go deaf with the sound of children crying and weep
at the thought of more
togetherness. And I keep looking
for a way to belong.
When you have traveled far
you begin to long for the particular thing:
the sweet mustiness of a childhood room,
the mix of cumin and freshly chopped parsley, the dull, but knowable color
found in the joining
of four walls.
Conversations about children and debts
have detoured this longing.
Still, I want to speak names
of places with worn roads and blue-domed mosques: Tehran, Shiraz,
Esfahan–
places I want to say I've been.
I keep the box of inlaid enamel and wood– its pattern of irregular triangles
and stars, the lid that fits a little too tightly– purchased at a crowded bazaar.
I carry it with me, like a passport not from this place
where I was born,
but from the other
I think I have been.
beyond this body,
the weathered edges
of the tent we live in
you'll find me.
Not moored to the language
of my father and mother."

"Let Me Tell You Where I've Been," Persis M. Karim

3.1 Introduction

Immigrants' sense of belonging, as the focus of this research, is based on the fundamental concept of people and space associations and their influences on different aspects of individuals' lives. People, groups, and communities' relations with space are interrelated and dependent on each society's historical, political, and economic frameworks. Therefore, the conceptualization of the people and space relationship could not be possible independent of the contextual frameworks (Lefebvre, 1996).

In this chapter, I outlined the socio-political and historical aspects of Germany and Berlin as the influential contextual framework within immigration discourse.

Next, the Iranians as the case study and social group within this research will be first introduced as a diaspora through a historical timeline. Then utilizing detailed statistics, the available description of the Iranian population in Germany will be presented.

3.2 Integration of immigrants in Germany

> "Germany is a country where there was, is and always will be immigration. And because this is so, integration is the order of the day. Those who come to us should not just be here, but also belong here. And they should know and feel that they belong." (President Johannes Rau, *Auf Worte folgen Taten* [4] [Words follow deeds], 2002)

The current immigrants' flow to Germany generates an ongoing concern around diversity and immigrant separation. Due to the vision for the immigrants to live parallel lives, the implementation of German language learning, integration courses, and higher education accumulation target the increase in the social and labor market integration. In 2005, the Senate formulated *Integrationskonzept* [integration concept], named "Encouraging Diversity – Strengthening Cohesion," focusing on different issues, such as labor market, education, cultural diversity, and socio-spatial cohesion[5].

Later in 2010, the Senate introduced a new law, *Participations und Integrationsgesetz* [Participation and Integration Act] or (PartIntG). It focused on tackling institutional discrimination and providing equal participation for immigrants (R. Dekker, Emilsson, Krieger, & Scholten, 2015).

Also, a set of local and community-based integration programs had been implemented, such as urban neighborhood integration projects. These projects, influenced by the contact hypothesis, aim at reducing the immigrant's isolation and provide a context to increase contact between immigrants and other residents to minimize tension and elevate immigrants' place-making experiences. Therefore, integration in its conclusive domain counts as a solution and catalyzer to the topic of immigrants' belonging.

3.2.1 Definition of an Immigrant within German Legal Framework

On the other hand, the guest workers who lived in Germany for many years could naturalize at the government's discretion. A reform to the German Nationality Act of the year 2000 changed the law of citizenship from *jus sanguinis* (The right of blood)

[4] "Words follow deeds" is the motto for the call of competition by President Johannes Rau and the Bertelsmann Foundation for the integration of immigrants in 2002. Over 1,300 initiatives, associations, clubs, unions, companies, religious communities, schools and groups from all over Germany applied to present successful and original ideas in regard to cooperation between locals and immigrants.

[5] Der Beauftragte für Integration und Migration [The Federal Government Commissioner for Migration, Refugees and Integration], 2005

and replaced it with a mixture of the principles *jus soli* (the right of soil) and jus sanguinis. The change in the law causes some confusion in the definition of immigrants. For example, to ask whether, after attaining German citizenship, one still counts as an immigrant. The legal answer to this confusion is the term *Migrationshintergrund* (migration background), which states that all persons who do not have German citizenship by birth or anybody who is an immigrant to Germany after 1949 and all foreign-born in Germany or who has at least one parent without German citizenship by birth or who is born as a foreigner in Germany are considered immigrants (Destatis [Federal Statistical Office of Germany], 2020).

According to this definition, all foreigners, naturalized persons (who obtain German citizenship, *aussiedler and Spätaussiedler* [6] (resettlers and late emigrants), people who have been granted German citizenship through the adoption of German parents, and the children of these four groups have a migration background. Therefore, this classification counts a person with an immigration background of foreign descent for up to three generations. The rationale behind integrating this new term was to provide the context for precisely investigating and monitoring immigrant (foreigner) integration into German society. It has become the agenda since the 1990s within the European Union (Elrick, 2005, Salentin & Wilkening, 2003, as cited in McKetty, 2012).

Although residents with immigrant backgrounds hold precisely the same political rights as a German, the difference in the naming by creating boundaries causes a paradox and division in regard to the immigrants' political belonging.

3.2.2 Immigrant's Demography and History of Multiculturality in Berlin

Berlin, as the capital of Germany, inhabits 20.6 percent of the foreign population, the highest among German cities. The statistical data shows that almost 777,000 immigrants live in Berlin (Amt Für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg [Statistical Office Berlin-Brandenburg], 2019). At the same time, 35 percent of the Berlin population consists of either immigrants or Germans with a migration backgrounds, marking it as a diversified city.

[6] East-Germany residents, alongside the German-descents who lived under the Soviet Union, such as Russia, Poland, and Romania. Late resettlers or late emigrants are only mentioned if they moved to the Federal Republic of Germany after January 1, 1993

Consequently, Berlin has a long history of combating social exclusion and introducing programs that can foster social inclusion and integration. Socio-political history and the geographical location of Berlin's neighborhoods impact the German's and foreigner's share.

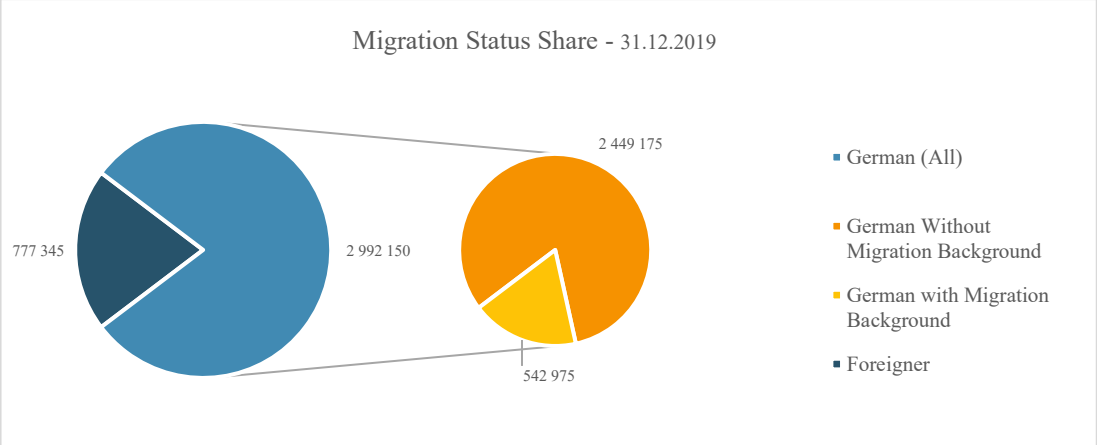

Figure 3.1: Berlin Residence by Migration Status

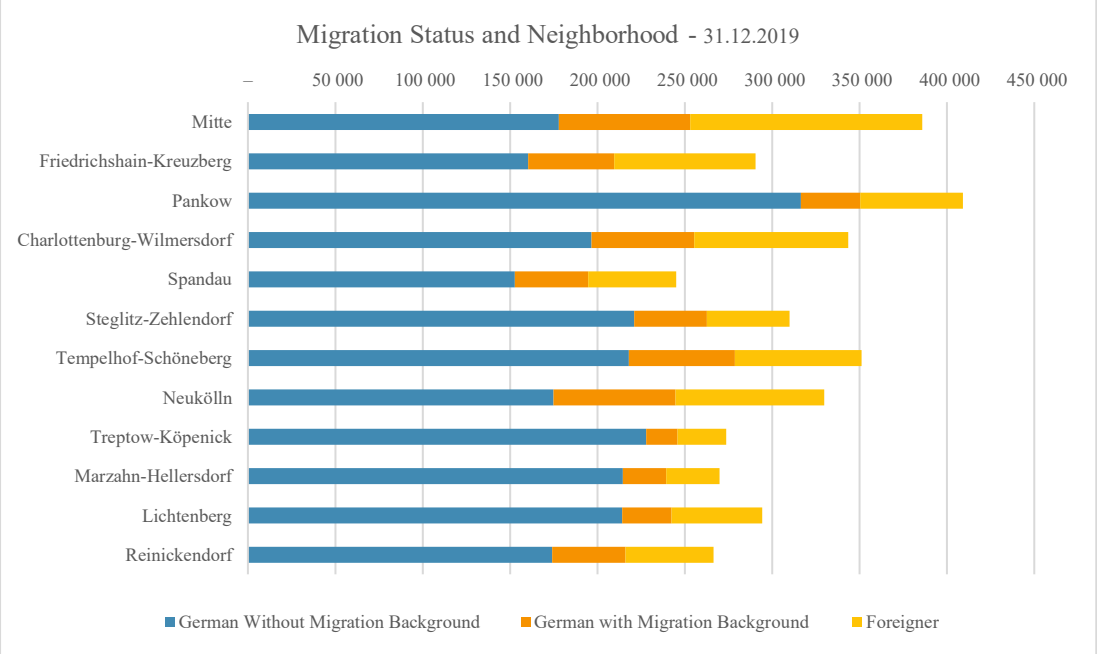

Figure 3.2: Berlin Residence by Migration Status and Neighborhood

Berlin holds an exciting and contradictory position from the perspective of social cohesion and the approaches in which a built environment influences the way residents' urban belonging evolves. Berlin as a permanent destination for immigrants, alongside its significant and almost repetitive transformation in its impression and narrative

during the past decade, makes it challenging for its inhabitants to hold a unified identity, so it is called a *divided city*. The current tensions in Berlin are based on nationality, class, religion, and still minor East and West residents' differences.

At the same time, Berlin is among the cities that count as a heaven for immigrants due to its vast cultural activities and existence of different ethnic neighborhoods that can provide services and products based on other cultures. The divided city could also be a metaphor because Berlin does not offer a single united city center. However, the micro centers with very different cityscapes, characteristics, and demographic variables are interesting for residents and tourists. The urban fabric as the physical urban environment in Berlin could significantly influence the socio-cultural structures which affect how personal and community belonging evolves. Therefore, it is vital to identify the reasons behind the division in the collective identity in the past few decades and analyze how the city tried to answer the issues.

During the last years of the 1950s, the economic growth in Germany resulted in the implementation of the *Gastarbeiter* (guest worker) program, which resulted in signing recruitment contracts with countries such as Italy (1955), Greece (1960), Spain (1960), Turkey (1961), Morocco (1963), Portugal (1964) and Tunisia (1965).

The guest workers' contracts and the prospect of staying in Germany both were meant to be temporary, and the recruitment process stopped in 1973. However, immigrant workers' reunification with their families in Germany resulted in their temporary settlement in Germany's systematic housing system. In Berlin, many guest workers, mainly Turks, reside in Kreuzberg. The adjacency of the Berlin Wall and Kreuzberg neighborhood resulted in physical creation of an island-like area with decayed houses and cheap rents. These housing mainly were close to factory locations and renovated *Altbau* (old pre-world war) housing with communal toilets and baths (Drever, 2004), typically part of urban renewal programs. Therefore, there was low competition for these houses and less strictness from landlords, making it suitable for guest workers and their families to reside in the neighborhood.

With the growing number of immigrants in these areas, the quotas banned further settlement of immigrants in cities with more than 12 percent share of foreign population and neighborhood levels. Although many guest worker immigrants in Germany were exempted from the quota due to their extended residency in Germany and the acquisition of permanent residence or naturalization through marriage with Germans, the law affected many new arrivals.

These settlement bans forced immigrants to live outside the areas where their families and friends were situated, resulting in their limited labor mobility (Drever, 2004). Therefore, some immigrant groups tended to live illegally; otherwise, they would become more marginalized from mainstream society and their ethnic groups, resulting in more isolation and marginalization (Leitner, 1987, as Cited in Drever, 2004). After almost 14 years, the quota was canceled in 1989, and instead, other desegregation approaches were implemented. The social housing settled a specific percentage of immigrants within each building, and the *Wohnungsbaugesellschaften* (Housing Associations), although unofficially, limited the number of apartments that immigrant families could occupy to keep the properties still desirable for German families to live in.

Although foreign workers' recruitment process also had happened in East Germany from mainly East Europe, Vietnam, Algeria, Angola, Mozambique, and Cuba, the scale was much smaller. From 1988, the *Aussiedler* (resettlers) started immigrating to Germany due to their German ancestry. They held German citizenship and therefore, had access to better housing and services, combined with having a sense of German identity. Their settlement arrangement was significantly different from the guest workers'. Thus, the dynamics, characteristics, and narrative of belonging and home-making of the neighborhoods, especially in Berlin, are entirely distinctive regarding the settlement narratives and their implications in each neighborhood.

Berlin's social diversity is unique, and it began to increase significantly after reunification in the 90s. After the Berlin Wall fell, immigration continued, mainly constituting Eastern European asylum seekers. There were also refugees from Afghanistan and Palestine. The city planning policies regarding the cheaper rents in some neighborhoods, conducted after the demolition of the wall, alongside the growth in the ethnic economy and religious infrastructure, helped immigrants settle in the areas of west Berlin, such as Kreuzberg, Neukölln, and Wedding. During the same time, many Germans moved to Brandenburg's suburbs, making the public housing states accessible for immigrants to inhabit, maintaining the segregation of ethnicities and poverty groups. It is not only the case of areas such as Kreuzberg, but the same story with different angles happened on the East side.

In 1990, almost 88,000 Foreign workers were living in East Germany, of which more than two-thirds were Vietnamese (Eichener, 1988, Göddecke-stellmann, 1994, as cited in Drever, 2004). After reunification, many Vietnamese people stayed in the eastern

part of Berlin, especially in Lichtenberg and Marzahn (Kil & Silver, 2006), and joined the large population of almost 35.000 *Spätaussiedler* (late emigrants). Like Turks and Arabs, late emigrants created their economic infrastructure and inhabited social housing but stayed mostly Eastside. Although both sides of the city and its neighborhoods may share the same narratives regarding in and out-migration and segregation of ethnics, today, there is a significant difference in inhabitants' perception regarding their hospitality towards new inhabitants. As much as Wedding, Neukölln and Kreuzberg stay open today toward the unique artistic, hip, sexually and ethnically diverse groups, most Marzahn, Hellersdorf, and Lichtenberg inhabitants fear their neighborhood to become as diverse as Kreuzberg.

Consequently, the anti-immigrant acts by Neo-Nazi Party (NPD) have primarily occurred in these areas, makings it more unsafe for many immigrants. Some of the anti-immigrant members' initiatives in these areas include the Russian resettlers, who count as Germans due to their blood ties. Although they may not have lived longer than other immigrants in Berlin, they feel the right to exclude different ethnicities. As a result, today, fewer immigrants live on the East side of Berlin. Parallel to the idea of *islamophobia* or the fear of some Germans due to immigrants' ghettoization, on the other side, there are traces of fear among immigrants to live and even visit some specific East-Berlin neighborhoods.

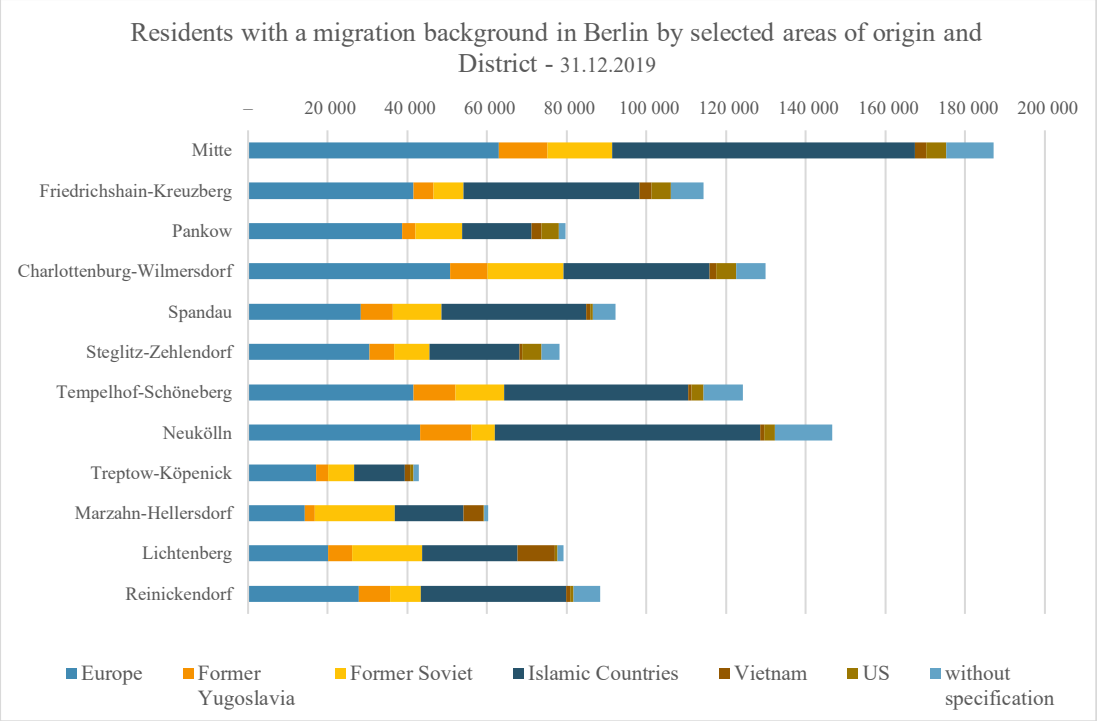

Figure 3.3: Residents with Migration Background's Population in Berlin's District

Consequently, the two main socio-political intersections in Berlin's history of the past 80 years encourage a social division between the immigrants and German descendants and their second and third generations and between East and West neighborhoods' inhabitants in their lifestyle ideology, religion, and political preferences. Therefore, there is a more significant challenge for the Berliners to reach social inclusion as a more united community. The crucial point of not living parallel lives can promote having the sense of "we" and belonging for immigrant groups.

3.3 Iranians

3.3.1 History and Waves of Migration to Europe

Although the history of Iranians living outside Iran, who mainly were students, goes back to 1979, the events that led to and followed up the Islamic revolution, such as the Iran-Iraq war of 1980-1988, resulted in a rapid immigration pace. As a result, today, the Iranian diaspora population is estimated between 4 to 6 million (Vahabi , 2012, as cited in Malek, 2016). However, the statistic is not entirely precise. There is a lack of documentation on some of the members of the second and third generation of Iranians who are naturalized in the host countries, which makes us assume that the the numbers are larger.

The global Iranian diaspora is conceptualized into four significant emigration waves, including voluntary and forced departures.

- **First Wave**

The first wave of Iranian emigrants began in 1950. After the Second World War, the revenue from oil production resulted in a sudden change in Iranian society towards modernization and eager middle and upper-class families to send their children abroad to pursue higher education. As Iran and Western nations had good diplomatic relations, obtaining a student visa was relatively easy. It was estimated that from 1977 to 1988, about 100,000 Iranians were enrolled in universities abroad, of whom around 63000 were studying in the United Kingdom, West Germany, France, Austria, and Italy (Hakimzadeh, 2006). Many early immigrants intended to gain educational and occupational skills abroad to straighten their socio-economic positions after returning to Iran. However, the revolution of 1979 resulted in many families reunifying with their children and remaining in the host countries (Matin-asgari, 1997).

- **Second Wave**

The Iran revolution of 1979 gave a new direction to the Iranian Diaspora to introduce the history of Iranian migration. It described “what it is Iranians are and experience due to having left Iran” (Elahi & Karim, 2011, p. 382). The first generation of Iranians, who were mainly exiled and traumatized by losing their lives in Iran without their will, tried to hold onto and reproduce their authentic

Iranian culture. However, as the culture of their home country, Iran in most cases, did not match the country of residence, they frequently lived a dual parallel life with exclusive belonging to both cultures. As a result, they were mainly social immigrants and "public persons" in society, and at the same time, acted and lived as "Authentic Persons" at home and among their ethnic community (Mostofi, 2003; Sanadjian, 2000). In this case, the attempt to reproduce the authentic Iranian vibe influenced living in the new country, resulting in a low belonging level, not feeling at home in the host society, and marginalization. After ten years or so, this wave of Iranian immigrants became self-aware of their new realities, new homes, and the new society. Furthermore, these ten years gave them enough time to become aware of the other Iranian exile living the same life in other cities or countries, which provided them with a new identity as "Iranians living abroad." This period also created transnational communities, and a new sense of belonging emerged in the Iranian Diaspora community.

- **Third Wave**

The third wave of emigration started around 1993, the middle of the Iranian economy's construction period. The economic well-being of the middle and upper class due to the construction period (1989-1997) and the meager percentage of acceptance in the university entrance exam (around 11%) increased the number of student emigrants. On the other hand, the increase in the unemployment rate in the early years after the Iran-Iraq war motivated working-class labor migrants and economic refugees to emigrate. These groups had a lower level of education than the two previous waves. This wave peaked at the end of the construction period in 1997.

- **Fourth Wave**

The fourth and most recent emigration wave started in 2006 due to the structural changes in Iranian government's domestic policies. The main educational aspect of this policy change was forcing numerous Iranian scientists and university professors to resign and retire, referred to as the second cultural revolution. From the social, cultural, and economic aspects, the new policies resulted in a general lack of intellectual and social security, a lack of freedom of expression, and an impoverished job market. Owing to these situations, an increase in highly educated and professional brain drain patterns is recognized. Subsequently, the Iranian

presidential election protests in 2009 accelerated the immigration rate, especially among the educated middle-class groups who immigrated primarily to Western countries as political refugees.

As indicated from the history of Iranian emigration waves, the three main categories of emigrants are Educated and Skilled Emigrants, Academic and Student Emigrants, and Economic Emigrants. Therefore, the main focus of this study is on the first two categories who immigrated during the last wave, which can be defined as follows:

- **Educated Skilled Emigrants**

Those who often have high education or skills are among the most valuable emigrant categories. Therefore, there is intense competition in the international migration market for recruiting them. Many developed and migrant-receiving countries announce and implement specific policies and programs to attract and retain these immigrant categories. On the other hand, sending countries that lose a significant percentage of their skilled and educated people are often subject to irreversible economic and social damages. According to statistics and the share of educated, skilled emigrants from the total number of emigrants in 2010-2011, Iran holds the fourth place among all countries, while about half of the total number of Iranian immigrants are educated or skilled. Moreover, it ranked first in 2001 and 2011 among the MENA region.

- **Academic and Student Emigrants**

In many developed countries, these students are considered the future educated and skilled immigrants who have a double advantage over other types due to their educational degree and their gradual integration with the social and cultural characteristics of the host country. According to UNESCO statistics in 2012, 52,000 Iranian students studied abroad, accounting for one and a half percent of students' world market share.

3.3.2 Iranian Diaspora through the Literature

Regarding the fact that the quantity of research on Iranians in Germany is limited, in this section, I reviewed the available literature on the Iranian diaspora in European countries such as the Netherlands, Sweden, and the UK. Although there is geographical

proximity between these countries, it could be stated that there are contextual differences regarding the integrational, political, and cultural provisions. However, the almost similar motivation of Iranians to immigrate to these European countries provides the rationality of these reviews to investigate common cases.

The thematic review of Iranian diaspora literature concerning the research topic has been done on the following subjects.

3.3.2.1 Ethnic Community Formation

Iranian diaspora does not unify much in an organizational setting beyond Iran's borders to discuss and negotiate the new diasporic culture. There are different reasons for this. First, it is believed that engaging too much in the Iranian immigrant social and organizational setting would be entirely against integration among the Iranian diaspora. Being a member of the ethnic community among Iranian Immigrants is occasionally believed to contrast with upward mobility (Bozorgmehr, 2000).

Second, the migration brought about the competitiveness among the Iranian diaspora (Sanadjian, 2000). They feel a burden to become more successful, wealthy, educated, and integrated into the host country to confirm to themselves and their acquaintances that it was a proper decision to leave their home country and experience foreignness and exile. For those whose plans and hopes are not realized to reach a certain level of upward mobility, their tendency to have a social connection with other Iranians is reduced significantly. Experiencing downward mobility among Iranian immigrants is another factor that encourages them to hide their identity or decrease their contact with their co-ethnics. There are initially two reasons for that: Iranians look at downward mobility as a personal failure, which they do not want anybody from their co-ethnics to be aware of. In other cases, it is assumed that other Iranians would not be empathic regarding their failure or somehow useful to help them. In both ways, their downward mobility encourages them to be more apart. So, unlike many other ethnic communities abroad, Iranians' lack of support and communication, which results in not forming community relationships, is very disadvantageous.

Third, the lack of communication and the establishment of long-lasting relationships and networks are engaged with the lack of emphasis in Iranian culture to practice togetherness and support. In general, the history of Iran's cultural, social, and political organization has always relied on the network and interaction of small informal and variable groups. As a result, culturally speaking, having a united and formal

organization for social mobility does not hold an important position among Iranians (van den Bos & Achbari, 2007).

3.3.2.2 Integration Level

Within the migration literature in Europe and the US, Iranians are entitled to be among well-educated immigrant groups (Hakimzadeh & Dixon, 2006). They mostly seem to have upward mobility and well-paid jobs (Sanandaji, 2015), particularly in North America than Europe. Although there is no argument for this statement's correctness and accuracy, in most cases, successful Iranian integration is only measured based on objective factors. Few studies focus on the subjective aspects of belonging, discrimination, and feeling at home. Therefore, It seems that in the case of Iranian diaspora integration, discourses could not be complete and precise (Gholami & Sreberny, 2019). There are different reasons for that:

First, due to their fragmentation in social, cultural, political, and economic settings, the practicality of integration factor is low.

Second, there are many differences between the host societies' values regarding immigrants, not only in the way and extent of providing a proper context of social mobility but also in accommodating a feeling of being welcomed for the immigrant groups, which seems to be very influential on Iranian immigrants subjective integration (Sadeghi, 2014). Therefore, providing factual reports on their subjective integration level is challenging and distinct based on each context.

3.3.3 Statistical Data

3.3.3.1 Iranian diaspora in Germany

Iranian Diaspora in Germany consists of all immigrants from Iran, in addition to the descendants of Iranian background. The term Iranian-German or German-Persian (*Iranisch Deutsch* and *Persisches Deutsch)* refers to the Iranians in Germany, although less common, the same way they are called Iranian-Americans in the US. According to the available data from the Federal Statistical Office of Germany at the end of 2018, around 237,000 people with Iranian backgrounds were living in Germany ("Destatis [Federal Statistical Office of Germany]," 2020). Considering the current number of Iranian immigrants, around 123,000 Iranian-Germans (with migration backgrounds including second and third generations) live in Germany.

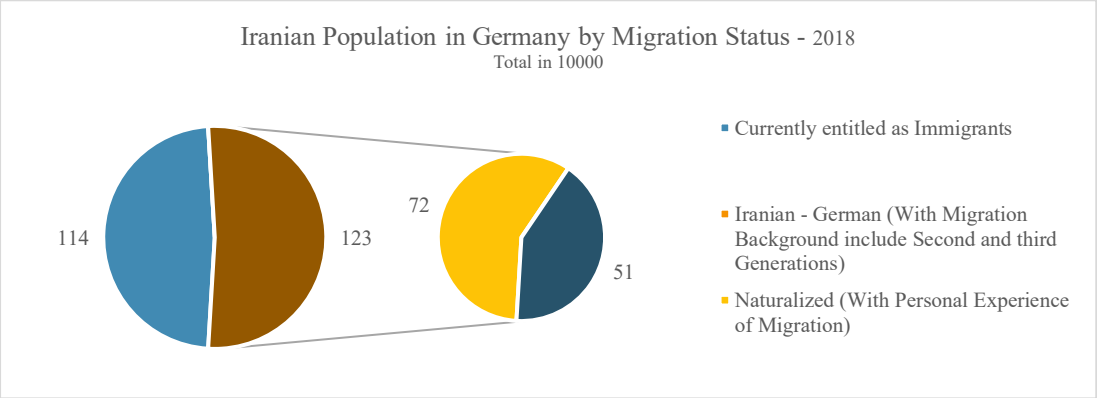

Figure 3.4: Iranian Population in Germany by Migration Status

According to the latest data available from the Federal Statistical Office of Germany, around 51,000 are among the second generation of Iranian descent born in Germany. Therefore, the following data presented in this research will not consider the second-generation Iranian-Germans as it is beyond the scope of this research. However, regardless of citizenship status, around 184,000 Iranians with personal experience of migration to Germany are addressed in the following charts.

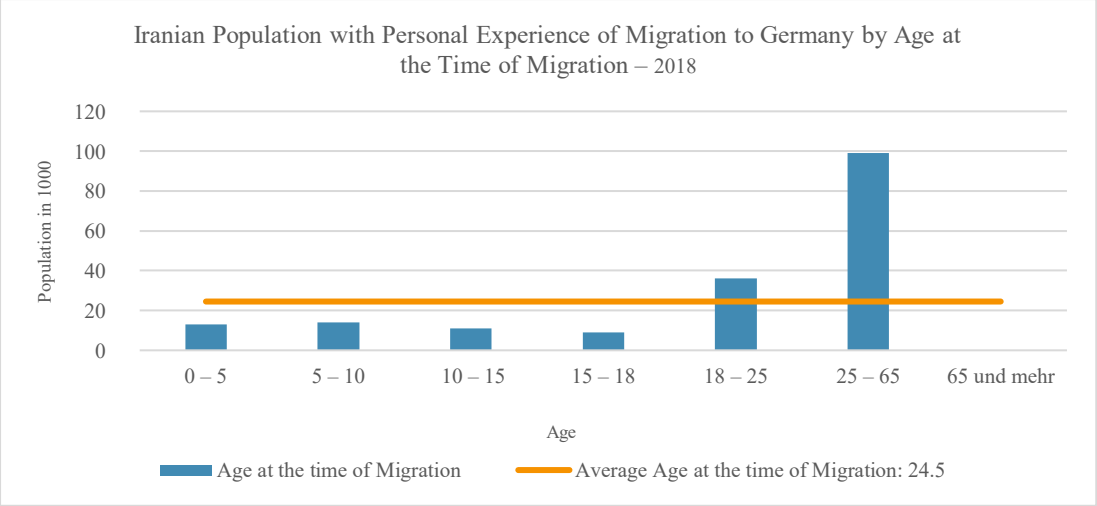

Figure 3.5: Iranian Population by Age at the Time of Migration

The most recent Statistics on the Iranians with personal experience of migration to Germany in 2019 show that around 20% of Iranians initially intended to migrate to Germany for education and work. However, among the other migration groups presented in the following charts, many had continued their education and/or entered the labor market. The data available on the Iranian immigrants' age at the time of migration shows that around 73% had immigrated after the age of 18 and finished

primary education, around 50% or 100,000 persons with the possibility of having higher education in Iran.

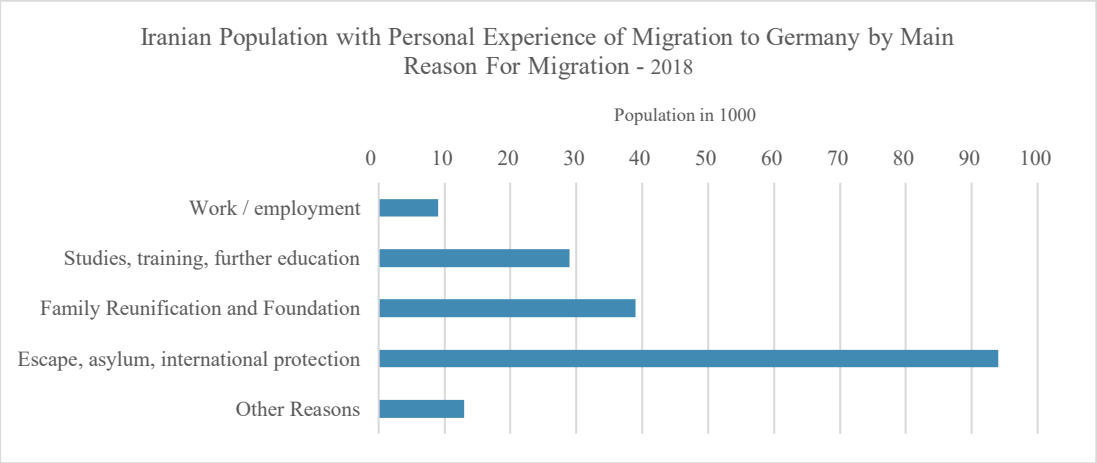

Figure 3.6: Iranian Population by Main Reason for Migration

As presented in the following chart, more than 70% of Iranians with personal experience of migration to Germany have professional training for the labor market, resulting in an 85% employment rate among 98,000 persons eligible to work. Furthermore, among 142000 who had finished primary education, 43% continue to obtain higher education.

