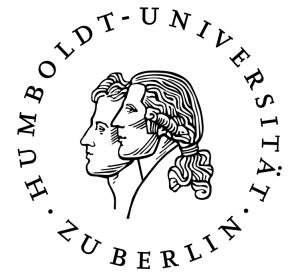# ARBEITSBERICHTE

Geographisches Institut, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

Nchoundoungam Jonas Aubert, Kulke Elmar (Hrsg.): Migrants and their economic activities in Berlin during times of multiple crises. Results of two study projects in 2021 and 2022

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Prologue

We would like to thank all the participants particularly the students and their interview partners and networks. Indeed, this publication is a result of two study projects hosted at the Geography department of the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin and the presents the research results of student projects. The first study project was held during the winter semester 2021-2022 and aimed at investigating migrants in Berlin and their participation in the night time economy in times of the corona pandemic. The second study project was designed to understand migration trends in Berlin in times of multiple crises. In both study projects, the main aim was to understand, describe and identify the core theories and issues of human migration and current trends and to have an overview of different place-specific infrastructures and people/actors interacting with and being present in the different sectors and governance of Berlin's migrants' cityscape.

The benefit of these aims was to 1) develop, understand and critical reflect research projects, 2) communicating and discussing key concepts of the course's topic, research designs and results, 3) working in international and interdisciplinary teams, and using ethno-socio-geographic research methods as an entry point for research and studying topics and problems relevant to societies and communities.

We hope the many discussions within the study projects and beyond were inspiring and helpful for all stakeholders involved.

Kind regards

Elmar Kulke and Jonas Nchoundoungam

TO WHAT EXTENT DOES THE ACCOMMODATION OF ASYLUM SEEKERS IN COLLECTIVE CENTERS, ANKUNFTS- OR ANKER-CENTERS CAUSE A SPATIAL AND SOCIAL ISOLATION OF REFUGEES?

Sandro Hartwig

1. Introduction

The year 2015 marked a turning point for the German asylum system. The influx of more than one million refugees, mainly from the Mediterranean Sea, permanently changed German society and with it parts of the German asylum system. Neither the institutions nor infrastructures were prepared for such a large number of refugees. In response, institutional and infrastructural changes were made in the following years. In addition to the construction of further refugee accommodation, the concept of arrival centers and AnkER centers, was developed to bundle competences and to increase the efficiency of asylum procedures. This was to ensure that the central competences of the federal government, the state and the municipalities were centralized in one place in order to shorten decision-making and communication channels and to speed up the asylum procedures themselves. These facilities are characterized by the fact that the central steps of the asylum procedure can be handled and decided in them, starting with the arrival and registration of the refugees, through the asylum application and the actual asylum procedure, to the decision on the approval or rejection of the asylum application. If the asylum application is rejected, the most important steps regarding repatriation or deportation are also initiated and taken in these centers. Despite the efforts made, especially after 2015, to speed up the asylum procedure, for example through such centers, the duration of the procedure is still not insignificant. During this time, the refugees are accommodated in Germany, mostly in collective accommodation where the refugees live among themselves. The question that then inevitably arises is: When should integration begin? Is integration not made more difficult by the fact that refugees are not only spatially but also socially isolated from the majority society due to their housing situation? What role do arrival and AnkER centers play in this? Existing research literature usually focuses on the overall situation of refugees. The aim of this paper is to take a closer look at the housing situation of asylum seekers and to analyze and interpret it with regard to social and spatial isolation.

These questions will be explored in this paper. In addition, at the end of the paper, an outlook will be given on how the situation could be overcome. To this end, an overview of the central steps of the German asylum system will be given. Afterwards, arrival and AnkER centers will be dealt with specifically. The methodological approach used to answer the research question will then be briefly explained. Finally, the aspects of spatial and social isolation of refugees will be discussed in order to be able to draw a conclusion and give an outlook.

2. The German asylum system

Before dealing specifically with the arrival and AnkER centers, a brief overview of the German asylum system is mandatory. The focus will be on the three central steps of the asylum procedure, the arrival, the asylum application and the return or deportation.

2.1 Arriving in Germany

After arriving in Germany, asylum seekers are obliged to report immediately to a government office (cf. BAMF 2021). This can happen either directly at the border or within the country (cf. ibid.). As a result, the refugees are registered, their personal data is recorded and stored in the Central Register of Foreigners (cf. ibid.). Afterwards, the asylum seekers are issued the so-called proof of arrival, which functions as the first official document and residence permit (cf. ibid.). As a rule, the asylum seekers are registered at the nearest reception center of the respective federal state (cf. BAMF 2022). In order to ensure an even distribution of refugees in the federal territory, the quota system "EASY" has been introduced, which determines the competent reception center in the next step (cf. ibid.). According to this system, each federal state is allocated a fixed quota (cf. ibid.). This quota is determined by the "Königstein Key", which takes into account two thirds of the tax revenue and one third of the population of the federal states (cf. ibid.). As a result, refugees may have to leave their federal state of arrival and be distributed to another one. In most cases, the nearest reception center is prioritized (cf. ibid.). The quota system also decides in which branch of the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees the asylum application will be processed (cf. ibid.). After arrival at the reception center, it is responsible for the care and accommodation of the refugees (cf. BAMF 2019a). At the same time, the nearest branch office of the Federal Office as well as the nearest arrival or AnkER center is informed in order to prepare the next steps of the asylum procedure (cf. ibid.).

2.2 Application for asylum

The asylum application is filed in the arrival or AnkER centers. This must be done in person (cf. BAMF 2019b). If necessary, the asylum seekers are assisted by an interpreter (cf. ibid.). They are also informed verbally and in writing about their rights and obligations during the asylum procedure (cf. ibid.). At this point, at the latest, personal data is recorded (cf. ibid.). The refugees are obliged to prove their identity as far as possible (cf. ibid.). For the first three months after arrival, asylum seekers are subject to a strict residence obligation (cf. ibid.). Their residence permit is only limited to the district in which their responsible reception center is located (cf. ibid.). If they want to leave this area, they need a permit (cf. ibid.). After this period of three months, the residence obligation is lifted and refugees are allowed to move freely within the federal territory (cf. ibid.). In addition to the residence obligation, asylum seekers are obliged to live in the area while their asylum application is being processed (cf. ibid.). They are obliged to live in their reception center until a decision is made on their application or until they are ordered to leave the country (cf. ibid.). However, this obligation applies for a maximum of 18 months; for parents and their children, this obligation applies for a maximum of 6 months (cf. ibid.). In most cases, however, the refugees are redistributed within their federal state (cf. ibid.). The respective Land authorities decide whether they are to be accommodated in shared accommodation or given permission to look for a place to live (cf. ibid.).

In the course of the asylum procedure, there is a personal interview (cf. BAMF 2019c). This is one of the most decisive appointments in the asylum procedure (cf. ibid.). That is why applicants are obliged to attend this appointment (cf. ibid.). If the appointment is not attended, the application may be rejected or the procedure discontinued (cf. ibid.). These hearings are intended to uncover the individual reasons for flight, the flight history and contradictions (cf. ibid.). The refugees can explain their reasons in detail (cf. ibid.). The interview is recorded and then translated back into the mother tongue of the applicant to give them the opportunity to make corrections or additions (cf. ibid.).

2.3 Repatriation

The decision on the application is made on the basis of the documents and evidence examination, as well as on the basis of the personal hearing (cf. BAMF 2019d). The decision on the application is substantiated in writing (cf. ibid.). The application can be approved in terms of four forms of protection, the recognition of entitlement to asylum, the granting of refugee protection, the granting of subsidiary protection or the determination of a ban on deportation (cf. ibid.). Refugee

protection refers to protection under the Geneva Convention on Refugees, entitlement to asylum refers to protection exclusively for politically persecuted persons, and subsidiary protection refers to protection in the case of none of the first-mentioned forms but nevertheless threatened with harm in the country of origin. The ban on deportation can be granted in special cases if none of the first-mentioned forms of protection applies (cf. BAMF 2019e).

A rejection of the application can also take two different forms, a simple rejection and a rejection as manifestly unfounded (cf. BAMF 2019d). In the case of the former, the time limit for departure is 30 days, in the case of the latter, one week (cf. ibid.). Furthermore, an asylum application can be declared inadmissible if another member state is responsible for the asylum application according to the Dublin procedure (cf. ibid.). Furthermore, an asylum procedure is discontinued if it is withdrawn or if the applicant does not pursue the procedure by staying away from the hearings, cannot be found or has travelled back to the country of origin (cf. ibid.). The decision of the Federal Office may be appealed (cf. ibid.). If the person does not leave the country voluntarily after the refusal, the foreigners' authority will enforce this by deportation (cf. ibid.). In addition, a legal ban on entry and residence in the Federal Republic of Germany comes into force in this case (cf. ibid.).

Once the application has been approved, the applicants receive a residence permit for three years from their foreigners' authority (cf. ibid.). After three years, an unlimited settlement permit can be granted under certain conditions (cf. ibid.). However, the right to asylum and refugee protection can also be revoked by the Federal Office if the conditions in the country of origin change (cf. ibid.). A revocation or withdrawal procedure is then initiated (cf. ibid.).

3. Arrival and anchor centers

After the general course of the asylum procedure has been described, the so-called arrival centers and AnkER centers will now be dealt with in detail. First of all, we will focus on the arrival centers which are the central access point during the asylum procedure (cf. BAMF 2019f). All parts of the procedure are carried out in these centers (cf. ibid.). This is where personal data is recorded, the asylum application is filed, the personal interview takes place and the decision on the asylum application is made (cf. ibid.). Furthermore, initial integration measures, such as orientation courses and counseling regarding access to the labor market, begin in these centers (cf. ibid.).

Building on this concept of arrival centers, the idea of AnkER centers or AnkER facilities has been developed since 2018 (cf. ibid.). AnkER center stands for arrival, decision and return center (cf. ibid.). Basically, this idea envisages concentrating all functions and responsibilities during the asylum procedure in one place (cf. ibid.). These functions include arrival, registration, application, decision on the application, municipal distribution, initial integration preparation measures and the

return of refugees (cf. ibid.). To this end, all parties involved in the process are directly represented in the AnkER centers (cf. ibid.). These include the reception facilities of the respective federal state, the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, the foreigners' authorities, administrative courts, youth welfare offices and the Federal Employment Agency (cf. ibid.). The actual design of this concept is the responsibility of the individual federal states. This is therefore not a uniform national concept, but rather a proposal for bundling the actors and processes during the asylum application process (cf. ibid.). As a consequence, these AnkER facilities are represented in only three of the 16 federal states so far, in Bavaria, Saarland and Saxony (cf. BAMF 2023). In all other federal states, the concept of arrival centers continues to be used (cf. ibid.). Here again, it must be emphasized that the functions and competences of the individual arrival centers in the individual federal states differ greatly in some cases. The responsibility for the registration process, care and accommodation and integration lies with the federal states. Only the procedure for the asylum application and the distribution according to the "EASY" quota system are standardized at the federal level. As a result, the concepts of arrival and AnkER centers are to be regarded as rough guidelines and partly recommendations of the federal government to the federal states. What all these facilities have in common is the attempt to bundle the competences, processes and actors during the asylum procedure as spatially as possible. The aim is to accelerate and increase the efficiency of asylum procedures.

4. Methodology

To answer the research question, the focus will be on document and text analyses. The question of social and spatial isolation of refugees is also very extensive. As a result, existing research literature on this topic has been used. Especially in the course of the refugee crisis of 2015 and the resulting problems and tasks, such as the accommodation and integration of refugees, a large amount of research literature on the topic of this work has emerged. However, as described in the introduction, most of this literature focuses on the overall situation of refugees, rather than on their housing situation. Therefore, the aim of this paper is to organize the existing research literature and to analyze and interpret it specifically with regard to the housing situation of refugees. To achieve this goal, text analyses are indispensable. For a targeted analysis, it is necessary to code the existing literature in order to gain specific information.

The second pillar of this work will be the analysis of documents. Data and statistics on the accommodation and housing situation of refugees, as well as data on the housing market, will be used to obtain information on the research topic.

The combination of the findings of these two analyses provides an overview of the housing situation of refugees and its effects in terms of spatial and social isolation. Thus, on the one hand, statistical data is included and, on the other hand, analytical data from already existing research and results.

It would also be conceivable to conduct our own field research, for example in the form of caricatures or (expert) interviews, but this was not done in this study due to its limited scope. The opportunities that would arise from such an approach are discussed in the outlook at the end of the paper.

5.   Spatial and social isolation of asylum seekers

In the following section, the findings of the document, text and statistical analyses will be explained, analyzed and interpreted with regard to the research question.

As explained in chapter three, the AnkER facilities were developed with the aim of shortening processing times for asylum applications and concentrating the functions of the process in one place. To a large extent, this resulted from the experiences of 2015. As a consequence of the migration crisis of that year, a number of laws were enacted. Among other things, it has been stipulated that asylum seekers can live in initial reception centers for up to 24 months (cf. PRO ASYL 2021). Previously, this was only a maximum of three months (cf. ibid.). Basically, it should be noted that the AnkER centers hardly differ from previous initial reception facilities and collective accommodation with regard to the isolation of their residents (cf. ibid.). The rules for leaving and visiting are identical to those in other collective centers and are severely limited; in addition, asylum seekers are not allowed to take up work during the first nine months (cf. ibid.). Spatial and social isolation are interdependent. The facilities are usually rather remote and have inadequate digital networking, for example via WLAN (cf. ibid.). The consequence of this is that the early integration of the people is made more difficult (cf. ibid.). Contact with the majority society thus only takes place on a small basis. Neither the place nor the duration of residence can be freely chosen by the refugees, so that they are deprived of a central aspect of self-determination (cf. SCHMITT 2020, p. 147). The intended concentration of functions in AnkER centers or similar facilities inevitably leads to a concentration of asylum seekers (cf. MÜNCHENER FLÜCHTLINGSRAT 2022). This concentration inevitably leads to conflicts, especially among people with the most diverse socio-cultural backgrounds and flight histories (cf. ibid.). This concentration and spatial isolation of refugees is a kind of control from the outside (cf. SCHMITT 2020, p. 150f.).

In addition, the authorities concentrate on the asylum procedure as an administrative act in the steps "reception", "decision" and "repatriation" (cf. SCHMITT 2020, p.143f.). Linguistically, this

expresses the fact that the bureaucratic procedure is at the center first, rather than concrete support, integration or the individual human fate (cf. ibid.).

This is also how the goal of these AnkER facilities or similar shelters can be described. It is less about improving the concrete (housing) situation of asylum seekers in Germany or promoting integration, but rather about the administrative act of applying for asylum (cf. ibid.). The aim is primarily to improve this (cf. ibid.). The structure of the asylum procedure draws a clear line between people who live in Germany and those who seek protection in Germany (cf. SCHMITT 2020, p. 145). This distinction alone isolates those seeking protection from the majority society (cf. ibid.). Integration is already impossible under the aspect that asylum seekers are at all times dependent on the administrative process (cf. SCHMITT 2020, p. 148). Asylum seekers can enjoy protection, but can also lose it again (cf. ibid.). Their entitlement to live in Germany is dependent on the regulations of the asylum law (cf. ibid.). This means that they are socially isolated from the rest of society due to their dependent status (cf. ibid.).

Furthermore, it can be observed that the emergence and establishment of such centers are accompanied by sometimes violent reactions from the civilian population (cf. GÖLER 2021, p. 289). A wide variety of factors play a role in this (cf. ibid.). These include the housing market situation in the planned area, the size of the facility, as well as the nationalities of the future residents (cf. ibid.). These factors determine, among other things, the degree of social and spatial situation of the refugees. Arrival centers are often housed in former federal or state-owned areas such as barracks, which architecturally and psychologically reinforces the impression of seclusion and isolation (cf. GÖLER 2021, p. 290f.). This symbolically puts obstacles in the way of integration. This can also be proven with the help of surveys among refugees, which show that the refugees' radius of movement is almost exclusively limited to the immediate vicinity of their accommodation (cf. GÖLER 2021, p. 294f.).

The conceptual orientation of the AnKER or arrival centers also plays a role. Integration and the prospect of staying are definitely in focus, but these centers are increasingly known as deportation camps, especially in the public perception (cf. GÖLER 2021, p.289f.). This could lead to the assumption that the intended acceleration of asylum procedures primarily entailed and perhaps was intended to entail an acceleration of expulsion and deportation procedures (cf. ibid.).

In Germany, a decentralized distribution of asylum seekers takes place in order to share the costs equally among the municipalities and Länder (cf. WEIDINGER et al. 2017, p.48). As a result, refugees are often accommodated in rural areas (cf. Ibid.). This is also an important point when considering the social and spatial isolation of refugees. As a result, there are fewer social structures among the refugees that could facilitate integration (cf. OHLIGER et.al 2017, p.10). In addition, there is low

mobility in rural areas due to insufficient public transport (cf. Ibid.). This makes access to educational institutions and workplaces more difficult (cf. Ibid.).

Even after the refugee status has been recognized, there may be further residence requirements (cf. WEIDINGER et.al 2017, p.49). Accordingly, refugees may only live in the federal state in which their procedure was carried out for the first three years (cf. Ibid.). In addition, the individual federal states have the option of imposing stricter conditions in which they further restrict the place of residence (cf. Ibid.). This is mostly for reasons of integration policy, but in some cases it is also perceived as arbitrary (cf. Ibid.). Equal treatment in terms of place of residence is therefore not given even after the asylum procedure. Although recognized refugees are allowed to move into their own flat, this is only possible under certain conditions and under the dependency of the state authorities.

In general, centralized accommodation of refugees seems to be more of a hindrance to integration (cf. OHLIGER et.al 2017, p.10). Decentralized accommodation, on the other hand, is more conducive to integration (cf. Ibid.). Another problem is the lack of involvement of asylum seekers in the choice of housing (cf. Ibid.). The choice of one's own place of residence is a strong integration factor and leads to stronger social ties and integration (cf. Ibid.).

Access to education is one of the core elements for the integration of refugees. However, refugees from different countries of origin are integrated differently into education programs, depending on their prospects of staying (cf. OHLIGER et.al 2017, p.15). The social isolation of refugees therefore also depends to a large extent on their origin or their prospects of staying.

Furthermore, collective accommodation is characterized by permanent state access due to the residence and registration obligation (cf. GOERENS 2002, p.28). Entry and exit controls monitor the daily routine of the refugees (cf. Ibid.). The possibility to receive visitors or to visit people outside the camp is also restricted and subject to conditions (cf. Ibid.). This is another indication of the social isolation of refugees. In addition, there is the geographical and spatial isolation described above, which manifests itself primarily through the location of the collective accommodation outside the city centers (cf. Ibid.).

6. Conclusion

Based on the insights gathered in the previous sections, I would add the level of administrative isolation to the social and spatial isolation of refugees. The spatial and social isolation of refugees is by no means a product of chance, but an integral part of the asylum procedure. This means that the extent of isolation is particularly dependent on the design of the asylum procedure. As described above, the German asylum system is designed, among other things, for control. The residence and

registration obligations, as well as the registration of visits or leaving the accommodation, aim to have the refugees under the greatest possible control during the ongoing asylum procedure. In the sense of an official or bureaucratic process, this procedure is quite understandable and justifiable.

The consequence of this approach, however, is an enormous isolation of the refugees in their host country. This takes place both spatially and socially. The collective accommodation or AnkER centers play a special role in this. They are an integral part of refugee accommodation in Germany and, as described above, are designed under the premise of control and order. As a result, these shelters are usually not centrally located, but rather peripheral. The infrastructural connection of the shelters is therefore usually not guaranteed. In addition, the architecture of these shelters is in many cases both outwardly and inwardly repellent. For example, they are often surrounded by walls or barbed wire fences. These two aspects alone isolate the refugees spatially from the existing society. In addition, there is the psychological effect, which brings me to social isolation.

Due to the geographical location of the collective accommodation, it is usually hardly possible for the refugees to establish contact with the host society. In addition, there are the above-mentioned registration regulations regarding visits or leaving the accommodation. This creates a hurdle that makes it difficult for the refugees to integrate. Furthermore, the prohibition to work is a decisive obstacle to integration. The refugees usually have little contact with people outside their collective accommodation, which makes it difficult for them to establish contacts in their host country. It should also be noted that the measures taken during the asylum process depend to a large extent on the refugees' country of origin, so I would like to conclude with an outlook.

This research did not fully capture the problem of refugee isolation. Further research could work with interviews and surveys to better understand refugees' views of their situation.

From my point of view, the accommodation of refugees in collective housing is one of the biggest obstacles to successful integration. A solution to the problem would only be possible in conjunction with a reform of the asylum law.

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PUBLIC TRANSPORT AS A BORDERSCAPE

Marek Sierts

1.   Introduction

Border practices encompass the evolving activities and processes associated with borders, shifting away from traditional notions of clear spatial divisions to a nuanced understanding of borders as dynamic and socially constructed entities that influence various aspects of society (DIENER AND HAGEN 2012). These practices are increasingly moving away from the actual state borders. The power of state borders can thus no longer be adequately explained by classical border concepts that understand borders as a clear spatial separation of an inside and an outside. Out of this explanatory deficit, critical border research has been developed. Critical border research is an extremely diverse field of research, covering topics such as gender and sexuality (LUIBHÉID 2001), environmental justice (JOHNSON AND NIEMEYER 2008), border security (VOLLMER 2019) and more-than-human borders (OZGUC AND BURRIDGE 2023), but sharing the basic assumption that a decentering and multiplication of borders can be observed. In this respect, critical border research is accompanied by an epistemological paradigm shift: border is no longer understood as a self-evident entity, but rather as a social construct in constant change that can serve as a starting point for investigations ("border as a method") (see MEZZADRA AND NEILSON 2013).

In the context of the multiplication of border spaces, this paper will take a closer look at the role of urban public transport in Berlin. In the field of critical transport research, there are already a number of research approaches such as "social exclusion" (see LUCAS 2012), which deal with exclusion mechanisms of transport systems in the UK. Social exclusion examines, for example, the extent to which a lack of transport services and marginalization has a mutually reinforcing relationship. Public transport or the existence of public transport is generally evaluated positively. As a result, however, the focus is not on the extent to which public transport can also function as a border space through its specific design, precisely because of its presence. The aim of this work is therefore to draft a research design and conduct an initial research attempt that examines the following key question on the basis of such a critical understanding of boundaries: *To what extent does the public transport system in Berlin (or the transport agency of the city (Berliner Verkehrsbetriebe, BVG) in*

the concrete case study) function as a border apparatus through its material design and social reality, thereby manifesting the structural exclusion and disadvantage of refugees?

2. Theoretical approach and ethnographic border regime

First, ethnographic border regime analysis and borderscape, the two theoretical concepts on which this thesis is based, will be explained. In the following chapter, a connection is made between the concept of borderscape and public transport and the necessity for such a research perspective is justified. Then, in the third chapter, a possible methodological approach is presented. The fourth chapter contains a critical reflection addressing the dangers of such research. I then present the research and research results of a first small research attempt before a conclusion is drawn.

2.1 Theoretical approach

This chapter will introduce the two concepts central to this work. First, the ethnographic border regime analysis that provides the theoretical framework, a concept that describes the regulation of migration as a more or less messy ensemble of practices and knowledge-power-complexes and therefore not as a system implemented by state powers or powerful actors (FAUSER ET AL. 2019), and, in the second section, the concept of borderscape on which the critical border understanding of the research design is based, and that describes the complex social, cultural, and political processes that occur at the border between two or more countries (BRAMBILLA 2015).

2.2 Ethnographic border regime analysis

An essential point of reference for ethnographic border regime analysis is the thesis of the "autonomy of migration" (GENOVA 2017; BENZ AND SCHWENKEN 2005). This approach is often misunderstood as the autonomy of migrants, which can lead to a concealment of the suffering and plight of many migrants. Instead, the autonomy of migration represents the attempt to place migration back into the history of labor, capitalism and modern forms of governance theoretically and research-politically and thus to consider the hitherto often ignored capacity of living labour" (HESS AND SCHMIDT-SEMBDNER 2021, p. 208). In other words, the aim is to highlight the "agency of migration" (ibid.: 207) and to show that migration is an essential factor in border (re)formation. This view was also elaborated by MEZZADRA AND NEILSON (2013), who define borders as "social institutions which are marked by tensions between practices of border reinforcement and border crossing" (ibid.: 3). With the term "border struggles" (ibid.: 264), the authors emphasize the central

role that struggles play in the context of the formation of borders. The autonomy of migration, should not, however, be misunderstood as a statement of fact. Rather, it is an epistemological change of perspective that raises fundamentally new questions and research approaches (HESS AND SCHMIDT-SEMBDNER 2021, pp. 208–209).

Building on the preceding considerations, the approach of ethnographic border regime analysis defines the border regime as a space of constant tension, conflict and contestation (HESS AND SCHMIDT-SEMBDNER 2021, p. 207). Control regimes and migration movements are thus freed from their classical subject-object relationship and migration is no longer conceptualized as a consequence of push and pull factors, but as a structural form of resistance (HESS AND SCHMIDT-SEMBDNER 2021, p. 207). Consequently, the goal of collective migration movements is not primarily a change of location, but the active transformation of social space. Migration can thus be seen as a transformative force, as "voting with one's feet" (HESS ET AL. 2018, p. 273).

This understanding of migration builds on a specific materialist understanding of the state. In this, the state is to be understood as a field of social contradiction and conflict management (WAGNER 2010, p. 231). The Marxist political scientist POULANTZAS (2002, p. 159) defines the state accordingly as the material condensation of power relations. In other words, the state is a social relation, a place of "doing politics", which is constituted by social struggles and continuous negotiation processes of different actors and forces (MICHAELIS AND SPAHN 2020). This understanding of the state thus also separates itself from an absolute understanding of space, which understands the state as a container independent of the subjects it contains. Instead, the concept of the state used here builds on a relational understanding of space, moving beyond static mathematical, physical and geographical notions of space (AROUNA ET AL. 2019, pp. 14–15). According to this understanding, the state is not the container in which subjects are located and act among themselves but is only constituted by the existence of those very subjects.

The state as a material condensation of contradictory relations enables the internally divided ruling class to organize itself as a ruling bloc in power. However, this is not to be understood as a uniform, closed unit. Rather, the dominant bloc is itself riddled with contradictions and represents only an unstable balance of compromise (WAGNER 2010, p. 232) between the ruling class fractions. Together with the organization of the bloc in power, the division and disorganization of the subaltern classes takes place (WAGNER 2010, p. 232). Ultimately, the focus of the border regime analysis is precisely those social conflicts and negotiation processes of the state in which migration or migrants always represent a central actor-fraction. Migration and the attempts of the state to regulate it are thus to be understood as a social field of negotiation in which various agents operate (BENZ AND SCHWENKEN 2005, p. 366).