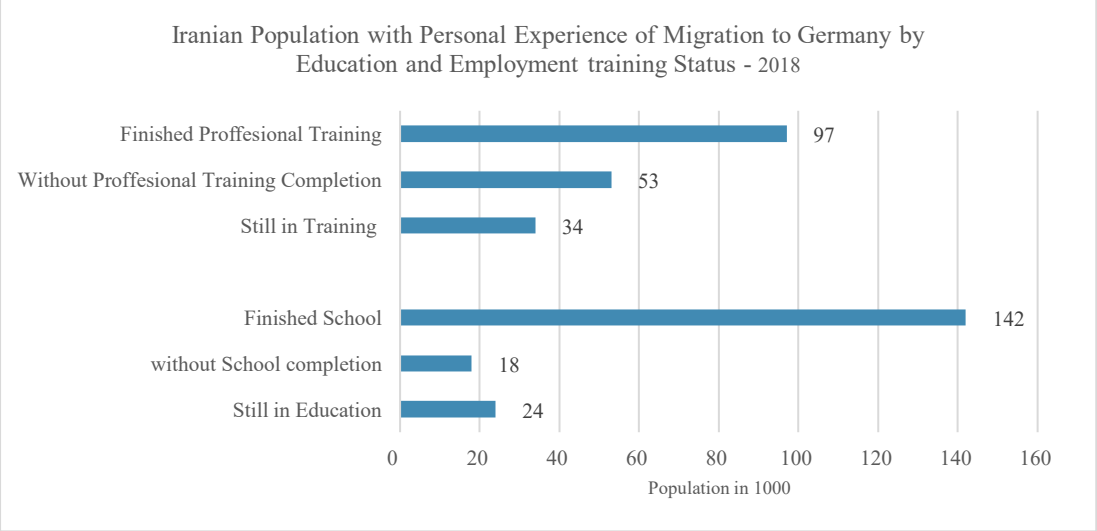

Figure 3.7: Iranian Population in Germany by Education and Training Status

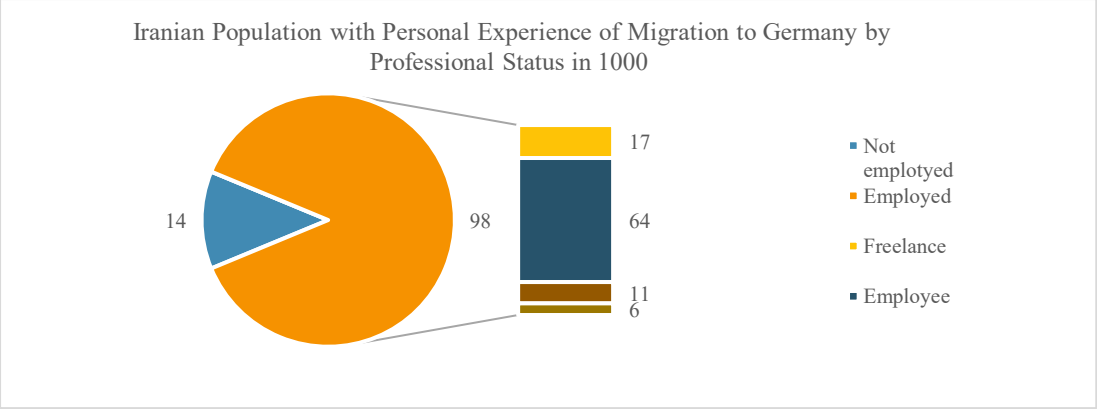

Figure 3.8: Iranian Population in Germany by Professional Status

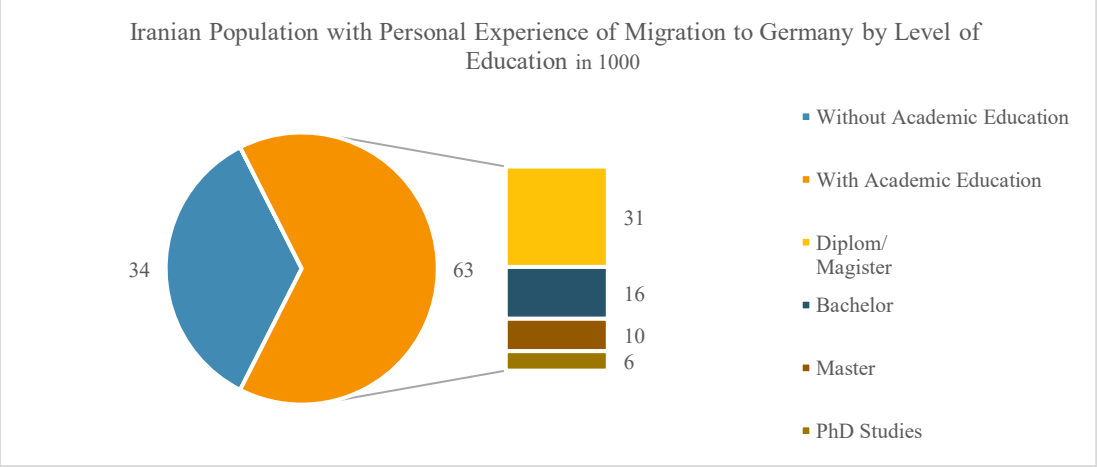

Figure 3.9: Iranian Population in Germany by Level of Education

Regarding Iranians' financial and living situation in Germany, the average income is around 2000 euros per month. The detailed net income classification is as presented in the following chart.

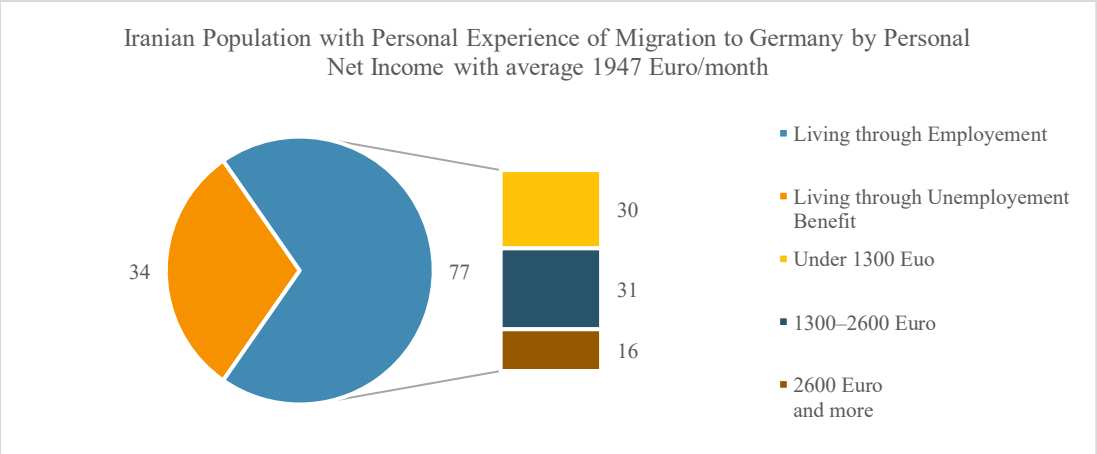

Figure 3.10: Iranian Population in Germany by Personal Net Income

While 75,000 Iranians with personal migration experience in Germany are married, the data shows that around 13,000 are married to a German without a migration background, which shows the intercultural marriage rate between Iranians and Germans.

Considering the family composition data, the census 2018 shows that among 135,000 Iranian families where at least one family member has personal experience of migration, 45% indicate German as the language spoken mainly in the household.

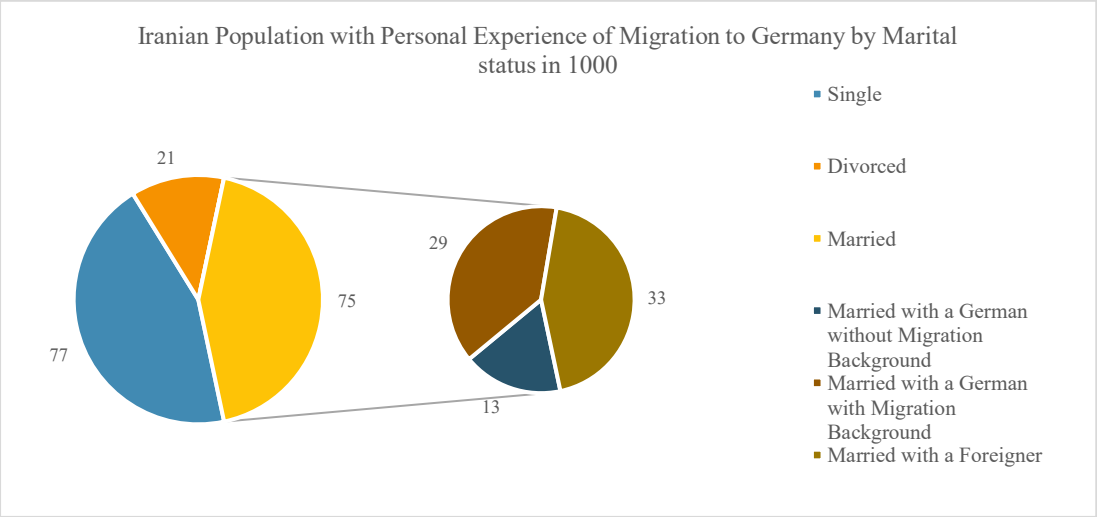

Figure 3.11: Iranian Population in Germany by Marital status

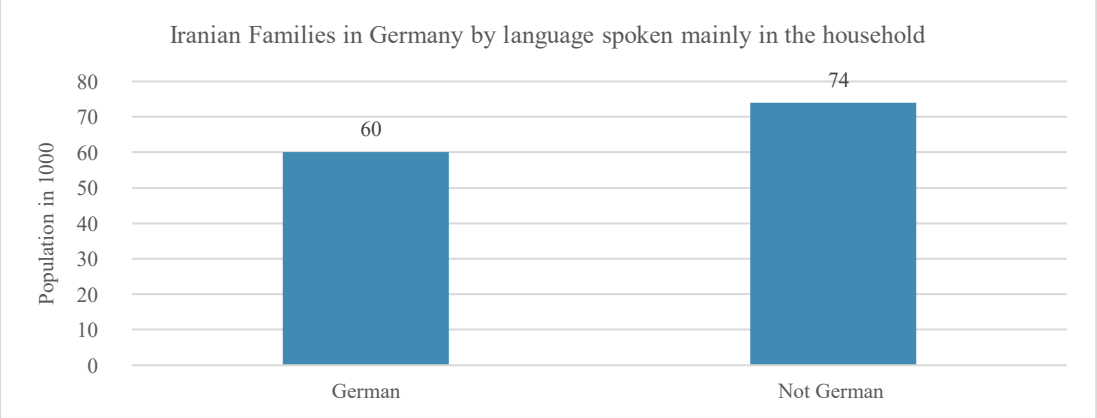

Figure 3.12: Iranian Families in Germany by Language Spoken in the Household

3.3.3.2 Iranian immigrants in Germany

The first available data regarding the Iranian settlement statistics in Germany goes back to 1963 with 750 Iranian acceptance, which in 1970 again shows the settlement of 730

Iranians. Thus, during the ten years, 7,298 Iranian nationals came to Germany. This population doubled between 1971 and 1980, with 14,173(Hakimzadeh, 2006).

The increase in the Iranian population between the two eras was due to the 1979 revolution and the Iran-Iraq war. After the United States, Germany became a top destination for those who fled Iran. Based on the census, with a significant increase in the population, 67,022 Iranian immigrants were admitted to Germany from 1981 to 1990. During the subsequent eras, this number decreased considerably. Between 1991 and 2000, 24,131 and between 2001 and 2011, 16,590 Iranians were reported as immigrants to Germany. There are some significant controversies in the available population statistics in some periods, mainly when the population statistics refer to asylum seekers ("Destatis [Federal Statistical Office of Germany]," 2020).

The number of Iranian immigrants was at its highest point in 1999, decreasing in the following years. However, during the past ten years, the Iranian immigrant population in Germany has continuously risen primarily due to the post-2008 presidential election in Iran. From 2015 to 2016, Iranian immigrants increased significantly, from 72,531 to 97,710. Based on the previous years with an annual average increase of 3,000 persons every year. Data shows that the migration from Middle Eastern countries in 2015 includes many Iranians.

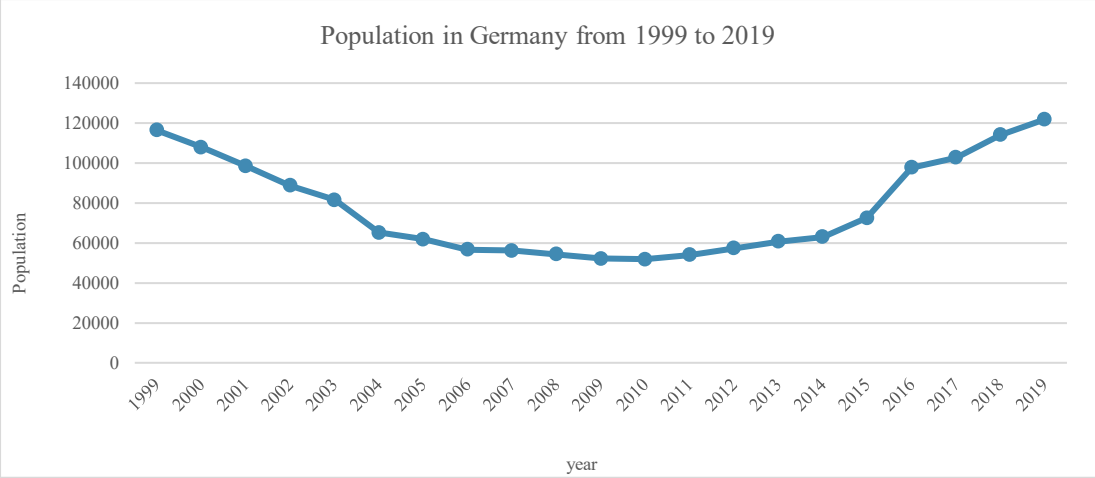

Figure 3.13: Iranian Immigrants Population in Germany from 1999 to 2019

Iranian immigrants' age composition in Germany shows the highest number of individuals between 25 and 40. The Iranian immigrants' average length of stay in Germany is reported as 8.4 years.

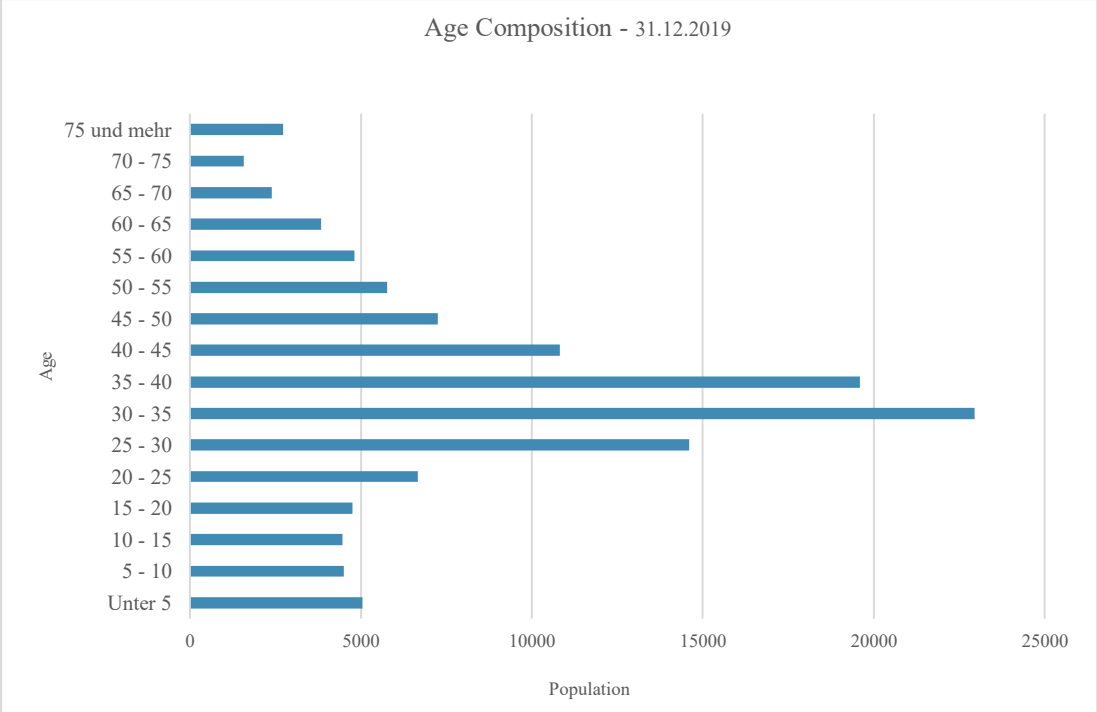

Figure 3.14: Age Composition of Iranian Immigrants Population in Germany

Iranian immigrants mainly apply for German citizenship after acquiring the necessary qualifications, including a minimum of eight years of residency in Germany. The following table, which shows the higher number of Iranian immigrants with less than eight years of residency, explains the trend, although this data only shows Iranians who still are titled as *Außländer* (immigrants), not the *Deutsche mit migrationhintergrund* (German with immigrant background).

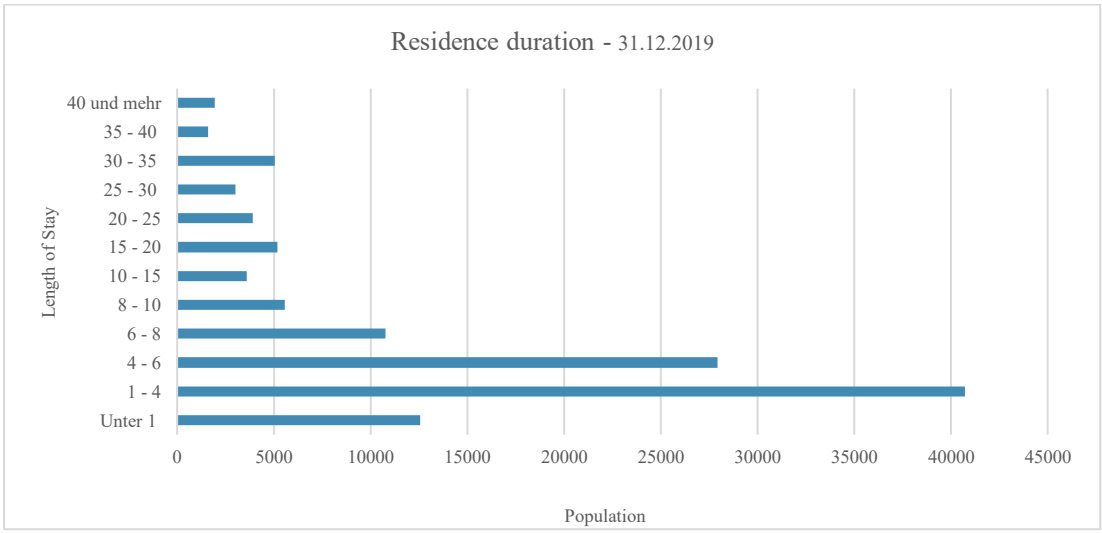

Figure 3.15: Residence Duration of Iranian Immigrants in Germany

Regarding the Iranian immigrants' geographical distribution, from 121,835, around 34,000 currently live in Nordrhein-Westfalen, followed by Hessen with around 14,000 and Bayern and Baden-Württemberg with approximately 10,000. As the capital of Germany, Berlin only holds a share of around 8,800 Iranian immigrants.

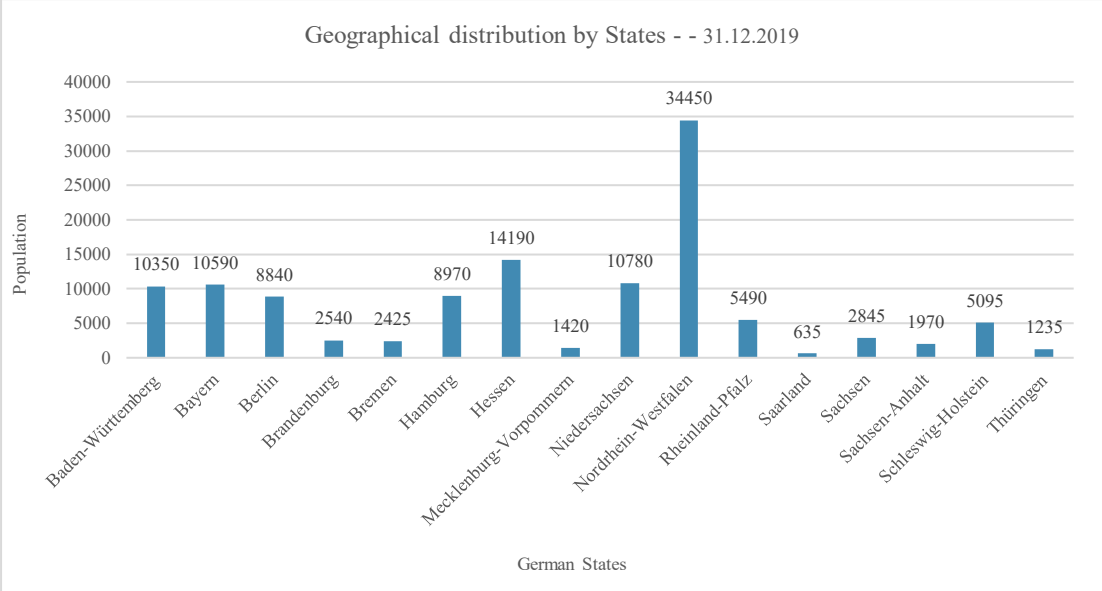

Figure 3.16: Geographical Distribution of Iranian Immigrants in Germany by States

The statistics related to Iranian immigrants' residence permit status show that almost 80,000 Iranian immigrants have valid residence permits, either temporary or permanent. However, around one-third of the Iranian immigrant population -around 34,500- holds no residence permit.

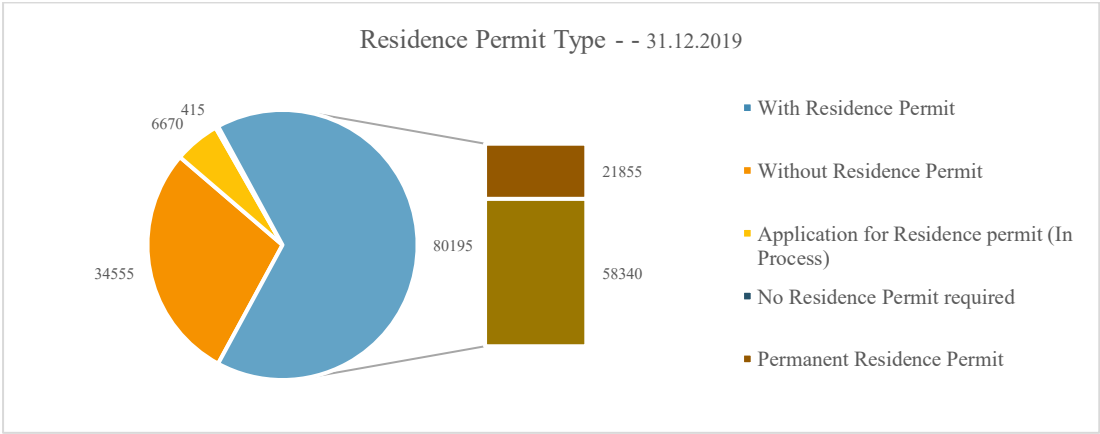

Figure 3.17: Residence Permit Type of Iranian Immigrants in Germany

Among Iranians' temporary status in Germany, around 7,200 currently hold a visa for education purposes, and approximately 4,500 reside in Germany for employment purposes. Interestingly, the number of Iranian immigrants who attain residence permits due to family reasons -approximately 11,300- is higher than in the both previous categories. However, most of the temporary residence permits granted to the Iranians are under international humanitarian laws and are granted to political asylum claimers.

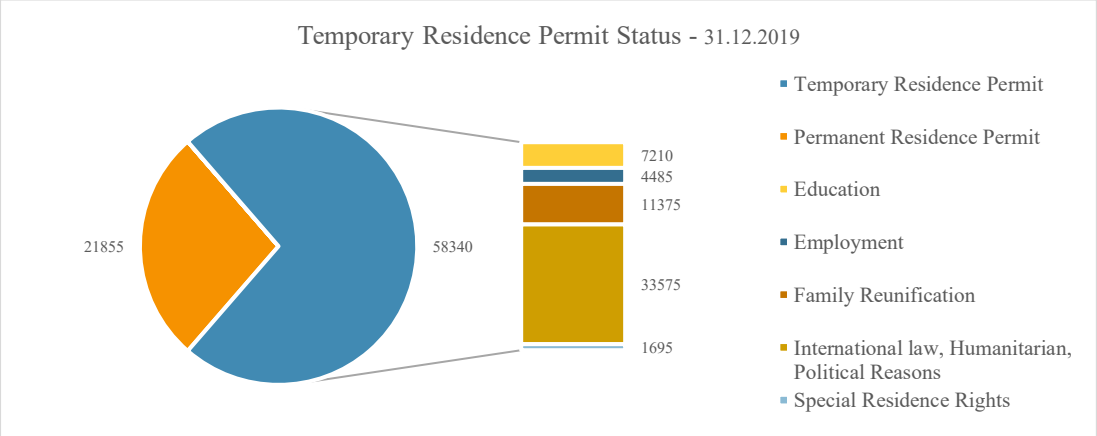

Figure 3.18: Temporary Residence Status of Iranian Immigrants in Germany

3.3.3.3 Iranians in Berlin

As presented in the previous charts, from the data available at the Statistical Office Berlin-Brandenburg, in total, 18,315 Iranians live in Berlin, from which 8,916 currently count as immigrants, and 9,399 people are among the Germans with an Iranian migration background ("Destatis [Federal Statistical Office of Germany]," 2020).

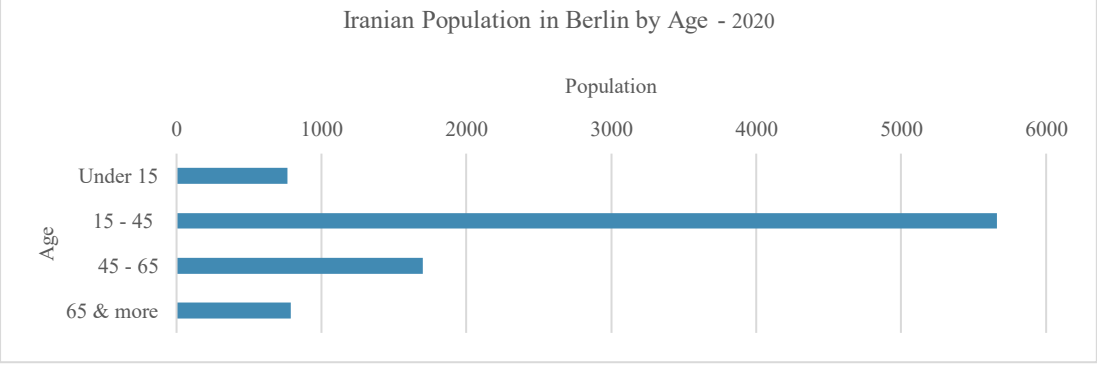

Figure 3.19: Iranian Population in Berlin by Age

The Iranian population does not monotonously distribute within Berlin's neighborhoods. Instead, there are specific neighborhoods that Iranians tend to choose as their settlement location in Berlin.

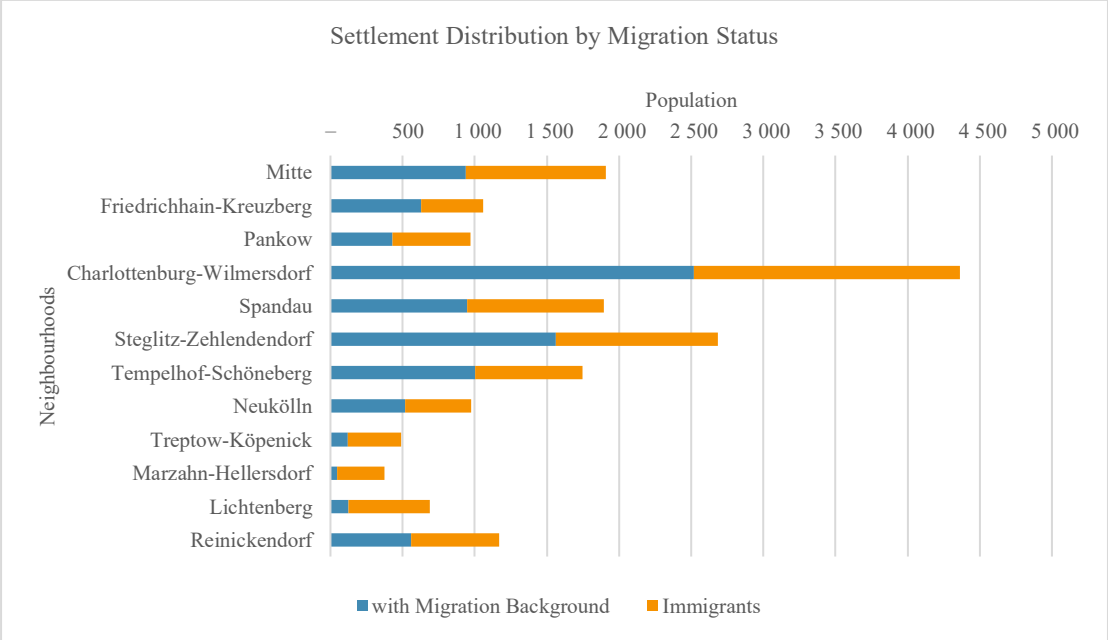

Figure 3.20: Iranians Settlement Distribution in Berlin by Migration Status

4 METHODS AND ANALYSIS

... بر دوش خسته کشیدم ترانه هایم را
و عاشقانه گذر کردم
از شهر هاي انتقال
مهاجرت
تبعید
از شهرهاي گنبد
باغ ملي
بازار
از شهرهاي هل ، گلاب ، فرش چاي...

"... I carried my songs on my tired shoulders
And I passed romantically
From transfer cities
Migration
Deportation
From the cities with Domes
National Garden
Bazaar
From the cities of cardamom, rose, tea, carpet..."

"Songs of the Land of Patience", Iraj Jannati Ataiee

4.1 Introduction

In the following chapter, the methodological choices are clarified in detail to ensure the validity of the approaches and methods that have been adopted. Aiming to generate knowledge, I explain the research approach through the following:

- Research Strategy
- Data collection methods
- Organization and analysis

Therefore, it is crucial to investigate the model that favors the objectives by collecting, analyzing, interpreting, and reporting the data.

In the first section, I explain the methodological construction of the research, explaining how the research epistemology has framed and shaped the methodology.

Second, the qualitative and quantitative design, including the methods for data collection, analysis, and organization of the results, is explained in two sections.

4.2 Methodological Construction - Mixed Method Design

The initial step in constructing the research design is to use approaches that provide the best tools and strategies to fulfill the study's aims and answer the research questions. From an ontological standpoint, by agreeing that people construct and develop the world around them, it is necessary to explore methodologies that can raise knowledge on how meaning, values, and emotions play a part in an individual's worldview.

The fundamental question of this research is how humans (immigrants) experience and perceive the physical and social world. How and to what extent do the experience and perception of the physical and social world affect their sense of belonging?

Therefore, this research is qualitative and descriptive in nature. By simultaneously considering the context, the qualitative study seeks to investigate phenomena through an individual's perspective and experiences (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). It aims to make sense of the social world through human interpretations, opinions, beliefs, and values and develop descriptions and theories. It is a proper "multimethod", as the multidimensionality of qualitative analysis is "…empirical materials, perspectives and observers in a single study are best understood, then as a strategy that adds rigor, breadth, and depth to any investigation." (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p. 2)

The research aims to illustrate multiple aspects that socially and spatially influence Iranian immigrants' narratives of belonging by interpreting individuals' perceptions of place, actions, and interactions with places and others in space. Thus, the primary concept involves the longstanding discussion of people and place relations. Considering the bilateral effect of people and space interaction, how people interact with space and how space impacts people are related to the individual's use and perception of space. Due to the different essences and the type of data derived from investigating the people and place relationship, I have practiced the embedded mixed-method design.

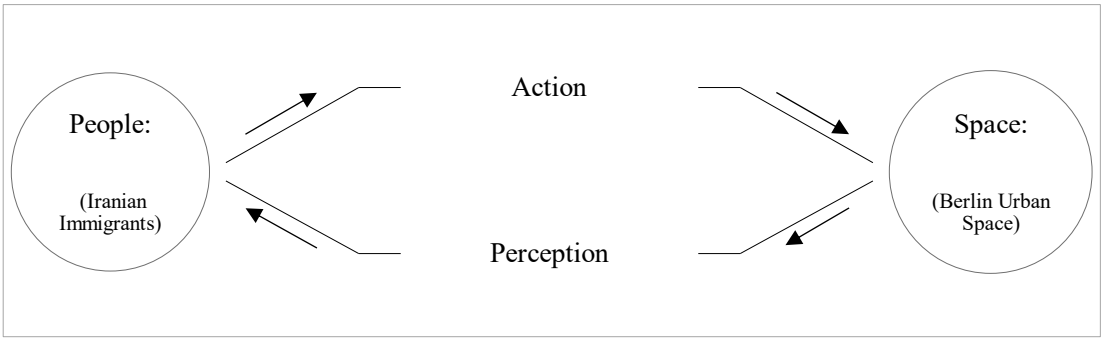

Figure 4.1: People and Place Interaction

In this method, a secondary data set will support or complement the primary data in line with the research's purpose (Creswell, Plano Clark, Gutmann, & Hanson, 2003). Thus, this design would be beneficial when providing qualitative or quantitative data to answer a research question within a broader qualitative or quantitative analysis at some stages of the study. However, the embedded design does not need to integrate the result to answer one research question (Creswell, 2006).