In summary, ethnographic border regime analysis emphasizes the autonomy of migration and the agency of migrants, highlighting their role in (re)shaping borders and challenging traditional migration frameworks. The analysis views the state as a site of social contradiction and negotiation processes, where migration plays a central role. The next chapter explores the concept of borderscape, examining the spatial dynamics of border regimes, including the physical manifestations, social production, and challenges associated with borderscapes.

2.3 Borderscape

Until the late 1980s, border research was still largely understood as a research discipline limited to the study of state borders. Accordingly, border research at that time was reserved for political science. State borders were understood as demarcations of (state) sovereignty, as naturalised and static-territorial lines (BRAMBILLA 2015, p. 15). In the early 1990s, however, the accelerating globalization and the frequently observed loss of meaning of national borders led various scholars to proclaim the beginning of a "borderless world" (see OMAE 1991). This approach, however, was to become only a brief episode in the history of border research, as newer approaches elaborated the ongoing significance of borders for politics as well as everyday life (see TUATHAIL 1999).

Subsequently, a "processual shift" has been observed, centered on a fundamental constructivist shift in perspective from border to bordering (BRAMBILLA 2015, p. 15). In addition to the fact that the "processual shift" formulated a response to the globalization discourse, it is to be understood as a consequence of the "spatial turn" that took place in the 1980s. This paradigm shift in the cultural and social sciences no longer presented space as an ontological given, but understood it as socially constructed. The same can be observed in border research (WILLE 2021, pp. 107–108). Research interest has increasingly shifted from an initial focus on borders as territorial dividing lines and political institutions to borders considered as socio-cultural and discursive processes and practices. In this context, border studies also opened up to various other disciplines beyond political science, such as geography, sociology and anthropology (BRAMBILLA 2015, p. 15).

The concept of borderscape, which goes back to the 2007 anthology "Borderscape - Hidden Geographies and Politics at Territory's Edge" by Grundy-Warr and Rajaram, is part of this new approach. In it, the authors describe borderscape as a starting point from which the investigation of the border as mobile, perspectival and relational is made possible (GRUNDY-WARR AND RAJARAM 2007, p. X). Borderscape is thus intended to make the complexity and vitality of borders visible and analyzable. With this perspective, the concept distinguishes itself from the idea of a "borderless world" as well as from an understanding of borders in which the focus is on nation-state borderlines.

In the following years, the concept of borderscape was recited and modified many times. On the one hand, because it was able to serve the new demands resulting from the processual shift, and on the other hand, because the new conception of border as a fluid, mobile and open zone of diverse encounters, allowed for a wide range of new directions of analysis. KRICHKER (2019, pp. 2–3) describes these two points as the "irresistible vagueness" of the borderscapes approach and thus simultaneously problematizes the increasing imprecision and dilution of the term that accompanies it. This is also reflected, among other things, in the fact that the literature using the borderscape concept is not based on a uniform definition (KRICHKER 2019, p. 5; BRAMBILLA 2015, p. 16). Therefore, the concrete understanding of borderscapes on which this work is based will be elaborated here. For the definition, I refer to a number of authors, each of whom emphasizes different aspects (BRAMBILLA 2015; BRAMBILLA AND JONES 2020; CELATA AND COLETTI 2019; KRICHKER 2019; OMAE 1991; WILLE 2021; PARKER AND VAUGHAN WILLIAMS 2012). Firstly, it should be noted that borderscapes are to be understood as zones of diverse and differentiated encounters (GRUNDY-WARR AND RAJARAM 2007, p. XXIX). They relate to international border contexts, but are not necessarily located in close proximity to international borders. Moreover, Borderscapes deliberately turn away from an understanding of borders that has a definable boundary line. Instead, in Borderscapes it is impossible to draw a line that could determine the division between an "inside" and "outside" (KRICHKER 2019, pp. 5–6). Taking these conditions into account, SCOTT ET AL. (2018, p. 175) define borderscapes as: "social/political panoramas that emerge around border contexts and that connect the realm of high politics with that of communities and individuals who are affected by and negotiate [...] borders".

These definitions give rise to a number of basic epistemological interests that are pursued through the bordescapes approach in this paper: The aim is to identify and investigate what and where boundaries are, how they function in different contexts, with what consequences and to whose benefit (PARKER AND VAUGHAN-WILLIAMS 2012, p. 729). In the following chapter, it will be explained to what extent public transport in general and in Berlin in particular can or must be understood as a borderscape in order to meaningfully complement the dominant research on the socio-spatial significance of public transport.

2.4 Borderscape Public transport

In order to clarify the relevance of public transport for questions of border research, the function of public transport should first be pointed out and a clear distinction is to be made between mobility and transport. Mobility is a fundamental human need. The satisfaction (or non-satisfaction) of mobility needs is an important indicator of the social inclusion or exclusion of

certain groups of people. The social scientist WEERT CANZLER (2012, p. 321) defines mobility in the broadest sense as mobility that takes place in a mobility realm whose boundaries are drawn by the individual's mental horizon. In this mobility space, individuals plan their agency strategies and test them for realization. CANZLER (2012, p. 324) argues that the mobility space should therefore be understood as a space of possibility and mobility accordingly as movement in this space of possibility. In turn, the most diverse places and activities such as the supermarket, family, friends, local recreation areas, the authorities, the workplace, etc. are spatially distributed in the possibility space. The desire to reach these spaces and to pursue the activities there represents the mobility needs of individual persons (CANZLER 2012, p. 324). The satisfaction of mobility needs results from the interaction of two components. On the one hand, the spatial distribution of the places that need to be reached, and on the other hand, the quantity and quality of the transport services that can be used to bridge the space between these places. In summary, "transport [...] is to be understood as movement in concrete spaces, while mobility is movement in possible spaces" (CANZLER 2012, p. 324). In other words: Mobility describes a need and transport a means that is required to satisfy it. That said, it is important to note that more traffic does not automatically lead to more mobility. The car system in particular shows how the expansion of a transport system can lead to a reduction in the mobility of an entire society (see CANZLER et al. 2018). Public transport is generally and especially for refugees and many migrants one of the central components of the de facto available transport offer, since due to the precarious financial situation in which they often find themselves, they are usually denied the use of individual motorized transport (MiD 2017, pp. 34–35). More than other population groups, they are therefore dependent on public transport. This dependency is the reason for the special potential that an investigation of public transport offers for critical frontier research. The planning and control of public transport represents an effective means for the city to exercise its own "discretionary power" (FAUSER 2019, p. 611) and thus a form of migration control. Equally, however, refugees and migrants can also engage in counter-hegemonic practices that limit the role of the state and the city. Previous research dealing with the socio-political role of public transport has not focused on these aspects. In the traditional systems-based approach of transport provision, for example, the focus is on the output of the transport system. How quickly can one get from different places to the city center? How regular are departure times? A significant extension of this seemingly technocratic research perspective was achieved in transport research with the establishment of the concept of "social exclusion". This approach makes it clear that there is a direct connection between the possibilities of movement and the marginalization of people. The focus is no longer on the bare figures of the transport capacity of a transport system, but on the goal of a needs-oriented transport supply. For this purpose, both the condition and the obstacles that stand in the way of a transport system with equality of outcome

are examined (Lucas 2012, pp. 105–106). Both traditional, needs-oriented transport research and the progressive social exclusion approach have in common, however, that the existence of transport services (public transport) is to be assessed positively in principle - only the distribution (inequity) of the existing provision is part of the criticism. What is not considered here is the extent to which public transport can act as a border area and contribute to the marginalization of certain population groups due to its specific design. At this point, the distinction between mobility and transport should be recalled. The different meanings of these terms already reveal the point made here, namely that simply measuring transport connections falls far short of the mark. With the help of the borderscape concept, precisely this research gap can be closed. Basically, an investigation can be conducted in two directions.

On the one hand, the focus is on the state or the governmental unit managing public transport. In the case of the Berliner Verkehrsbetriebe, this actor is the city of Berlin. The city, in the form of the citizens and the senate, has the decision-making authority over the concrete organization of public transport in Berlin. A first object of investigation can therefore be the way in which the BVG is used by the city of Berlin as an instrument of border demarcation or if the BVG takes on the form of an externalized EU external border (see Celata and Coletti 2019). The other central group of actors are the refugees and migrants against whom the BVG border apparatus is directed. From this perspective, questions about the effects on the people concerned and the practices of resistance developed from them are of interest. A third group of actors, which is less central but also included in this field of tension and should not be ignored, is the group of non-migrant public transport users. What role do they play both as an "ally" and as an amplifier of the repressive features of a Borderscape BVG?

In addition to the analysis of actors, it is also important from a research perspective to identify relevant practices through which the border function of public transport is established or contested. An intuitively clear example is the control function that public transport has through ticket controls. Illegalized people in particular often lack the necessary money for a ticket. Nevertheless, they are dependent on the transport services in order to meet their mobility needs at least to some extent. Using public transport without a valid ticket, however, poses an enormous risk for them, as possible ticket checks by BVG employees may result in them being handed over to the police, which can be life-threatening. Public transport thus represents an "extension of physical controls within territorial borders" (Squire 2014, p. 162). What practices have those concerned developed to deal with this danger or at least to make it calculable?

The analysis of the interaction of these three groups of actors, combined with the reconstruction of specific practices, can contribute to a better understanding of the functioning of public transport as a border space. It sheds light on the contested field that the BVG represents and can thus help

to support marginalized people in their practices of resistance and to specifically name and scandalize existing borders with the aim of making public transport more just for all.

3. Methodical approach

In this chapter, a possible methodological procedure for the research project will be presented and justified. In doing so, I am guided by the methodological work of AROUNA ET AL. (2019), from which two approaches can be derived for this research: First, the landscape of institutional and civil society actors is to be examined, and second, the living situation of refugees is to be reconstructed and their practices of appropriation analyzed (AROUNA ET AL. 2019, p. 26). The combination of these two perspectives is intended to illuminate the object of study - Borderscape BVG - in which (1) the ongoing genesis (of the border space of public transport) on the part of municipal and state authorities is recorded, and (2) the practices of resistance of refugees, who also shape this border space, are analyzed.

The first point describes studies that seek answers as to whether and to what extent public transport is consciously or unconsciously constructed by institutional actors as a border space for refugees. Of interest are also the backgrounds and motives with which such decisions are justified. Understanding the role of civil society actors can also prove extremely fruitful in reconstructing the overall picture. However, it is to be expected that it is more difficult to make a qualified selection compared to both institutional actors and refugees. Not least because the broadest spectrum of interests is to be expected among this group, in which practices of resistance as well as "borderpromoting" practices are to be assumed.

The second point focuses on the study of the appropriation practices of refugees. The aim of this perspective is, among other things, to understand refugees as social actors and active subjects in the sense of the autonomy of migration (BORRI AND FONTANARI, p. 193). Appropriation practices refer to the meaning and function of spaces and how they are used and made 'one's own' (AROUNA ET AL. 2019, p. 20). By means of appropriation practices, a connection can be made in the study of Borderscape BVG between the specific design of public transport and the life situations of refugees. In addition to considering refugees as actors, the analysis of appropriation practices also makes it possible to investigate the BVG starting from the life situations of the actors who shape it (AROUNA ET AL. 2019, p. 20). Through this research approach, individual practices of coping with and resisting the borderline space of public transport can be reconstructed. Appropriation as a practice and mode of action thus directs the focus to the meaning and coping with the structures of the transport system and their spatial conditions. The gain in knowledge results from the fact that the life situations of refugees are taken as a basis and the border reality of the public transport

system or the Borderscape BVG is researched along the perspectives of the main actors, the refugees (AROUNA ET AL. 2019, p. 22).

Qualitative interviews (see RUBIN AND RUBIN 2005) are suitable both for the study of institutional and civil society actors and especially for questioning the refugees. Due to the great depth of knowledge, it is recommended to use in-depth interviews (RUTLEDGE AND HOGG 2020). The first step is to identify suitable persons/institutions who could be interviewed. On the side of the institutional actors, representatives of the city, like senator of transport and interior, the BVG and possibly members of civil society organizations with a focus on public transport/mobility and/or work with refugees must be interviewed. In order to investigate the perspective of refugees, refugees who have been in Berlin for a long time should be interviewed, so that they have already been able to develop any practices of appropriation and resistance.

The fact that this research project focuses exclusively on the construction of the Borderscape BVG vis-à-vis refugees has practical reasons. Although the empirical investigation could also be extended to the mode of action in relation to migrants, this approach would be much more extensive, which would inevitably compromise the knowledge gained. Instead, by limiting the study to refugees as a group of actors, the aim is to gain insights into the specific appropriation practices of refugees and not migrants in general.

4. Reflection and research challenges

Sociocultural research always carries the risk of reinforcing existing power structures. Therefore, it is essential to critically reflect on my own / the researcher's own position of power. An essential practical consequence of this necessity is the involvement of research participants in the research. Furthermore, the risks that might arise for refugees from this research must be considered and minimized. Fundamentally, the research must not be to the disadvantage of groups that are already marginalized and discriminated against. The following is a summary of some critical reflections on my research design.

With regard to urban actors, there is a danger in interviews that the interviewees give the answers they think are desirable (social desirability). For example, BVG certainly has an interest in not sounding racist. In this respect, it is questionable whether interviews are sufficient for this group of actors to gain the desired insights. Instead, or in addition, other research methods would be recommended in order to base the investigation of discriminatory and racist practices and their motivation not only on the statements of these actors.