As suggested previously, combining methods can help prevail over the limitations accompanying a specific methodology and bridge the methodological, epistemological, and ontological gaps within human geography (Boyle, Halfacree, & Robinson, 2014; Mendoza & Morén-Alegret, 2013; Sui & DeLyser, 2012).

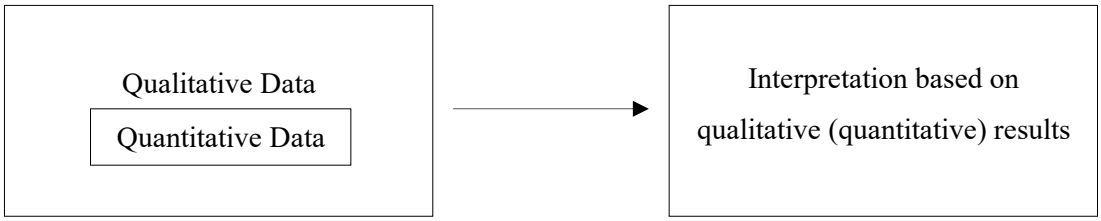

Figure 4.2: Embedded Design (Cresswell, 2006)

Since the aim is to explore individuals' and ethnic perceptions of place (impact of place on individuals and groups) in belonging and place-making, the quantitative method provided a framework to explore the demographical characteristics of units of place where Iranian immigrants frequently interact. The investigation through the Iranian immigrants' demographic data in Berlin portrayed their settlement pattern and investigated the extent and existence of a correlation with Berlin's districts' characteristics. Furthermore, by assuming that the choice of settlement is not always a binding decision for Iranian immigrants, the settlement pattern gives insight into the individual and ethnic perception of the urban space of Berlin.

Hence, the quantitative data is embedded within the qualitative methodology and, therefore, has a supplemental role within the overall design of this study.

The method(s) and the processes for realizing this data are explained in the next sub-chapters.

4.3 Qualitative Research

4.3.1 Research Design and Strategy

Understanding the theoretical knowledge and conceptual framework is essential to guide the research method(s). The choice of methodological approach depends on the nature of the study, the type of research question, and the type of knowledge that the research aims to contribute to. By considering the personal and ethnocultural factors, the qualitative approach in this research aims to develop an understanding of how and to what extent Iranian immigrants' spatial practice can affect their sense of belonging. It is believed that diverse cultural groups interpret and view the relations and their meanings differently. As the culture develops from learned and shared knowledge, the behaviors and relationships can be interpreted and realized by members of a culture group. The ethnographic perspective is a holistic method that allows the phenomenon to be considered in terms of the participant group and their cultural background. As a form of qualitative methodology, ethnography is an exploratory and descriptive approach that studies the culturally shared perceptions of everyday experiences and explores experiences within cultural and social situations. It can provide detailed descriptions of and insight into events and the meaning that they endue; as van Maanen stated (1995, as cited in White, Drew, & Hay, 2009, p. 24): "ethnography is a storytelling institution' that involves the researcher writing about what was learned. It is 'the ethnographer's direct personal contact with others that are honored by readers" (p. 428).

4.3.2 Data Collection

Conventional approaches that align with the methodology should be identified to provide comprehensive and reliable data sets. By implementing ethnographic methods, I employed the following field works that define and interpret cultural and social groups (Creswell, 1998):

a. Participant observation encompassed participation in most socio-cultural events and gatherings, which provided rich data about individual behaviors, trajectories, and the complex interactions between immigrant experience and the role of place.

b. Semi-structured interviews where the respondents answered to a pre-set list served to point out specific research questions, but they were simultaneously open-ended, allowing the respondents to express their feelings and experiences at their own pace.

4.3.2.1 Participant Observation

Observing and investigating individuals' everyday lives would make it possible to examine their relationship with the place, which includes different internal and external factors (Pred, 1983). In this research, the fieldwork encompassed participation in the socio-cultural events and gatherings among the Iranian diaspora in Berlin consisting of concerts, cultural events for the *Nowrouz* (new year) and the *Yalda Night* (the longest night of the year), galleries and talks programmed by established Iranian organizations such as *Die Iranische Gemeinde in Deutschland* (The Iranian community in Germany) but mainly more private gatherings in the forms of picnics, parties, and smaller weekend gatherings. My personal preference and characteristics, alongside the research question, affected the field I had chosen to attend. What is to be included within the description of the events, therefore, is influenced by my viewpoint -as the researcher- and purpose in mind in providing arguments for the study. The descriptions of the participations consist of the short narratives of the events, related behaviors, conversations, personal interpretations, and explanations of the researcher that were used to create field notes that are "more or less coherent representation of an observed cultural reality" (Clifford 1990, as cited in LeCompte & Schensul, 2012, p. 51).

4.3.2.2 Semi-structure Interviews

Within the range of ethnographic data collection instruments, the objective of this research was best addressed by conducting semi-structured interviews. This technique is the most common method used in human geography and offers flexibility in combining other analysis methods (Mendoza & Morén-Alegret, 2013). Using the interview art helped to "learn what people perceived and how they interpreted their perceptions. We can learn how events affect their thoughts and feelings... we can learn about all the experiences that constitute the human condition" (Weiss, 1994, p. 1).
The questionnaire was mainly derived from the objectives of the research and contained open-ended questions. Although the interview guide had a predesigned order, in some cases, the questions were asked based on the reactions and responses of the interviewees

to the previous inquiries. Except for the initial questions, the questionnaire consists of three main sections and ten sub-sections. The interviews were initiated through queries on the individual migration stories by asking the "why, how, when, with whom did you migrate to Germany" questions. Through these initial questions and other topics, such as the interviewee's background, the detailed information on the factors that shape the immigrant's objective integration, such as education, career, language level, residency status, and settlement, were discussed. The second section of the interview aimed to provide information on the interviewee's spatial practices and perceive their immigrant situation and the places in Berlin. It is divided into the local scale (neighborhood level) and the urban public space. The final section dealt with the place-making of the participant. This section is separated by individual place-making, which includes the definition of belonging and experiences of the participants, and ethnic place-making, which comprises the community formation, belonging perception, cultural differentiation, and discrimination experiences toward their ethnic community as Iranians.

During all the interview sections, the participants could express their insights and perceptions of the host country (Germany), Ethnic community (Iranians), and individual experiences.

Table 4.1: The semi-structured Interview Questionnaire

Initial Questions
When did you leave Iran? And why? (work, study, etc.) If for study, did you have a scholarship or come with your own fund?
Were Germany and Berlin your only choice? Did you consider the USA and Canada? Why did you finally choose Germany?
Did you migrate alone? If not, with whom?
Did you have any family and friends here? If yes, did you get help to settle here? If yes, tell me the story.
Did you contact and gather data from people who already lived here before you arrived? If yes, what were you told?
Objective Integration Factors
University (In case of immigration to study)
How was your experience with the university in regard to making contact with others?

Did you have any difficulty integrating into the education system? What about your classmates?

Career (In case of immigration to work or work after study)

How did you get your first job? Was it through your contacts?

Do you still work there? How easy did you find it to integrate into the work atmosphere? If not, where do you work now? How did you find this job?

How do you feel different from your previous job in terms of integration in the workspace?

Have you felt any social or cultural barriers with other colleagues in the workplace?

Do you have any connection with your coworkers outside working hours? Are you becoming friends?

Language

How good your German language is? Are you able to conduct any preferred conversation in German? How does that change your social life?

Do you think you belong more to this country (or Berlin) by speaking German?

Do you feel any difference in the way people treat you when you speak German or English? Why do you think it is?

Residency Status (in Case of permanent residence or citizenship)

Do you think being a German citizen would change the way Germans treat you? Why or why not?

Do your feelings and sense of belonging to Germany change after receiving this legal status?

Behavior and Practices

Perception of the settlement location/ neighborhood

Tell me about your experiences of getting settled in Berlin. How did you find a place to live at first? Did anyone help you?

What were the criteria to choose your housing location?

Please describe your first neighborhood in Berlin. (Probe if necessary: How did you end up there? For how long?)

Have you moved afterward? If yes, where do you live now?

How do you describe your neighborhood now? (Probe if necessary: Do you live in an ethnically diverse neighborhood?) Does it make it easier to settle in Berlin?

What makes you want to stay or leave your current neighborhood?

Which of the neighborhoods did you like the most? The least? What are the reasons for that?

Which aspect of your neighborhood makes you feel at home? Or not at home?

Do you wish to live in another neighborhood in Berlin? If yes, where? If not, why?

Do you count yourself as a local in your neighborhood? or Berlin?

Do you feel excluded (too visible) as an immigrant in your neighborhood?

Perception of Urban Space (Berlin)

How your perception of Berlin has changed? From the early days till now?

In which locations (places, neighborhoods, etc.) do you feel at ease and comfortable? Your "Place to be"? Where are your 2 (two) most favorite places in Berlin? Why?

In which locations do you feel (place, neighborhood, etc.) excluded and feared? "Places not to be"? Where are the 2 (two) places that you don't like in Berlin? Why?

If you could change anything about Berlin's public spaces to make them more comfortable for you to use, what would that be?

Can you remember any good or bad experiences associated with being in a public space in Berlin? (Clarify when, where, and how?)

What do you like the most about Berlin? Why is that?

What do you dislike the most about Berlin? Why is that?

Which public space in Berlin reminds you of Iran? Why is that? Do you feel at home there?

What are the means of transport for you (for your household)?

How do you orient yourself in the city? Is there any landmark that you follow? Do you always use maps?

Use of the neighborhood

Do you mostly use the facilities provided in your neighborhood? Like Gym, kindergarten, restaurant, etc. Or do you go to other parts of the city?

Do you participate in any neighborhood-based (Proximity to your home) organization or community?

Is your neighborhood the most familiar place for you in Berlin? Do you know the urban structure of your neighborhood by heart?

How often do you socialize with your neighbors?

Do you ever have any conflicts or conversations over the use of space with your neighbors?

Use of Urban Space (Berlin)

How did you make friends in Berlin? Are they Iranian or German?

Where do you usually meet your friends? At home? In a bar or café?

Do you find new friends by living in the city and using its facilities?

Do you do activities in the public space? Ex. Picnic in parks? Or do you prefer more private settings like backyards and balconies? Why?

Where and how do you spend your free time in the city? (For example, after work or during the weekend? Examples: Meeting friends, Shopping, Exercising, spending time with children, Doing volunteer work, etc.)

Place-Making

Individual Identity & Belonging

What does the concept of belonging mean to you?

What aspects of living in Berlin make you feel like you are a part of this society? Why?

In general, would you say that you feel like you belong to Germany? If not, why?

Do you have a sense of belonging to your neighborhood? To Berlin? Or to Germany as a country? Do you know why that is?

Do you feel you belong to Germany (Berlin) or Iran (home town)? How do you describe this feeling?

Ethnic Identity & community belonging

What does it mean for you to be a member of a community?

In Which communities in Berlin do you count yourself as a member?

Do you belong to or participate in any groups and organizations? If yes, explain what you do there. Why do you participate in these organizations?

Is there an "Iranian community" in Berlin?

Do you feel attached and belonged to the Iranian community? Why?

Describe the Iranian community in 3 words**:**

How well-integrated do you think Iranians are here in Berlin?

How often and by which means (How) do you connect to other Iranians? (e.g., Events, restaurants, parties, etc.), Why? And is it necessary or helpful for you?

Do you get in contact with any Iranian business in Germany? Like restaurants, supermarkets, etc., what type of business?

Have you ever felt that your Iranian identity was being challenged? Like being mistreated? If yes, When and how? Why or why not?

Have you felt you are welcome here? Do you think there is any difference between Iranians and other nations in that sense?

What kind of cultural values in German society do you think have the most controversies with the Iranian ones? Have you been influenced by the new values? In which way?

4.3.3 Sampling Strategy

Within qualitative research, choosing a purposeful sample is crucial. As stated by Patton (2002), "The logic and power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of research; thus the term purposeful sampling" (p. 169).

Therefore, the interviewees were selected through the purposive sampling, or "theoretical sampling" strategy, which is a non-probability technique. This sampling strategy emphasizes specific characteristics of a population of interest among the Iranian immigrant population in Berlin that can answer the research question. The purposive sampling strategy in this research aims to collect a sample that can be logically anticipated as a representative of the characteristics considered of interest to the research design, and is experienced for the subject of interest (Creswell, Clark, & Vicki, 2011).

Homogeneous sampling was used as a strategy under the purposive sampling technique to select similar cases to investigate the phenomenon of interest to narrow the range of variation, focusing on examining commonalities and simplifying the analysis (Palinkas et al., 2015).

Therefore, the sampling criteria for this research are as follows:

- Iranian immigrants who have personal experience of migration to study or acquire career in Germany;
- Belong to the middle and upper-middle class between the age of 25 to 40 years old;
- Reside in Berlin for no less than one and more than eight years and consequently hold a temporary or permanent residence permit or are recently naturalized as German citizens.

The rationale behind the sampling criteria is that this research's framework focusing on the sense of belonging, feeling of locality, and home-making is subjective and connected to people's perceptions. Individual perception is interconnected to cultural background and ethnicity. Therefore, "individuals and groups whose environmental interactions differ will form different assessments of the places they experience" (Canter 1977, as cited in Shamai & Ilatov, 2005, p. 163). While people give meaning to the environment around them as a reflection of their cultural and social environment,

the place is understood physically and contextually based on ethnicity, class, and gender.

Some studies emphasize the differences between ethnic origin, age and residence, and sense of belonging to a place. However, some scholars highly disagreed (Shamai & Kellerman, 1985, as cited in Shamai & Ilatov, 2005).

The studies on immigrant belonging have generally focused on the established immigrants' groups and their place-making within their ethnic neighborhood, assuming that individuals' place-making influences their ethnicity (Brah, 1996; Ehrkamp, 2005; Sigona et al., 2015). As the most predictable criterion, race plays an essential role in individuals' spatial perception and experiences and their feeling of locality, especially in a dominant racial group (Sigelman & Henig, 2001). Moreover, the difference in residential factors influences the development of the sense of place. For example, the study of Hay (1998) realized that the inhabitants with different ethnic descents but long-term residence permits had a higher level of belonging in New Zealand. Besides, Rudiger (2006, as cited in Vertovec, 2006) mentioned that "those with a temporary or precarious status may have greater difficulties entering into positive relations with established residents than those heading for permanent residence." (P. 2-3).

Homeownership seems to be a critical factor in residents' feeling of belonging in Hong Kong (Grange & Ming, 2001). The study of Brown, Perkins, and Brown (2003) also realized that the sense of place is more significant among homeowners of the case study.

In Lewicka's (2011) study, the length of stay seems to be the only predictor of attachment and sense of place. However, the opposite result was realized within the Salt Lake City white population in the study of Brown et al. (2003).

Overall, based on the fact that the migration experiences are related and rely on routines and behaviors in daily life and their practical consciousness (Giddens, 1991), meaning how individuals do what they do in everyday life without having to think about every action, controlling the biographical characteristics can be relevant in understanding migrant's sense of belonging. Furthermore, how individuals feel and sense a place and experience is related to biographical traits, childhood experiences, education, and language (Halfacree & Boyle, 1993). Therefore, by considering the ethnicity, age range, education level, class, length, and reason for the migration of individuals, I attempted to provide insight into how Iranian immigrants make sense of their immigration experiences regarding their sense of belonging.

It should be pointed out that although the sample might not represent all Iranian immigrants, this moves away from a positivist point of view of obtaining objective knowledge. Instead, the aim was to explore the processes of Iranian immigrants' belonging and promote a detailed understanding of their socio-spatial experiences by engaging and inspiring myself as the researcher.

4.3.4 Implementation

There is variability in the sufficient number of interviews in qualitative research. Many pieces of literature have agreed that anywhere from 5 to 50 interviewees would be adequate. However, it has been suggested that twelve interviews would be enough for homogenous groups. However, the number of participants depends on the quality of the data, nature, scoop of the topic, and the designed method (Morse, 2000). Overall, it has been suggested by Bertaux (1981, as cited in Mason, 2010) that reaching a state of "Saturation of knowledge" (p. 35) or "Meaning Saturation" (Hendriks, 2015) could be a more proper determinant for the number of interviews. Different factors influence reaching the saturation point in meaning. Moreover, the structure and content (Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006) and the complexity (Bernard & Ryan, 2009) in the interview and the study purpose alongside the characteristics of the study population can be influential when the researcher recognizes the pattern of the interviewees' experiences and comprehend and explain a complex phenomenon (Hendriks, 2015).

Based on the previously mentioned mixed sampling technique, a total of 8 respondents participated in the semi-structured in-depth interviews: four males and four females between the ages of 26 and 39. The participants were approached through advertisements in Iranian collective groups (Telegram channels of Iranian students), explaining the requirements, and within informal networks of friends and contacts. In addition, each participant was briefed on the subject and purpose of the research study. The average length of each interview was 90 minutes. The interviews were conducted in the participant's mother tongue (Farsi). However, the English translation of keywords like community and sense of belonging for better comprehension was used.

Aiming to optimize the interview questionnaire, I implemented an emergent design approach. An emerging design "is the process in which the researcher collects data, analyses it immediately rather than waiting until all data are collected, and then bases the decision about what data to collect next on this analysis" (Creswell, 2005, p. 405).

Although this method is mainly used in ground theory research, this approach was used to adapt to the unanticipated categories within the interview sections.

Therefore, after conducting the first set of interviews followed by the data analysis, the result would lead to the data collection approach, the transformation of the questionnaire to serve the research objectives better, and insight into choosing the interview candidates. This process could be done several times between data collection and data analysis to reach a point where a new interview would not provide new insights serving the purpose of the study (Creswell, 2006).

Within a framework of two weeks, four interviews were initially conducted. The interviews were transcribed and coded twice, using Atlas Ti (a software supporting qualitative data analysis) to identify the key trends, similarities, and differences, alongside keeping track of each individual's unique narrative. Following the revision of the questionnaire in this stage, quantitative analysis of statistical data is a new approach designed to be embedded within the qualitative analysis.

The second phase of conducting the interviews coincides with the Covid-19 crisis. Therefore, the interviews were postponed until further notice to provide the possibility of meeting the interviewees in person in the city. The optimization of the questionnaire and the Gap generated slightly influenced the main objectives and research question. Therefore, the second phase of the interviews was conducted after almost a year gap, with four more participants. Unfortunately, the intensity of the COVID-19 cases at the end of 2020 did not allow the interviews to be continued in person.

The research is continued through digital ethnography (Murthy, 2008). By looking over Iranian immigrants in Germany through social media, it has been realized that by putting aside the contextual aspect of the migration experience, the integration process and insight into making a new home on a general level is more dependent on the ethnicity as Iranians and the host society' characteristics as Germans. Therefore, following Iranian high-skilled immigrants using Twitter, inquiring about their opinions, and the replies from the rest of the community on their everyday life experiences, their challenges as an immigrant, and their insight into possible discrimination broadened my horizon in regard to comprehending the lived experiences of Iranians in Germany.

Moreover, the emergence of the new social media application, named "Clubhouse," provided a valuable platform for organizing and participating in focused groups on related subjects. Within the early days of publicizing the application, many focused groups named "rooms" were held with the following titles that counted as a helpful

platform to provide valuable insight into the subjects revolving around the research agenda:

- Nostalgia for the homeland, why? Is it important? (in Farsi, Feb.2021)
- Student associations outside of Iran: in the desire for nostalgia or a step forward (in Farsi, Feb.2021, Iranian immigrants in Germany)
- Uncertainty (in Farsi, Feb.2021, Iranian immigrants)
- Where is the homeland? (in Farsi, Feb.2021, Iranian immigrants in Germany)
- Nachtcafé: Iraner in Deutschland (in German, Feb.2021, First and Second Generation of Germans with Iranian background)
- Wie deutsch ist deutsch genug? (in German, March.2021, First and Second Generation of Germans with Iranian background)
- Wer bist Du? Identität und Zugehörigkeit (in German, March 2021, international immigrants in Germany, including Iranians)

4.3.5 Data Analysis

The data analysis consisted of transforming the raw data gathered from the field notes, vignettes and interview transcripts. All of the interviews were transcribed verbatim and entered into Atlas Ti. Transcripts were read to identify the matters related to the research focus and give each a code name.

Drawing on the principles of ethnography, I tried to undertake the research by becoming a participating member in the field to develop their understandings of the cultural notions or the specific phenomenon in focus while avoiding presumption and presupposition (Pfadenhauer & Grenz, 2015). However, based on my position as an Iranian immigrant living in Berlin, there was a thin line between the two positions of a scientific observer and the participant in the understudy group, which was challenging (vom Lehn & Hitzler, 2015). Therefore, during the process of coding, defining themes, and especially interpreting the field notes, the process of "estrangement from one's own culture" (Hirschauer and Amann, 1997, as cited in Honer & Hitzler, 2015) which required a repetitive circular epistemological process of being a full-time member of the study group and the stranger ethnographer (Honer & Hitzler, 2015) was implemented.

The first stage in the emergence of the themes and patterns begins with loosely counting the frequency of the manifestation of certain events, phrases, activities, behaviors, and ideas. Then, by listing all the codes consisting of the data-driven codes and deductive codes that came from the topics of the interview guide and the research aim chart, the codes were examined by sorting, comparing, and contrasting relations to reach patterns. In some cases, due to the limited number of interviews, the patterns have emerged intuitively. However, finally, I attempted to proceed and organize the themes systematically.

4.4 Quantitative analysis

Quantitative analysis through mathematical and statistical modeling gives insights into a data set's behaviors and performances. Particularly in social science, quantitative analysis determines the relationship between dependent and independent variables of a given population.

With the fundamental aim of this research to outline the experience and perception of Iranian immigrants from their physical and social world, the quantitative analysis in the following sub-chapter benefits the background data of the physical world that shapes the local area of the Iranian immigrants.

The quantitative analysis in this research utilizes the correlation technique through "Pearson's Correlation Coefficient (r)." This method measures the strength of the association between Iranians' settlement data and variables that conclude the characteristics of Berlin's districts.

This analysis would be beneficial as a framework to assess to what extent these characteristics are dominant within the proximity of the locality that Iranian immigrants had chosen as their residential location that can play a role in their place-making process. Thus, this analysis will provide an outline for a better understanding of the context of the setting where this research attempts to portray Iranian immigrants' sense of belonging. Moreover, by assuming that the choice of settlement is not a binding decision for Iranian immigrants, the settlement pattern gives insight into the individual and ethnic perception of the urban space of Berlin.

4.4.1 Data Collection

This research made use of the available statistical report on the "Residents registered at the place of their main residence on December 31, 2019"[7], and the Results of the micro census in the state of Berlin 2018 on "Population and Employment," "Households, Families and lifestyles," "Living Situation"[8] and more detailed location data based on the "LOR planning areas"[9] on the residents in the state of Berlin on December 31, 2019.

[7] *Statistischer BerichtA I 5 – hj 2 / 19 Einwohnerinnen und Einwohner im Land Berlin am 31. Dezember 2019*
[8] *Statistischer Bericht F I 2 – 4 j / 18 Ergebnisse des Mikrozensus im Land Berlin 2018*
[9] Statistischer Bericht A I 16 – hj 2/ 19 LOR-Planungsräume

4.4.2 Measurable Characteristic of Place

In this study, to investigate how place affects personal and social outcomes, such as the immigrant practice of belonging and home-making, it is crucial to investigate the characteristics that can imitate these experiences in conjunction with people and place interaction. It is essential to consider that the elements of a socio-spatial place, such as a neighborhood, are not and cannot be fixed entities. The way each person experiences these characteristics could be different.

On the other hand, what can be captured from the studies on the neighborhood is that the neighborhood characteristics are shaped based on their correlation to other units of places. It is worth emphasizing that the neighborhood's character could not be entirely created through the built environment. Previous research on the neighborhood's effect showed that the neighborhood inhabitants refer to other residents' characteristics and their perception of social cohesion alongside the character of the built environment. However, a positive association between the perceived neighborhood character and sense of community and sense of place, and more interestingly, the extent of inner neighbor's socialization, had been analyzed (Dempsey, 2010).

The work of Galster (2001) introduces the characteristics of the neighborhood with a division between the indicators that involve people who inhabit or use the spatial unit of the neighborhood and other fully geographically associated features.

a. The Geographical characteristics are:
    1. Structural characteristics of buildings: type, materials, design, density, landscaping.
    2. Infrastructural characteristics: roads, sidewalks, streetscape.
    3. Proximity characteristics: access to major destinations of employment, entertainment, and shopping.
    4. Environmental characteristics: view, pollution, topographical features.
    5. Presence and quality of services: public schools, parks, and recreation.
b. The human affect characteristics:
    6. Demographic characteristics of the resident population: age distribution, family composition, racial, ethnic, and religious types.
    7. Class status of the residents: income, occupation, and education composition.
    8. Political characteristics: local political networks of residents.

9. Social-interactive characteristics: local friends and kin networks, type and quality of interpersonal associations, participation in locally-based voluntary associations.
10. Sentimental characteristics: residents' sense of identification with place, and the historical significance of buildings or districts.

Based on Galster (2001), the neighborhood characteristics have been extracted from the data reports, and classified into:

- Geographical characteristics: Structural and Infrastructural features of neighborhoods and buildings;
- The human affect characteristics: Demographic characteristics of the resident population; Racial and Ethnic relations; Class status of the residents.

Table 4.2 The Neighborhood Characteristics Classification

Variables (Neighborhood Characteristics)
Age Composition
Family Composition
Religion
Household size
Foreign German Composition
Ethnic Diversity
Naturalization Rate
Employment Status and Type
Income Status
Rent to Household income Ratio (ability to pay rent)
Household Income
Wohnanlage
Type and Size of Housing
Tenure status
Rent price/ Rent Price per m2

Variables (Neighborhood Characteristics) - LOR-Planungsräume
Age Composition
Foreign German Composition
Ethnic Diversity

Legend

Demographic characteristics of the resident population
Demographic characteristics of the resident population *Racial and Ethnic relations
The class status of the residents
Structural and Infrastructural characteristics of neighborhoods and buildings

This classification shapes the independent variable on the local level within the 12 official districts of Berlin and the "LOR-Planungsräume"[10] scale established in 2006 and defined as a new spatial basis for planning, forecasting, and monitoring demographics and social developments in Berlin.

Furthuremore, the demographic on the settlement of Iranians in Berlin within the same spatial scales of 12 districts and LOR planning areas were extracted from the *Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg* (Statistical Office Berlin-Brandenburg). Detailed data on the LOR planning area of Berlin and the population of Iranians (the total of Iranians with migration backgrounds and Iranian immigrants) in each area is available in the appendix section of this research. The following table outlines the Iranian population with Iranian immigrants and Iranians with migration backgrounds (naturalized) within the Berlin *Bezirke* (districts).

Table 4.3: Iranian Immigrants and Naturalized Population by Berlin's Districts

Districts	Iranian Population	Iranians with migration Background	Iranian immigrants
Mitte	1 908	938	970
Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg	1 058	629	429
Pankow	970	430	540
Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf	4 360	2 517	1 843
Spandau	1 894	949	945
Steglitz-Zehlendorf	2 683	1 562	1 121
Tempelhof-Schöneberg	1 745	1 002	743
Neukölln	974	517	457
Treptow-Köpenick	491	120	371
Marzahn-Hellersdorf	374	48	326
Lichtenberg	690	126	564
Reinickendorf	1 168	561	607
Berlin	**18 315**	**9 399**	**8 916**

The available data on Iranians in Berlin is limited to the Gender and migration status variables. Therefore, two separate models were implemented:

(1) naturalized Iranians (with immigration background);

(2) Iranian immigrants count as *Außländer* (foreigners).

[10] Lebensweltlich orientierten Räume

From the practical point of view, the individuals could not be tracked over place and time regarding their residential neighborhood choices within these demographic reports, and only the aggregated data (population in each defined category) is available.

4.4.3 Implementation

To determine the extent and existence of a correlation between Iranians' settlement pattern and Berlin's district characteristics, I employed the correlation technique through "Pearson's Correlation Coefficient (r)." Pearson's correlation coefficient (r) for continuous data ranges from -1 to +1. Values (r) closer to -1 and 1, respectively, indicate a high negative and positive correlation. It means that two or more variables have a strong association. In contrast, closer to 0 shows a weak correlation, which means that the variables are hardly related.

In addition, to test the statistical significance of the correlation coefficient, P-values are observed. P-value is the probability of obtaining a correlation coefficient "as extreme as or more extreme than" the calculated correlation coefficient, given that the null hypothesis is true, it means the population correlation coefficient is zero. With a significance level of 5% (α=0.05), it is concluded that:

P-value $\leq \alpha$: The correlation is statistically significant

P-value $> \alpha$: The correlation is not statistically significant

In order to investigate the correlation between the population of Iranians and the population of other groups in Berlin's districts and LORs, each population value is normalized based on the total population of its related district or LOR.

4.4.4 Data Analysis

In the following tables, the extent and existence of a correlation between the Iranian population distribution in each district and the population assigned to each defined characteristic are presented with respect to the classification of the characteristics of the districts and the division between the two models of Iranian immigrants (Foreigner) and naturalized Iranian (with immigration background). Among the correlation coefficients with Berlin's districts only, the ones lower than -0.4 and higher than 0.4 that indicate moderate to high correlation and are statistically significant (p-value $\leq$ 0.05) have been considered.

Table 4.4: Correlation Analysis - Naturalized Iranian Settlement Pattern and Demographic Characteristics of the Berlin's District (Age and Religion)

Naturalized Iranians Positive Correlation	R	Naturalized Iranians Negative Correlation	R
Religion			
A_Evangelical	0,9	I_other or none	-0,8
A_Catholic	0,8	D_other or none	-0,7
D_Catholic	0,8		
A_Catholic	0,8		
D_Evangelical	0,7		
I_Evangelical	0,7		
Age			
Age_A_65 & more	0,8	Age_D_under 6	-0,9
Age_A_ 60 - 65	0,7	Age_I_under 6	-0,9
		Age_D_30 - 35	-0,7
		Age_D_35 - 40	-0,6

A= Außländer (Foreigner) D= Deutsche (German) I= Insgesamt (Total)

Table 4.5: Correlation Analysis - Iranian Immigrants Settlement Pattern and Demographic Characteristics of the Berlin's District (Age and Religion)

Iranian Immigrants Positive Correlation	R	Iranian Immigrant Negative Correlation	R
Religion			
A_Evangelical	0,9	I_other or none	-0,6
A_Catholic	0,8	D_other or none	-0,6
I_Catholic	0,7		
D_Catholic	0,6		
I_Evangelical	0,6		
D_Evangelical	0,6		
Age			
Age_A_65 & more	0,7	Age_D_under 6	-0,9
Age_A_60 - 65	0,6	Age_I_under 6	-0,8
		Age_D_30 - 35	-0,7
		Age_D_35 - 40	-0,7

A=Foreigner (Außländer) D= German (Deutsche) I=Total (Insgesamt)

There are strong positive and negative correlations with the "Age" and "Religion" categories. Regarding the demographic characteristics, it can be indicated that there is a positive and strong correlation between the Iranian diaspora in general and the age group of 60 years old and more. Respectfully, there is a robust and negative correlation with populations under six years old in general and possibly their German parents from 30 to 40 years old. It shows where the young German families tend to live, where their population is larger and does not attract so many Iranians. Therefore, it could be pointed out that Iranian's choice of settlement is in contrast to the primarily young German

families with children. Moreover, in general, the settlement choice of the Iranian diaspora has a very high correlation with the religious Christian population of Berlin, both Germans and foreigners.

Table 4.6: Correlation Analysis - Naturalized Iranian Settlement Pattern and Racial and Ethnic Characteristics of Berlin's District (Diversity and Naturalization Rate)

Naturalized Iranians Positive Correlation	R	Naturalized Iranians Negative Correlation	R
Ethnic Diversity			
Nationality_D_EU Mh	0,8		
Nationality_D_USA Mh	0,7		
Naturalization			
Naturalized Persons	0,7		

A=Foreigner (Außländer) D= German (Deutsche) I=Total (Insgesamt) Mh= Migration Background DMh=German with migration background (Deutsche mit Migrationhintergrund)

Table 4.7: Correlation Analysis - Iranian Immigrants Settlement Pattern and Racial and Ethnic Characteristics of Berlin's District (Diversity and Naturalization Rate)

Iranian Immigrants Positive Correlation	R	Iranian Immigrant Negative Correlation	R
Ethnic Diversity			
Nationality_D__EU Mh	0,6		
Nationality_A_Former Soviet	0,6		
Naturalization			
Naturalized Persons	0,6		

A=Foreigner (Außländer) D= German (Deutsche) I=Total (Insgesamt) Mh= Migration Background DMh=German with migration background(Deutsche mit Migrationhintergrund)

Concerning the demographic characteristics of the resident population and the racial and ethnic relations, it can be indicated that the settlement location of both naturalized Iranians and immigrants is positively correlated with the settlement location of naturalized persons in 2018.

There is a strong and positive correlation between the settlement location of naturalized Iranians and the naturalized and immigrant populations from other European countries and the USA. Furthermore, the Iranian immigrants' settlement location is positively correlated with the foreign nationals from the former Soviet Union and the citizens of European countries. Therefore, the analysis reveals a higher chance of interethnic social

contact with Germans with migration backgrounds from the USA and Europe and immigrants from the former Soviet Union due to their settlement pattern.

There is no correlation between Iranian immigrants' settlement choice and naturalized Iranians and other Middle Eastern countries and Islamic countries categories. Therefore, there is no pattern in Iranians' settlement choice related to the settlement pattern of immigrants from the countries that share close geographical and cultural properties.

Table 4.8: Correlation Analysis - Naturalized Iranian Settlement Pattern and Class status of the Residents (Income Status and Rent to Income Ratio)

Naturalized Iranians Positive Correlation	R	Naturalized Iranians Negative Correlation	R
Income Status			
Household Income_3200 Euro & more	0,4	Household Income_2000-2600 Euro	-0,8
		Employed person Net income_900-1500 Euro	-0,6
Rent to Income Ratio			
45% & more	0,6	15% - 25%	-0,6

Table 4.9: Correlation Analysis - Iranian Immigrants Settlement Pattern and Class Status of the Residents (Income Status)

Iranian Immigrants Positive Correlation	R	Iranian Immigrant Negative Correlation	R
Income Status			
		Household Income_2000-2600 Euro	-0,7

There is no significant correlation between the district choice and settlement location of Iranian immigrants and the class status of the districts' residents. On the contrary, there is a negative correlation between the Iranian settlement location and the household's 2000-2600 euro income. There is a moderate positive correlation between naturalized Iranians and households with a higher income of 3200 and more and also the rent-to-income ratio of 45%, meaning that the Naturalized Iranian population is positively and strongly correlated with households that spend almost half and more of their income on rent with a corresponding negative correlation with 15 to 25 percent rent to household income ratio. However, no correlation of this type can be mentioned regarding the settlement of Iranian Immigrants.

Table 4.10: Correlation Analysis - Naturalized Iranian Settlement Pattern and Structural and Infrastructural Characteristics (Wohnlage, Type and size of Housing, Ownership, Rent price, Rent Price/m2)

Naturalized Iranians Positive Correlation	R	Naturalized Iranians Negative Correlation	R
Wohnlage			
Wohnlage_Gut_ DMh	0,9	Wohnlage_Mittle_D	-0,6
Wohnlage_Gut_ DMh+A	0,9		
Wohnlage_Gut_ A	0,9		
Wohnlage_Gut_ I_D	0,8		
Wohnlage_Gut_ D	0,8		
Wohnlage_Gut_ I	0,8		
Type and Size of Housing			
House Size_ 100-120 m²	0,5	House Size_ 60-80 m²	-0,5
House Size_ 120 m² and more	0,5		
Ownership			
Rented by Private persons	0,7		
Rent price			
Rent_Price_700 Euro und mehr	0,8	Rent_Price_ Under 300 Euro	-0,8
		Rent_Price_ 300-500 Euro	-0,6
Rent Price per m2			
Rent_Price_per m²_ 10 Euro & more	0,7	Rent_Price_per m²_ Under 6 Euro	-0,7
		Rent_Price_per m²_ 6 to 8 Euro	-0,6

A=Foreigner (Außländer) D= German (Deutsche) I=Total (Insgesamt) Mh= Migration Background DMh=German with migration background(Deutsche mit Migrationhintergrund)

The settlement locations of Iranian immigrants and naturalized Iranians are positively and strongly correlated with the *Gute Wohnlage*, translated to (good residential areas), meaning the residential area with specific positive characteristics.

The classification of the *Wohnlage* or the residential area, which is an indicator of the quality of the residential property in the real estate, is dependent on different factors, such as the building's age and condition, the infrastructure like shops and services, green areas, transportation links, cultural and social facilities, population composition of the residential area (social structure, unemployment, and crime rate), the visual characteristics of the residential area, the development and form of the building blocks and finally the extent of the environmental pollution, such as noise, air, dust, and smell. *Gute Wohnlage* holds the highest level of these characteristics. The analysis shows that the Iranian diaspora population, in general, and naturalized Iranian and Iranian immigrants, separately, are higher in the areas where these high-quality residential blocks are located. Consequently, their settlement pattern is also positively

correlated in the residential properties categorized within the highest rent price group in Berlin, with 700 euros and more per month. It is at the same time negatively correlated with the areas where the rent price is lower than 500 euros.

Table 4.11: Correlation Analysis - Iranian Immigrants Settlement Pattern and Structural and Infrastructural Characteristics (Wohnlage, Rent price, Rent Price/m2)

Iranian Immigrants Positive Correlation	R	Iranian Immigrant Negative Correlation	R
Wohnlage			
Wohnlage_Gut_ I	0,8	Wohnlage_Mittle_D	-0,5
Wohnlage_Gut_ DMh+A	0,8		
Wohnlage_Gut_ A	0,8		
Wohnlage_Gut_ DMh	0,8		
Wohnlage_Gut_ I_D	0,8		
Wohnlage_Gut_ D	0,7		
Rent price			
Rent_Price_ 700 Euro und mehr	0,6	Rent_Price_Under 300 Euro	-0,6
Rent Price per m2			
Rent_Price_per m²_10 Euro & more	0,5	Rent_Price_per m²_ Under 6 Euro	-0,6

A=Foreigner (Außländer) D= German (Deutsche) I=Total (Insgesamt) Mh= Migration Background DMh=German with migration background(Deutsche mit Migrationhintergrund)

Therefore, the population of the Iranian diaspora (again both Iranian immigrants and naturalized Iranians) is smaller in districts with a higher number of lower-rent price housing. As it is also presented through the analysis, there is also a negative correlation between the Iranian diaspora and the areas with a higher number of residential buildings with a rent price of under 6 euros per square meter in the case of Iranian immigrants and under 8 euros per square meter among naturalized Iranians. Consequently, it is positively correlated with the districts with a higher rent price of 10 euros per square meter and more. It is noteworthy to mention that there is a more substantial relationship in that regard among Naturalized Iranians.

In the LOR data available on the settlement pattern of Iranians, the divisions between the migration status are not available. Instead, the data shows the population of the Iranian diaspora in each LOR unit. The variables regarding Berlin's LOR units also only specify Age, Nationality, and Ethnic Diversity. Unlike Berlin's districts, the presented result of the correlation coefficients with LOR units is not lower than -0.4 and higher than 0.4, specifying moderate to low correlation; however, the p-values are very small, which means they are statistically significant. Therefore, only the data on

Foreign German Composition and the ethnic diversity with the highest correlation among the other variables is presented.

Table 4.12: Correlation Analysis - Iranian Diaspora Settlement Pattern and the LOR Planning Area Variable (Foreign-German Composition and Ethnic Diversity)

LOR Planning Areas					
Iranian diaspora Positive Correlation	R	p-value	Iranian diaspora Negative Correlation	R	p-value
Foreign German Composition					
A_I	0,4	5,74E-21	D+ DMh	-0,4	5,73689E-21
DMh+A	0,4	4,6803E-20	D	-0,4	4,6803E-20
Ethnic Diversity					
Nationality_EU (Mh+A)	0,3	4,23938E-11			
Nationality_USA (Mh+A)	0,3	2,78793E-10			

A=Foreigner (Außländer) D= German (Deutsche) I=Total (Insgesamt) Mh= Migration Background DMh=German with migration background (Deutsche mit Migrationhintergrund)

4.5 Conclusion

From the analysis in this chapter, it could be pointed out that there are noticeably strong correlations in the categorized district's characteristics.

From the practical side, due to the lack of information on the specific residential neighborhood location choice of the Iranian diaspora and the case study in this research, it is impossible to define which characteristic determines their choice of location. However, with the Pearson Correlation Coefficient model, it would be possible to establish which Berlin's district attributes are dominated in the areas where mostly Iranian immigrants tend to live.

As mentioned in earlier chapters, studying immigrants' perceptions and use of urban space is not entirely dependent on their neighborhood in general. However, the locality of immigrants was considered to have an impact on their sense of belonging. Therefore, although this analysis could not determine the causality and intentions behind the specific residential choices among the Iranian diaspora, it becomes helpful to explore the association between the proximity of their residential location (neighborhood) and the mentioned variables to identify the existence and intensity of spatial features that can affect their perception of space and possibly the process of place-making.

5 FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

"13 days after the Iranian new year
we gather separately together.
The sun beats down on
bumpy-soft tablecloths as
uncles and dads laugh
at whispered jokes.
Moms and aunts gossip
and break pumpkin seeds
between their teeth. They
speak the tongue with
such ease, breaking the seeds
as though it were something they did
“back home.”"

13 Days, Parissa Milani

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will provide the meaning of the analysis results in the last chapter embedded in the participants' experiences and grounded in the theories laid in urban sociology and human geography discipline. Through selected narratives that reflect on social, political, and cultural norms and how the specific ethnic culture responds to the experiences, I have tried to interpret the data to generate both emic and etic explanations for the research question.

5.2 Pre-migration Circumstances

This section highlights the migration process and settlement experience of Iranian immigrants in Berlin. It is vital to investigate the factors facilitating their migration to account for Iranian immigrants' sense of belonging. The following sheds some light on Berlin's settlement experience, work, education, and language learning. Furthermore, portraying the integration process will become an account for investigating their membership state through *modes of belonging* classification.

5.2.1 Migration as a Lifelong Decision

Among highly-skilled Iranians, further education in German universities was the primary motive for many, with no absolute intention to stay in Germany afterward. However, the 2008-2009 political event of the presidential election protest (Green Movement) and the financial sanctions due to the nuclear deals and their consequences resulted in a mindset shift in many highly-skilled Iranians migration' plans. Therefore, with losing hope in Iran's socio-political situation and, in some cases, the necessity to flee the country due to their political activity, the number of Iranian immigrants who want to reside outside of Iran and in Germany increases every year.

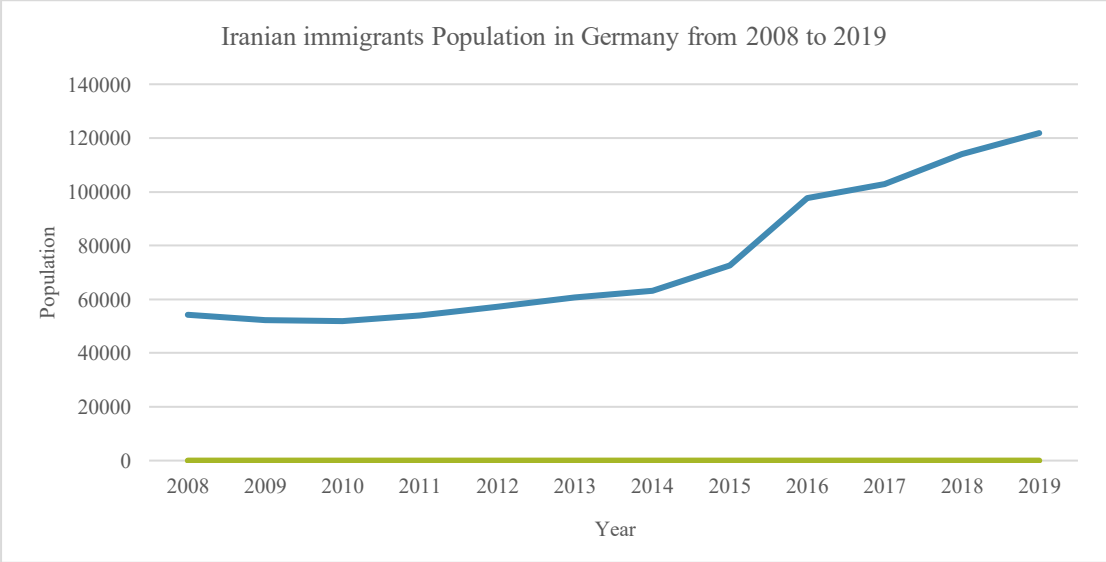

Figure 5.1: Iranian Immigrants Population in Germany from 2008 to 2019

Initially, it was within the mindset of many students to experience Western education and lifestyle and return to Iran. However, especially among the very recent Iranian

immigrants, coming to Germany became a lifelong decision and has lost its temporality essence to a greater extent. Therefore, they appear to be more prepared regarding having a decent knowledge of living in Germany, language proficiency, and even making transnational social connections before their arrival.

5.2.2 Germany as the Second Choice

For many participants, migration to Germany was not the first choice. Due to having the most extensive Iranian diaspora in the USA, the reputation of the high-ranked universities among students, the influence of the "American dream", and the entrepreneurial and consumerist lifestyle among professionals, migration to the USA was the ultimate decision.

> "…all my friends from Sharif University went to the USA. To them, going to Europe was ridiculous. They thought that going to Europe was not for talented students. "

From 2013, due to the accumulative effect of the sanctions against Iran, the currency collapsed around 80%. The situation worsened from 2017 onwards. Students had to pay three times more than they had reckoned, especially when paying some tuition fees. Moreover, challenges Iranian immigrants face include obtaining student and work visas and the travel ban, which prevents visiting families for many years. Therefore, Germany became more popular and became the first choice for migration among highly-skilled immigrants and refugees.

> "In 2012, when I decided to go abroad, Germany was a good choice… I came here because there was a gap between my study and work. So, my resume was not as fresh as before, and I thought I could'nt get admission to a good university in the USA anymore. Also, I could get multiple visas from here and be closer to Iran. I saw that the flight price to go to Iran several times a year was more convenient here."

Having reliable social and health insurance alongside the social welfare state programs, almost free and high-rank educational institutions, well-known professional firms and the higher and faster possibility of finding a job are among Iranian immigrants' positive assessments of migration to Germany.

> "…you can stay here after finishing your studies, it is cheap, and you can find work easier afterward."

5.2.3 Unpreparedness

In comparison to the structured planning of Iranians for migration to the USA and the preparation for learning perfect English and taking the GRE and TOEFL exams, educating themselves on different states, their unique cultures, tax situation, and other geopolitical and cultural details, in many cases migration to Germany is translated to not setting goals, planning ahead for learning German and researching the German culture. Therefore, there was no efficient prior German language knowledge, especially among those who migrated from 2011 to 2017.

> "I wanted to go to the UK. Because I knew how to speak English from childhood. So, it was easy. "

> "I took IELTS and GRE, and then I thought I probably would not get a fund and I could not support myself financially. So as the second option, I thought Germany is the best here in Europe."

On the other hand, obtaining a student visa requires at least intermediate knowledge of German. Consequently, many Iranian students choose programs taught in English that attract more international students and fewer German natives.

Therefore, there is a lack of exposure to the German language and culture among Iranian students during their first years of living in Berlin. However, as mentioned by many participants, due to the multiculturality of Berlin, the lack of German knowledge does not seem like a huge drawback. Therefore, there is no restricted necessity in prioritizing the language learning process.

Overall, the lack of initial necessity, alongside low exposure to German culture and language, is among the facts mentioned to be influential on the first impression of Iranians regarding their process of home-making. However, in many cases, these first impressions have more extended negative consequences, affecting the insight of Iranian immigrants regarding their overall experience of migration to Berlin.

5.3 Migration and Integration

5.3.1 Objective Integration

5.3.1.1 Labor Market Integration

The discussion of labor market integration and the economic factors related to belonging in this research focuses on two main components: the experience of finding a job and the satisfaction and integration in the workspace. Regarding the first factor, the highly-skilled Iranian immigrants do not face significant challenges. On the contrary, it seems that within the eighteen months of job seeker visa after finishing higher education in Germany, many are successful in finding a related, well-paid job. The only obstacle is due to the political factors of sanctions against Iran, and the relatively mere number of international companies in Berlin, the Iranian nationality becomes a severe impediment.

> "I was looking for a job, and I found one; when they realized I am Iranian, they said that they could not give that job to me. For my Masterarbeit, I had an interview. It was really good, but they told me that because we are an American company, we are not sure that we can hire you. I have no idea how it is related."

These barriers and experiences were retold many times in private gatherings in Berlin and shared through personal Twitter accounts of highly-skilled Iranians all over Germany, intending to share personal experiences of career life. At the same time, it has stimulated the idea of Iranian nationality as a barrier through the perceptual effect of these experiences.

> "There is a mental bias here. Germans think they can trust Europeans better than non-Europeans. They even categorize Europeans as well. They think the higher qualified, scientifically robust, and reliable people are Germans and then English and French people."

However, different obstacles within their work atmosphere affect the responsiveness of their condition as immigrants and their sense of satisfaction in their workplaces. As a result, the progress in the carrier path is assumed to be partial. Expectedly, unlike the Iranian immigrants within their social circle who had migrated to the USA and Canada, it seems that their opportunity for professional growth is limited.

> "My experience in an academic setting was that, when we received a research project, the Germans would know about it immediately. But they ignored another foreign researcher and me. I am not saying they are doing that on purpose. I am not sure, but maybe they think that what we (foreign students) have is enough. If we have a part-

> time position, it would be good and enough in our situation. Why should they bother themselves and offer us a better position or let us know about the new projects? Also, I think they cannot rely on us. They actually rely on Germans and Europeans more than on us…."

Due to the lack of dominance in the administrative system of Germany, alongside having limited German proficiency instead of full professional proficiency, and a narrower circle of immigrants or people from migration backgrounds in high-rank positions as co-workers, there is a sense of downplaying in their capability and less space for improvement.

> "At work, I had this experience that they gave the job to a German instead of me, although our expertise and experiences were the same. And the reason was just Language. Because the job includes many interviews, and they wanted someone who speaks better."

However, the social engagement within the work atmosphere is case-dependent. While some experienced social exclusion and expected to be noticed and cared for;

> "I work in an office where I am the only non-German. Nobody talks to me. Everyone is way older than me. And it seems that they do not need anyone at all at the office. I have no duty as well." "It is impossible to connect to them. I eat alone; the rest go together for lunch. Never ask anything about me or talk to me." "No way to make any contact with everyone. Due to this reason, I want to quit my job."

Others blame low self-esteem as a general characteristic among many Iranians and can potentially negatively affect social engagement in the workplace.

> "Sometimes, as other colleagues speak in their mother tongue, it is easier for them as well to express ideas. But in General, we ourselves think that we are not enough and have low confidence, but my colleagues and my boss do not think that way and always ask my opinion in the projects." "No. I never feel excluded on my work environment."

Overall, for both Iranian immigrants and their work atmosphere, different social interactions depend on the individual's character, the specific job description, and the dominant culture within that organization, which also affect the ethnic diversity of the colleagues and the company's staff.

> "There were no encouragements in making social connections with others. It was an entirely personal decision if you wanted to engage or not. There were neither external forces nor encouragement and even setbacks in integration. Now I think I had no specific integration experience here. Although I did my Ph.D. and am currently working at the university."

What has been portrayed on the integration of Iranian highly-skilled immigrants in Berlin reveals the parallel entanglement and separation of the objective and subjective parameters of integration in the workspace. It seems that accessing professional

opportunity that brings economic prosperity and reinforces social identity, although affected by political sanctions against Iran, is generally not counted as an obstacle to integration. However, from a subjective point of view, Iranian highly-skilled immigrants mostly feel excluded from social life in the workspace. While they do not expect to form close friendships at the workplace, the disappointment lies in weak ties that foster their identity and social affirmation. Professionally though, what it means to be included translates into having access to work-related status, being acknowledged, and having prospects towards career advancement.

5.3.1.2 Language

The German language proficiency among highly-skilled Iranian immigrants counts as an indicator of social integration. Speaking in the host society language increases the number of interactions and, consequently, a higher possibility of making friends, engaging in public social activities, and improving social integration.

> "I think I am not integrated with Germans. In a sense that I cannot communicate. Maybe because it is a problem of language, I cannot be friends with them the same as us."

Moreover, language proficiency is mentioned to break the invisible bubble that is created around individuals or groups of immigrants while using public spaces, through understanding what goes on around them, what people talk about, or what is announced in public areas, which, as expressed, induce a sense of presence, fulfilling their curiosity and stimulate the knowledge in regards to the society.

> "I think I feel more connected and belonged by understanding what other people are saying in the streets. For example, if I go to the theatre, knowing the language and understanding the play would feel good. But in general, I do not feel that I belong. I think it is a long process of creating that belonging that I have not felt within these eight years. But, understanding what is happening around you, like when people are speaking with each other, the jokes, etc., affects. So, maybe it more fulfills my curiosity about the society, but not belonging."

The state of language proficiency level among the Iranian highly-skilled immigrants in Berlin is dependent on different factors. Due to their work atmosphere's nature of reading and writing in English and having less contact with other students and colleagues, there is a low to medium level of proficiency among the post-graduate students. However, the German language skills are more advanced among the bachelor and master students and the professional workers.

As predicted, speaking in German is expected in a different context in Berlin. Among the subject group in this research, even those with high German expertise prefer speaking English. The reason behind this action, although valid, is not only the better and longer dominance of the English language. There are different motives, such as what I call the "power dynamics and the possibility to negotiate the condition" and also "representing the higher social class."

> "My language level is between B1 and B2. It is not my preference to speak German. Because I think I would not be in an equal position in a conversation. I should mention that I am a keen language learner overall. Therefore, in general and everyday life interactions, like going to a café, shopping, etc. I start speaking in German because I feel that it is not a situation where I want to exercise my power. But when I want to explain something, argue, or bargain on a matter, I prefer speaking in English. Because actually then not speaking a good German language affects losing that position or that argument."

Especially within the professional arena, where there is a need to exercise power and negotiate on a matter, one party speaking in their mother tongue (German) creates an unequal and unfair state. By communicating in English in these situations, both parties can express their opinions and negotiate through a third language. The practicality and convenience of a German speaker, typically the better communicator in a conversation, would not be there. Therefore, language proficiency would not affect the situation where it is not the target.

From another point of view, speaking in a third language, in some situations, works as a mechanism to acquire an intended dignity. Thus, for example, by experiencing that German's attitude towards native English speaker tourists or Berlin's inhabitants was better than towards an immigrant who speaks German, the act of becoming invisibile as an immigrant and appearing as a tourist becomes a mechanism for not feeling inferior.

> "It would be more convenient to speak English instead of German because then you would be treated better and as a 'tourist with an almost good English proficiency' instead of 'an immigrant with average German.'"

Associated with what I described above, as many considered German language proficiency vital for making social ties, especially with the host society, one of the participants stated a level of controversy regarding "who is speaking" instead of "what language." He mentioned a big difference in the behavior of German students in his university with students who come from the USA. In his view, German students desire to socialize with US students than other nationalities, although both may speak English sufficiently and have the same level of German proficiency. Therefore, the link between

proficiency in the German language and strengthening social capital has faded because of similar experiences, resulting in frustration.

Although all participants interpreted the expectation of speaking in German from the host side as expected and logical, the participants blamed German's social class and, in some cases, their self-regard for their objection to communicating in English.

> "I think everyone who knows how to speak English will do it. For sure. It is somehow showing their social class. If you see someone is only responding in German, it is because they do not know how to speak English. But maybe they do not want to show that they do not have this ability so they will tell you '*Here is Deutschland, du muss Deutsch sprechen*' (you must speak German)."

Overall, the German proficiency level does not seem to be a determinant of whether individuals would get in contact with others; however, it enhances access to participation and provides the context for strengthening social capital, higher self-confidence in making contacts, and greater knowledge over the culture, resulting in better acceptance of the values, norms, and behaviors (Heckmann, 2005).

> "… I am not confident enough to express my ideas completely at work …for me it is because I am not exactly aware of the system. Sometimes as other colleagues speak in their mother tongue, it is easier for them as well to express ideas…"

Moreover, through the emphasis on language learning in Germany as an indicator of successful integration, the burden of encountering equal opportunities and treatment is on the immigrants. They blame their limited ability in communication, which may result in unsmooth everyday encounters. However, those who successfully learned the language can be more sensitive toward the hostile atmosphere that they or other similar immigrants may encounter (Steinmann, 2019).

5.3.1.3 Citizenship

Regarding the links between the acquisition of nationality and the belonging processes, among Iranian immigrants, naturalization is seen as a political deal that ensures equal membership in the society that brings along both rights and duties alongside benefits and political power. Although naturalization is assumed to improve the socio-economic situation and offer more security concerning discrimination, which is the implication of objective integration, there has been hardly any specification regarding the emotional attachment and its consequences, such as perception of being in a society and sense of identity among Iranian highly-skilled immigrants.

> "Getting German citizenship holds a political value. It is not a cultural concept. It is a process that is entitled to us by law. That's it. Even after living here for many years, when someone asks us where we are from, our origin plays a role. Even if we say we are German, it does not have a cultural meaning for us. It only means that we were entitled to the political document. So, we gain a social deal. We worked here, gave value to here, and sometimes we tried hard to adapt ourselves…."

The naturalization process is realized as an arrangement and agreement in exchange for adaptation and acculturation.

> "We used to be more sociable. It is in our culture. It is not our culture to be so into ourselves while we are outside. In public transport, for example, we used to talk all the time with other people. Here, maybe people do not like it. So, we adapt ourselves. We put away the idea of *Taa'rof* (compliment and comity), which I think is related to caring for other people. We become more and more self-oriented. But in the end, we are not from here."

Therefore, it has been presumed that by putting away even small behaviors that symbolize their Iranian identity to be more acculturate, the German nationality will be granted, resulting in a devoid of sentiments. However, it has been mentioned that gaining legal membership as a citizen provides a standard and paves the way toward objective integration, especially regarding the current housing issue.

> "From other's experiences, I can say they are being treated differently. The most important example is the process of renting an apartment. Because when they send an application for renting and send their German ID, it makes a huge difference. Because they tend to answer German applications more often compared to when they send an application as an Iranian. I think it goes back to the German mentality that thinks there is a Bureaucratic standard mentality, and they may need that by gaining German citizenship, you reach a standard level and would be trusted. Even in their friendship, and if you can prove that, you can be a good close friend, they would trust you long term and count you as a real friend. Another example is getting a degree like a doctorate. These are like standards for them. So maybe they would change their attitude based on these standards."

Overall, obtaining German citizenship and its possible processes and implications among Iranian immigrants is dominant in dialogues in most private gatherings. The Iranian passport' being at the bottom of the travel freedom index (Henley Passport Index), ranked 99, is among the motivations for attaining German citizenship, ranked 3rd in traveling visa-free. Travel freedom is considered because the "German passport" has substituted "German citizenship."

However, citizenship is not the turning point in blurring the symbolic boundary between 'us' and 'them' through Iranian immigrants' perception as an indicator of inclusion. Moreover, there is no link between receiving the citizenship right and being considered national by the host society. The by-product of obtaining legal rights motivates the participants to naturalize and get German citizenship. The encouragement is either caused by the overall global political orientation (powerless Iranian passport)

or criticized as a biased judgmental point (e.g. hardship in access to housing as an immigrant in Berlin).

5.3.2 Interaction and Social Network

In the debate on the social interaction of immigrants with the host society and its impact on their integration, it should be assumed that the individual and ethnic characteristics and preferences alongside the circumstantial settings have an extensive effect. In this section, I have no intention and enough evidence to evaluate the scale-based (urban, local) contacts of Iranian immigrants separately, as the social implications of Iranian immigrants' spatial practice will be discussed in the coming sections. However, the general cultural influences affect the level of trust, risk, and social preferences. The identification of Iranian immigrants as members of the host society, while at the same time retaining their own cultural identity, is identified as a measure of social integration.

> "But I feel excluded and very uncomfortable when I am around German people and I am the only foreigner, for example, at my work. Their behavior is different. The Eastern people are warm, they talk to you, they communicate. when I am around German people, I tend to overthink and be careful about what I say and what I should say! So, I cannot be easily myself. Maybe I think that it is their country and I have to be careful to have a positive impact. I do not know."

The cultural difference in the meaning of friendship results in difficulty in befriending the host, affecting the perception of Iranian immigrants towards their low level of social integration. What it means to be *Freund* (Friends) seems to have a deeper meaning with what counts as *Bekannte* (a persnon whom someone knows and who knows them, but they are not friends) in the German language and culture. However, this translation is interchangeably used among Iranians to describe their social relationship with the host society.

> "There is also a cultural part in this subject. Among Iranians was always this question of why we cannot make friends with Germans. We have foreign friends but not German. I looked closely into this. The Germans are not open as much with anyone. You have to be consistent with them and put lots of effort to make a friendship. But Iranians, Arabs, Spanish, Turks, etc. are not like this. In our culture, it is more like, when we like someone, we talk to them and that's it. We become friends. And if I do not like you, I leave you. But this rule does not apply to Germans."

Although within the acculturation process, most immigrants realized these cultural differences, resulting in accepting social behaviors. However, the realization does not sufficiently change the pattern of social interactions. The host society population is not generally perceived as 'friendly' in Iranian culture. Instead, they are repeatedly labeled

as ‘cold.’ This implies a reserved attitude and culture, which contrasts with Iranian, Middle-Eastern, and many other cultures.

> “…maybe we, as Iranian, think that Germans do not want to socialize with us. But I think maybe it is not actually that. We have to be careful using the words to describe others. We should accept that they are like this. A bit cold!”

Furthermore, Iranian immigrants consider the negative or, better say, not precise, representation of Iranians through media as an external factor that negatively impacts the process of shaping deeper social interactions. Regardless of the motivation and cause, either curiosity or prejudice, in everyday conversation, there are constant reminders of differences in “How we do things” and expecting differences in “How you do things.” This dissection, which could be intentional or unintentional, negatively affects the Iranian immigrants’ sense of “we” and in the long term, desire for interaction.

> “I have no problem with German Language. I speak it fluently, and I am a friendly person. I have friends from everywhere. But with my German friend, we cannot become close. There is always this barrier. After being friends for more than 5 years, we still cannot communicate like normal friends. She always has hundreds of questions like how is this or that in Iran? Or how do “we” do this or that?”

Moreover, it has been expressed that there is a lack of familiar subjects, especially among newly arrived Iranian immigrants, to shape the conversation. Moreover, common culture, music, art, and history deepen social contacts, so everyday interactions cannot be practiced and learnt instantly. Thus, the meaning of integration also lies in having these common grounds to form social interaction.

> “And I think we cannot joke with German friends that much. She would not understand our inside humor. So, we may run out of subjects to talk about. It is the same for Germans. So, I am not saying that they are against being friends with us, but it is hard for them.”

What has been discussed regarding the association of social interaction, integration, and belonging reveals that these components interact in a closed circular path. The existence of one is vital to the other, and therefore, although both sides need to be open for interaction and forming social cohesion, no linear process can prepare the ground for socializing.

5.4 Socio-Spatial Practice

Aiming to investigate how Iranian immigrants reappropriate the space of Berlin in everyday life, in this section, I presented the spatial variables involved in the immigrant's experiences and shaping their perception of Berlin to reveal a bilateral effect between Iranians' settlement pattern and the reading of their locality and overall, Berlin's urban space. Initially, the primary settlement location seems to shape the insight of newly arrived immigrants regarding their new environment. Accordingly, the more established immigrants' perception influences the settlement location choice and the scope of urban space use. Following, ethnic diversity as a frequently discussed human affect characteristics in immigrant's attachment discourse, the position of physical environment concerning the sense of place and belonging, and the state of ethnic, social ties, and residential concentration, especially in new immigrants, as the social measures of the places, will be discussed.

5.4.1 Compalsive Locality for New Immigrants

The following chart presents the residential location of Iranian immigrants in Berlin. As Iranian student immigrants are considered in the study group, it is worth mentioning that the geographical allocation of the student dormitories in Berlin affects the following distribution pattern.