The research project presented in this paper runs the risk that the knowledge gained through the research will be misused by repressive actors. If resistance and appropriation practices can be

identified that make it easier for refugees to use and act with public transport, this knowledge can also be used to develop countermeasures that further strengthen the border function of the BVG. This danger justifies the necessity of not only understanding those affected as subjects and active actors, but also to actively involve them in the research and not to share critical findings with state actors. In this way, the knowledge gained can be used to optimize the practices used by the refugees, which may only take place unconsciously or are based on implicit knowledge, in order to ultimately strengthen their position.

"Collaborative ethnography" describes a position in the methodological debate of the social sciences that interprets joint research as an essential goal (FONTANARI ET AL. 2019, p. 144). An objective that this research project should also pursue. In concrete terms, this means that the refugees who would participate in this research must be involved in the research and the research process. In the case of the qualitative interviews, this could take the form of feedback. Were the people's statements interpreted correctly? Are they still fundamentally missing something or can they think of further points during the joint review? In order to emphasize the aspect of joint research even more, other methods of "collaborative ethnography" could be used in addition to the interviews. For example, ethnographic dinners, a regular meal organized by the researchers. There, refugees and supporters have the opportunity to meet regularly, to stay in contact and to organize themselves. In such a methodological approach, activism and research can be combined, which is expected to be beneficial for both fields. Of course, this balancing act needs to be critically reflected upon and negotiated on an ongoing basis (FONTANARI ET AL. 2019, p. 145).

4.1. First research attempts

Within the scope of this assignment, I cannot conduct research on the scale that would be necessary to answer the research question sufficiently. Nevertheless, initial research attempts will be carried out to gain first insights and to uncover potential obstacles and problems of the research. My first intention was to conduct interviews with affected people. Unfortunately, I did not manage to get people for an interview in the short time I had. I developed a guideline for the interviews, which I did not use, but which I put in the appendix of this paper for potential further use.

In order to be able to conduct research nevertheless, I decided to use the method of (participatory) observation. My plan has been to follow ticket inspectors in the S-Bahn and U-Bahn and observe how they deal with various people. Thanks to a Berlin-wide Telegram group with over 20,000 members warning about ticket inspectors, I was able to track where inspectors were and go there directly instead of just driving around the public transport network in the hope of encountering them.

This enabled me to find four controller groups on each of the two days and accompany them for a few stops. After two or three changes, I usually did not follow them any more to prevent them from noticing me. In total, I was able to observe people being caught without a valid ticket nine times. All observations are therefore based on an extremely small number of cases and must be interpreted with the respective caution.

However, with the small sample I could observe that the behaviors of the inspectors was not consistent across all passengers. The ticket collectors appeared to be more understanding towards white people who did not have a ticket compared to black people, who were more likely to be subjected to further action such as being asked to leave the train. Furthermore, it appeared that when white passengers were caught without a ticket, the inspectors were more likely to give them the benefit of the doubt and let them off with a warning.

Another observation was related to the body language and tone of voice of ticket inspectors when dealing with passengers. In some cases, ticket collectors seemed impatient or annoyed when passengers were slow to produce their ticket or appeared confused about the fare system. This behavior could be interpreted as rude or intimidating, especially for passengers who were not familiar with the public transport system.

While the participatory observation method I used this research provides insights into the behavior of ticket inspectors in public transport, there are also various limitations to this approach that should be noted.

Firstly, the most important point is that I (just like the ticket inspectors) identified people on the train who were inspected only according to their appearance. I could perceive various external features, such as style of dress or skin color, but I do not know who these people are and therefore cannot say, for example, whether any person has a flight or migration history. In this respect, it is difficult to answer the research question posed at the beginning with this method, as it also refers specifically to the experience of refugees. Thus, there is a risk that I may reinforce the racist categorization of assigning certain traits to people based on their physical appearance, which the inspectors are presumably using as well. This categorization has tangible impacts due to its application by the inspectors and must be acknowledged, addressed, and ultimately dismantled. However, using the participatory observation method, it becomes challenging for me to actively dismantle this categorization, because I only have the superficial view of observation in this case. Also, it is fundamentally difficult to find out through observation what practices people have developed to deal with the dangers of public transport and to include the observed in the research.

Secondly, the study relied solely on the observations of one researcher. The subjective nature of observation means that different researchers may interpret the same behaviors differently. It would

be helpful to have multiple researchers conduct similar studies in order to compare their observations and increase the reliability of the findings.

Thirdly, the observations made during the study were limited to a specific time period and location. This means that the findings may not be representative of the behavior of ticket inspectors in other areas or at different times. Additionally, my presence during the observations may have influenced the behavior of the ticket inspectors, potentially leading to a bias in the observations.

5. Conclusion

This work has shown how a research project can be theoretically and practically conceived in order to meaningfully complement research on the socio-political significance of public transport for refugees. As a basis for this, the concept of Borderscape is recommended which originates from critical border research and is embedded methodologically and contextually in ethnographic border regime analysis. An important goal pursued with both concepts is to recognize the autonomy of migration, i.e. to depart from the status as object in the double sense that refugees often hold in border research. On the one hand, this refers to the view of traditional migration and border theories, which understand migration as a mere consequence of market-economic rationalism, and on the other hand, that according to this view, refugees and migrants are mostly objects of research, insofar as they cannot bring themselves into the research.

In the methodological part, it was shown how the research question presented in the introduction can be answered.

To what extent does the public transport system (or the BVG in the concrete case study) function as a border apparatus through its material design and social reality, thereby manifesting the structural exclusion and disadvantage of refugees?

Against the background of the two theoretical concepts, this question can be answered with a methodological mix of in-depth interviews and other methods from participatory social research. With methods of participatory social research as well as a participatory design of the interviews, refugees can be studied as active subjects and at the same time their role as central actors in migration and border processes is recognized. In the sense of activist research, the goal is always that the results can contribute to improving the living conditions of refugees.

An initial research in the form of a participatory observation provided valuable insights into the behavior of ticket inspectors in the Berlin public transport system. The observations highlighted potential issues related to racial profiling and the need for better training for ticket collectors to

ensure that all passengers are treated fairly and respectfully. However, the results come from a very small sample size and must therefore be interpreted with utmost caution.

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SHIFTING NIGHT EXPERIENCES OF INTERNATIONAL STUDENT MIGRANTS IN BERLN

Catherine Woodhouse & Jonas Aubert Nchoundoungam

1.   Introduction

This project is focusing on the experiences of student migrants in Berlin, and how those experiences change between engaging in the night time economy as a consumer versus engaging in it as a worker. This project explores the heterotopic experiences of student migrants in the night time economy, through the means of interviews with people who have worked within various sectors of the night time economy in Berlin, and by examining their reasons for choosing Berlin for study, and their reasons for working in the night time economy. These aspects of the interviewee responses will give an overview of how and why their experiences of the urban night change.

The hypotheses of this research are that the urban night life in Berlin was at least a contributing factor to the choice of Berlin as a site for international study and exchange, along with the choice to work in the urban night having negatively affected or reduced a student migrant's consumption in the urban night scene.

Current and existing literature about the urban night time economy will be reviewed along with literature that examines youth engagement with it. The theme of heterotopia and heterotopic experiences will be examined in how it relates to this research project. After this literature review, the methods will be explained, and results discussed and analyzed as closely as possible. An evaluation of this research project will be conducted and then conclusions about the results will be drawn, followed by recommendations for further research into these themes.

2. Research background and state of art

There are several key themes for this research; the night time economy, and the role of the youth population within it. As mentioned in the introduction this research focuses particularly on the transition of students from consumers to workers (or producers) within the night time economy. This research takes inspiration from GALLAN's use of heterotopia to describe the complexities and

experiences of an urban night space in Wollongong, Australia (GALLAN, 2015), and applies the concept of heterotopia directly to the experiences of a transitioning youth population, those having to work in the urban night while studying at university. The aim is to identify heterogeneity of student experiences, and to use the concept of heterotopia in a sociological context. Originally, Heterotopia is a term coined within the medical field meaning a growth of normal tissues in abnormal places and ways (CENZATTI, 2008). However, Foucault took this concept and applied it to spatial and societal contexts. In this way, a heterotopia being a space representative of the 'other' (FOUCAULT, 1984). This research aims at taking the concept and applying it directly to experience of getting use of the night in order to highlight the ways that a regular space or experience can be subject to abnormal processes or simply be changed in meaning.

GALLAN (2015) has used a similar approach to heterotopia to understand the complexities in experiencing one particular space (an independent bar) in a city in Australia. The general idea then in this study is to identify how the experience of a new or unfamiliar city can be altered and changed depending on the night time activities of a person, and how this can also be affected by other aspects of the person's life (BATCHELOR ET AL, 2020), using International migrant students in Berlin as target group for data collection.

2.1 Berlin Night Time Economy and the Engagement with Work

Young people often engage with the night time economy as a leisure practice, to free themselves temporarily from the pressures of their everyday life, whether they are studying or working; this research wants to explore how it can affect a student if they are working within the night time economy and have less capacity and ability to use the night time to relax (BATCHELOR ET AL, 2020). The transition from youth to adulthood is one that can be characterized by employment, but over recent decades this transition is one that has become more complex through further education, training, internships and apprenticeships, etc. (HOLLANDS, 2002; BATCHELOR ET AL, 2020). This research focuses not on the pathways to work, but rather how working in the night time can affect an international student's experience of the city.

Academia is often thought of as "night-blind" (FÜLLER ET AL, 2018), and definitions of the night time are variable. This research takes the 'night' to mean after 6pm, and economic activities that occur after this time are included in the night-time economy even if they can occur before this time, for example a restaurant or cafe-bar that opens at lunch time but stays open after 6pm takes part at least partially in the night time economy. The night time economy became a prevalent urban and economic planning strategy in the 1990s in Britain, to expand and increase the economic capability of cities; these cities became labeled as 24 hour cities (FÜLLER ET AL, 2020). This strategy

moved to Berlin in the early 2000s. The night time economy is made up of several sectors; hospitality, tourism and entertainment are the most significant (PLYUSHTEVA, 2018). This strategy aimed to create a safer environment for night time economic activity in order to draw people out of their private homes, this was most often done through improving and increasing street lighting and increasing regulation to reduce the negative by-products of popular night time activities (VAN LIEMPT ET AL, 2015). Leisurely activity for young people and working people is often to spend time in the night time economy, to dine, drink or be entertained (BATCHELOR ET AL, 2020). Space in the night time economy is most often private and commercial space, such as bars, restaurants, music and theatre venues, but sometimes can be incorporated into the public space. This overflow is a point of controversy and conflict for many (FÜLLER ET AL, 2018), often because of noise or consumer behavior.

Much of academic literature concerning the urban night time economy focuses on the consumers, rather than the workers (PLYUSHTEVA, 2018), and there are many points of data and research that identify a monopolization of the urban night, where spaces are becoming more homogenous and similar (GALLAN, 2015; BATCHELOR, 2020) although, the pathway has become more complex, and the resulting work is increasingly more precarious and insecure (BATCHELOR ET AL, 2020).

3. Research hypothesis

The following research hypothesis has been raised for investigation and data collection in order to better shed light of the varying experiences of the night time life mad by the people concern by this study.

- The urban night life was an important factor in moving to Berlin for international study.
- The students' 'consumption' of Berlin's urban night has been negatively affected or reduced by working in Berlin's urban night.

4. Methodology

This study utilises interviews in order to gather qualitative and subjective data. The data that needed to be collected for the research questions in this study would have been difficult to obtain through questionnaires due to the impersonal nature of that collection method. Quantitative data would not have given a deep enough insight into actual experiences to be able to draw any meaningful conclusions about the research question.

Interviews are a valuable data collection method because the participant is allowed and encouraged to use their own words and express themselves genuinely (ALSHENQEETI, 2014). The semi-structured interview style here would allow for a more fluid and relevant line of questions depending on the topics that will come up, and also allows for further explanation of questions, themes, or concepts if necessary. The semi-structured interview allows for a more similar through-line between different interviews and interviewees, so that there can be a more accurate degree of comparison than between unstructured interviews (ALSHENQEETI, 2014). Interviews were appropriate for this research due to the open-ended nature of the questions that were asked, and face-to-face, online interviews are more likely to gain more insightful and accurate responses than a method like an online-distributed questionnaire (PHELLAS ET AL, 2012).

Interviews were conducted with people already known to have worked in the night-time economy at some point during their studies in Berlin, and then snowball sampling was used in order to gain more participants where possible. The first interview lead to one other interview with someone from the same workplace (the opera).

The interviews were conducted over video call due to the locations of the participants and the persevering COVID-19 pandemic. Each interview took approximately 12 minutes. There was only a low number of interviews due to the time-frame of this project.

In this research project, three interviews were conducted using online video conferencing software. The interviews were semi-structured, as all the same questions were asked, but not necessarily in the same order, so that the flow of conversation was not interrupted and any elaboration on particular themes of conversation was available. The interviews were recorded and transcribed, these transcriptions of primary data are located in the Appendices of this paper. Each interview response was compared to the equivalent response of each other participant for analysis and discussion. Each question asked held a direct link to one of the themes of this study project e.g. "How has working in the night time economy changed your capability to engage in the night time economy as a consumer?" and questions that might expand upon their answers and offer a deeper insight into the participants experiences of Berlin's night time economy e.g. "How do your feelings of safety change when working during the night time versus when engaging in the night time economy in another way?"

5. Results and discussion

The themes from the interviews that will be analyzed are those such as how much urban nightlife played a role in choosing Berlin as a city for international study, and how much working in the urban night affected the students' capacity to engage with it.

All participants identified are women and were in their early 20s (21, 23, and 22). Only one participant had previous experience in working in the urban night. Two women identified and investigated worked at the opera in Berlin, and the last one worked as a server in a bar/pub.

5.1 The Night-Life as a Contributing Factor

In the first interview, the urban nightlife played a small role in choosing Berlin as a city for study, but not as much as personal connections and the city as an academically relevant site to their degree program. To summarize here are the main issue derive by applying content analysis using Maxqda software for transcribing.

Interview 1(22), female from France, Opera Worker (Entertainment sector) "*…wanted to study here because I study landscaping and landscape in general. So I was looking to discover more about Berlin landscapes and I know that it's very much mixed between nature and history and architecture …*"

> INTERVIEWER: And then just my disclaimer. You will be anonymous, for any information or data disclosed in this interview at any point you can withdraw from the interview or withdrawal answers from the project, even after this interview is complete. And if you want to learn more about the purpose of the results. Or, and the research project, and you can get in contact with me, and I'll tell you as much as I can. Okay, um, this project because they end up answering the question does working in the night-time economy effect of international students experienced of buttons nightlife. This project has been answering the question does working in the night-time economy effect and international students experienced Berlin's nightlife. So first, and the first section of this interview will be about like getting some background on you like your demographics, that kind of thing. So, could you state your age and gender, and your home country.
>
> **Interview 1**: Yeah, so I'm [REDACTED], I'm 22 and I come from France, and I am. I have feminine pronouns.
>
> INTERVIEWER: Thank you. Um, when you chose to come to Berlin to study. Did you - What was the reason you chose Berlin or what were, like, the things you took into account when choosing the city?
>
> **Interview 1**: Hmm, I think it was related to whether I wanted to study here because I study landscaping and landscape in general. so I was looking to discover more about Berlin landscapes and I know that it's

very much mixed between nature and history and architecture, very diverse and yeah I want to be immersed in this culture. And also I wanted to practice German because I like this language and I was born in Germany. So, so I felt linked with the city and I wanted to discover for the {court}, though short time. Yeah.

INTERVIEWER: All right. Interesting. Um, so, Berlin has a very well known, kind of role in global perception, as being like a 24 hour city, and so did the urban nightlife scene, play a role at any point in your decision or was it just about your studies?

Interview 1: The Urban nightlife you say?

INTERVIEWER: Yes so like clubbing or going to bars and drinking.

Interview 1: Yes, yes I met a lot of times my friends during the night, although it was very cold and very dark and sometimes you didn't want to go out but I will, I was, I would motivate myself and say, I also want to discover this nightlife in Berlin because it's part of the variance. And I was so I discovered a lot of bars. Not so much clubs that some, some of them. And, yeah, so I was, my, my weekends for example were usually planned, depending on the night. For example, I would not do so much in the day because I wanted to enjoy the night, or sometimes I would say, Okay, I will go out on Friday night, so I can sleep on Saturday, but then work on Sunday so it was a bit of the organization.

INTERVIEWER: And um you - you worked sometimes at night, yes?

Interview 1: Yeah. Yep.

INTERVIEWER: And so do you have like previous experience working in the night time in France?

Interview 1: No it was my first experience working night-time. And what was cool with my job was that I could decide which days I wanted to work or, I was available and they say, I want you to work. So, at the beginning, I told my, - The team that was hiring me that I was always available on weekends. So they would tell me okay you have to come every, every night in the weekends. So then I adapted my schedule in order to do like one day in the night, and one afternoon in the weekend. So that was very flexible and yeah good so that's what I wanted to do in the nightlife that as a, as a hobby.

INTERVIEWER: When you say - did you decide to adapt your schedule, or your availability because you wanted to be more in nightlife with your friends on the weekend.

Interview 1: Yes. Sometimes I felt a bit frustrated because I would have to work. And I knew that my friends would meeting at a bar or somewhere. And I was thinking about that during- during my work. And I just wanted to to finish very quick the work and then go and join them. And so at the end I just added, so I couldn't join them at the beginning of the night, but that was okay because my work, it was usually until 11 in the night so then I could join them. It wasn't too late, because the nights in Berlin are quite long. So that's okay.

INTERVIEWER: Um, so how did your feelings about safety change when working during the night versus like when going to a bar with friends? Does it change at all?

Interview 1: Um, no I don't think so it was okay. Yeah. Yeah.

INTERVIEWER: Um, and so why did you choose to work in Berlin in the night-time economy, whether it's, like, rather than working in the day, or rather than not working?

Interview 1: Um, I think I wanted to experience working in Berlin. I didn't plan to work. I wasn't it wasn't on purpose that I needed to work in the night. But at the end it was. What happened, that I'm. Yeah, I think it was not - It was not really my plan but it was involved in this.

INTERVIEWER: And sometimes that's how it goes. Yeah. Yeah. Um, so I guess we've kind of already answered this question How was working, how did working in the night-time economy affect your capability to engage with it as a consumer?

Interview 1: Hmm. Sometimes they just had to miss one bar and I would join in the next bar that they went to but… So yeah, I think he just miss when one or two beers as a consumer, when I was working, but otherwise. Um, yeah, I didn't think I, I missed too much. It's just that I was doing something else. So, instead of meeting some friends or discovering new, new friendships, I would discover new people from other age or doing some other activities that I wouldn't do like going to the opera. And so it was also pretty rich, even though I was not doing some, like, entertainment, is also an experience that was about this was also an experience that was activities.

INTERVIEWER: Before you worked in the night-time economy. Did you engage with, like, going to bars and clubs and stuff, as a consumer to relieve stress or just to meet friends like why does, why would you go into the urban night before what you've worked in it.

Interview 1: Yeah, he was mostly to meet friends and to the to go in a bar or to go to cinema. Yes, some it some artistic activities like a cinema or exhibitions or concerts.

INTERVIEWER: So it was like leisure; just taking some time from like studying.

Interview 1: Yeah, exactly.

INTERVIEWER: Um, that changed all when you started working in the nighttime economy or was it largely the same?

Interview 1: Um, it was the same, but I know that for example, the cinema date, and the hours are a bit earlier in the night. So I know that sometimes I miss some cinema sessions with my friends. But other ways. No, I didn't change so much my activities.

INTERVIEWER: Okay, so that's basically all my questions for the interview. But do you have any questions for me or any other comments about the theme of the project that you that you think might be relevant or interesting?

Interview 1: No. But I'm very curious about other regions that you will have it. How many students are you going to, to ask. So are you asking just students are at the moment?

INTERVIEWER: I only have one other student to interview. But I am focusing mainly on students because of the like study versus working aspect which I realized I haven't asked about. Was it difficult to juggle studying and working or was it, because of the hours, maybe you wouldn't be studying at that time anyway?

Interview 1: Um, I think I could really mix study in studying and - and working because my job was to take care of the customers when they would arrive and go back from the opera. But in the meantime, time in the meanwhile, I wasn't doing anything like I was not supposed to act, so I could read my books or study something. So that was, I could really mix both of them, and I didn't feel that I was wasting time or eating sometimes from my study.

INTERVIEWER: Okay. That's great. I will stop the recording now.

In the second interview, the role of Berlin in the global sphere as a cultural hub played a bigger role than the 24 hour city perception. Most of the cultural venues and events in Berlin occur at night, such as the opera, the cinema, concerts, and theatre performances. Interview 2, (23), female from the Netherlands, is also Opera Worker (Entertainment sector). For her,

"… it was actually mostly that she thought, she has a lot of culture …"

INTERVIEWER: I'll just go through my disclaimer for us as well. An- anonymity is guaranteed for any information or data disclosed in this interview at any point you can withdraw from the interview or withdraw answers from the project, even after it's complete. If you want to learn more about the purpose of the project, and the results of it, and you can get in contact with me. And, and this project is aimed at answering the question "does working in the night time economy effective international students experience of balanced nightlife?". The first couple of questions will be about like trying to place you in sort of a category to compare any interviews that I might get. So could you just state your age, your gender and your, your home country.

Interview 2: Yeah. So, My age is 23. In April, 24. And, and I'm female, and I'm from the Netherlands.

INTERVIEWER: And what position, what did you do when you worked in then night time.

Interview 2: Um, so I have a job at the opera, it's called a Mini-Job, and so I work, more or less, two or three nights a week, sometimes also in the morning actually. And what I do there is, well there are different positions in the evening. And it could be like at the at the doors that you scan the tickets. Or, I have to check their COVID vaccination. But also, I can work in the Garderobe or like it's called Schließerin. So then I have to close the door and I have a walkie talkie so I need to close the door sometime when the performance begins. And, yeah, these are the different positions I can have there.

INTERVIEWER: And when you chose to come to Berlin first study was the urban nightlife contributing factor, or were there other factors that you took into account?

Interview 2: To why I chose this job?

INTERVIEWER: No, just coming to Berlin to study.

Interview 2: Okay. It was- That's a good question why I came to study. Now, yeah it was actually mostly that I thought, it has a lot of culture. And it's a capital city with a lot of international people. And I'd like

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to speak multiple languages so I thought this would be super nice to be in this city with many different cultures, Being able to go to operas, theatres. Yeah, I guess, mostly the cultural values.

INTERVIEWER: Okay, Great. Um, when you were. Oh, sorry. There's another question. Did you have previous experience of working in the night-time economy in your home country or anywhere else, or was your first experience working in the night-time in Berlin.

Interview 2: Um, actually it's my first experience working in the night-time.

INTERVIEWER: When you were working in- During the night did your feelings about like your personal safety change at all, versus when you going out with friends or spending time in the night another way rather than working?

Interview 2: Um, I think. I feel overall in Berlin, very safe. So, and my work is at the opera which is a very quiet area in the evening. It's in Unter Den Linden. So I feel, maybe even safer than when I would really go out to parties with friends because then there are more people in the streets and yeah well I, I often go alone home, but then it's only a few station so I feel pretty safe.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, that's good. Um. Why did you choose to work in Berlin in the night-time economy rather than working during the day or working, not at all.

Interview 2: I, I chose to work in Berlin, mostly because I, I already finished my bachelor. But this Erasmus semester is an extension of my {bedroom} so I only had to get 15 ECTS, whereas most of the students have to get like 30 ECTS. And then I wanted to prevent myself from be bored so I thought let's get a job. And also, The, the other big reason was that I was able to improve my German. And if I wouldn't have had this job I think I would not speak German at all. So I'm really glad that I took the job to do, like I mentioned in Berlin in a German city. And what was the question.

INTERVIEWER: Why did you choose to work in the night-time economy?

Interview 2: Yeah why in the night. Um, yeah because during the day I also had University. And I think I just really like to work at the cultural venue and opera was really special to me. Maybe I would have prefer to work in the mornings or during the day, because actually there are many other things to do in the evening. And sometimes I felt like I missed other important events and gatherings with friends. So that was sometimes a shame. Yeah, I'm really like to be able to work in the opera so it was maybe worth it for me.

INTERVIEWER: So you just touched upon my next question there as well. Did working in the night-time affect your capability to engage with the night-time economy as a consumer at all.

Interview 2: Yeah, so definitely in the beginning of my Erasmus here, I really started. I already started in October working there. And then, it was really an important time to get connected with people to make friends so I really felt like I was missing out. Sometimes because then there were events in the evening. But, yeah, actually after a while after a few months I, I got a little bit of group of friends. And then it felt like it didn't matter so much anymore that I was missing some events because I knew, okay. They are my friends now so not so much pressure that they need to be everywhere all the time, and also

people were thinking, always saying that it was a really cool job. So I guess, somehow, I felt supported by the fact that if I would say, I worked with Oprah they were always like quote super cool. And yeah, I felt more comfortable.

INTERVIEWER: And how would you engage with the night-time economy as a consumer would you- well, what kind of places, would you go.

Interview 2: I personally prefer to go more to, for instance jazz clubs or to the theatre to more, not necessarily really clubs, but I would do clubs more on the weekend, more as a special thing but not every night and job with it like it's been a while that I went I was actually because of go get some things just opened again but yeah like music bars I really liked it

INTERVIEWER: sounds very interesting you might have to send me a list of those music bars to go to.

Interview 2: Yeah, yeah, I don't know, many of them but I do know a few, I should go more often.

INTERVIEWER: Was it difficult finding a balance between studying and working and being in the urban night as a consumer, or was it - How was it?

Interview 2: Yes, good question. In the beginning of, yeah I always feel like it's a bit of a difference in the beginning of my Erasmus and towards the end, because then I got more of a rhythm and I know how things went, but definitely in the first two months. I was almost, I was considering quitting the job because it was really a disturbance with my social life here with the Erasmus people, especially considering that I'm here for only half a year that makes me feel pressured to be more. Yeah, more with the people, their essence, instead of having a job at the opera. But then after a little while. I've been to so many events that I felt okay. Actually I also really liked to work with the opera, because the {politics} were very kind and I realized that my German improved. So I really felt that it was not so much an intervention of my life, my life anymore but more. Yeah, a good addition to what I'm doing here.

INTERVIEWER: And yeah, that sounds great. Um, so that's basically all of my questions. Do you have any questions for me or any other comments that you think could be relevant to the research project?

Interview 2: Um, no, I was just curious like is this for your bachelor thesis or Master thesis.