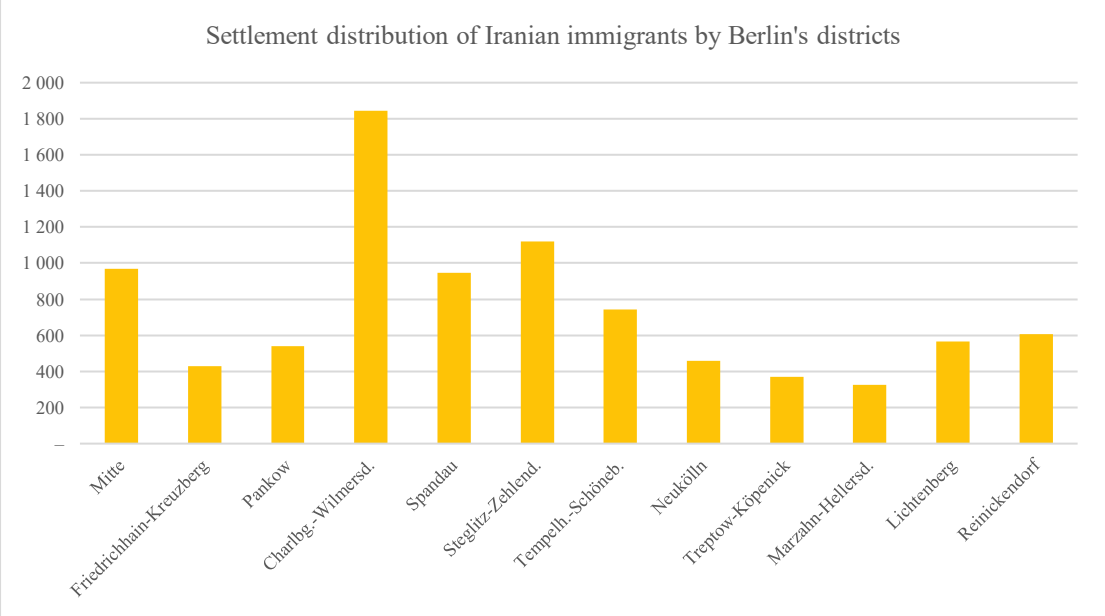

Figure 5.2: Settlement Distribution of Iranian Immigrants by Berlin's Districts

The dormitories are located mainly in Charlottenburg-Willmersdorf, Stegliz-Zehlendorf, with significantly higher quantity and capacity, alongside two dormitories in Lichtenberg and Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg. It should be noted that for many Iranian immigrants who arrive in Berlin and get accommodated in these dormitories, these two districts are the first locality they become accustomed to. They familiarize themselves with the rest of the city based on the centrality of these areas.

The accommodation choice for Iranian students, especially the ones who are younger and single, is to settle in residences provided by the universities; however, during the past five years, due to the higher number of students than the available dormitories, it takes more than one year in Berlin to receive an offer for a dormitory, which necessitates searching for accommodations, individually. Although there are both online services and platforms to rent accommodations and unofficial contacts between the students for the possibility of subrenting, Iranian students are at a disadvantage in arranging a place to stay beforehand. Due to the disconnection from the global financial system, conducting any financial transaction is impossible, leaving no choice for newly arrived immigrants to arrange their settlement before their arrival. The formerly Iranian students, friends or relatives, and the online groups of Iranians in Berlin assist in finding primary accommodations and familiarizing the newly arrived ones with Berlin. It seems that the initial connections play a vital role in shaping their first perception of living in the city. In most cases, the initial encounter is through the lens of the primary network circle of the ethnic community.

> "I stayed a couple of days at the place of a friend I knew from Iran…We stayed together for 1.5 months. I could not register myself there. Then I stayed in another shared apartment in Wedding, that, a neighborhood that I did not like. Then one of my father's friends offered me the apartment I have now, and I rented that from him. Although it is very nice, it is too far."

Like in many other European cities, the ongoing housing crisis in Berlin that results in a massive housing shortage, high rent prices, and additional hardship in the rental processes[11], particularly for new immigrants, affects the Iranian immigrant's first encounter with migration. Therefore, especially within the first years of residency in Berlin, place-making for immigrants is in the shadow of the lack of housing choices.

[11] According to a study by the German federal anti-discrimination office, in late 2019, 41% of the interviewees indicated that they find the idea of renting their apartments to migrants worrying. The survey found that more than a third of people from migrant backgrounds looking for an apartment in the last ten years have experienced discrimination because of their origins. https://www.antidiskriminierungsstelle.de/SharedDocs/Downloads/DE/publikationen/Jahresberichte/2019.pdf?__blob=publicationFile&v=3 (Last Access: 28.09.2020)

> "I was somehow not picky about the neighborhood. Wherever was available for me, I would have probably rented."

Another important implication of the limitation in the choice of housing in Berlin (availability) due to high demand and possible prejudice in regards to that is that desirability and priority replace necessity in choosing the housing location.

> "But now being an immigrant and being on a Visa makes it hard for us to find an apartment. Lots of companies do not rent apartments to immigrants, specifically the ones whose visas are not permanent."

> "What is my priority is not the real possibility. The Schoenberg neighborhood was what I preferred. I had to move to the dormitory after a while without preferring it. Although we were sharing the apartment, we preferred that location and the type of old house we were living in in the city center."

Consequently, the investigation through the perception of the new immigrants from their neighborhood in Berlin, which has been chosen primarily through compulsion, revealed more negative insight regarding their locality associated with interrelated factors. For instance, the distance from Berlin's center or living in residential neighborhoods that lack 'places' conveys a feeling of exclusion. Moreover, living in districts dominated by specific ethnicities provides a sense of dissatisfaction and inadequacy among Iranian highly -skilled immigrants that will be discussed further.

5.4.1.1 Lack of Place, Routine, and Spatial Knowledge

Many new immigrants' initial resident locations are in the periphery of Berlin, longer distance from micro centers and associated monotonously with residentials and service functions that result in a lack of public places or 'third places' (Oldenburg, 1991) where they could coexist in the local places and form any social interaction. The narrator below lives in a dormitory close to her university in Lichtenberg districts, and prefers or is required to use public spaces outside their neighborhoods.

> "I use every opportunity to come to the center and come out of my neighborhood. For example, I used to go to the gym in Alexanderplatz." "But I personally do not like to stick around my own neighborhood. I enjoy moving around the city."

Living on the edge of Charlottenburg and Spandau districts, where there is a lack of urban vitality and the infrastructure for providing places for inhabitants to be and share, is mentioned to convey feelings of exclusion and counts as an obstacle to place belonging.

> "The neighborhood where we live now is more like a "service" neighborhood. It is not like a place where you feel belonged or settled. It is more like where the location serves you, but you do not spend your leisure time there. It does not have any urban vitality."

From another point of view, primarily for new immigrants, the extra endeavors to find their way in the city, get used to the new lifestyle and realize a new routine alongside the pressure of achievement and accomplishment in the professional tasks, result in neglecting regular use and state of being in the city and more lively public spaces. As a result, their spatial knowledge and orientation patterns in Berlin were mainly reduced to their routine between home, work, university, and around their neighborhood. However, the regular use of spaces to create locality, safety, and trust is essential for new immigrants and could facilitate understanding the culture of a place, resulting in more trust. This trust implies safety and eventually could affect feeling at home and belonging (Blokland, 2017; Blokland & Nast, 2014). On the other hand, the limited use of public space encourages a higher chance of self-segregation in their local setting and routines.

> "The place that I live in now, Karlshorst (Lichtenberg), is far away. But in Karlshorst I feel excluded and I need to stay in when I am there. Because it is far away… I feel like I am being excluded from the city. It is too far from everywhere and nothing interesting is there."

Therefore, their movement in the city, which could be counted as a context for learning the social codes of their new home to develop belonging, is limited. It promotes less interaction outside their established social capital. Consequently, a lower tendency to create new social ties implies less feeling at home.

5.4.1.2 Diversity Impact

The correlation between diversity in the local arena and immigrants' sense of belonging became the focus of many studies (Hickman et al., 2012; Netto, 2011; Robinson et al., 2007). The analysis indicates Iranian immigrants' settlement pattern regarding the diversity of Berlin's districts and discusses how the existing diversity influences their sense of attachment to their locality and Berlin.

Focusing on the demographic characteristics of the resident population (Racial and Ethnic relations), as presented (Figure 5.2), a considerable share of Iranian immigrants live in Kreuzberg, Neukölln, and Wedding districts, occupied dominantly or over 50% with non-Germans (Figure 5.3). These districts are recognized for having a 'hipster and cool' ambiance, while many who lived in these districts acknowledged problems such

as the drug trade and dirty streetscapes. However, the primary negative assessment is associated with the ethnic makeup of these neighborhoods. These districts are perceived as 'mono' rather than 'multi-ethnic' districts among Iranian immigrants.

> "I do not like some parts of Wedding. There are many homeless there. Once I was there, someone came close to me from the back and opened the zipper of my bag pack! Although you think Wedding has many immigrants, to me, it is a Turkish neighborhood not diverse. There are only lots of Turks living in Wedding. In Ostbahnhof you can find all nationalities."

Although there is a positive insight concerning Berlin's overall diversity, these areas convey a sense of inadequacy among Iranian immigrants. Also, several had mentioned that they do not like the idea of identifying themselves through living in these multicultural districts.

> "The house I stayed in in Wedding I did not like. There were many Arabs and Turks. I was frightened in the evenings to be outside. There were many people on the streets. I did not like that atmosphere."

While previous literature had focused on the implication of living in ethnically diverse neighborhoods from a white middle-class point of view (Andreotti, Le Galès, & Moreno-Fuentes, 2015), here Iranian immigrants, as a visible group of immigrants, try to differentiate themselves from other ethnicities, that although culturally and geographically are close to Iran, are perceived as different. Therefore, moving away from the previously discussed white middle class against minority groups (El-Tayeb, 2011) and interethnic boundary-making (Moghaddari, 2020), the hierarchical modes of drawing borders as an ethnic minority against another minority within the process of home making are worth further investigating.

On the contrary, in the context that the diversity of the new immigrant's locality is low, solid and significant established ethnic communities could be the resource for the new immigrants to shape their collective place-making and emotional attachment based on it (Yuval-Davis, 2006). Although the population of the Iranian diaspora, in general, and Iranian immigrants, in particular, are not so prominent in the low ethnically diverse districts, they are mentioned to encourage a feeling of exclusion for new immigrants.

Districts such as Marzahn-Hellersdorf, Treptow-Köpenick, and Lichtenberg,where the majority of natives (Germans) live, host the lowest share of immigrants and Germans with immigration background (just 10% of the overall district population) in comparison to the other districts and also the average percentage in berlin with 35%.

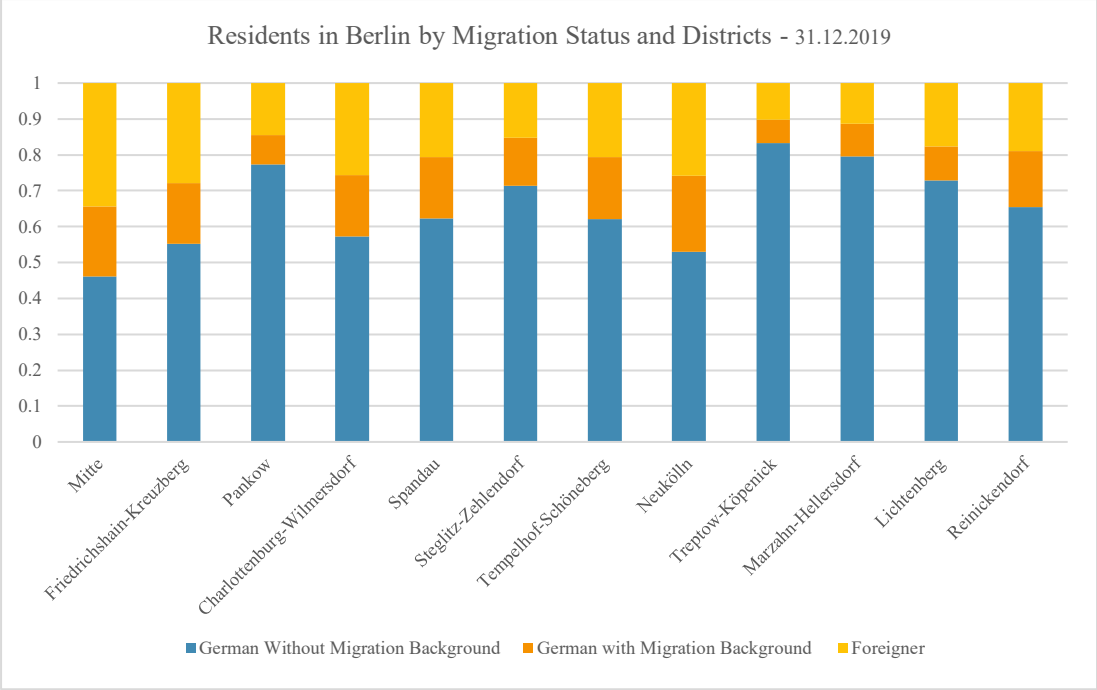

Figure 5.3: Racial and Ethnic Relations in Berlin's Districts

The following chart demonstrates the ratio of Iranian immigrants to naturalized Iranians in different districts of Berlins. Within the least diversified districts (Figure 5.3), Iranian immigrants' share is also significantly higher than the share of naturalized Iranians. Therefore, the first locality of some newly arrived Iranian immigrants is ethnically low diversified and does not host communities of established Iranians.

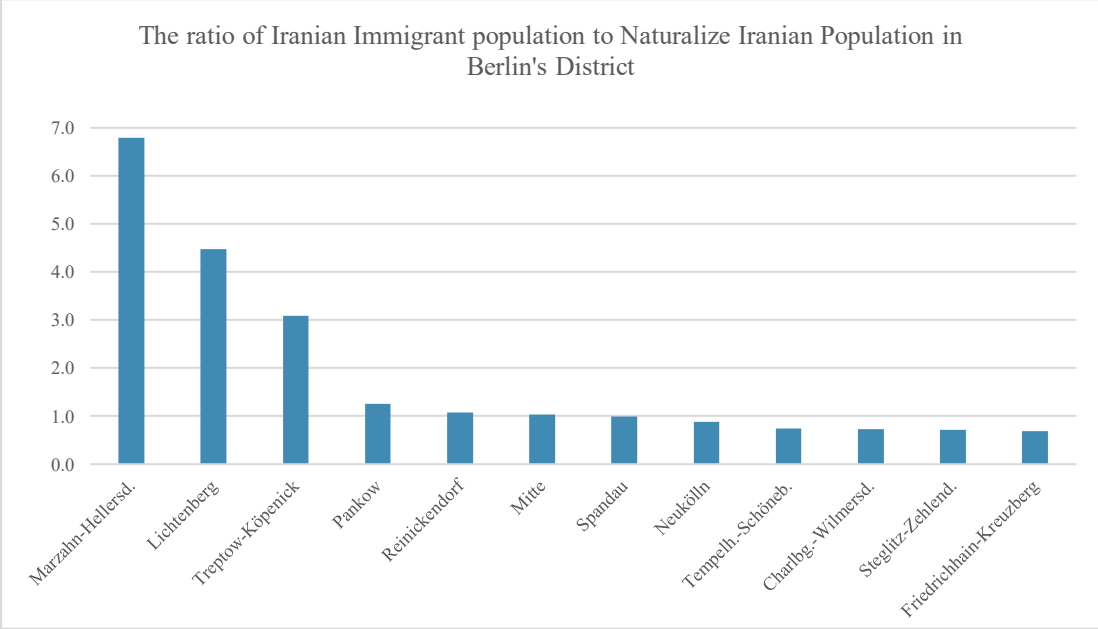

Figure 5.4: Iranian Immigrant Population to Naturalized Iranian Population Ratio

As discussed before, these areas are also geographically far from the center and lack places for interaction. Consequently, the place-making and attachment in these areas cannot rely on local ethnic support from the established Iranian community or close cultures.

> "Adlershof. it is not diverse at all. Only some dorm buildings. Except for the ones who live in the dorm, I think the rest are Germans. I think those who start to live in Berlin here at the dorm in Adlershof, would probably lose the chance to know Berlin the way I did. Also, they lose the chance to create a close relationship with what Berlin has to offer."

Therefore, from the standpoint of Iranian immigrants' locality, it could be pointed out that when the diversity is low, to create a sense of blending in and inclusion with the place, not only a level of diversity in ethnicity but a diversity in the type of places is needed. Moreover, based on the cultural features and implications of Iranian ethnic place-making, which I will discuss in the following sections, there is not enough evidence to conclude whether the existence of an established Iranian community or places such as cafés, supermarkets, or restaurants, in low ethnically diverse districts of Berlin, could encourage their sense of attachment and belonging. However, exclusion and dissatisfaction are also not necessarily associated with living in a less ethnically diverse neighborhood. Although the overall multiculturality of Berlin is appreciated as an alternative to blending in and invisibility in the scale of the city, regarding the locality, 'too much diversity' for Iranian immigrants can negatively affect the sense of attachment and belonging.

> "Not too visible…Because there are also many tourists in Berlin. I think we, as immigrant inhabitants, would mix in the city with tourists so there is no feeling of exclusion… You can do whatever you want to do and you can be whatever you want to be. It is so extreme that nobody cares who and how you are. Nobody looks at you"

> "When I was in the Moabit neighborhood, I felt like everyone was Arab and I was the only Iranian! (outsider). But between Germans and other immigrants I do not feel too visible."

5.4.2 Perception of Berlin and Selective Locality

Overall, the multiculturality, diverse streetscape, greenery, and liveliness of Berlin are among the positive assessments of its public space. Regarding the use of Berlin's space, the narratives revealed that where individuals choose as frequent sites to visit and exist in the city is closely associated with how they would like to portray themselves in the host society through a complex process of identity construction. For those who would

like to emphasize Iranian culture and identity, using the spaces associated with Iranian businesses, like restaurants, bookshops, and supermarkets, is the choice.

> "… I also like Turmstraße, it is lively and full of cafés and restaurants with Persian taste. you can have a cup of tea and baklava there. Also, I like Zoologischer Garten. Recently I like the Wilmersdorf neighborhood as well. It is very lively and Abbas Maroufi Bookstore is close to there."

Those who enjoy the multicultural scenery of the Friedrichshain district, which is perceived as dominated by all ethnicities and no ethnicity at the same time and represents the idea of being a world resident, would prefer Berlin's center and Eastside, recognized as Berlin's 'alternative and cool' districts. Also, the ones who praise their academic and professional identity would choose the universities, libraries, and bookstores as their most visited or favorite public spaces in Berlin. Although variances are laying on the preference in using Berlin's public spaces, as in the following map, there are almost mutually labeled characteristics attributed to different neighborhoods of Berlin and their inhabitants among Iranians.

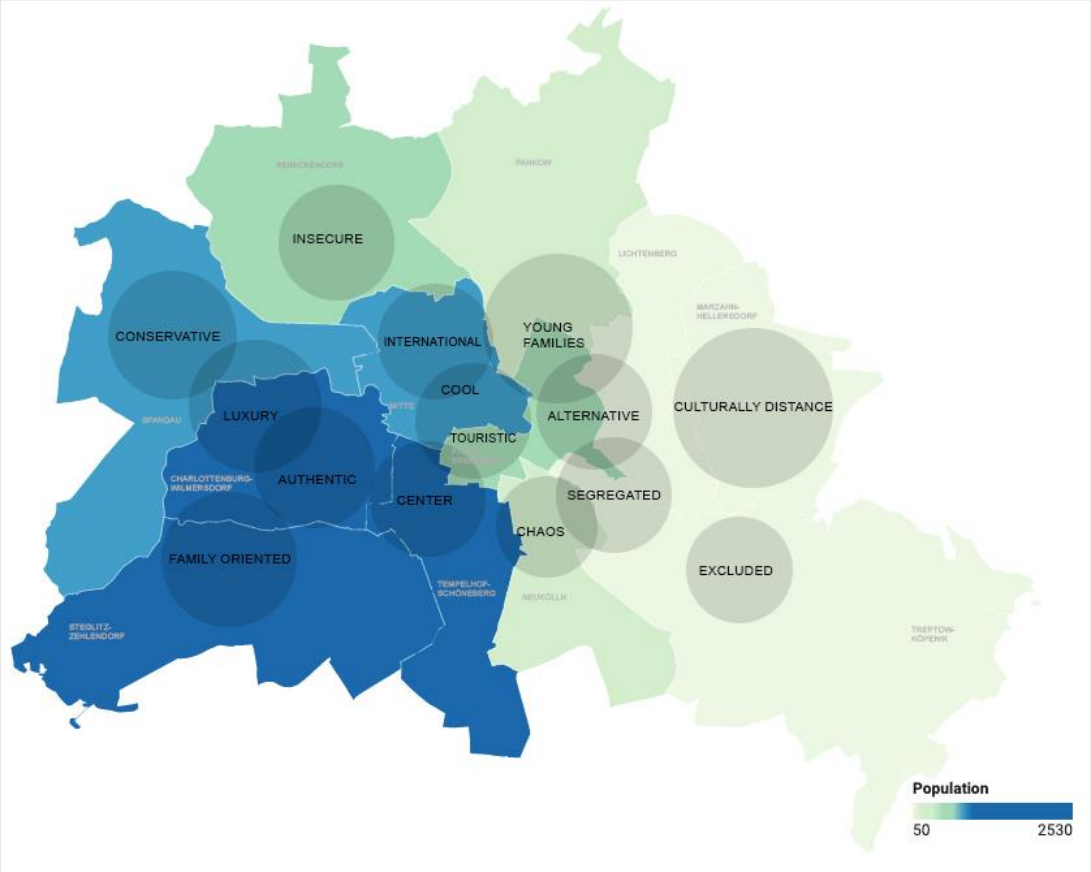

Figure 5.5: Attributed Adjectives to Berlin's District by Iranian Immigrants

It is worth mentioning that, while it is stated earlier that there is no room for preferences in regards to choosing a locality, especially among new immigrants, it is assumed that after the initial years of living out of necessity, as the focus here is on highly-skilled immigrants, by reaching to a state of structural integration, there is more frequency of residential mobility to better neighborhoods in order to live in the preferred locality. Therefore, it would be possible to at least partially reflect the outcomes of the neighborhood effect.

The Iranians' residential location in Berlin does not monotonously distribute within Berlin's neighborhoods. As presented below, the negative correlation between the number of Iranian settlements and the longitude of Berlin's neighborhoods likewise reveals that moving from West to East, there is a decrease in the population of Iranians in Berlin, which indicates a pattern in the settlement location of the Iranian diaspora within Berlin's districts.

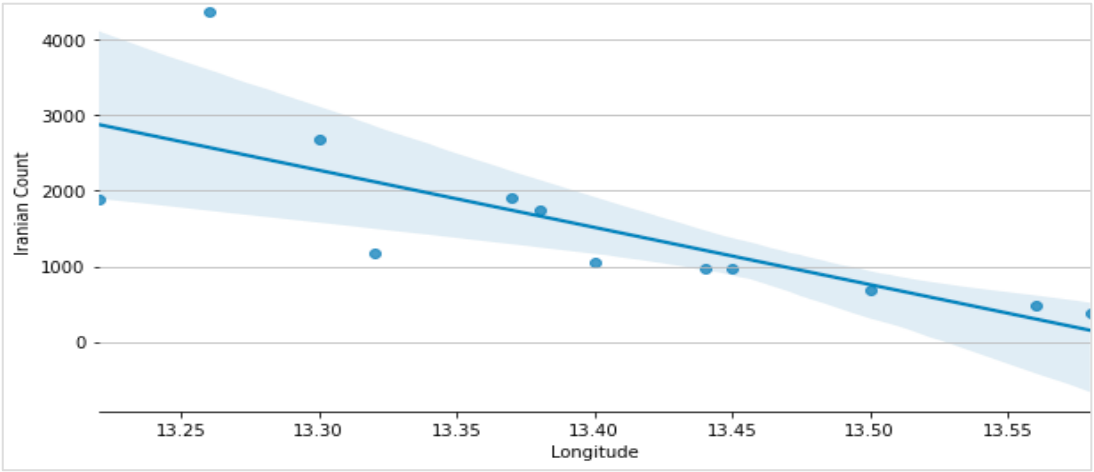

Figure 5.6: Correlation of Iranian Diaspora Population with Berlin's District's Longitude

Inquiring about the preferred neighborhood as a residential location exposed that Iranian immigrants would feel mostly belonged when the settlement location and the characteristics of the locality they live in, regardless of the general categorization mentioned in this section, align with how one would like to be acknowledged.

> "But I prefer the west and southwest of Berlin to the east side. Zehlendorf I really like. The neighborhood around Frei University, I like there as well. Because I had heard it is high class. Although my neighborhood is also a high-class one, several newly built apartments in Zehlendorf are better than my neighborhood. It is more modern."

> "I enjoy it (the neighborhood: Charlottenburg) if it was even more luxurious or Modern..."

The central and western districts, especially Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf and Steglitz-Zehlendorf, are Iranian's major residential district choices. Among Iranians, there is also a high tendency to live in these areas entitled and quoted as the 'high-class neighborhoods,' which are more family-oriented and high-priced neighborhoods of Berlin. From the perception of the physical and geographical features, the cleanness of the streets, modern atmosphere, luxurious vibe, and greenery of these districts, alongside the practicality of the neighborhood's physical location, such as proximity to shopping districts, and the public transport connection are among the appreciated features.

The narratives regarding the choice of residential location also confirm the high association of Iranian diaspora residential distribution with the structural and infrastructural characteristics quality (Table 4.10, p. 188).

> "Now where I live is very green. There are mostly Germans, no, many young people are living there. Houses are nice and there are actually not many apartments. It is very quiet…The greenery and nature…Another point is that it is safe. Because it is far from the city center, you may never see a homeless in 24 hours of the day. I like that."

Also, as described below, some places and localities, by inducing a sense of progress in understanding the culture of the native majority and providing the platform for coexistence with community cultures distinctive from what was offered in Iran, provide value in regard to the sense of a 'new' home.

> "I want to go where there is "Originality" in the neighborhood and also in the people…I like the locations where the cultural middle and high middle class would live. I used to live in Victoria-Luise-Platz (Schöneberg) in an originally old German building... It is a neighborhood where you can experience the real German type of living. There are lots of possibilities for doing social activities, like lots of green places. It is also an alternative that shows people who have different living standards, I mean the gay community who are mostly living here. But the most important word to describe it is "originality". It was historical and it felt good and more like home."

5.4.3 Ethnic Place-making

Aiming to clarify the residential integration of Iranians in Berlin, focusing on the established ethnic community in each district, could provide worthy insight into the demographical behavior regarding ethnic placemaking. Thus, to investigate the extent of concentration of each nationality in Berlin's districts, I have presented a comparative analysis of the demographic behavior of some other nationalities that have significant history and share of the ethnic community in Berlin. The population of each nationality group is normalized based on the total population of that nationality in Berlin. The

normalized value indicates that what proportion of each nationality group belongs to each of Berlin's districts. As demonstrated (Figure 5.7), the population of Iranians in Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf is even more concentrated than the ethnicities such as Turkish and Arab communities, with a bold concentration in districts like Kreuzberg and Neukölln. The same result emerges by comparing the demographic behavior of some other nationalities with comparable populations as Iranians in Berlin (Figure 5.8).

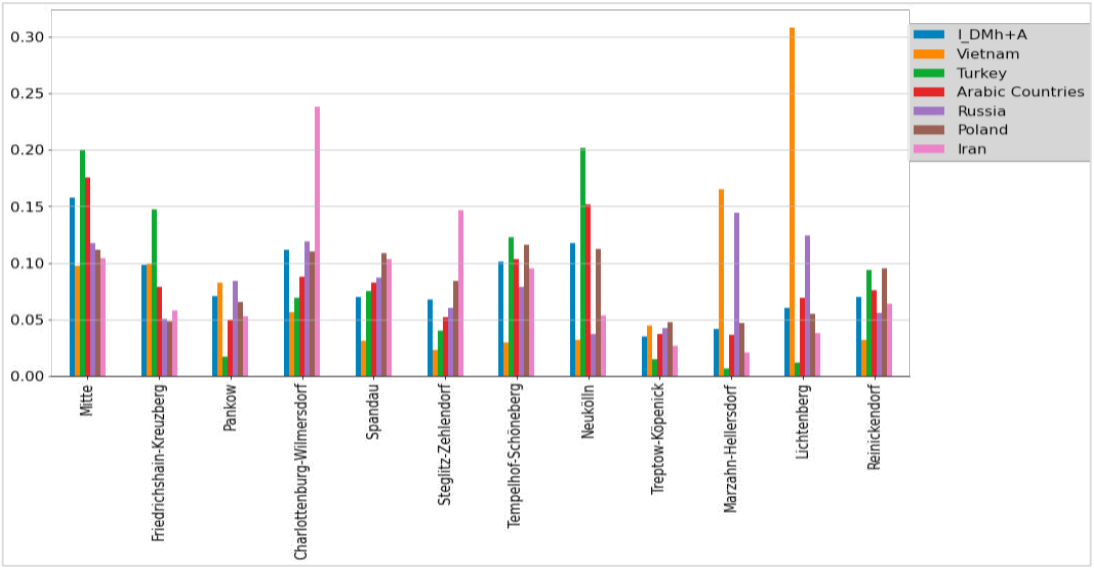

Figure 5.7: Comparative Presentation of Nationalities with the Largest Population in Berlin's Districts

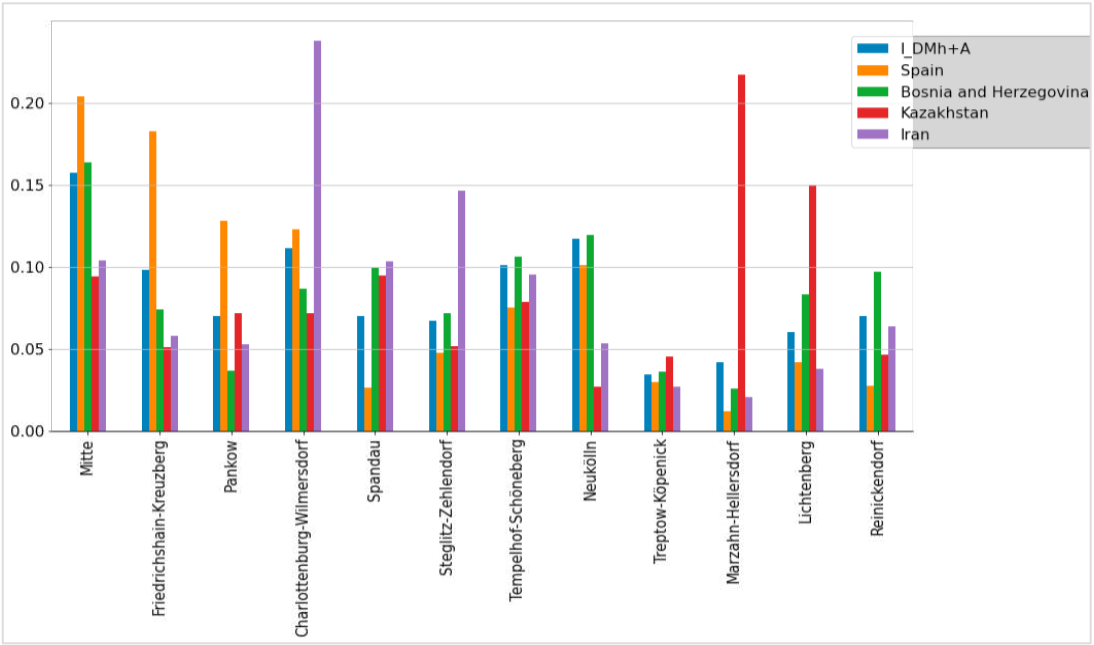

Figure 5.8: Comparative Presentation of Nationalities with Similar Population in Berlins' Districts

Therefore, unlike the insight of many Iranian diasporas regarding their perception of social disparity, the settlement location of the Iranian diaspora is considerably concentrated. Regardless though, among Iranian immigrants, the closeness to other Iranians or Iranian ethnic places neither motivates local proximity nor holds much value in stimulating a sense of attachment and belonging. However, the motivation lies in how the specific locality is perceived and known among mainstream society. Therefore, familiarity with their ethnic culture and nostalgia do not necessarily bring comfort and feeling at home. However, the sense of upward mobility to better neighborhoods appears to be more important than proximity to own or other close ethnic cultures.

> "I hear Persian sometimes in my neighborhood (Charlottenburg). That to me is a positive thing unlike the others. I do not want to run from Iranians. I like them to be around. But it is not the reason that I like the neighborhood."

Altogether, living in the proximity of co-ethnics fosters cultural and group cohesion by strengthening social networks via spatial concentration, but it is not a necessary factor. Certain ethnicities have more tendency to live in ethnic neighborhoods than others.
From the lens of the spatial assimilation theory (D. S. Massey & Denton, 1985), Iranians in Berlin tend to improve their spatial position by living in a better-off neighborhood. However, the better neighborhood is inspired by the qualities such as "better schools, more prestige, and richer amenities" (D. S. Massey, 1985, p. 320).
Hence, even in the cases that the demographical behavior of an ethnic (Iranian diaspora in this research) confirms the pattern of ethnic placemaking, the ethnic effect could portray a different story.

5.4.4 Ethnic Community Formation

As mentioned earlier, the demographic behavior of the Iranian settlement pattern demonstrates a significant concentration in some specific neighborhoods in Berlin, even though the ethnic capital is not necessarily considered a potential resource for experiencing a sense of home. On the contrary, lower community cohesion among Iranian immigrants is the outcome of creating ethnic boundaries. Overall, Iranian highly-skilled immigrants neither identified themselves through an Iranian community in Berlin nor believed that any groups and communities could represent them.

> "I found the ones (Iranians) who I can connect to. There are very different Iranian groups. So many small Iranian groups have different values and styles so everyone can find their own group here."

The lack of cohesion among Iranians can be described as fragmented and heterogeneous social groups that lack ethnic solidarity and instead rely on closed small friendship groups with stronger social ties. However, as discussed below, different reasons have been realized as obstacles to forming a robust ethnic community.