INTERVIEWER: No, it's just for research project for a module here.

Interview 2: Still haven't finished your courses for now. Oh, it sounds like a thesis interview, like, yeah, that you will manage. Yes, yes. sounds like super interesting.

INTERVIEWER: Thank you. Okay, I'll stop the recording now.

In the third interview, the night life and urban night scene in Berlin was the "primary reason" for choosing Berlin as a city for study.

"… But the primary reason I think was the night life, because I'd heard so much about it, I'd never been, and I wanted to kind of experience it."

Interview 3 (21), female from Ireland who work as Server (Hospitality Sector)

INTERVIEWER: Ok, so I'll just do this little disclaimer at the beginning as well. You'll be anonymous for any information or data disclosed in this interview. At any point, you can withdraw from the interview, or withdraw answers from the project, even after the interview is finished. If you want to learn more about the purpose or results of this project, you can get in contact with me. And this project is aimed at answering the question "Does working in the night time economy affect an international student's experience of Berlin's night life?" Uh, the first couple of questions will be just like, kind of some background on like your demographics and everything. So could you just say your age, gender, your home country and where you worked, or like how - what kind of position you had in the urban night time.

Interview 3: Yes, so I'm 21, I'm female, I'm from Ireland, and I worked as a- a server in an Irish bar

INTERVIEWER: Ok, wonderful. And when you chose to- what were the factors that came into your decision in choosing Berlin as a city for international study?

Interview 3: Um, it was the night life. And I think it's such a multicultural place, I thought it would challenge me; it's very different to Ireland, that was the primary- But the primary reason I think was the night life, because I'd heard so much about it, I'd never been, and I wanted to kind of experience it.

INTERVIEWER: And did you have previous experience with working in the night time economy before you worked in it in Berlin?

Interview 3: I had bar experience, but it was a distillery, so it was different; the hours were not as long, so I wouldn't say it was night time I would finish around 9. And then yes, I worked as a waitress at weddings so I used to work 5 to 5am, so yes basically I do have experience, but it was my first kind of pub job I would say, it was a bit different.

INTERVIEWER: And what were the general working hours or working days of your work in Berlin?

Interview 3: The- like, originally they had told me I could do maybe two days, but just like any bar they started to exploit me very quickly where it was like "come in today, come in at 6". um so I'd say I did maybe three days a week, and I would start at 6, and finish maybe around 3 or 4am, and then I'd - after an hour and a half, so I'd be home most evenings- most nights around half 5.

INTERVIEWER: Oh wow. And how do your feelings about safety change when working in the night-time versus when you're engaging in the night-time economy, like, as a consumer?

Interview 3: It's very very different. Because I think when I go out for personal enjoyment, I always go with friends and it means that A, I'm more relaxed, I'm not as tense, and I also am with friends that I know are going to go home with me and make me safe, and like, we're gonna and I've always had friends that its a thing of "Where's [REDACTED]? We need to go home." They kind of wait for me or whatever, but at the bar it was very different, because it was all men that I worked with, there was no women at all, and I never felt that safety at all. But the other thing was that when you go out for personal pleasure I was drunk a lot of the time, intoxicated, whereas when at work I wasn't intoxicated, so it was easier to get home because I was sober. So, it was a pro and a con, but I also will say that I felt much safer on nights out, for whatever reason, I'm not sure why, but i just do normally.

INTERVIEWER: Um, and is that different in Berlin, versus when you would work late at your other jobs?

Interview 3: It's very very different in Berlin. I'm a student in university and I was not given student accommodation, and so I've ended up in accommodation that was maybe an hour and a half outside the city. It's on the very very outskirts so it was an hour and a half to get home on public transport, maybe two sometimes if I had to wait. So in my home place, other jobs, it was always like I would get picked up or I lived much closer whereas with this I just lived so incredibly far that it was very different. It was the distance for me that made it very difficult.

INTERVIEWER: And why did you choose to work in the Berlin night-time economy as opposed to working in the day or not working at all maybe?

Interview 3: Um, I think for me it was an issue of a language barrier, um, so when I picked to work in this specific bar, it was because it was an Irish bar and I'm an Irish student. So I figured it was my best chance- because I don't speak any German really - so I figured it was my best chance to get a job that I could, you know, perform in and speak English, and you know, as opposed to a day job which I feel like is way more dependent on conversation all the time, with pubs it's just kind of like "Eine Bier", um, whereas in cafes and shops you just need to be able to speak a lot more.

INTERVIEWER: Did working in the night time economy affect your capability to engage in the night-time economy as a consumer?

Interview 3: Yes, absolutely. It meant I was going out way less, not even on the nights I was working but the nights after I was working, I would feel so tired and deflated, um, and after coming home two hours at 5am its very hard to rustle yourself up to get up the next day, you know because you kind of just feel behind on sleep and then you're behind on college work. So, it's kind of like you're always chasing something, so like you wouldn't get any personal enjoyment out of nights out, because you're always just thinking "oh I have work tomorrow" or you're just tired/

INTERVIEWER: And you kind of touched on this a little bit before, was it difficult finding a balance between studying and working and trying to find some leisure time?

Interview 3: Um, I personally would say I found it nearly impossible. I felt a lot of the time, it was as if - because I think when you're, I am an Erasmus student, I don't know if I should say that, but when you don't know how college works, like it was difficult to tell lecturers i was working like as well, I feel like they're under the impression that Erasmus students are not working and that generally because we're abroad that we don't have to work whereas for me I did, so it meant that a lot of the time I was just too tired to do college work or a lot of the time, I know, I had online classes and id be sitting in a restaurant beside the bar because I had class right after class which meant that the whole class time I was just thinking about work, and I just couldn't enjoy it so yeah, no it massively affected my academic experience in a negative way. Even now, I'm still working in a bar, a different bar, and I work five days a week for the off time that we have, and I like just yesterday had an essay due yesterday and I did it one day in maybe four hours, it was the worst thing I've ever written but I didn't have any other time to get it done, it was the first day off I've had in five days, so, yeah very difficult.

INTERVIEWER: That does - that sounds horrible. Before you worked in the night time economy or, yeah, how would you, like, take a break from the pressures of studying, would you engage in the night-time economy?

Interview 3: Uh, yes, I would engage in the night-time economy a lot. It was actually one of those things that I always, I don't know I found it a great motivator, where I would have college and I'd go to the library after class and id get my work done and be like "Ok, now we're going out" and I would just go straight out afterwards, and I'd feel so relieved to have like maybe just submitted an essay, and it was just like a weight off your shoulders and my friends and I, a lot of my friends would do the same essays, so we'd all have a drink to like celebrate being done. So, I definitely used night life to enjoy my leisure time and enjoy outside of academic pressures. But also, just doing things during the day, like I've always been a person for going out and just - even in Berlin, it's such a massive city and its so immersive and you wanna be immersed in it but a lot of the time when I wake up in the morning after coming home a 5am, you know like I couldn't even fathom leaving the house, let alone kind of like traipsing somewhere I don't know. and then you end up missing out on a lot of things I would say.

INTERVIEWER: And so, now do you relieve stress differently while working in the night time economy?

Interview 3: Absolutely. Like I still work in the night-time economy and even today, this is my first day off in five days, and I'm just sitting at home and I'm playing video games because I know that if I leave the house it's just going to make me tired and I have work tomorrow, and I want to actually rest up and because now I'm working another five days in a row, so it's like whenever you have time off you're just waiting for the next thing to come and I have so many essays due for the next month, then I actually don't know when I'm going to get them done, so that's where a lot of my off time goes, I have a day or two off a week and I have to do my essays on those days off, which means they're rushed and terrible and low-quality, it's just, I don't have another option.

INTERVIEWER: Um, so that's all the questions I have, do you have any questions for me, or any other comments that you think might be relevant to the research project?

Interview 3: I do, in the sense that just with your project I think it's great. and I really appreciate the work you're doing because it's something that people don't consider when they look at academic prowess. And like, you'll be studying a class full of twenty kids, and you'll have no idea that one of those kids is working five days a week full-time. And I hate to be like, you know, you know, if you're lucky you're lucky, but a lot of us don't have the financial support to be able to focus on things academically, like I pay for college myself, I pay for rent myself, I've been financially independent since I was 18, so like it's one thing that I think needs to be taken into consideration more is the financial gaps there, and to appreciate- I understand that you're signing up to college full time, you need to be able to do it full time, but I think there should be more financial support for those kids that are struggling. Because it just means that my Erasmus, if you want kind of a big whopper at the end, my Erasmus so far has been not enjoyable.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah, I mean, having so much pressure, yeah, must be really difficult. So, I'm going to stop the recording there.

In all, the night life as a contributing factor to choosing Berlin as a city for international study most likely differs from person to person with their personal preferences for leisure time.

5.2 Balancing Study, Night-Time Work, and Leisure

The two women who both worked at the opera found that their time was easier to manage and balance between study, work, and leisure, whereas the woman working in a bar found it difficult.

> *"so I couldn't join them [the participant's friends] at the beginning of the night, but that was okay because my work, it was usually until 11 in the night so then I could join them. It wasn't too late, because the nights in Berlin are quite long."* (*Interview 3*)

> *"…my job was to take care of the customers when they would arrive and go back from the opera. But in the meantime … I could read my books or study something"* (*Interview 1*)

This may be due to the nature of the work in question, as a night in an opera is far more predictable in terms of customer numbers. Participant 1 also mentioned being able to take time during the opera performances to do academic study during her work, and Participant 2 would potentially not be considered a full time student. Despite this, Participant 2 did admit to finding it difficult for the first couple of weeks while studying and finding friends in a new city; Participant 3 found it "*nearly impossible*" throughout their entire working period.

> *"I was almost, I was considering quitting the job because it was really a disturbance with my social life here with the Erasmus people … But then after a little while. I've been to so many events [with Erasmus students] that I felt okay."* (*Interview 2*)

This highlights that being able to balance work, study, and social life well most likely depends on the type of job that a student has. Working in a bar is more intensive, you spend more time on your feet, and you need to be always focused on work, so Participant 3 found that they were tired even on days they weren't working so would struggle even more. Participant 2 found that even after they would finish work, they could still find the energy to meet up with friends.

Participant 3 also mentioned being "*exploited*" and on a more unpredictable schedule, whereas Participants 1 and 2 were able to choose their own working hours based on their availability.

Overall, it seems that the impact of work in the night time economy on their engagement in the night time economy is a negative, reductive affect, but that some forms of work allow for better adaptation to a work-study-leisure balance.

5.3 Safety and Conflict in the Urban Night Time of Workers

From the interviews conducted, the workers' personal perceptions of their own safety seemed to depend on the times that they finished work, and the people that they were around, and the distance that they would have to travel. For example, both Participants 1 and 2, who worked at the opera, would finish relatively early in Berlin's urban night, and didn't mention feelings of unsafety or vulnerability either at work or on their way home (*Interview 1 and 2*). On the other hand, the server (*Interview 3*) who would finish work in the early hours of the morning and would have to travel further, did say that they felt more unsafe when working rather than consuming in the urban night time.

> "… *so I've ended up in accommodation that was maybe an hour and a half outside the city. It's on the very very outskirts so it was an hour and a half to get home on public transport, maybe two sometimes if I had to wait." (Interview 3)*

6. Conclusion

This research was limited both by the time and resources that were available. Ideally, a research project dependent on qualitative data would have more interviews with a wider diversity of participants. A greater number of participants would allow for a more holistic exploration and a more conclusive report of the themes in question. More researchers would've been advantageous for short-frame research, to maximize interviews for the time available. It also would've introduced potentially more initial interview participants.

The existing personal connection between interviewer and interviewee could have potentially influenced answers and interpretation on both sides of the interview process. No pilot interview was explicitly conducted to determine whether the questions were suitable and answered the questions in a succinct way, so the first real interview had to play this role, where the interviewer noticed a relevant question that was missing. There were also a couple of questions which did not particularly aid in answering the research question or dis-/proving the hypotheses but nevertheless brought up different points of interest. The hypotheses posed at the beginning of the research project were as follows:

1.   The urban night life was an important factor in moving to Berlin for international study.

2.   The students' 'consumption' of Berlin's urban night has been negatively affected or reduced by working in Berlin's urban night.

The first hypothesis has not explicitly been proved correct or incorrect, each participant had a different primary reason for choosing Berlin. The second hypothesis has been proved correct, as each participant mentioned "missing out" on meet-ups with friends or nights out.

For future research regarding this particular theme and question, it would be interesting to explore more quantitatively the effect of night time work on academic success, and sensitively explore the financial background of the students in question.

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SAFETY IN THE NIGHTTIME ECONOMY. WHAT FACTORS INFLUENCE THE SUBJECTIVE PERCEPTION OF SAFETY IN THE NIGHTTIME ECONOMY BASED ON SAMPLE LOCATIONS IN BERLIN?