> "I do not know whether there is a community at all. I cannot compare it to Turks, for example. I think there is no community. And I think it is a positive point. Because then that helps them to integrate."

5.4.4.1 Media and Pre-judgments

The ongoing discourse of immigrants' integration necessities in general, alongside the media representation of Iran as a culture, and also Iranians as a diaspora in Germany, not only influences how the host majority view and appreciate the Iranians' ethnic identity but also plays a role in the way Iranian immigrants perceive and negotiate their individuality as an immigrant in Germany.

> "In the end, there are small things that happened. Like they wanted to cook specific food for me when they invited me, they wanted it to be halal. They think that they are doing a favor by doing that, but I may not care and do not want to be separated from others. I did not like it because that person has a pre-judgment of what I eat based on my nationality."

This duality, in many cases, translates into the act of "Non-Islamiosity" (Gholami, 2014), avoiding Muslims and ignoring Islam while being open to other religions, such as Christianity, but overall being irreligious. As many believe, being an Iranian with all the daily political news is not an easy position on its own; even in a city like Berlin, living and identifying oneself as a Muslim worsens the situation.

> "Iranians for example, have a very high tendency to be friends with Europeans, Germans. I am not saying that they are successful. But they try. On the other hand, if you look, there are not many Iranians who want or have Arab friends for example…"

Moreover, the general lack of knowledge on the reality of everyday life of a diaspora within their borders resulted in experiencing a situation in which many felt downplayed, embarrassed, and judged by their nationality in different positions, such as at work, in university, and sometimes in public space.

> "It happened only before that my boss told me that I should increase my self-confidence. He thinks that it is something we all have coming from Iran. Because women cannot express their opinions freely in Iran's society. But for me, it is because I am not exactly aware of the system..."

These experiences either result in downplaying Iranian identity and certainly distancing from other Middle Easterners to avoid being classified by specific customs and religion,

as means to integrate in Germany, or being disappointed and alienated from the host society, which affects their perception and feelings of belonging.

> "Because there could be sets of prejudice towards Middle Eastern countries, as our societies are patriarchal. In particular, German women do not trust much Middle-Eastern men."

5.4.4.2 Reverse Cultural Alienation

In the ethnic community discussion, there is an ongoing attempt among some participants (in some cases entirely unconsciously) to be distinguished separately from other Iranians by an act of "Reverse cultural alienation" (Bryceson and Vuorela, 2002, as cited in McGhee et al., 2015). This concept presents immigrants who attempt to differentiate themselves from co-nationals who hold a lower level of cultural capital and are perceived as "not valued by others" from their point of view (Bryceson and Vuorela, 2002, as cited in McGhee et al., 2015).

> "Lots of people from Iran had told me not to communicate and be friends with Iranians. So, I thought what is it? There are good and bad people in every nationality. But in the end, I realized I could not communicate with them. They are not friendly to me. I mean all of them I knew from Uni. I could not have the same area of interest as most of them. We came from different worlds and lines of thought… So, I think Iranians do not have a basis for communication. They are mostly racist, sexist, etc., which is a no-go for me."

It seems that the social boundary-making around other Iranians is supposed to foster better integration outcomes (Moghaddari, 2016), which is not limited to class comparisons by constructing class hierarchy and distance between the high-skilled Iranian immigrants and Iranian refugees. It is believed among the Iranian diaspora that engaging too much in the Iranian immigrant social and organizational setting would be against integration processes and the notion of upward mobility in Germany.

5.4.4.3 Upward Mobility and Lower Necessity

From the ethnic culture point of view, the upward mobility among highly-skilled Iranian immigrants can reflect the lower necessity of ethnic community formation (Bozorgmehr, 2000). It can be pointed out that the immigrants who immigrate in the hope of experiencing upward mobility, and put much effort into gaining educational validity and integrating into the German society, pay much less attention to their ethnic community, especially in the larger scales than private gatherings. Especially among student immigrants, attaining a higher educational level decreases their need to form a robust ethnic network.

> "They (highly-skilled Iranian immigrants in Berlin) are mostly professionals and experts, mostly belong to the middle and upper middle class, and also have some kind of duality in integrating here. More like a cultural alimentation. They would easily put their Iranian culture aside. So from German's point of view, Iranians integrate well. But from my point of view, it also means that we do not have any belonging and commitment to our own Iranian culture. So from their side, it is a positive thought, but it is negative completely from my point of view."

5.4.4.4 Different Political Orientation and Trust Issue

Iranians' political and ideological cultural difference creates distrust and skepticism (van den Bos & Achbari, 2007). Due to relatively many supporters of Iran's exiled opposition and their communities and institutions in Berlin, many new immigrants, with the fear of engaging in an unnecessary political atmosphere, avoid the collective community institutions despite being indistinguishable in many cases. Moreover, many do not necessarily trust other Iranians, especially in expressing their opinions concerning the current socio-political situation in Iran. Access to many online groups of highly-skilled Iranian immigrants is controlled, and any discussions and opinion-sharing on everyday life's social and political news related to Iran and sometimes Germany are reported and asked to be avoided.

> "There are not lots of Iranians that I knew. I know these groups because I saw some Iranians in Uni. They told me about this Telegram group, and then the admin interviewed me somehow (Laugh) and asked where I study and what I am doing in Berlin. Then I became a member there. But I only went to their events maybe three times."

Overall, not only in Berlin, the Iranian diaspora, as mentioned previously, is fragmented and diverse by ideology, class, cultural values, and reason for migration (Khosravi, 2018; Spellman, 2004). Even among the smaller social groups, this heterogeneity and fragmentation has resulted in a lack of social unity (Mcauliffe, 2007; Spellman, 2004) and consequently is not presentable as a stereotype of a nation outside their lands.

> "Legally I am part of the community, that is why I am a member of the Iranian society in Berlin. But from the point of having a similar character, no, I do not feel that. I feel we Iranians have similar rights and issues here but from a personal point of view and having the same concerns I think we are different… I do not think we can be a community."

5.4.5 Residential Mobility and Integration Impact

As the final note to this section, I explore the role of objective integration on the settlement choice as a form of spatial practice by comparing the settlement pattern of naturalized Iranians with Iranian immigrants. The settlement pattern of the new

immigrants will change over time based on the attainment of the new values objective integration process.

Through the positive correlation in the residential location of the two clusters, it is possible to argue that the process of naturalization, which showed a minimum length of stay of 8 years in Germany, alongside improved German language proficiency, the possibility of more substantial social and financial situation does not necessarily impact the spatiality of the residential location of Iranians in Berlin. Therefore, enhancing a sense of belonging and home-making through identification with places cannot be realized solely and confidently through the likelihood of mobility.

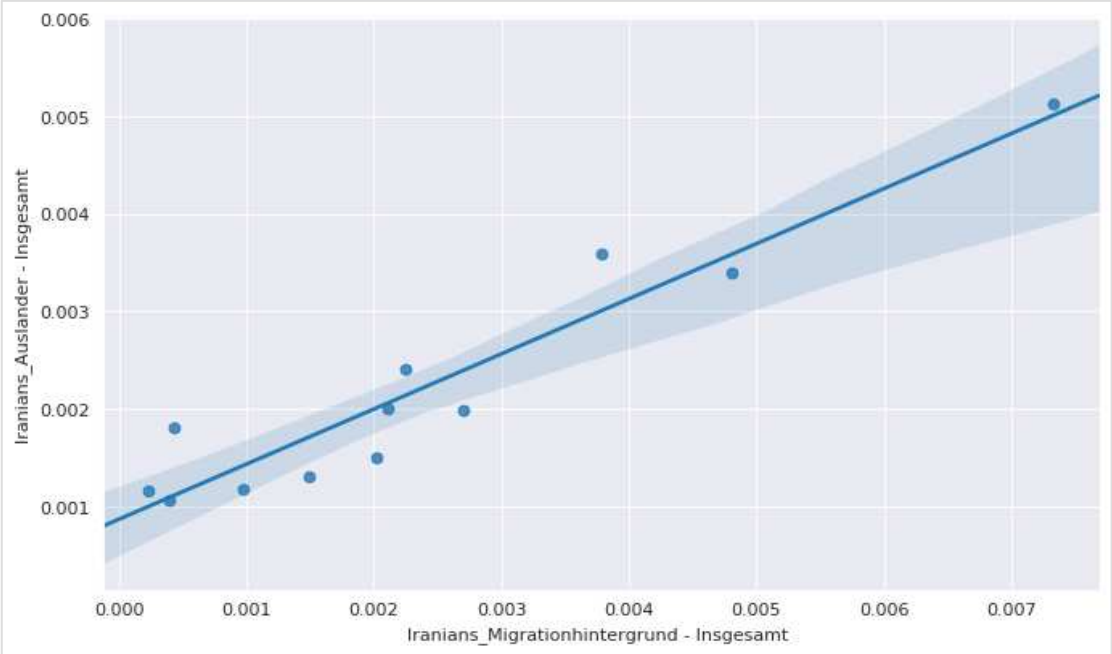

Figure 5.9: The Correlation of Iranian Immigrants and Naturalized Population Pattern in Berlin's Districts

5.5 Subjective Well-being

5.5.1 Being Integrated

Based on the vagueness of the notion of integration (Ager & Strang, 2008; Castles et al., 2002), I have explored and presented the indicators and concepts behind integration from the highly-skilled Iranian immigrants' point of view.

In general, having close social interaction in the form of creating friendships with the host society (specifically Germans) is considered a sign of being an integrated immigrant;

> "I think I am not integrated with Germans. In a sense that I cannot communicate. Maybe because it is a problem of language. I cannot be friends with them the same as us."

Or with other forms of close social interaction such as interethnic relationships or marriage:

> "I know some who integrated and found German boyfriends, girlfriends, or husbands or wives. Professionally I think Iranians are in general good foreigners. I and the rest of the Iranians are not against making German friends or becoming more integrated in the scope of having a relationship with German society. But mostly it is not very acceptable."

Moreover, the general idea of integration entails having 'Common concerns' and 'involvement';

> "…integration means having 'same concerns' or 'sympathy'…when belonging means that you are integrated in this life, and with people, I think living here is more of an informative thing. It means that I am still absorbing and am more curious about this place than engaged with it. So it is interesting for me to know the German culture and living, but does it mean that I am involved in it? I do not think so."

There are huge and quite visible endeavors for integration among Iranian immigrants in Germany. Regarding structural integration, especially among the highly skilled, there is a higher probability of initially belonging to a particular social and financial class that improves the situation for integration way before immigration by engaging with the English language from an early age. Although almost all participants mentioned that they think Iranians are generally better 'integrated' than other immigrant groups, what has been referred to as integration is reaching a level of objective indicators that is sufficient for the official naturalization processes. However, from their perception, these factors do not lead them to become 'real' German citizens.

> "And consequently, financially, Iranians would integrate fast and find their ways. Because they are hopeless about having a life in Iran and put lots of effort into building their life here. So, officially it seems that they are integrated. But I see it as completely negative. Formally it is positive (objective). But they are not emotionally and subjectively integrated. They normally do not have any similar concerns with this society. They do not have interethnic social interaction. They do not do any voluntary work here etc."

As mentioned above, one indicator of integration is defined as having more interaction with the host population, which it perceives as not attained.

> "They try hard to be integrated. But how they are successful in that... I think they want more to show that they are integrated with others but within, they are not. The way of thinking and line of beliefs and etc. is not advanced or changed."

Two factors have been mentioned as the reasons for the social segregation, in cases other than necessary interaction, of Iranian immigrants in Berlin from the host society: Lack of language proficiency, resulting in limited social contact, and the difference, or at least the perception of difference, in culture.

> "…Language and finding non-Iranian Friends… Also in that case, I think most Iranian women can communicate more easily. Because there could be sets of prejudice towards Middle Eastern countries, as our societies are patriarchal. In particular, German women do not trust much Middle-Eastern men."

> "…I and the rest of Iranians are not against making German friends or becoming more integrated in the scope of having a relationship with German society. But mostly it is not very acceptable."

With all explained, the general belief is that unavoidable obstacles and barriers are on the path to integration, which is either linked to the differences in cultures or, as believed, the lack of mutual understanding.

> "At the end of the day, there are many situations where we cannot truly understand each other, there is nothing that I can do about it. I was raised some other way and used to work some other way. It is not that they want to ignore my way or I want to do that. It is just some differences, and it can get very frustrating in the long run."

5.5.2 The Practice of Belonging

While much of the previous research is on the 'state of immigrant's belonging', focusing on migrants with a more extended history of settlement in the host country or second-generation immigrants, due to focusing on relatively newer immigrants, the categories of finding that I presented in the following sections do not necessarily describe the 'state,' but rather the 'practice' of belonging. Therefore, the results can be unique and matchless with previously explored categories of belonging in the literature.

Although the sense of belonging is an individual and subjective matter, in this research, three significant strands have been identified that shape the fundamental influences on Iranian highly-skilled immigrants' sense of belonging to Berlin.

5.5.2.1 Social and Emotional Involvement

The first strand of belonging indicates social and emotional involvement, such as sensitivity and caring about what is happening in the socio-political scene of Berlin, following the news, caring for the living environment through participating in the community events, or, for instance, everyday practices of separating the trash beyond the obligation factor, implied as growing a feeling of belonging to Berlin.

> "I think when you reach a level that you become sensitive about what is going on, and you care about your surroundings and what is going on around you, it means that you have a sense of belonging to that place. I did not have that when I first came here. But now I can say I am more sensitive and care more. In everything. For example, in dividing your trash into wet and dry and plastic etc. For example, at first, I did not feel that this is my place, I wouldn't need to care about its environmental factors. But now I do."

> "Now and then I start reviewing German, although I do not use it. But I care. So I think, I would like to understand people, read books in German and enjoy it. So I think if someone says I do not feel belonged to here, they may not follow the news. But I do. So what is going on is important for me."

Collecting memories and identifying with places in the form of imagining oneself in the city and receiving friends or family members as guests entailed tightening foot on the Berlin ground are examples of emotional belonging.

> "…reaching to a point that, once my mom and dad came to visit me, when they left, I went to some of the places that I also had gone to with them, I had good memories of some of those places. Before that, I did not have any memory. So, for me, making a memory is the meaning of the sense of belonging."

A conceptual turning point through 'social comparisons of possessions' has been mentioned as a sign of belonging to a place. Visiting other cities and comparing different aspects of the visited locations with Berlin implies a sense of ownership over Berlin and a feeling of belonging.

> "When I was in Paris last week with my parents, there were moments when I saw something, I would say or think: "Oh, we have the same location or thing In Berlin, too". Unconsciously, I was comparing different aspects of Germany with Paris or France as if the things and spaces here belong to me or I belong to them."

Moreover, the presence of a social circle, regardless of the degree of intimacy as people whom one cares for or identifies oneself around, is pointed to as an indication of growing belonging.

> "I have a home here. For example, I visited Iran last year. When I was about to come back, I bought some souvenirs from Iran for my boss and neighbors. I thought to myself that in this stage there are some people here in Germany that you care about and pick souvenirs for. It is not now only a one-way street. So, it makes me feel good. Although our relationship is minimal."

> "The circle of people surrounding me defines home to me. Homeland is not limited to the borders."

5.5.2.2 Identification and Sympathy

The second strand is related to identification and sympathy with Berlin as a 'global' city that belongs to everyone. This line of thought first identifies Berlin as a neutral city that accommodates supranational citizens, and there is a mutual belonging to other citizens and the city in that regard.

> "When I first arrived, I had so much sense of not belonging to anywhere. Not to Iran and not here. But when I came to Berlin… I felt that now I belong to Berlin. I should say I do not feel I belong to Germany. Only Berlin. I felt that here is a good place. I saw some similarities between me and the other residents of this city. So, I found my people. Berlin for me is the center of the world. Berlin is for no one. That is why I feel at home. It is close to being this universal city. This culture is not old. So, no one comes from this culture of craziness and multiculturality. So, it belongs to everyone who is living here now. So, in 30 years it can change and lose this hybridity. So, Berlin being diverse and not being a place to be judged is interesting…"

The interpretation of Berlin as a place for world citizens and developing a sense of belonging based on this understanding affects the critical question of: 'where is home?' From this point of view, home can be defined beyond geographical boundaries, but at the same time, not so distant from the border of the homeland. Among highly-skilled Iranian immigrants 'Home' can be a shared place for a collective subculture.

> "Compatriotism is sometimes more tangible with a Syrian friend than with an Iranian who comes from the same city. The border of the contract that makes us Iranians is of little importance."

> "I may feel closer and more compatriot with my friend from Baghdad. The Middle East is like a big pot and we are from the same root."

Regardless of what has been categorized, some elements are embedded within the notion of home and belonging as inconvertible, leading to two points of view.
One identifies Iran as where one's roots are as the core for placement of belonging and home with the fundamental arguments that the home is one's fatherland where one's roots are and the culture one grows into.

> "I know the language (German) and I understand the subcultures like being straight and .... but I do not consider Germany as a homeland. I feel safe and comfortable in Germany,

> but I cannot say that this is my homeland. Because I grew up in Iran, and I am the product of the culture in which I grew up and it belongs to me."

Alongside having shared memory and nostalgia, a sense of altruism and solidarity, and empathy are the arguments within realizing Iran as an eternal 'home.'

> "Shared memories in a society mean belonging and a sense of homeland. When we talk about the football game between Iran and Australia in the World Cup, we have a common memory, and we all know what we are talking about. When something bad happens in Iran, we understand exactly what people are suffering from, and we feel empathy."

> "I think personal memories and connections evoke a sense of belonging. If there is going to be a war in Iran, you are afraid because the people there are important to you, this is the sense of homeland."

The emotional trust and the domination over the ins and outs of everyday life in a place have been mentioned by participants as labeling the home country (Iran) as where one truly counts as a home, although not necessarily feel they belong there.

> "It is important to see what belonging means. For example, after being here for more than 5 years, whenever I am sick, I prefer to go to Iran to visit a doctor. This is because I do not trust the doctors here. I even prefer being hospitalized in Iran. But if I wanted to choose somewhere to have a standard life, it would be for sure Germany."

> "Although I took distance from there (Iran), in the end it is my city! But I cannot say that I feel I belong to there. But I can find my way in Tehran. I easily know everything about there, where should I go when I want to go to a cinema, which café is closer to my taste, how can I find a new job, where should I ask for help if I need it, how and where can I find new friends, etc."

Second, the vision of recognizing oneself as 'homeless' with Germany as a caregiver or in a transitional state of shifting belonging to it as the country of residence.

> "I was a product of Iran, but my homeland is not there. If all my dependencies were with me, I wouldn't miss it, and at the same time, I do not enjoy living in Germany. I do not know where my homeland is. I have many memories in Mashhad, so I love it. I follow the news in Iran, and the life and future of people in Iran are important to me, but I choose Germany as home for life, but I do not know where my homeland is."

> "I think I am losing belonging to anywhere. So it was a good question. Because I sometimes ask myself whether Berlin and Germany are the places I want to stay in. I do not know."

> "Any second, I feel I "Belong" less to Iran. I have some moments of belonging to any place I used to live in. It is more like a nostalgia."

Therefore, understanding the mechanism to answer the significant question of where one's home is and why will expose the motives for which some identify the home country as where one belongs and/or counts as home. On the other hand, others feel belonging to nowhere and experience a state of homelessness and non-belonging.

5.5.2.3 Practical Legitimization

Practical legitimization is referred to as being acknowledged, especially in professional settings such as the workplace. Besides, the feeling of being looked after and cared for has both emotional and negotiation sense.

> "Homeland is a place for me to feel useful and how willing I am to work to build and improve my living environment."

Another dimension is related to being valued and able to contribute to society at one's fullest potential. This translated into considering Berlin as the host for providing the platform for growth and productivity, as it was not offered in Iran.

> "If they (Berlin) support me legally, I feel that (sense of belonging) more and more. However, to me, this sense of belonging is not defined clearly. For example, I feel belonged if I am being respected and taken more seriously professionally. Or if I feel that they support my efforts (like I write an article and a newspaper or platform accepts to publish it)."

> "…where gives me possibility and position for progress, I consider it home."

What's more, having more agency gives a sense of contribution and belonging that could be found in the homeland, Iran.

> "I feel the belonging to Iran, but here in Germany, I am still curious. It is not that I do not care at all about what is going on. But I do not think that it is a long-term plan for me that I would like to be involved with this society. I think I would be beneficial more to Iran. Maybe that means that you choose to have a limited belonging to here…I am like a curious viewer in Berlin. That is why I think having citizenship change nothing for me. Because in the end, I do not think that I am effective in the system or completely beneficial if I try to involve myself more."

This section illustrated further the association between higher education and overall structural integration level and the perception of being a useful member with agency and potential for growth. As for some, with high expectations for progress, the higher level of integration in the labor market was an indicator of the inadequacy of room for progress, inclusion, and emotional fulfillment (Eijberts & Ghorashi, 2017). The results pointed to the notion of the integration paradox that needs further exploration (Geurts, Lubbers, & Spierings, 2020).

Overall, Although the general assessment of many Iranian immigrants regarding Germany is not yet translated as belonged or perceived as 'Home' when referring to the socio-spatial aspect of Berlin, the notion of belonging is translated inversely, and Berlin is encountered as a place that many Iranian highly-skilled immigrants have the prospect to call home.

“I have the sense of belonging to Berlin. I think Berlin as a city has the potential to be loved and appreciated as a second city for me. It has the potential to transform me from a resident to a citizen. The reason for that is that there is freedom in the way you want to be… From the urban point of view, being green is really interesting. Also, the variety in urban spaces is interesting to me. You have different types of urban fabric in Berlin. From green to open spaces, to completely residential neighborhoods.”

5.6 Discussion and Conclusion

The research shaped the significant arguments based on the guiding research question by examining the role of migrant s' geography of experiences and its outcomes on their integration processes through a bottom-up approach: **How and to what extent the objective integration processes and the socio-spatial practices of highly-skilled Iranian immigrants in Berlin outline and influence their sense of belonging to their new home?**

This research primarily uncovers a link between the socio-political circumstances and the negotiation of belonging in the new society through the transformation of migration intention. From 2008 onward, within the time frame of the migration of the sample group of this research, the socio-political and financial events in Iran, such as the presidential election protest and the 80 percent currency collapse due to the accumulative effect of the sanctions, altered the migration intention of many, from temporary to permanent. Therefore, Iranian international students are categorized as highly-skilled immigrants (Weinar & Klekowski von Koppenfels, 2020).

The initial research question inquires about the home-making path of Iranian immigrants in Berlin:

These findings reveal the dynamic character of the integration process with a cooperative outlook through its objective and subjective aspects. It exposes that integration cannot be seen as a dichotomy. There is no linear path in the integration process, and more importantly, it cannot be seen as a step-based marathon one can reach its final stage. Alongside this, the process of home-making and belonging is unilinear and temporal. Immigrants define a new understanding of the dynamic aspect of home and belonging through a complex social and spatial relation, as Boccagni (2017) calls "homing", to emphasize the vibrant sense of meaning-making in the process.

Further, the research investigates the objective integration process that outlines and influences Iranian immigrants' sense of belonging:

I analyzed the structural or objective aspect of integration with attention to the history of individuals and ethnic life and by limiting the social category of immigrants to highly-skilled Iranians. The findings reveal that speaking in the host society's language is considered an indicator for faster integration, both objectively and subjectively. In addition, the narratives suggest that language proficiency has a crucial impact in the context of the workplace, which can exclude those who do not meet the expectations

(Blommaert, Collins, & Slembrouck, 2005). Although forming close friendships at the workplace is not expected, the disappointment lies in weak ties that foster their identity and social affirmation. Moreover, the exclusion is caused by the Iranian highly-skilled immigrant s' incapability to exercise their power in negotiating and persuasion in the workplace when the other party is dominated in the language (German). This almost unalterable condition results in less space for improvement and, consequently, a sense of disappointment in the workplace, while language, immigrants' perception and experiences in their everyday lives, and the environmental and social conditions that influence their personal and ethnic identity (McGhee et al., 2015), affect their perception of their integration and lower the level of self-confidence. This lack of self-confidence in everyday social practices in the public spaces results in timidity about speaking German and appearing as an English-speaking tourist instead of an immigrant with average German proficiency in Berlin. The invisibility works as a mechanism to acquire an intended dignity. Therefore, I argue that, in the case of Iranian highly-skilled immigrants, it is not only borrowing a foreign vocabulary (Schimany & Kohlmeier, 2005) but the overall performative language in everyday social interaction that involves the "questions of prestige and power" (Schimany & Kohlmeier, 2005, p. 36).

Moreover, German citizenship is a medium that provides both rights and duties alongside benefits, and political power offers more security concerning discrimination. However, the process of naturalization is seen as an arrangement in exchange for adaptation and acculturation. Therefore, it does not carry emotional entities and a sense of identity among Iranian highly-skilled immigrants. As Simonsen (2017) studied, granting citizenship could only determine the immigrant's feeling of belonging if the host nationals credit this political right to indicate who belongs. Although the specific implication of this statement was not studied, the political right of citizenship was only mentioned to be a solution for socio-economic integration, especially regarding access to the housing market in Berlin, both in case of eligibility for a mortgage and closing a long-term rental agreement.

The second section of the research examines how the identification and perception of Iranian immigrants' locality and Berlin's urban spaces affect their placemaking and sense of belonging to the new home.

The settlement pattern and population distribution of Iranian highly-skilled immigrants can demonstrate their perception of the urban spaces of Berlin that has led to choosing certain neighborhoods and, at the same time, the reciprocal influence of their

neighborhoods of choice on their perception of the urban spaces of Berlin. I employed quantitative analysis to explore the socio-spatial characteristics of Berlin's districts to study the possible motives behind the residential concentration choice and also assess to what extent these characteristics are dominant within the proximity of the locality that Iranian immigrants had chosen as their residential location that can play a role in their process of place-making. With the available demographic data, the settlement pattern of Iranian immigrants has been evaluated and demonstrated the following:

- **Identification through space**

What has been narrated regarding the desirable neighborhood in Berlin reveals that the spatial practices among Iranian highly-skilled immigrants are closely associated with how they would like to portray themselves in the new society through their complex process of identity construction. Therefore, they would feel mostly belonged when their appearance and being in the city is aligned with their identification practice, regardless of the Berlins' districts' general features.

- **Diversity impact in transitional localities**

To better formulate this part of the discussion, I draw on the concept of contact zones within the debate of power relations defined as social spaces where different cultures encounter (Pratt, 1991). The notion of place has been inserted within this definition by (Robinson et al., 2007) to conceptualize contact zones for new immigrants. The primarily inner-city areas with a precious history of welcoming immigrant groups from past decades are introduced as the immigrants' established contact zones. These areas are entitled to faster population change and overcrowding while providing safety and security for most immigrant groups. In addition, the high diversity of such regions enhances interactions between new immigrants and established residents.

Berlin is among the European cities considered an ideal city for immigrants. However, due to the vast cultural activities and different ethnic neighborhoods that offer various services and products, living in the city has become the Germans' and newcomers' demand, therefore, due to the housing crisis, some newly arrived high-skilled Iranian immigrants are bound to settle in — "zones of transition" (Schwirian, 1983, as cited in Pemberton & Phillimore, 2016) or "Second contact zones" (Robinson et al., 2007) that accommodate mostly the working-class citizens in the periphery of Berlin's center that forms around social housing.

These districts have two significant shortcomings. First, as stated by narrators of this research, these districts have fewer places for interaction or "third places" (Oldenburg, 1991) and also implicate less attachment to place (Livingston et al., 2010). Therefore, the newcomers may not feel at home in their local place, negatively affecting their sense of belonging.

Furthermore, aligned with previous studies, Iranian middle-class newcomers had limited social interactions at the neighborhood level in these districts with working-class residents and instead lived parallel lives (Pinkster, 2014; Savage et al., 2005; Watt, 2009). The findings on their spatial knowledge and extent of public space use revealed that new immigrants neglected regular use: they stated that they stayed in the city due to the burden of professional accomplishment. Therefore, the limited movement in the city reduces the frequency of contact in these urban spaces as an essential aspect of social life (Aelbrecht, 2016). Lack of continuity and the ordinary sense of these contacts, which is only possible in each individual's routines, leads to not feeling at home in their local place. As previously reported, contact with locals, even in the form of small talk, is a significant predictor of place attachment, even in areas that do not convey the best quality (Kohlbacher et al., 2015). While the findings reveal that newly-arrived Iranians did not sense any visible differences (Wessendorf, 2017), having less contact and, as narrated, the disparity in either class or lifestyle abstain them from spontaneously blending in their local proximity and "feel accepted in their otherness" (van Leeuwen, 2010, as cited in Wessendorf, 2017).

Moreover, the concept of contact zones implies the intersection of immigrants' experience and ethnic diversity as a place characteristic.

Although the second contact zones host some immigrant workers, they have a relatively limited history of being ethnic settlements for the newly arrived and emerging diversity. Three Districts of Berlin located in the east (Marzahn-Hellersdorf, Treptow-Köpenick, and Lichtenberg) have significantly lower ethnic diversity than other districts of Berlin (just 10% of the district population) in comparison to the 35% average share in Berlin. As embeddedness (Portes, 1995) implies, a sense of security and identity is provided through the established ethnic communities where the diversity of the new immigrant's locality is low (Yuval-Davis, 2006). However, there are significantly higher shares of Iranian immigrants than naturalized Iranians within the mentioned districts. At the same time, the data revealed a similar percentage of Iranian immigrants and naturalized Iranians in most districts of Berlin. As Finney and Jivraj (2013) stated, a sense of

belonging is associated with co-ethnic density concerning ethnic minorities. Hence, there are almost no established ethnic communities in these localities that can stimulate the newly-arrived Iranian immigrants' belonging who live in these transition zones.

In contrast, a sizeable population of Iranian immigrants lives in ethnically diverse districts of Kreuzberg, Neukölln, and Wedding, occupied over 50% with non-Germans, hosting predominantly Arab and Turkish ethnicities. Some studies argued that ethnic minorities have a desire to live in proximity to their own or similar ethnic groups (Bolt et al., 1998; Phillips, 2007), emphasizing the interactions within the spatial scale of the neighborhood between residents of the same cultural, ethnic and almost similar social situation, which can promote upward mobility of the inhabitants. However, although the overall multiculturality of Berlin is appreciated as an alternative to blending in, being identified by the ethnicities who live in the districts perceived as mono rather than multi-ethnic, accommodating only Turkish and Arab ethnicities, is not regarded as positive among Iranian immigrants' and negativity affects their attachment and prospect of integration.

Thus, as the previous literature explored otherness between the white middle-class and minority groups (El-Tayeb, 2011) and interethnic boundary-making (Moghaddari, 2020), through drawing boundaries as an ethnic minority against another minority, many Iranian immigrants realize the negative impacts of spatial concentration of ethnicities as the basis for exclusion and increase the negative discernment of mainstream society and count it as a drawback to integrating into the scale of the city.

- **Ethnic place-making**

Unlike the insight of the Iranian diaspora on their perception of social disparity, the two districts of Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf and Steglitz-Zehlendorf, located on the West side of Berlin, are the primary residents' location of both Iranian immigrants and the Iranian diaspora. Although the Iranian-related businesses are concentrated in these neighborhoods, and the spaces of consumption like restaurants and ethnic grocery shops can be the 'ethnic markers' that can imply a sense of belonging for immigrants (Rabikowska and Burrell, 2009, as cited in McGhee et al., 2015), the clustering of Iranians in these two districts doesn't seem motivated by closeness to other Iranian cultures and to hold much value in stimulating a sense of attachment and belonging. In contrast, the motivation lies in urban quality. The correlation analysis confirmed this finding by significant correlation of the Iranian settlement location with *Gute*

Wohnlage (good residential areas) in Berlin, alongside the sense of upward mobility and how others perceive the specific locality. Therefore, familiarity with their ethnic culture and nostalgia do not necessarily bring comfort and feeling at home. Albeit the population concentration, they mostly have more tendency to differentiate themselves from other Iranians (Moghaddari, 2020) and even more with culturally close ethnicities. There are three main motives behind this behavior:

First, the imprecise representation of everyday life in Iran through German media creates a picture of constant conflict and struggle in Iranian life, resulting in a preconceived notion about the economic and social situation in Iran and conveying unusual conversation through their everyday social interaction that negatively influences how they perceive and negotiate their own identity as an immigrant in Germany. These experiences result in downplaying Iranian identity and surly distancing from similar cultures and ethnicities, also interpreted as "Non-Islomiosity" (Gholami, 2018): avoiding Muslims and ignoring Islam. As Khosravi (2011) argued, through "performing whiteness," the Iranians attempt to differentiate themselves from the so-called visible groups to increase their chance of integration, while living in a mono-ethnic neighborhood that hosts many Middle-Eastern immigrants is believed to result in the generalization of Iranian nationality associated with the second point.

Second, reverse cultural alienation explains the act of Iranian immigrants who attempt to differentiate themselves from their co-nationals who hold a lower level of cultural capital and are perceived as "not valued by others" (Bryceson and Vuorela, 2002, as cited in McGhee et al., 2015).

Third, Iranians' political, ideological, and cultural differences create distrust and skepticism (Mcauliffe, 2007; Spellman, 2004). As a result, many Iranian immigrants neither identified themselves as members nor believed that there was any community in Berlin; Furthermore, they avoided membership in more established Iranian organizations with the fear of choosing a specific political orientation.