Nina Bornemann

1. Introduction

"Night-time has been consistently neglected in the field of Urban Studies. […] Day is often the dominant discourse focusing on urban daily activities and geographies of everyday life." (LIEMPT, VAN AALST & SCHWANEN, 2014, p. 407). With these words, the authors point out that the topic of the night-time economy plays a rather subordinate role in previous urban research and that the main focus is still on the daytime economy. However, the night-time economy plays an increasingly important role when it comes to urban life in particular. Nowadays, the night-time economy takes place almost everywhere, but mostly in large cities. It also brings life and economic turnover to cities at night. Especially the bar and club culture is very widespread during the time of the night-time economy. With the night-time economy, the issue of security also receives more attention. Often, the subjective feeling of safety plays an overriding role. Only those who feel safe can consume and enjoy urban nightlife during the night-time economy. This paper deals with the subjective feeling of safety at the time of the night economy and takes up the question, which factors condition this feeling of safety. In doing so, a literature review of the night economy is first given where the definition and history are briefly discussed. Afterwards, the topic of the feeling of security is taken up in a subchapter. The third chapter describes the methodological approach. This thesis uses guided interviews to explore the subjective perception of security in Berlin. First, the study areas are described, and then the interviews and the interviewees are discussed. The fourth chapter presents the results of the interviews and the last chapter forms a summary with an outlook for future research and the design of the night economy.

2. The night-time economy

In the following chapter, the topic of the night-time economy will be explained in more detail. The first subsection attempts to provide an overview of a definition of the topic. The second chapter looks at the historical development of the night-time economy. Finally, the problem of security in the night-time economy is discussed. The last chapter forms the basis for the further chapters and the main question of this thesis.

2.1 Overview

There is no single definition of the night-time economy. In general, it refers to all economic activities within a defined timeframe from evening until early morning. For example, LIN, QIN, YING, SHEN & LYU (2022) define the night-time economy as follows: "The night-time economy (NTE), comprising economic activities that occur between 6 p.m. and 6 a.m. and include catering, culture, entertainment, arts, festivals, events, sports, nightlife, tourism, and transportation services, is becoming a main engine for urban economic recovery." (LIN, QIN, YING, SHEN & LYU, 2022, p. 666). According to the STATISTISCHES BUNDESAMT DEUTSCHLAND (2010, p. 1), the night-time economy refers to economic activities from 11pm to 6am. So again, there is no single definition. In sociology and geography, it was found that people have a different relationship at night. The main difference between the daytime economy and the night-time economy is the presence or absence of daylight. There is basically a more relaxed atmosphere than during the day. As a result, these areas are often emotionally charged spaces, as there is also often a transgression of social norms that apply during the day (VAN LIEMPT ET AL. 2015, p.408). VAN LIEMPT ET AL. (2015) draw on WILLIAMS (2008), who argues that nocturnal spaces are socially mediated and constituted. He states (p. 408) so-called night spaces do not exist, social relations are created through social struggles and this determines who is or is not welcome in certain places. Thus, these spaces, used by the night time economy, also contribute to the creation of socio-spatial differentiation (VAN LIEMPT, 2015, p. 409). WILLIAM's argumentation is based on Lefebvre's perspective (VAN LIEMPT ET AL., 2015, p.408). This focus on night-time activities has only in recent years gained an increasing role in academia and also in urban planning. Urban infrastructures are mainly used during the day, but demand during night-time is also growing (GALLEP, 2017, p. 9).

This paper focuses on the city of Berlin with regard to the topic of the night-time economy. Tourism plays a central role in Berlin, especially for the urban economy. This has grown significantly since 2000. Moreover, Berlin is even known worldwide for its club culture (FÜLLER ET AL., 2018). In Berlin, around 13.6% of dependent employees work between 11pm and 6am

(GALLEP, 2017, p. 12). There is a large focus on club culture, which is mainly characterized by techno. In some districts of Berlin, night-time activities are a conflict issue – especially in the district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg (FÜLLER ET AL., 2018).

2.2 Historical Development

The night-time economy has developed from the post-industrial city in the UK. The idea was to use the night-time economy strategically to revitalize city centers. In doing so, the urban night was seen as an economic opportunity to promote urban competitiveness in order to compete globally (VAN LIEMPT ET AL. 2015, p. 409). City centers have always been places where events took place at night-time, but since deindustrialization extra measures were taken to promote this (VAN LIEMPT ET AL. 2015, p. 411). The night-time economy was also called the 24-hour city. In some cities, the night-time economy has thus made up the difference in the urban economy left by declining industry (VAN LIEMPT & VAN AALST 2012, p. 280).

2.3 Safety and measures in the night-time economy

With the night-time economy also comes the issue of safety. It is probably one of the issues most associated with the night-time economy. It is important to mention that this paper focuses mainly on the subjectively perceived safety and not on the actual statistically measured crime. As previously mentioned, the night-time economy provides opportunities to transgress social norms (VAN LIEMPT ET AL. 2015, p. 408). Due to these opportunities and the prevailing bar and club culture with its alcohol consumption during the evening and night-time, there is often a reduced sense of security but also a real reduced security situation. Big cities like Berlin were seen in urban criticism as threatening and the public space as a space of insecurity (KRAUß & SCHWIMMER 2021, p. 746). These so-called spaces of fear occur more frequently in urban areas during darkness. They are often poorly lit streets, parks and underpasses (KRAUß & SCHWIMMER 2021, p. 747). According to KRAUß AND SCHWIMMER (2021, p. 746), the feeling of insecurity in the dark is particularly prevalent among women. The latter feel significantly less comfortable than men in public spaces at night. In addition, there are problems such as alcohol consumption, disorder and public nuisance associated with the night-time economy. Numerous measures have been taken to counteract this. VAN LIEMPT ET AL. (2015, p. 487) point out that the urban night can be seen as a multidimensional space made up of a combination of "regulatory control strategies and deregulatory liberalization measures." The rise of street lighting fundamentally changed urban nightlife. It has made it possible to create illuminated places despite the darkness at night. Lighting

tends to reduce the fear of crime in the evening and night hours. It also beautifies cities and creates comfort (VAN LIEMPT ET AL. 2015, p. 410). Thus, modern lighting has changed and significantly shaped the nighttime economy (Van LIEMPT ET AL. 2015, p. 411). In a study by KRAUß & SCHWIMMER (2021, p. 753), 20 short interviews were conducted to get an impression of urban anxiety. They were also asked about possible solutions for an increased sense of security. By far the majority indicated good lighting as a possible solution. The second indicated solution approach was to create visible and bright urban spaces (KRAUß & SCHWIMMER, 2021, p.753).An increased sense of safety also means an increased willingness to consume and thus also promotes economic development during the night-time economy (BRANDS, VAN AALST & SCHWANEN 2015, p. 24). BRANDS ET AL. (2015, p. 24) argue that the time during darkness is considered a time of danger and fear as such seems to be ingrained in Western culture. Surveillance strategies such as police presence, private security, or video surveillance are often adopted as measures (BRANDS ET AL. 2015, p. 24). From previous research, security effects are significantly higher with police presence than with video surveillance. In nightlife neighborhoods, police presence is often perceived as positive for experienced safety, as it allows for direct intervention. Private security guards are now a feature of inner-city nightlife in Western Europe. Here, there is little research that addresses the relationship between private security guards and personal perceptions of safety (BRANDS ET AL. 2015, p. 26). BRANDS ET AL. (2015, p. 35) found in their study that perceptions of safety were increased by the presence of police or private security personnel are significantly greater than through video surveillance. However, they emphasize that the perception of safety due to the presence of bouncers or the police also depends on the ethnicity of the people surveyed and conclude from this the question of whether police operations and video surveillance are socially just (BRANDS ET AL. 2015, p. 35). They rightly point out that policy needs to address not only how security measures increase the number of visitors to the nighttime economy, but also what social disadvantages may result from such measures (BRANDS ET AL. 2015, p. 35). VAN LIEMPT & VAN AALST (2012, p. 288) note that there is little substantive evidence that surveillance reduces crime and, in contrast, low-tech measures such as the use of lighting have received little attention in previous research.

3. Methodical approach

Short-guided interviews were chosen as the methodological approach for this work. These focused primarily on two nightlife districts in Berlin. In addition, general guiding questions were asked about safety in the night-time economy. In the following subchapter, the two selected areas in

Berlin are described and characterized in more detail. This is followed by a short chapter with the interview guide and descriptions of the interviews.

3.1 Study areas

In the guide, priority was given to the two areas around Kottbusser Tor and Boxhagener Platz. These are characterized below.

3.1.1 Kottbusser Tor (Kreuzberg)

Kottbusser Tor is very famous in Berlin. It is located in the Berlin district of Kreuzberg very central in Berlin. Kottbusser Tor is characterized by its dining and going out culture. However, it is also controversial. It is a central hotspot in the Kreuzberg district of Berlin. The Kotti, as the Kottbusser Tor is also called is characteristic for its versatility (tip Berlin). The main center is the subway station Kottbusser Tor in the middle of a large traffic circle. From here numerous restaurants, cafés, Spätis, bars and clubs extend in the side streets around the traffic circle. It is so multi-layered because one is confronted with everything here, both with the nightlife culture and with poverty and homelessness or run-down building structures, which sometimes makes the Kotti seem less attractive (TIP BERLIN). Nevertheless, it is a popular destination for during the nighttime economy.

3.1.2 Boxhagener Platz (Friedrichshain)

Boxhagener Platz is located in the district of Friedrichshain in the eastern part of Berlin. Boxhagener Platz is actually a small green area, which is bordered by rows of houses. It expands into the Boxhagener Kiez, which is bordered by Revaler Straße, Warschauer Straße, Frankfurter Alle and the Ringbahn line. A centerpiece of the Boxhagener Kiez is Simon-Dach-Strasse and its adjacent side streets. Here you can find a large restaurant, bar and club culture (BERLIN.DE). Especially in summer, the neighborhood is very crowded during the evening and nighttime and is a popular destination for the night-time economy.

3.2 Interviews

The interviews were conducted in the form of guided interviews. In addition to the literature review, they are intended to provide a deeper insight into the perception of safety of the Berlin night-time economy. Guided interviews are particularly suitable at this point, as it is thematically structured and explores concrete topics (MISOCH 2015, p. 124). The type of interview is

characterized by a high degree of openness, but at the same time the interviewer retains some control over the content (HELFFERICH 2014, p. 565f). The guiding questionnaire was kept relatively short due to the limitation in the length of the work and thus also the limitation of the interview time.

A total of four interviews were conducted. These were conducted in an online format. With regard to bias, it should be noted that known persons were chosen for this purpose. This was expected to provide more honest and detailed answers than unknown people who could have been interviewed on site, for example. At the outset, it was ensured that the individuals had already been to both locations at the time of the night-time economy and were thus able to answer the guiding questions. Three of the four people interviewed are female and one is male. The interviewees are between 24 and 28 years old.

The nine guiding questions were derived from the literature review and are thus based on the existing literature and other research on this topic. However, a main part of the questions refers to the previously described study areas to focus on Berlin's night-time economy and to check whether research findings from the literature previously presented also correspond to the answers of the interview partners or whether there are differences with regard to the Berlin study areas. The following guiding questions were derived based on the literature presented in chapter two:

1. Wie häufig bist du während der Zeit der Nachtökonomie in der Umgebung um das Kottbusser Tor unterwegs? (in der Zeit von 18/22 Uhr bis 6 Uhr morgens). Wenn du da bist, was machst du so vor Ort? Wofür gehst du dahin?

2. Wie häufig bist du während der Zeit der Nachtökonomie in der Umgebung um den Boxhagener Platz/ Boxhagener Kiez unterwegs? Wenn du da bist, was machst du so vor Ort? Wofür gehst du dahin?

3. Wie sicher fühlst du dich an den beiden Orten zwischen 18/22 Uhr und 6 Uhr? - Macht es einen Unterschied, ob du allein unterwegs bist?

4. Was denkst du woher kommt dieses verringerte Sicherheitsgefühl in der Nacht?

5. Was denkst du ist das größte Problem bezogen auf die nächtliche Sicherheit an diesen Orten?

6. Denkst du städtische Planung kann helfen das Sicherheitsgefühl zu steigern? Inwiefern? (Beleuchtung, Architektur, Sicherheitssäulen?)

7. Was würdest du am Kottbusser Tor/ am Boxhagener Platz verändern, damit du persönlich dich sicherer fühlst?

8. Was würdest du stärker als sicherheitsgefühlgebend bewerten? Polizeipräsenz, Überwachung (CCTV) oder städtische Beleuchtung? Wie gewichtest du es?

9. Hast du das Gefühl, die Politik tut genug/ ist genug involviert in der Sicherheitsfrage im Berliner Nachtleben? Oder findest du das Thema sollte mehr politische Berücksichtigung finden?

10. Soziodemographische Angaben: Geschlecht, Alter, Wohnort, Beruf

In order to better elaborate the content of the interviews and the main statements of the interviewees, they were summarized, and the most important interview results were recorded. The names of the persons were anonymized and are quoted below, numbered from person 1 to person 4, if necessary. All interviews were conducted in German, so the original quotes are also incorporated in German.

4. Results

The interview partners rarely spend time at Kottbusser Tor; all of them said that they are at Kottbusser Tor about once or twice a month. All of them said that they visit the area to meet friends, to go out for a meal or to visit bars. In contrast, three of the four persons interviewed visit the Boxhagener Kiez more often than the area around Kottbusser Tor during the night-time economy. One person does so several times a week. It must be said, however, that the survey of place of residence revealed that this person lives in the neighborhood and is therefore more often out and about there at night. Two other respondents indicated visiting the area more often in the summer evenings and nights than in the winter. The fourth respondent visits Boxhagener Kiez less frequently than Kottbusser Tor. For all respondents, the reasons for visiting the Kiez were the same as for Kottbusser Tor. The respondents were also asked about their subjective perception of safety in both places. There were different answers. Three of the people stated that they had a greater sense of security in the Boxhagen neighborhood than at Kottbusser Tor. However, all three people noted that they avoid the actual Boxhagener Platz, i.e. a green area that is delimited by streets, in the dark:

> Person 3: „*Am Boxhagener Platz fühle ich mich schon sicher, aber den kleinen Park in der Mitte meide ich. Dort ist es sehr dunkel, es sind wenig Menschen dort und man hat keinen Überblick.*"

The responses of the interviewees support the statements of VAN LIEMPT & VAN AALST (2012) that lighting should be given more consideration in the context of feelings of insecurity at night.