These aspects intrigued the community formation and place-making of the Iranian immigrant's case study not only in the scope of the neighborhoods but as a mechanism in the use of urban space to stay invisible.

- **Mixed-method**

As the following map exhibits, the residential distribution of Iranians within Berlin's neighborhoods is heterogeneous, with the central and western concentration in Charlottenburg and Wilmersdorf neighborhoods. Although the demographical behavior of the Iranian diaspora confirms the pattern of ethnic placemaking, the demographic maps cannot explain the ethnic and social disparity and fragmentation among Iranian diaspora, in general, and Iranian immigrants, in particular. Vice versa, studying the ethnic placemaking of Iranians without investigating the neighborhood preferences of a large sample cannot demonstrate and verify the density in the residential location as an implication for placemaking. Therefore, regarding the methodology for this research, qualitative methods like interviews, although bringing flexibility to the research, may not capture the whole picture by inquiring about emotions regarding places, activities, and engagements (Mendoza & Morén-Alegret, 2013). Consequently, this research reasoned that a combination of statistical representation, scale, and personal and emotional perspectives through a multi-dimensional approach is needed to catch the complexity of the people and place relations (Madanipour, 2014).

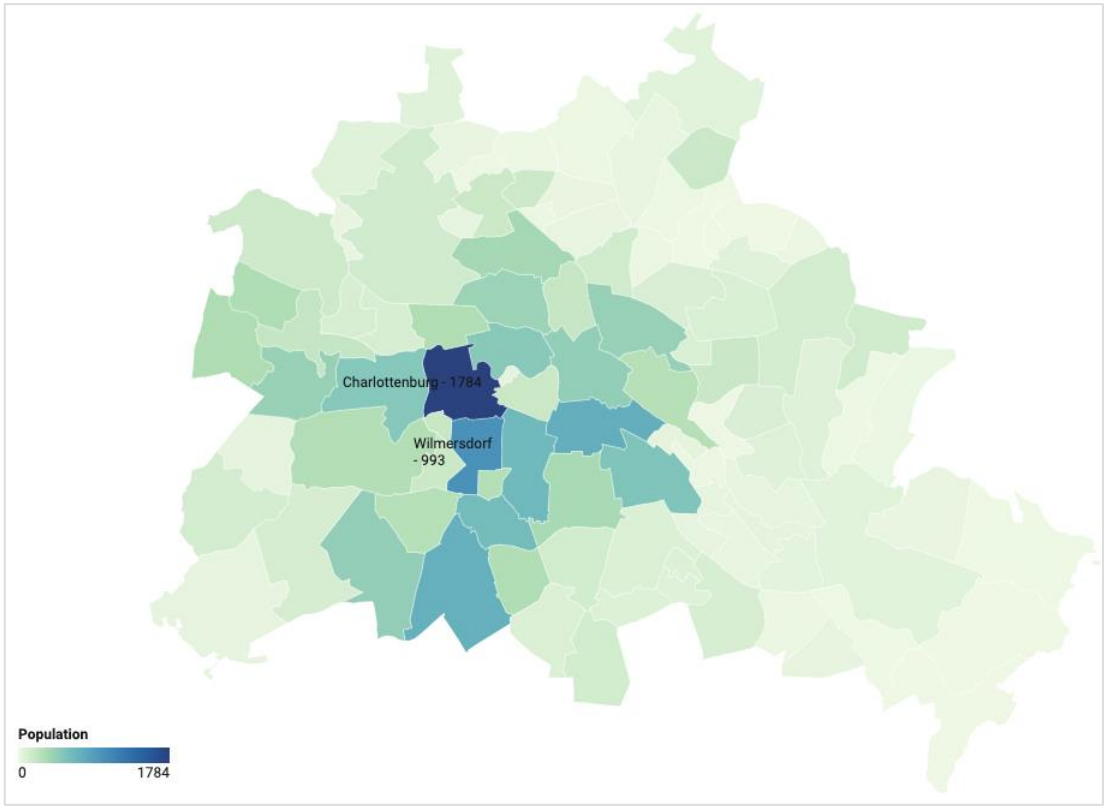

Figure 5.10: Choropleth Map of Iranian Diaspora in Berlin

As a final observation, Iranian highly-skilled immigrants are successful in integrating objectively, but while having sufficient competency, their sense of belonging to Berlin is only partially linked to the possibility of accessing equal opportunity through their objective integration processes. Furthermore, alongside the national history of Germany (Sadeghi, 2014) and the political value system, insufficiency in socio-cultural interactions with the host society derived from a lack of mutual sensitivity and acceptance regarding ethnic cultures, exposed within the everyday extent of social interactions, impact the Iranian immigrant's ability to identify themselves as an integral part of German society.

Moreover, regarding their state of belonging, it could be concluded that the following impact their sense of belonging and place-making:

- The sequence of socio-ethnic culture in regard to the denotation of home and belonging;
- Iranian high-skilled immigrants' efforts towards reaching a level of upward mobility that overshadow their attempt to shape social and spatial interaction with Berliners and Berlin itself, which manifests both in their perception and use of urban space;
- And finally, the identification practice and the distancing oneself from the public image of Iran and Iranians as an act of reassurance and self-protection against the generalization of adjacent nationalities that is traced in the intersection of demographical settlement distribution of Iranians in Berlin

Exploring the spatial practice of Iranian immigrants, as the main focus of this research, revealed that place is understood as a location with both physical and social meaning, where immigrants can imply as welcoming or exclusionary. The identity and culture prevailing in a place cannot only provide security and a sense of belonging for individuals, but it can also lead to the isolation of those who are distinctive and different.

In review, different dimensions of place matter in the experiences of new immigrants; however, elucidating the details and their interconnectivity of the elements and outcomes is challenging. For instance, much literature explored that the local arena diversity has a positive correlation with the experience of immigrants regarding their sense of place. However, as stated in this research, ethnically diverse areas are sometimes perceived as inadequate and considered a negative factor in the experience

of belonging and attachment. Therefore, there is a multifaceted relationship between the variable of context while considering the element of culture.

In closing, the process of belonging through an urban practice lens reveals the complexity of place-related characteristics and dynamics. By uncovering the Iranian immigrant s' interpretation of where they live and where they use or where they are present in the city, this research provides new insight into the link between individuals' and ethnicities' perceptions of daily social interaction, spatial practices, and constructing the narratives of belonging.

5.7 Research Limitation

This research identifies the variables influencing how the immigrants' experiences shape and are impacted by relevance at a particular spatial scale. The main spatial scales are the local scale (the neighborhood) and public space (individuals' presence in and routine use of what counts as Berlin's urban public space). Considering buildings, layouts, qualities and forms of personal living spaces, and some of the qualities of the built environments were not considered, as they did not fit the scope of this research. Nevertheless, it is vital that the defined indicators of belonging, as the main agenda of this research, would be measurable and operationalized.

Neighborhood as a socio-spatial arena is being used in theories and research, although there is no agreement on its exact meaning and borders. Administrative borders like zip codes are being used in research and policies concerning neighborhood boundaries. However, how residents identified their neighborhoods has not been taken into consideration. In this research, the residents' perception and use of the local space depend on the participants' perception of the neighborhood's outline. Thus, the borders define themselves in the proximity of the user's opinion.

Another limitation of this study is that not all official neighborhoods could participate in the interviewees' discussions due to time constraints. Therefore, a random sampling approach was used instead of carefully choosing the case studies based on each Berlin neighborhood. The study sites were discussed according to the participant's preference (in the case of settlement location) or even the obligation of their locality and urban public space use. However, this type of sampling admits the most illustrative selection from the likely population. However, potential members of the Iranian population included within the main criteria could not present the spatial practice of all districts.

It should be mentioned that the feature of the sense of place may differ based on different cultures. There is a specific cultural context (a particular group of Iranian Immigrants) in analyzing the sense of belonging and place; these features, if not entirely different, can also be found to some extent among other cultures and ethnic groups.

5.8 Recommendation for Further Study

This research has focused on the overall migration experiences and home-making path for highly-skilled and educated Iranian immigrants who chose Germany and Berlin as their new cities. I argued that to illustrate the process, it is vital to consider and reflect on the events and circumstances of their migration journey, starting even before their migration. Previous literature discusses a distinction between temporary and long-term migration experiences (Ottonelli & Torresi, 2010; Tazreiter, 2019). As the intention for migration could have a significant influence on the process of subjective integration and a unique feeling of belonging, this research can be a departure point to investigate further how the socio-political shift in Iran during the recent decade has manifested in the Iranian highly-skilled Immigrants' home-making process by reflecting on a mindset shift from temporary to permanent migration decisions that I believe is unique to this period. Although the circumstances are different from the vast literature on the guest-worker program, there are similarities in the process of belonging in Germany. The initial temporality of migration results in highly-skilled Iranian immigrants focusing on their work, study, and livelihood more than investing in their socio-cultural link to the host society as the resource for their future sense of belonging. However, over time, many decided to call Germany their new home.

Moreover, this research narrated the relatively integrated and simultaneously disengaged highly-skilled immigrants and their dissatisfaction with their level of belonging. Further studies can examine the premise of the "integration paradox," among Iranian immigrants that can provide new angles and investigate the causalities (Geurts et al., 2020). Also, in the notion of integration paradox, the close association of objective integration and the emotional attachment to the host society is assessed. This paradox pointed out that more educated immigrants have a more negative view regarding their subjective integration perception, as discussed in this research regarding having equal opportunities and acceptance while comparing oneself to the host society. Therefore, future research should also focus on awareness of acceptance and discrimination (Steinmann, 2019) among Iranian immigrant groups concerning their visibility as an ethnic and in their spatial practice (Tuppat & Gerhards, 2021) as an indicator of inequality and social crisis that closely affects the sense of belonging.

Furthermore, investigating the transnational relation of migrants' sense of belonging to their home country, as the central theme of migration studies, also deals with the intersection of the ethnic community and place and acknowledges hybrid identities for immigrants. As the immigrants had forms of capital within their home country, migration results in a disjuncture between identity and place as the immigrant's experiences alter social location (Gilmartin, 2008). Therefore, closely investigating the intensity and strength of an individual's transnational relation as the unfixed and metaphoric places of belonging (Leitner & Ehrkamp, 2006) can be a site for the reconceptualization of home and identity belonging.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: LOR Planning area of Berlin

The values display the population of Iranians in each LOR planning area[12] of Berlin.

ID	Value	Street	ID	Value	Street
1011101	48	Stülerstraße	6030501	37	Berlepschstraße
1011102	0	Großer Tiergarten	6030502	30	Zehlendorf Süd
1011103	72	Lützowstraße	6030503	178	Zehlendorf Mitte
1011104	63	Körnerstraße	6030504	94	Teltower Damm
1011105	16	Nördlicher Landwehrkanal	6030605	39	Botanischer Garten
1011201	25	Wilhelmstraße	6030606	88	Hindenburgdamm
1011202	0	Unter den Linden Nord	6030607	50	Goerzwerke
1011203	6	Unter den Linden Süd	6030608	256	Schweizer Viertel
1011204	55	Leipziger Straße	6030609	105	Augustaplatz
1011301	48	Charitéviertel	6030610	49	Lichterfelde West
1011302	52	Oranienburger Straße	6040701	40	Wannsee
1011303	63	Alexanderplatzviertel	6040702	35	Düppel
1011304	41	Karl-Marx-Allee	6040703	67	Nikolassee
1011305	31	Heine-Viertel West	6040804	26	Krumme Lanke
1011306	40	Heine-Viertel Ost	6040805	16	Fischerhüttenstraße
1011401	86	Invalidenstraße	6040806	31	Fischtal
1011402	50	Arkonaplatz	6040807	62	Zehlendorf Eiche
1022101	40	Huttenkiez	6040808	81	Hüttenweg
1022102	38	Beusselkiez	6040809	59	Thielallee
1022103	6	Westhafen	6040810	137	Dahlem
1022104	110	Emdener Straße	7010101	114	Wittenbergplatz/ Viktoria-Luise-Platz
1022105	45	Zwinglistraße	7010102	126	Nollendorfplatz
1022106	84	Elberfelder Straße	7010103	62	Barbarossaplatz
1022201	86	Stephankiez	7010104	84	Dennewitzplatz
1022202	18	Heidestraße	7020201	56	Bayerischer Platz
1022203	26	Lübecker Straße	7020202	72	Volkspark (Rudolf-Wilde-Park)
1022204	44	Thomasiusstraße	7020203	110	Kaiser-Wilhelm-Platz
1022205	33	Zillesiedlung	7020204	42	Schöneberger Insel
1022206	26	Lüneburger Straße	7030301	166	Friedenau
1022207	39	Hansaviertel	7030302	53	Ceciliengärten
1033101	69	Soldiner Straße	7030303	93	Grazer Platz
1033102	26	Gesundbrunnen	7040401	64	Neu-Tempelhof
1033201	53	Brunnenstraße	7040402	3	Lindenhofsiedlung
1033202	26	Humboldthain Süd	7040403	144	Manteuffelstraße
1033203	42	Humboldthain Nordwest	7040404	12	Marienhöhe
1044101	77	Rehberge	7040405	75	Rathaus Tempelhof
1044102	50	Schillerpark	7040406	10	Germaniagarten
1044103	43	Westliche Müllerstraße	7050501	73	Rathausstraße
1044201	70	Reinickendorfer Straße	7050502	38	Fritz-Werner-Straße
1044202	85	Sparrplatz	7050503	18	Eisenacher Straße
1044203	76	Leopoldplatz	7050504	15	Imbrosweg
2010101	115	Askanischer Platz	7050505	27	Hundsteinweg
2010102	80	Mehringplatz	7050506	6	Birnhornweg
2010103	61	Moritzplatz	7060601	44	Marienfelder Allee Nordwest
2010104	23	Wassertorplatz	7060602	9	Kirchstraße
2020201	19	Gleisdreieck/Entwicklungsgebiet	7060603	7	Marienfelde Nordost
2020202	21	Rathaus Yorckstraße	7060604	66	Marienfelde Süd
2020203	34	Viktoriapark	7070701	46	Kettinger Straße/Schillerstraße
2020204	74	Urbanstraße	7070702	22	Alt Lichtenrade/

12 [Statistischer Bericht A I 16 – hj 2/ 19 LOR-Planungsräume]

					Töpchiner Weg
2020205	79	Chamissokiez	7070703	18	John-Locke-Straße
2020206	57	Graefekiez	7070704	22	Nahariyastraße
2030301	29	Oranienplatz	7070705	28	Franziusweg/ Rohrbachstraße
2030302	45	Lausitzer Platz	7070706	16	Horstwalder Straße/Paplitzer Straße
2030401	61	Reichenberger Straße	7070707	4	Wittelsbacherstraße
2030402	40	Wrangelkiez	8010115	12	Hasenheide
2040501	9	Barnimkiez	8010116	3	Wissmannstraße
2040502	18	Friedenstraße	8010117	57	Schillerpromenade
2040503	22	Richard-Sorge-Viertel	8010118	41	Silbersteinstraße
2040701	77	Andreasviertel	8010211	38	Flughafenstraße
2040702	18	Weberwiese	8010212	21	Rollberg
2040703	3	Wriezener Bahnhof/ Entwicklungsgebiet	8010213	40	Körnerpark
2050601	29	Hausburgviertel	8010214	36	Glasower Straße
2050602	38	Samariterviertel	8010301	92	Reuterkiez
2050801	34	Traveplatz	8010302	11	Bouchéstraße
2050802	46	Boxhagener Platz	8010303	41	Donaustraße
2050803	15	Stralauer Kiez	8010404	93	Rixdorf
2050804	11	Stralauer Halbinsel	8010405	16	Hertzbergplatz
3010101	18	Bucher Forst	8010406	12	Treptower Straße Nord
3010102	58	Buch	8010407	3	Gewerbegebiet Ederstraße
3010104	0	Lietzengraben	8010508	12	Weiße Siedlung
3020203	0	Blankenfelde	8010509	18	Schulenburgpark
3020209	32	Niederschönhausen	8010510	3	Gewerbegebiet Köllnische Heide
3020210	33	Herthaplatz	8020619	39	Buschkrugallee Nord
3020307	24	Buchholz	8020620	15	Tempelhofer Weg
3030405	28	Karow Nord	8020621	11	Mohriner Allee Nord
3030406	0	Alt-Karow	8020622	15	Parchimer Allee
3030711	6	Blankenburg	8020623	3	Ortolanweg
3030715	18	Heinersdorf	8020624	7	Britzer Garten
3030716	0	Märchenland	8020625	3	Handwerker-Siedlung
3040508	9	Rosenthal	8020726	12	Buckow West
3040512	23	Wilhelmsruh	8020727	45	Buckow Mitte
3040513	7	Schönholz	8020728	49	Buckow Ost
3040614	87	Pankow Zentrum	8030829	18	Gropiusstadt Nord
3040818	70	Pankow Süd	8030830	13	Gropiusstadt Süd
3050919	6	Gustav-Adolf-Straße	8030831	57	Gropiusstadt Ost
3050920	7	Weißer See	8040932	9	Goldhähnchenweg
3050923	27	Weißenseer Spitze	8040933	6	Vogelviertel Süd
3050924	13	Behaimstraße	8040934	6	Vogelviertel Nord
3050925	12	Komponistenviertel Weißensee	8041035	19	Blumenviertel
3051017	6	Rennbahnstraße	8041036	23	Zittauer Straße
3051021	18	Buschallee	8041037	30	Alt-Rudow
3051022	0	Hansastraße	8041038	31	Waßmannsdorfer Chaussee
3061126	51	Arnimplatz	8041039	6	Frauenviertel
3061131	34	Falkplatz	8041040	8	Waltersdorfer Chaussee Ost
3061227	38	Humannplatz	9010101	48	Elsenstraße
3061228	31	Erich-Weinert-Straße	9010102	0	Am Treptower Park Nord
3061332	62	Helmholtzplatz	9010201	6	Am Treptower Park Süd
3061429	18	Greifswalder Straße	9010202	18	Köpenicker Landstraße
3061430	15	Volkspark Prenzlauer Berg	9010301	22	Baumschulenstraße
3061434	28	Anton-Saefkow-Park	9010302	6	Späthsfelde
3061435	6	Conrad-Blenkle-Straße	9010401	3	Johannisthal West
3061441	0	Eldenaer Straße	9010402	15	Johannisthal Ost
3071536	43	Teutoburger Platz	9020501	21	Oberschöneweide West
3071537	57	Kollwitzplatz	9020502	49	Oberschöneweide Ost
3071633	6	Thälmannpark	9020601	41	Schnellerstraße
3071638	50	Winsstraße	9020602	9	Oberspree
3071639	29	Bötzowstraße	9020701	25	Adlershof West
4010101	197	Jungfernheide	9020702	44	Adlershof Ost

4010102	6	Plötzensee	9020801	4	Spindlersfeld
4010103	97	Paul-Hertz-Siedlung	9020802	4	Köllnische Vorstadt
4020204	3	Olympiagelände	9030901	6	Dorf Altglienicke
4020205	18	Siedlung Ruhleben	9030902	3	Wohngebiet II
4020206	45	Angerburger Allee	9030903	19	Kölner Viertel
4020207	42	Flatowallee	9031001	34	Bohnsdorf
4020208	35	Kranzallee	9031101	21	Grünau
4020209	32	Eichkamp	9031201	0	Karolinenhof
4020310	14	Park Ruhwald	9031202	0	Schmöckwitz/Rauchfangswerder
4020311	222	Reichsstraße	9041301	6	Kietzer Feld/Nachtheide
4020312	64	Branitzer Platz	9041302	3	Wendenschloß
4020313	77	Königin-Elisabeth-Straße	9041401	6	Allende I
4020314	0	Messegelände	9041402	0	Siedlung Kämmereiheide
4030415	98	Schloßgarten	9041403	10	Allende II
4030416	127	Klausenerplatz	9041501	7	Altstadt Kietz
4030417	101	Schloßstraße	9041601	0	Müggelheim
4030518	141	Tegeler Weg	9051701	10	Hirschgarten
4030519	96	Kaiserin-Augusta-Allee	9051702	14	Bölschestraße
4030620	152	Alt-Lietzow	9051801	3	Rahnsdorf/Hessenwinkel
4030621	41	Spreestadt	9051901	18	Dammvorstadt
4030622	190	Richard-Wagner-Straße	9052001	16	Köpenick Nord
4030623	119	Ernst-Reuter-Platz	10010101	9	Marzahn West
4030724	73	Lietzensee	10010102	16	Havemannstraße
4030725	142	Amtsgerichtsplatz	10010203	15	Gewerbegebiet Bitterfelder Straße
4030726	69	Droysenstraße	10010204	9	Wuhletalstraße
4030827	134	Karl-August-Platz	10010205	13	Marzahn Ost
4030828	97	Savignyplatz	10010206	31	Ringkolonnaden
4030929	94	Hindemithplatz	10010207	12	Marzahner Promenade
4030930	70	George-Grosz-Platz	10010308	0	Marzahner Chaussee
4030931	57	Breitscheidplatz	10010309	6	Springpfuhl
4031032	211	Halensee	10010310	30	Alt-Marzahn
4041133	6	Güterbahnhof Grunewald	10010311	0	Landsberger Tor
4041134	89	Bismarckallee	10020412	9	Alte Hellersdorfer Straße
4041135	60	Hundekehle	10020413	28	Gut Hellersdorf
4041136	57	Hagenplatz	10020414	0	Helle Mitte
4041137	131	Flinsberger Platz	10020415	20	Hellersdorfer Promenade
4041238	73	Kissinger Straße	10020416	12	Böhlener Straße
4041239	14	Stadion Wilmersdorf	10020517	15	Adele-Sandrock-Straße
4041240	17	Messelpark	10020518	16	Schleipfuhl
4041241	72	Breite Straße	10020519	15	Boulevard Kastanienallee
4041342	67	Schlangenbader Straße	10020620	7	Kaulsdorf Nord II
4041343	24	Binger Straße	10020621	0	Gelbes Viertel
4041344	64	Rüdesheimer Platz	10020622	15	Kaulsdorf Nord I
4051445	93	Eisenzahnstraße	10020623	19	Rotes Viertel
4051446	119	Preußenpark	10030724	28	Oberfeldstraße
4051447	49	Ludwigkirchplatz	10030725	10	Buckower Ring
4051448	162	Schaperstraße	10030726	0	Alt-Biesdorf
4051549	36	Rathaus Wilmersdorf	10030727	12	Biesdorf Süd
4051550	70	Leon-Jessel-Platz	10040828	0	Kaulsdorf Nord
4051551	42	Brabanter Platz	10040829	6	Alt-Kaulsdorf
4051652	90	Nikolsburger Platz	10040830	3	Kaulsdorf Süd
4051653	55	Prager Platz	10040931	3	Mahlsdorf Nord
4051654	16	Wilhelmsaue	10040932	3	Alt-Mahlsdorf
4051655	43	Babelsberger Straße	10040933	12	Mahlsdorf Süd
4051656	47	Hildegardstraße	11010101	0	Dorf Malchow
4061757	0	Forst Grunewald	11010102	0	Dorf Wartenberg
5010101	68	Hakenfelde Nord	11010103	16	Dorf Falkenberg
5010102	52	Goltzstraße	11010204	9	Falkenberg Ost
5010103	63	Amorbacher Weg	11010205	31	Falkenberg West
5010204	38	Griesingerstraße	11010206	12	Wartenberg Süd
5010205	27	An der Tränke	11010207	20	Wartenberg Nord
5010206	84	Gütersloher Weg	11010308	9	Zingster Straße Ost
5010207	30	Darbystraße	11010309	13	Zingster Straße West
5010208	54	Germersheimer Platz	11010310	11	Mühlengrund

5010209	30	An der Kappe	11020411	12	Malchower Weg
5010310	34	Eckschanze	11020412	21	Hauptstraße
5010311	18	Eiswerder	11020513	7	Orankesee
5010312	53	Kurstraße	11020514	15	Große-Leege-Straße
5010313	22	Ackerstraße	11020515	22	Landsberger Allee
5010314	82	Carl-Schurz-Straße	11020516	3	Weiße Taube
5010339	12	Freiheit	11030617	6	Hohenschönhausener Straße
5020415	15	Isenburger Weg	11030618	51	Fennpfuhl West
5020416	0	Am Heideberg	11030619	23	Fennpfuhl Ost
5020417	36	Staakener Straße	11030720	17	Herzbergstraße
5020418	31	Spandauer Straße	11030721	69	Rüdigerstraße
5020419	31	Magistratsweg	11030824	42	Frankfurter Allee Süd
5020420	3	Werkstraße	11040925	3	Victoriastadt
5020521	39	Döberitzer Weg	11040926	71	Weitlingstraße
5020522	162	Pillnitzer Weg	11041022	42	Rosenfelder Ring
5020523	174	Maulbeerallee	11041023	10	Gensinger Straße
5020524	69	Weinmeisterhornweg	11041027	15	Tierpark
5020625	53	Borkumer Straße	11041128	60	Sewanstraße
5020626	92	Adamstraße	11051229	6	Rummelsburg
5020627	72	Tiefwerder	11051330	47	Karlshorst West
5020628	25	Graetschelsteig	11051331	21	Karlshorst Nord
5020629	9	Börnicker Straße	11051332	6	Karlshorst Süd
5030730	62	Zitadellenweg	12103115	39	Breitkopfbecken
5030731	62	Gartenfelder Straße	12103116	48	Hausotterplatz
5030832	110	Rohrdamm	12103117	69	Letteplatz
5030833	6	Motardstraße	12103218	64	Teichstraße
5040934	56	Alt-Gatow	12103219	32	Schäfersee
5040935	0	Groß-Glienicker Weg	12103220	15	Humboldtstraße
5040936	94	Jägerallee	12214125	54	Waldidyll/Flughafensee
5040937	0	Kladower Damm	12214126	46	Tegel Süd
5040938	26	Kafkastraße	12214421	3	Reinickes Hof
6010101	43	Fichtenberg	12214422	40	Klixstraße
6010102	81	Schloßstraße	12214423	40	Mellerbogen
6010103	55	Markelstraße	12214424	66	Scharnweberstraße
6010204	73	Munsterdamm	12214527	34	Alt-Tegel
6010205	85	Südende	12214528	3	Tegeler Forst
6010206	52	Stadtpark	12224229	31	Konradshöhe/Tegelort
6010207	46	Mittelstraße	12224230	62	Heiligensee
6010208	84	Bergstraße	12231101	44	Hermsdorf
6010209	65	Feuerbachstraße	12231102	82	Frohnau
6010210	45	Bismarckstraße	12301203	83	Wittenau Süd
6020301	30	Alt-Lankwitz	12301204	31	Wittenau Nord
6020302	68	Komponistenviertel Lankwitz	12301205	9	Waidmannslust
6020303	54	Lankwitz Kirche	12301206	9	Lübars
6020304	59	Kaiser-Wilhelm-Straße	12302107	15	Schorfheidestraße
6020305	59	Gemeindepark Lankwitz	12302108	69	Märkisches Zentrum
6020306	52	Lankwitz Süd	12302109	49	Treuenbrietzener Straße
6020407	37	Thermometersiedlung	12302110	46	Dannenwalder Weg
6020408	46	Lichterfelde Süd	12302211	7	Lübarser Straße
6020409	59	Königsberger Straße	12302212	35	Rollbergesiedlung
6020410	29	Oberhofer Platz	12304313	6	Borsigwalde
6020411	81	Schütte-Lanz-Straße	12304314	37	Ziekowstraße/Freie Scholle

APPENDIX B: Statistical Descriptions of the District's Variable

* All tables in this appendix are designed by the author based on EXCEL software.

District's characteristics Variable Number of variables: 177						
Descriptive statistics of variables	Number	Min	Max	Median	Mean	Standard deviation
Iranian Immigrants	8916	326	1843	585.5	743	411.2
Naturalized Iranians	9399	48	2517	595	783.2	670.3
Age	12	245197	409335	302136	314124,6	48529,2
Under 6		15299	27282	17742,5	18851,9	3402,5
6 - 15		21224	35655	23422	24308,6	4096,4
15 - 18		6642	9330	7146,5	7264,3	1071,5
18 - 20		4882	6138	5160	5220	760,2
20 - 25		13995	17541	16366	17023,9	4061,1
25 - 30		16116	28160	23818	23928,1	8086,7
30 - 35		17308	41147	27440	28788,2	9199,0
35 - 40		16208	38842	24784	25476,8	7116,7
40 - 45		14283	34119	20275	21023	5551,1
45 - 60		51256	91784	60671,5	64605,3	11513,5
60 - 65		14476	18234	17087,5	17509,1	2812,5
65 and more		53508	61103	58933,5	60125,5	13373,0
Family Composition	12					
Single		111914	231177	161726,5	161528,1	38073,4
Married		92757	126182	106648,5	106980,8	14650,0
Widowed		16073	17396	17419,5	16553,9	3190,7
Divorced		23959	32661	27226	27740,8	3972,3
Civil partnership		494	1919	1118,5	1321,1	701,8
Religion	12					
Evangelical (Protestant)		18878	74945	47770	45180	17146,9
Catholic		10021	40478	26753.5	26028.8	9890,8
Other or none		172584	335415	242438	242915.6	43939,2
Foreign German Composition	12					
German - German		152612	316490	205370	204097,9	37768,7
German - Migration background (Dmh)		17819	74934	41992	45247,9	41755,0
Foreigner		27 932	132815	55532,5	64778,8	17216,0
German with Migration background (Dmh) + Foreigner		45 751	207749	92715	110026,7	27927,7
Ethnic Diversity	12	17819	74934	41992	45247,9	17981,5
European - Migration Background		4591	15588	11783	10997,2	3757,7
European - Foreigner		9666	49130	21896	23715,7	11030
Former Jugoslav - Migration Background		764	4221	764	819,3	168,7
Former Jugoslav - Foreigner		1801	8874	4884,5	5015,6	2327.4
Former Soviet - Migration Background		3301	14276	6148	6708,4	3263,9
Former Soviet - Foreigner		2515	9999	4984,5	5399,1	2266.1
Islamic countries - Migration Background		4043	31700	16078	15530,9	8745,5
Islamic countries - Foreigner		8668	44278	20280,5	20863,1	10249.3
Vietnam - Migration Background		309	2648	710,5	915,0	635,6
Vietnam - Foreigner		376	6612	880,5	1589,3	1740.4

USA - Migration Background		78	1875	819,5	831,0	559,5
USA- Foreigner		103	3798	1998	1891,2	1403,5
No data - Migration Background		930	14416	6268,5	6200,0	4213,3
No data - Foreigner		0	15	6	6,3	5,3
Naturalized Persons 2019	12	202	932	465,5	541,7	253,4
Employment 2018	12	236284	393899	284439,6	299113,6	47927,3
Employed		104721	230320	147367,3	153673,4	34974,8
Unemployed		6546	16528	8539,0	9945,5	3116,6
Non-working Persons		100814	157342	141041,1	135498,7	18173,5
Net Income Employed	12	104721	230320	147367	153673,5	34974,8
Under 900		10259	24908	14925	16429.2	4618,0
900 - 1500		29689	52473	40528	39164.1	7071,4
1500 and more		60192	177145	94664.5	97915	30662.9
Monthly Household Income	12	121088	227752	163911	168854,3	33976.8
Under 900 Euro		7775	22055	14085,7	14193,9	4415,2
900 – 1300 Euro		17336	40358	23168,6	24369,2	6660,8
1300 – 1500 Euro		8649	16224	11727,0	12180,2	2484,8
1500 – 2000 Euro		22265	40581	27272,5	28999,7	5740,9
2000 – 2600 Euro		18158	38136	25047,7	26360,7	5329,3
2600 – 3200 Euro		12526	27252	16701,2	18318,9	4546,8
3200 and more		28466	74403	41589,7	44296,5	13301,0
Rent to Household Income Ratio	12	108393	199751	144425,18	145926,59	24204,7
Under 15%		7,38	13,00	9,95	10,00	1,6
15% - 25%		29,47	41,66	33,42	34,46	4,3
25% - 35%		25,60	31,45	28,59	28,71	1,7
35% - 45%		11,73	20,00	16,55	16,28	2,5
45% and more		5,21	13,81	11,77	10,64	2,9
Residential Area (Wohnlange)	12					
Simple (Einfach)		10376	251058	80728	101435	76162,8
Medium (Mittel)		78859	270479	146402,5	152051,7	62992,9
Good (Gut)		0	231013	25854	60637,9	72593,0
Building's age	12	115367	211449	152391,9	156418,1	26572,8
Until 1948		10603	118533	62538,8	63911,2	30918,5
1948 and Later		58623	120914	92657,8	92351,5	15824,3
Type of Housing	12	108393	199751	144425	145927	24204,7
Single Family House		0	26878	18247	15106	9401,9
Multi-Family House		90725	179639	131690	130813	28394,5
Size of Housing	12	108393	199751	144425,2	145926,6	24204,7
Under 40 m²		5482	18089	12797,6	11605,9	3719,0
40-60 m²		25957	58189	36564,1	38153,7	10338,0
60-80 m²		36479	60070	43515,4	45591,5	7110,2
80-100 m²		18616	33181	24883,7	24791,6	4267,5
100-120 m²		4188	16816	11019,3	11807,4	3463,8
120 m² and more		6621	27091	12732,1	13976,5	6228,8
Ownership	12	108393	199751	144425	145926,5	24204,8
Inhabited by the owner		10241	42897	25673	25413,6	9565,4
Rented by a private person		4600	58180	32742,3	31112,8	24966
Rented by Housing association		17393	48771	34540,5	33934,0	15385
Rented by a Companies and/or an Institutions		29854	86646	52784,0	55065,8	9311
Rent Price per m²	12	82251	157118	116000,6	115873,9	22546,2
Under 6 Euro		4879	12874	10390,9	9370,9	2518,7
6 – 7 Euro		8498	25947	14156,9	15117,9	5491,2

7 – 8 Euro		19713	34900	24010,0	25449,3	5133,1
8 – 9 Euro		13037	31573	22962,0	23034,4	5014,7
9 – 10 Euro		6795	25195	16249,5	16899,9	4607,1
10 and more		6894	45222	24718,3	26001,5	11636,9
Rent Price	12	82251	157118	116000,6	115873,9	22546,2
Under 300 Euro		2584	10947	7066,9	6626,7	2514,5
300 – 400 Euro		13157	28985	19052,4	20230,1	4716,1
400 – 500 Euro		19066	39151	26284,7	27684,2	6170,0
500 – 600 Euro		16895	29980	20494,3	21426,1	4057,9
600 – 700 Euro		8476	20628	13403,0	14196,7	3738,1
700 Euro and more		5313	45629	24710,2	25710,1	11130,3

LOR Planning Area Variable

Descriptive statistics of variables	Number	Min	Max	Median	Mean	Standard deviation
Iranians (Dmh+A)	18315	0	256	31	40,88	38,89
Age Composition	448					
Under 6		0	2666	437,5	504,9	38,89
6 - 15		0	3758	555,5	651,12	367,6
15 - 18		0	927	168	194,58	459,2
18 - 27		0	3919	695,5	823	133,6
27 - 45		0	12458	1934	2430,3	600,7
45 - 55		0	5611	990	1125,7	2084,7
55 - 65		3	4009	987	1073,7	769,8
65 and more		3	8075	1431	1610,5	674,2
Foreign German Composition	448					
German - German		0	30873	4911	54667	3884,8
German - Migration background (Dmh)		0	5978	977	1212	1014,3
Foreigner		9	11335	1278	1735,1	1576,2
German - Migration background (Dmh) +A		9	17239	2288	2947,1	2515,6
Ethnic Diversity (Dmh+A)	448					
European		0	5036	712	929,8	810,7
Former Jugoslav		0	1408	134	194,4	193,6
Former Soviet		0	2356	245,5	324,3	307,7
Islamic countries		0	8035	615	974,8	1094,6
Vietnam		0	802	26	64,9	117,5
USA		0	582	31	73,5	100,8

A=Foreigner (Außländer) D= German (Deutsche) I=Total (Insgesamt) Mh= Migration Background DMh=German with migration background(Deutsche mit Migrationhintergrund)

APPENDIX C: Comperative Analysis of Iranians in Berlin's Districts

* The analysis is based on Python software. The result is presented and interpreted in chapter 5.

Import Packages

[2]:
```
import os
import numpy as np
import pandas as pd
import matplotlib.pyplot as plt
%matplotlib inline
import seaborn as sns
```

Read Files

[3]:
```
os.listdir()
```

[3]:
```
['.ipynb_checkpoints',
 'Deutsche Auslander Composition Insgesamt2018.xlsx',
 "Further Analysis of Iranian Population in Berlin's Districts.ipynb",
 'LOR all.xlsx',
 'LOR-Analysis.ipynb',
 'LOR_Correlation_Coeffs.xlsx',
 'LOR_Descriptive_Analysis.xlsx',
 'Objectives and Research Questions.docx',
 'old_git',
 'send to sia.docx',
 '~$LOR_Descriptive_Analysis.xlsx']
```

[4]:
```
pd.set_option('display.max_columns',100)
```

[5]:
```
five_df= pd.read_excel('Deutsche Auslander Composition Insgesamt2018.xlsx')
```

[6]:
```
five_df
```

[6]:

	Bezirk	Population	German (All)	German-German	\
0	Mitte	383457	252387	179190	
1	Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg	289120	210230	162466	
2	Pankow	407039	350790	318796	
3	Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf	341327	256083	198604	
4	Spandau	243080	195576	154469	
5	Steglitz-Zehlendorf	308077	263280	223082	
6	Tempelhof-Schöneberg	351429	279882	219990	
7	Neukölln	330786	246076	177916	
8	Treptow-Köpenick	269775	244524	227910	
9	Marzahn-Hellersdorf	268739	240417	216231	
10	Lichtenberg	290493	242822	215878	
11	Reinickendorf	264826	217609	176646	

	German-Migrationbackground	Islamic	Foreigner (Immigrants)	\
0	73197	74800	131070	
1	47764	43770	78890	
2	31994	16440	56249	
3	57479	35812	85244	
4	41107	34414	47504	
5	40198	21249	44797	
6	59892	45863	71547	
7	68160	65665	84710	
8	16614	11312	25251	
9	24186	16634	28322	
10	26944	21802	47671	
11	40963	34632	47217	

```
    Iranian (All)  Iranians-Migrationbackground  \
0            1908                           938
1            1058                           629
2             970                           430
3            4360                          2517
4            1894                           949
5            2683                          1562
6            1745                          1002
7             974                           517
8             491                           120
9             374                            48
10            690                           126
11           1168                           561

    Iranian Foreigner (Immigrants)
0                              970
1                              429
2                              540
3                             1843
4                              945
5                             1121
6                              743
7                              457
8                              371
9                              326
10                             564
11                             607
```

Create np arrays of columns

[7]:
```
a1=five_df['Iranians-Migrationbackground'].values
```

[8]:
```
a2=five_df['Iranian Foreigner (Immigrants)'].values
```

[9]:
```
a3=five_df['German-German'].values
```

[10]:
```
a4=five_df['Foreigner (Immigrants)'].values
```

[11]:
```
a5=five_df['Iranian (All)'].values
```

Descriptive Analysis

[12]:
```
five_df.describe().T
```

[12]:
```
                                count          mean          std       min  \
Population                       12.0  312345.666667  50933.080972  243080.0
German (All)                     12.0  249973.000000  39372.523664  195576.0
German-German                    12.0  205931.500000  43554.762690  154469.0
German-Migrationbackground       12.0   44041.500000  17822.976307   16614.0
Islamic                          12.0   35199.416667  19831.432715   11312.0
Foreigner (Immigrants)           12.0   62372.666667  29617.483351   25251.0
Iranian (All)                    12.0    1526.250000   1118.349687     374.0
Iranians-Migrationbackground     12.0     783.250000    700.191289      48.0
Iranian Foreigner (Immigrants)   12.0     743.000000    429.548177     326.0

                                    25%       50%       75%       max
Population                    269516.00  299285.0  343852.50  407039.0
German (All)                  234715.00  245300.0  257882.25  350790.0
German-German                 177598.50  207241.0  220763.00  318796.0
German-Migrationbackground     30731.50   41035.0   58082.25   73197.0
Islamic                        20095.25   34523.0   44293.25   74800.0
Foreigner (Immigrants)         46612.00   51960.0   80345.00  131070.0
Iranian (All)                    900.00    1113.0    1897.50    4360.0
Iranians-Migrationbackground     354.00     595.0     962.25    2517.0
Iranian Foreigner (Immigrants)   450.00     585.5     951.25    1843.0
```

Iranian Immigrants and Naturalized Iranians Comparision

[33]:
```
five_df.columns
```

[33]:
```
Index(['Bezirk', 'Population', 'German (All)', 'German-German',
       'German-Migrationbackground', 'Islamic', 'Foreigner (Immigrants)',
       'Iranian (All)', 'Iranians-Migrationbackground',

       'Iranian Foreigner (Immigrants)'],
      dtype='object')
```

[50]:
```
normalized=five_df[["Population",
         'German (All)',
         'German-German',
         'German-Migrationbackground',
         'Foreigner (Immigrants)',
         'Iranians-Migrationbackground',
         'Iranian Foreigner (Immigrants)']].div(five_df["Population"], axis=0)
```

[48]:
```
normalized
```

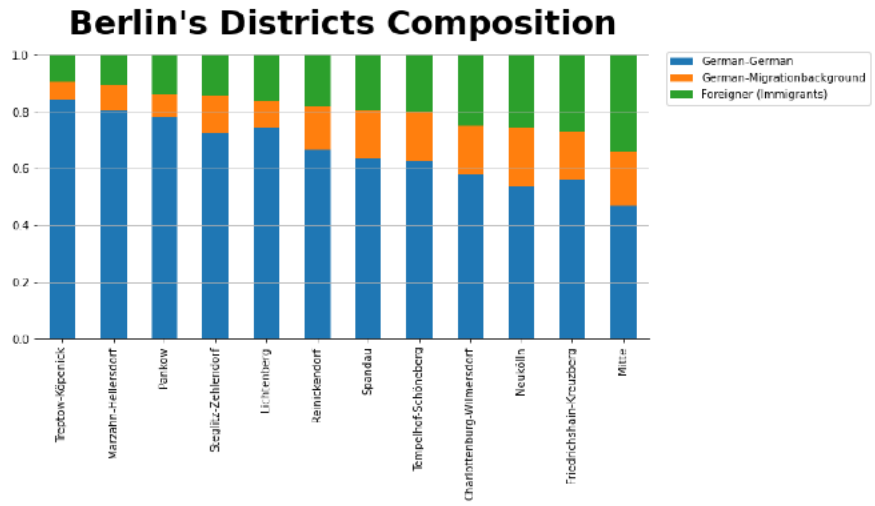
[48]:

	Population	German (All)	German-German	German-Migrationbackground	\
0	1.0	0.658189	0.467301	0.190887	
1	1.0	0.727138	0.561933	0.165205	
2	1.0	0.861809	0.783208	0.078602	
3	1.0	0.750257	0.581858	0.168399	
4	1.0	0.804575	0.635466	0.169109	
5	1.0	0.854592	0.724111	0.130480	
6	1.0	0.796411	0.625987	0.170424	
7	1.0	0.743913	0.537858	0.206055	
8	1.0	0.906400	0.844815	0.061585	
9	1.0	0.894612	0.804613	0.089998	
10	1.0	0.835896	0.743144	0.092753	
11	1.0	0.821706	0.667027	0.154679	

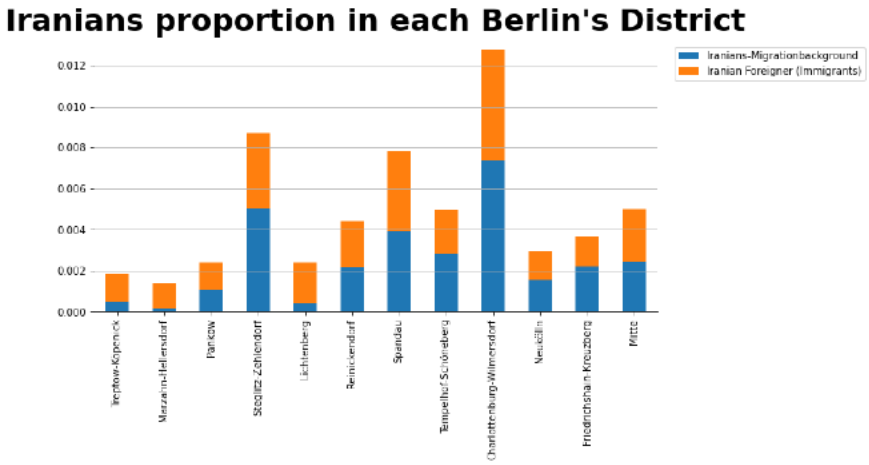
	Iranians-Migrationbackground	Iranian Foreigner (Immigrants)
0	0.002446	0.002530
1	0.002176	0.001484
2	0.001056	0.001327
3	0.007374	0.005400
4	0.003904	0.003888
5	0.005070	0.003639
6	0.002851	0.002114
7	0.001563	0.001382
8	0.000445	0.001375
9	0.000179	0.001213
10	0.000434	0.001942
11	0.002118	0.002292

[143]:
```
normalized[['German-German',
         'German-Migrationbackground',
           'Foreigner (Immigrants)']].sort_values('Foreigner (Immigrants)').
↪plot(kind='bar', stacked=True, figsize=(10,5))

plt.title("\nBerlin's Districts Composition", fontsize=30, fontweight='bold',␣
↪y=1)
sns.despine(left='True')
ax = plt.gca()
ax.yaxis.grid()
plt.legend(loc='upper left', bbox_to_anchor=(1.02, 0.98))

xticks_numbers=normalized[['German-German',
         'German-Migrationbackground',
           'Foreigner (Immigrants)']].sort_values('Foreigner (Immigrants)').
```

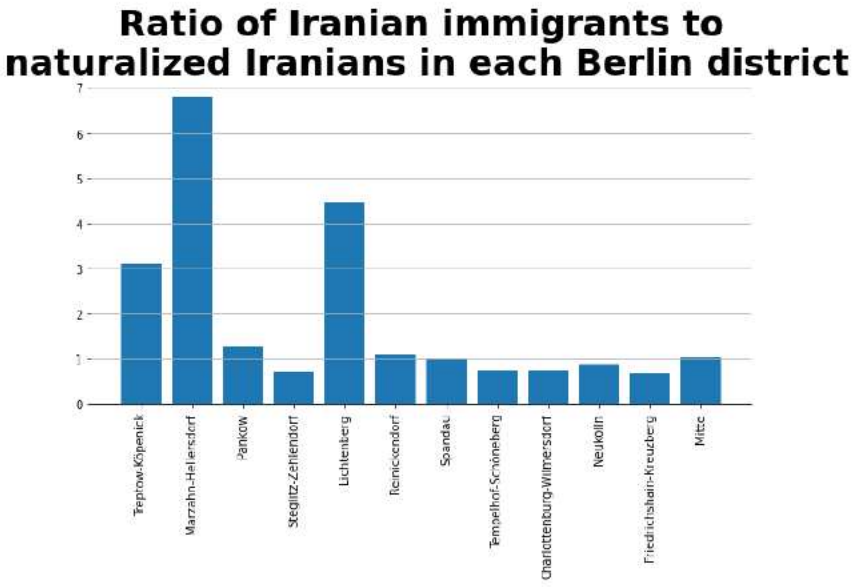
```
 ↪index
xticks_labels= [five_df.Bezirk[i] for i in xticks_numbers]

plt.xticks(ticks=five_df.index, labels=xticks_labels)

plt.show()
```



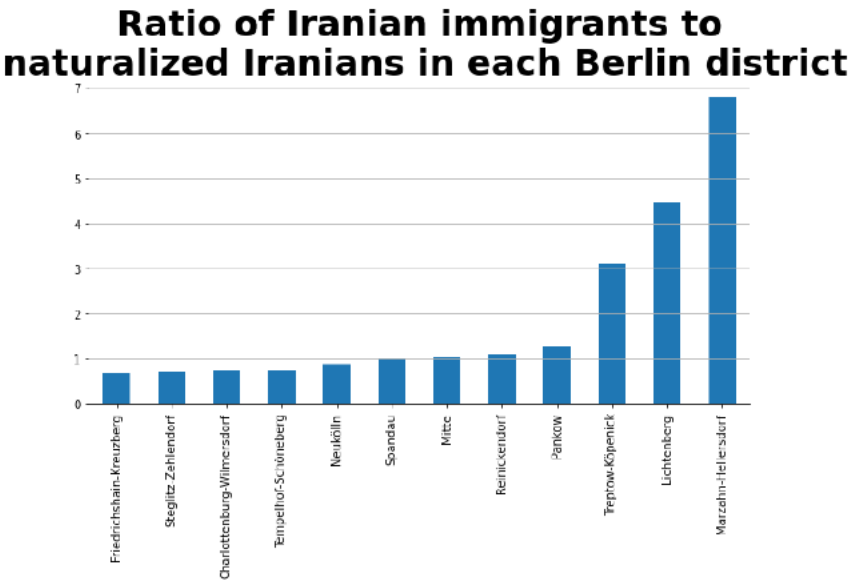
[144]:
```
normalized.sort_values('Foreigner␣
 ↪(Immigrants)')[['Iranians-Migrationbackground',
            'Iranian Foreigner (Immigrants)']].plot(kind='bar', stacked=True,␣
 ↪figsize=(10,5))

plt.title("\nIranians proportion in each Berlin's District", fontsize=30,␣
 ↪fontweight='bold', y=1)
sns.despine(left='True')
ax = plt.gca()
ax.yaxis.grid()
plt.legend(loc='upper left', bbox_to_anchor=(1.02, 0.98))

plt.xticks(ticks=five_df.index, labels=xticks_labels)

plt.show()
```



[140]:
```
# (five_df['Iranian Foreigner (Immigrants)']/
 ↪five_df['Iranians-Migrationbackground']).plot(kind='bar', figsize=(10,5))

plt.figure(figsize=(10,5))

iranians_com= (five_df['Iranian Foreigner (Immigrants)']/
 ↪five_df['Iranians-Migrationbackground'])
iranians_com=np.array([iranians_com[i] for i in xticks_numbers])
plt.bar(xticks_labels, iranians_com)

plt.title("\nRatio of Iranian immigrants to\n naturalized Iranians in each␣
 ↪Berlin district", fontsize=30, fontweight='bold', y=1)
sns.despine(left='True')
ax = plt.gca()
ax.yaxis.grid()
plt.xticks(rotation=90)

plt.show()
```

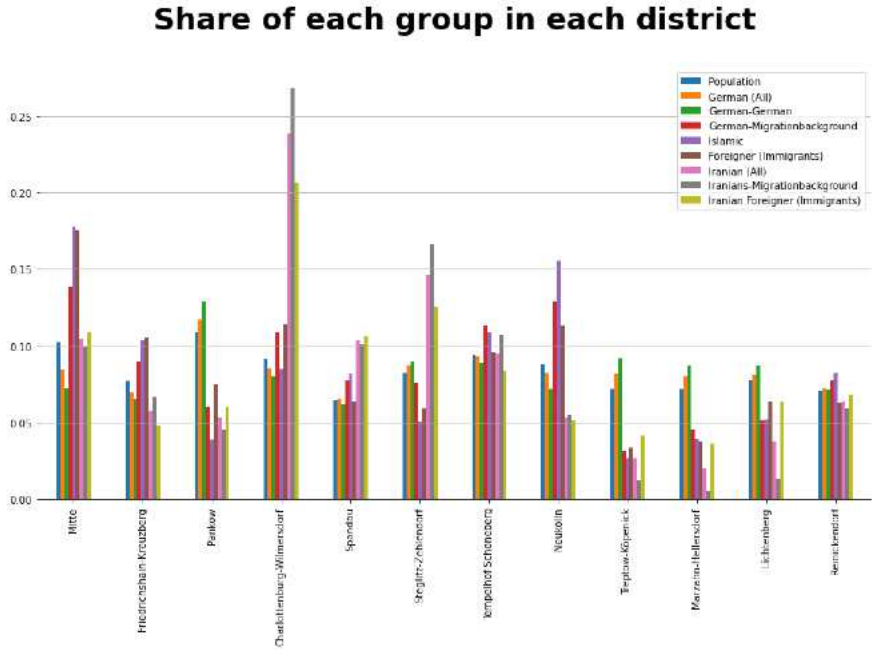


[139]:
```
plt.figure(figsize=(10,5))

iranians_com= (five_df['Iranian Foreigner (Immigrants)']/
 ↪five_df['Iranians-Migrationbackground']).sort_values()

iranians_com.plot(kind='bar')

# iranians_com=np.array([iranians_com[i] for i in xticks_numbers])
# plt.bar(iranians_com.index, iranians_com.values)

plt.title("\nRatio of Iranian immigrants to\n naturalized Iranians in each␣
 ↪Berlin district", fontsize=30, fontweight='bold', y=1)
sns.despine(left='True')
ax = plt.gca()
ax.yaxis.grid()
plt.xticks(five_df.index,[five_df.Bezirk[i] for i in iranians_com.
 ↪index],rotation=90)

plt.show()
```

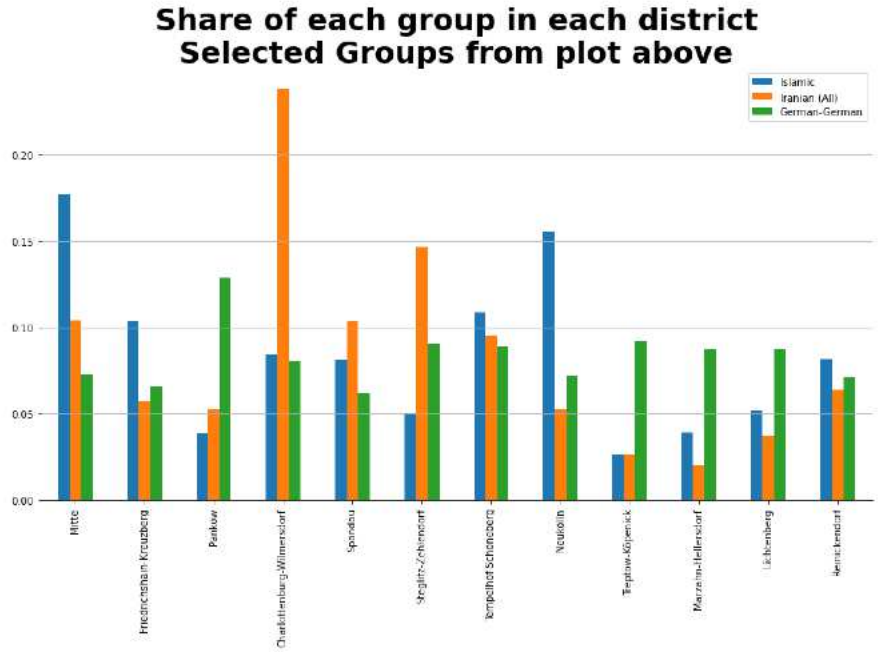


Share of each group: Comparison

[21]:
```
(five_df.iloc[:,1:]/five_df.sum()[1:]).plot(kind='bar',figsize=(15,8))

plt.title("\nShare of each group in each district\n", fontsize=30,␣
 ↪fontweight='bold', y=1)
sns.despine(left='True')
ax = plt.gca()
ax.yaxis.grid()

plt.xticks(ticks=np.arange(0,12),labels=five_df.Bezirk.values.tolist())

plt.show()
```



[146]:
```
selected=five_df[['Islamic','Iranian (All)','German-German']]
(selected/selected.sum()).plot(kind='bar',figsize=(15,8))

plt.title("\nShare of each group in each district\nSelected Groups from plot␣
 ↪above", fontsize=30, fontweight='bold', y=1)
sns.despine(left='True')
ax = plt.gca()
ax.yaxis.grid()

plt.xticks(ticks=np.arange(0,12),labels=five_df.Bezirk.values.tolist())
plt.show()
```



[184]:
```
nat_s= pd.read_excel('Nationality_S.xlsx')
```

[185]:
```
nat_s
```

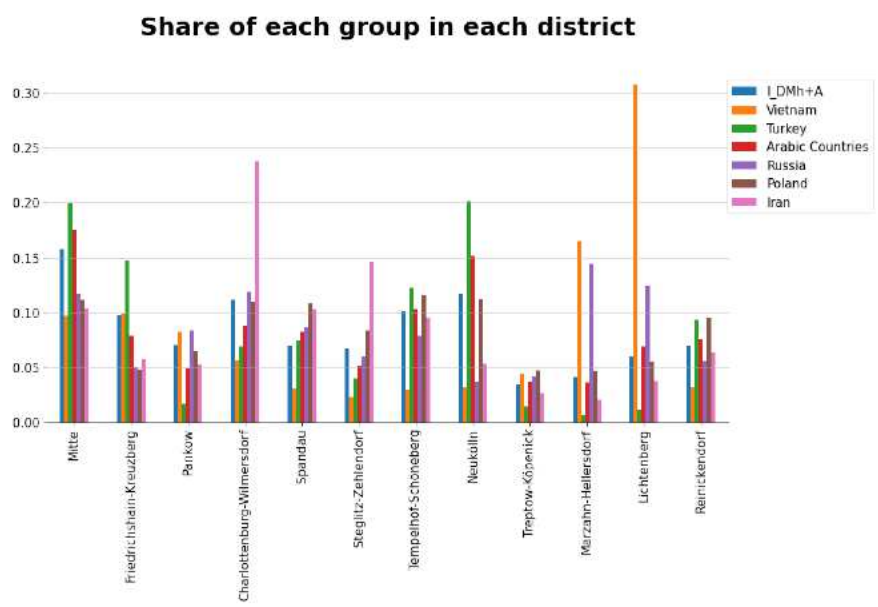
[185]:

	Bezirk	I_DMh+A	Vietnam	Turkey	Arabic Countries	\
0	Mitte	207749	2924	36551	27042	
1	Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg	129888	2966	26919	12177	
2	Pankow	92845	2480	3108	7668	
3	Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf	147081	1688	12551	13492	
4	Spandau	92585	932	13645	12707	
5	Steglitz-Zehlendorf	88984	685	7350	7990	
6	Tempelhof-Schöneberg	133166	900	22351	15993	
7	Neukölln	154919	953	36804	23443	
8	Treptow-Köpenick	45751	1344	2730	5740	
9	Marzahn-Hellersdorf	55217	4953	1239	5657	
10	Lichtenberg	79972	9260	2165	10677	
11	Reinickendorf	92163	967	17070	11700	

	Russia	Poland	Iran

0	7047	12718	1908
1	3034	5556	1058
2	5008	7466	970
3	7103	12623	4360
4	5193	12383	1894
5	3579	9622	2683
6	4724	13258	1745
7	2203	12819	974
8	2522	5433	491
9	8621	5316	374
10	7411	6251	690
11	3354	10894	1168

[186]:
```
(nat_s.iloc[:,1:]/nat_s.sum()[1:]).plot(kind='bar',figsize=(15,8))

plt.title("\nShare of each group in each district\n", fontsize=30,␣
 ↪fontweight='bold', y=1)
sns.despine(left='True')
ax = plt.gca()
ax.yaxis.grid()

plt.xticks(ticks=np.arange(0,12),labels=nat_s.Bezirk)
plt.legend(loc='upper right', prop={'size': 15}, bbox_to_anchor=(1.22, 0.98))

plt.xticks(fontsize=15)
plt.yticks(fontsize=15)

plt.show()
```



[187]:
```
nat_s2= pd.read_excel('Nationality_S2.xlsx')
nat_s2
```

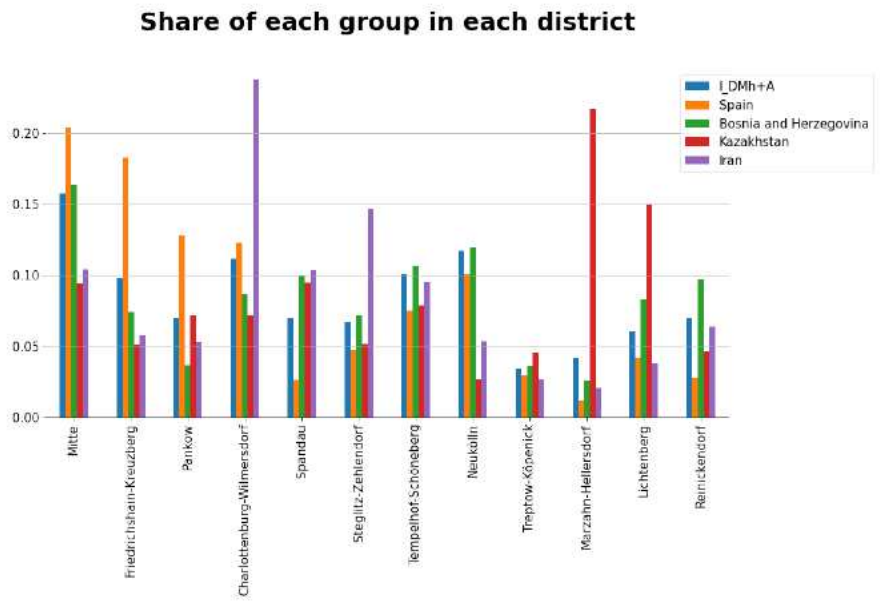
[187]:

	Bezirk	I_DMh+A	Spain	Bosnia and Herzegovina	\
0	Mitte	207749	3070	2011	
1	Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg	129888	2753	909	
2	Pankow	92845	1927	452	
3	Charlottenburg-Wilmersdorf	147081	1846	1067	
4	Spandau	92585	400	1220	
5	Steglitz-Zehlendorf	88984	720	880	
6	Tempelhof-Schöneberg	133166	1134	1303	

7	Neukölln	154919	1522	1469
8	Treptow-Köpenick	45751	452	442
9	Marzahn-Hellersdorf	55217	182	320
10	Lichtenberg	79972	627	1025
11	Reinickendorf	92163	412	1193

	Kazakhstan	Iran
0	175	1908
1	95	1058
2	133	970
3	134	4360
4	176	1894
5	96	2683
6	146	1745
7	50	974
8	84	491
9	404	374
10	279	690
11	87	1168

[188]:
```
(nat_s2.iloc[:,1:]/nat_s2.sum()[1:]).plot(kind='bar',figsize=(15,8))

plt.title("\nShare of each group in each district\n", fontsize=30,␣
 ↪fontweight='bold', y=1)
sns.despine(left='True')
ax = plt.gca()
ax.yaxis.grid()

plt.xticks(ticks=np.arange(0,12),labels=nat_s2.Bezirk)

plt.legend(loc='upper right', prop={'size': 15}, bbox_to_anchor=(1.22, 0.98))

plt.xticks(fontsize=15)
plt.yticks(fontsize=15)

plt.show()
```



Berlin west and east Relation between district's longitudes and number of iranians

[149]:
```
# longs=[13.381777,13.391799,13.431700,13.283333,13.19921,13.192662,
#        13.370287,13.444507,13.566667,13.576597,13.502326,13.333333]
```

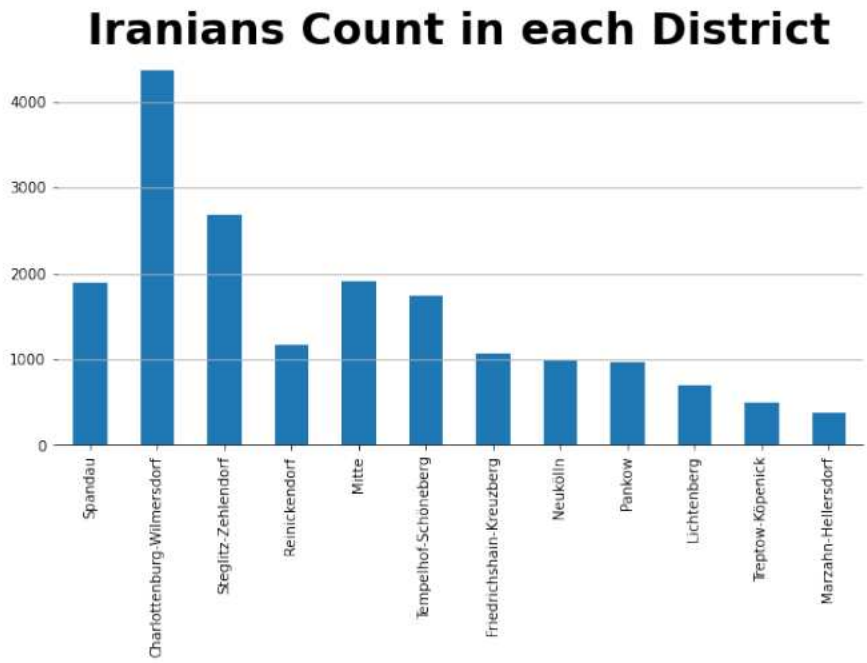
[150]:
```
longs=[13.37,13.40,13.45,13.26,13.22,13.30,
       13.38,13.44,13.56,13.58,13.50,13.32]
```

[151]:
```
five_df['longs']=longs
```

[152]:
```
five_df.sort_values('longs').longs.values
```

[152]:
```
array([13.22, 13.26, 13.3 , 13.32, 13.37, 13.38, 13.4 , 13.44, 13.45,
       13.5 , 13.56, 13.58])
```

[158]:
```
five_df.sort_values('longs')['Iranian (All)'].plot(kind='bar', figsize=(10,5))
plt.xticks(np.arange(0,12),five_df.sort_values('longs').Bezirk.values)

plt.title("\nIranians Count in each District", fontsize=30, fontweight='bold',␣
 ↪y=1)
sns.despine(left='True')
ax = plt.gca()
ax.yaxis.grid()

plt.show()
```



[162]:
```
plt.figure(figsize=(10,5))

sns.regplot(five_df.longs, five_df['Iranian (All)'])

plt.title("\nIranians Count vs District's Longitude", fontsize=30,␣
 ↪fontweight='bold', y=1)
sns.despine(left='True')
ax = plt.gca()
ax.yaxis.grid()
```

```
ax.set_ylabel('Iranian Count')
ax.set_xlabel('Longitude')

plt.show()
```