One person stated that they find the building structure with the traffic circle at Kottbusser Tor uncomfortable and confusing and are having a reduced feeling of safety therefore. For all persons, it makes a difference in terms of their feeling of safety whether they are traveling alone or with other persons:

> Person 3: *„In Gruppen mache ich mir definitiv weniger Gedanken, als wenn ich alleine unterwegs bin. In Gruppen wird man einfach öfter weniger dumm von der Seite angequatscht und hat halt die Unterstützung von den anderen. Handgreiflich wird man wohl eher bei einer Einzelperson als bei einer Gruppe, wo andere dazwischen gehen können."*

When asked about the reason for the reduced feeling of safety at night, all respondents noted that it is due to the darkness, but that it also arises from the fact that few people are around, as well as alcohol consumption causing inhibitions to decrease which leads to even more unpleasant or harassing situations. One person, when asked if urban planning can help to increase the feeling of safety, again mentioned the green space at Boxhagener Platz and that here especially the lack of lighting can be responsible for a feeling of insecurity. At the same time, the person mentions the newly opened police station at Kottbusser Tor and notes that this makes the feeling of safety very subjective and dependent on the person.

> Person 1: *„Zum Beispiel was beim Boxi ist, am Boxhagener Platz, das ist ja gerade das innere Feld, also diese innere Wiese ist halt erstmal so umzäunt und da sind noch Hecken drum herum und es ist nicht beleuchtet und das alles dazu führt glaube ich, dass es halt besonders unsicher empfunden wird oder dass ich das als unsicher empfinde. Aber beim Kotti gibt es zum Beispiel die Polizei Haltestelle, die wahrscheinlich für manche auch ein Sicherheitsgefühl darstellt, aber dann halt für andere auch eher ein Unsicherheitsgefühl."*

The results are in line with the statements of BRANDS, VAN AALST & SCHWANEN (2015, p. 35), who have already noted that it should be questioned whether surveillance measures by the police, for example, are socially just measures.

Interesting was the answer of one person that she finds regular contact points, such as Spätis or bars most importantly. So that there is always a place to go to where more people are on site. Then asked what people would change locally to increase the feeling of safety, the environment and its design were frequently mentioned. Individuals indicated adding more greenery or making the sidewalks cleaner.

An important question was also which measures increase the subjective feeling of safety of the persons and how they rate those. In this context, person 3 noted that police presence is controversial, but that they feel personally already safe only by their presence. Person 4 stated that police presence does not make him feel safer but tends to make him feel even more insecure. The

other persons also stated that police presence sometimes even represents a potential conflict and can have a provocative effect. When asked whether they felt that policing was doing enough, the individuals had a hard time answering. They stated that they were not familiar enough with the issue, but that they felt that more attention should be paid to it:

> Person 4: „*Ja ich finde das Thema sollte mehr Berücksichtigung finden, aber bitte keine Symptombekämpfung wie durch wohnungslosen-feindliche Architektur. Ich würde mir wünschen, dass man eher an den Ursachen arbeitet.* […]"

5. Conclusion

In this paper, an attempt was made to provide an overview of the subjective feeling of safety during the night-life economy based on existing studies from the literature. Based on this literature review, it was then attempted to transfer the insights to example nightlife districts in Berlin. For this purpose, four interviews were conducted with people who were already out and about in the places at the time of the night economy. The guiding questions of the interviews were also derived from the literature. The statements made by the interviewees were largely consistent with the literature. For example, it was frequently noted that police presence as a measure for an increased sense of security is only helpful to a limited extent. In particular, it must be questioned whether this measure is always socially just and does not put anyone at a disadvantage. In addition, it was noted in the interviews that in some places the police can create more potential for conflict than for an increased sense of security. However, some of the interviewees also made it clear that their sense of security is already increased by the presence of the police. Measures such as lighting, which have been given little consideration in previous research, were very frequently mentioned as helpful for the subjective feeling of safety. Therefore, future research should continue here. Solutions and measures need to be found for the future that are both socially and gender appropriate and go beyond previous surveillance measures. Urban planning processes can start here and create urban spaces through planned architecture that offer an increased sense of security through sufficient lighting and wide paths. For it is only through an existing subjective sense of security that the consumption on which the night-time economy thrives can continue to occur. KRAUß & SCHWIMMER (2021 p. 749) note that a successful night economy needs a holistic strategy developed based on the social, cultural, and economic context of a city and supported by a bottom-up approach. This must thrive on the exchange of ideas between all stakeholders. The responsibility for this lies primarily with city policy makers and city administrators (KRAUß & SCHWIMMER 2021, p. 749). City administrations should not only shape the daytime economy. Nightlife also plays an

important role within a city. Spaces should be designed to be safe and ensure participation for all (KRAUß & SCHWIMMER 2021, p. 749).

Even though this work comes to the same conclusions for the study areas in Berlin as in the literature, the interview bias, and the limitation of this work due to its length must be considered. It is recommended to extend the study areas to other nightlife districts in Berlin and to interview independent persons in order to be able to make recommendations for new and further thought measures for a perceived safe nightlife in Berlin.

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THE REINVENTION OF CLUB CULTURE IN TIMES OF THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC IN BERLIN

Edriess Asimi

1.   Introduction

The year 2020 will go down in history as one of the biggest crisis of the 21 century. The novel coronavirus disease Covid-19 was first reported in Wuhan at the 31 December of 2019 and was about to change the world as we know it, forever. (BALOCH, ZHENG, PEI 2020) Shortly after the breakout, governments around the world started to implement precautionary measures such as closing down venues like restaurants or event locations in order to prevent the large scale spread of the then still for the most part unknown virus. In light of the Covid-19 pandemic also a lot of club venues in Berlin had to close down in order to obey the strict regulations that were put in place. The regulations were reinforced throughout the pandemic and had enormous consequences for the renowned night-time culture in Berlin, which is grounded historically in the DNA of the city. The venues started to think about alternatives for the regular Club nights in order to attract visitors despite the strict regulations and to minimize the spread of the coronavirus. After the strict regulations came to a halt and softer rules were applied, venue owners started to think of new ideas to protect the cultural identity of the Berlin nightlife, while still providing a safe space throughout the pandemic.

A popular concept was, and still is in some cases, to transform the outdoor spaces of certain clubs into beer gardens. The opening hours where changed in order to attract tourists or other users of the Night-time economy and to adapt to the regulations. Club spaces are being re functioned and are used as means of getting together and enjoying music, without opening the commonly known closed spaces to prevent crowding. Especially Club venues with an open outdoor area started to restructure their usual program in order to survive the disastrous financial and cultural impact of the virus and the repercussions that came with it.

This study aims to shine light on the acceptance of visitors of the available alternative concepts and to further put into perspective if the repercussions on Club venues caused by the Covid-19 pandemic changed the recreational weekend habits of visitors and if it reduced their club activity

in general. In order to do this, I conducted a questionnaire survey in order to acquire data on the opinions of regular and irregular visitors of club venues about the new concepts and how it may altered their weekend choices and if such concepts may have a future beyond the pandemic. To do this, I will first briefly discuss the historical implications of the Club culture in the city itself in order to understand the historical background and how it translates to the current circumstances. The aim is to see if there are set of expectations and beliefs connected with the term "club culture" and if the current concepts stay true to the core values of said spaces.

2. History

Club culture is a broad term and needs some specification. In this paper we discuss the activity related to visiting and meeting socially in nightclubs, predominantly places playing electronic music. The social dimensions of club culture around the world are well studied. "Clubs offer the potential to create safe spaces for marginalized groups, so it is not surprising that the history of club culture is black and queer". (DREVENSTEDT 2020) A major indicator for the formation of alternative subcultures such as the Club scene specifically in Berlin was the fall of the Wall in November 1989. PHILLIP AND PÖGUN-ZANDER (2020) wrote:

> "The major social, political, and economic modifications that the reunification of Germany necessitated affected the cultural landscape of Berlin and resulted in changes in the cityscape. Abandoned buildings and the consequent ambiguity in legal ownership, combined with the unstable infrastructure and lack of authority, enabled the development of the Berlin model known as Zwischennutzung (temporary use). The anti-aesthetic of the partially illegal club scene with a lack of finish or redesign of spaces, remains the manifestation of what has become a cultural tradition for the city."

Berlin is still considered as one of the major pillars of electronic music, which is closely related to the club scene, to date. It could be argued "that the latest evolutionary step of techno has only been possible because Berlin's position in history. The city's subsequent social development" is providing "unique conditions for musical exploration, identification and progression." (PETER 2020) The scene is rooted not only in Germany but also in the UK and predominantly the US. Detroit is widely considered as the birthplace of the scene now known as club culture. Interestingly both very distinct scenes in Berlin and Detroit merged in the early 1990s into a global phenomenon. Berlin does something that Detroit was never able to do. It "still profits from its post-1989 culture clash and, as such, is able to motivate, rejuvenate and re-energize its own cultural forces." (PETER 2020) This also means that a lot of artists from the US or UK choose to live in Berlin in order to stay close to a raw and mostly independent club infrastructure which is unique in a lot of ways. It

is not only strongly rooted into the economics of the city, but also has the widespread support on a governing level, which again is due to its importance for the city historically. Some of the currently active legislators experienced the cultural turmoil which came with the fall of the Berlin wall and understand the importance of cultural spaces and the meaning for the cultural identity of the city itself. In recent years the cultural importance of the club culture was weakened by the enormous commercial success of club venues throughout Berlin. The values that once created those spaces partly vanished due to commercialism. The spirit of the culture still continues to live on in the underground scene. In the year 2018 before the pandemic, club tourists in Berlin made up 1.48 Billion Euros of sales volume. This includes only the approximately 3 million tourists and excludes the visitors that live in the city. (cf. GOLDMEDIA GRUPPE 2019) By the time this study was written the majority of the regulations were dropped and club venues went back to operating normally again.

3. New Concepts

A popular concept was to reinvent the outdoor spaces of certain clubs into beer gardens with additional music and live art performances. The opening hours were changed in order to attract tourists or other users of the Night-time economy and to adapt to the regulations. Most venues regularly opened at 10 PM from Thursday till Sunday. With the new concepts put into place, venues, depending on the current regulations, opened earlier than before, at around 6 PM and closed down at 11 PM and also were not open for the whole weekend. Club spaces were re functioned and used as means of getting together and relaxing to music, without opening the commonly known closed spaces to prevent crowding. Also seating was necessary. Masks were not mandatory while seated. For a short time dancing in general was prohibited by law. (VERWALTUNGSGERICHT BERLIN 2021) There were many concepts thought about and executed that took the ever changing regulations into account. An example would be the About blank club situated near the Ostkreuz in Berlin. The venue has a big outdoor area which was repurposed as a beer garden. It was only accessible in good weather conditions at Friday, Saturday and Sunday, and it was only opened until 11PM in order to obey the regulations. (cf. IRIEDAILY 2020) Other clubs had implemented similar concepts if an outdoor area could be provided. There were also other examples, for instance concepts were no outdoor area was needed if not available.

The renowned nightclub Berghain had reopened its doors as a museum venue in order to be able to obey the regulations while still being able to attract guests and generate revenue in order to support their staff and artists. "Studio Berlin" was a cooperation between the Boros foundation and Berghain and presented contemporary art produced by artists in Berlin. The "museum" was

accessible between September 2020 and August 2021. (DW 2020) Other concepts provided were live streams of music events in venues, which could be accessed for free by the general public via the internet. This concept relied on voluntary donations.

The general re-conceptualization of club culture was forced due to restrictions by the government and could be considered as a survival mechanism in order to withstand the immense effects on the economy of night time venues. My hypothesis was that the repercussions on Club venues caused by the Covid-19 pandemic changed the recreational weekend habits of visitors and reduced their club activity. Chances are that regular visitors of Club venues reduced the frequency of their visits of said establishments. Also it could be possible that the visitors now redirect their leisure time in the weekends towards other activities, such as visiting bars, visiting friends, resting at home or other activities.

4. Methods

In order to collect data on the opinions of visitors towards the new concepts, a questionnaire survey was conducted. The questionnaire contained 6 questions and was provided to the subjects online. The questionnaires were analyzed and evaluated after completion. The survey was conducted via PC. The subjects were split into 2 distinct groups. The groups consisted of regular and irregular visitors of club venues. Regular visitors were defined by the frequency of their visits. They were considered as regular visitors of club venues if they had used club venues at least once a month in the year 2019. Every other subject fell into the group of irregular users. The subjects were either friends or friends of friends.

The structured questionnaire consisted of open and closed questions and the sample size was made up by 27 individuals. The sample contained 15 regular visitors and 12 irregular visitors. The questionnaires were completed by the 30th February 2022 while the restrictions for club venues were still active.

The focus of the project was to determine how club visitors adapt to the new concepts and which concepts were more popular. How frequently were visitors visiting clubs compared to before the pandemic and how did the pandemic affect their use of recreational time in the weekend in general?

5. Results

In the following we will discuss the results. The analysis of the questionnaire and the open question will be discussed simultaneously.
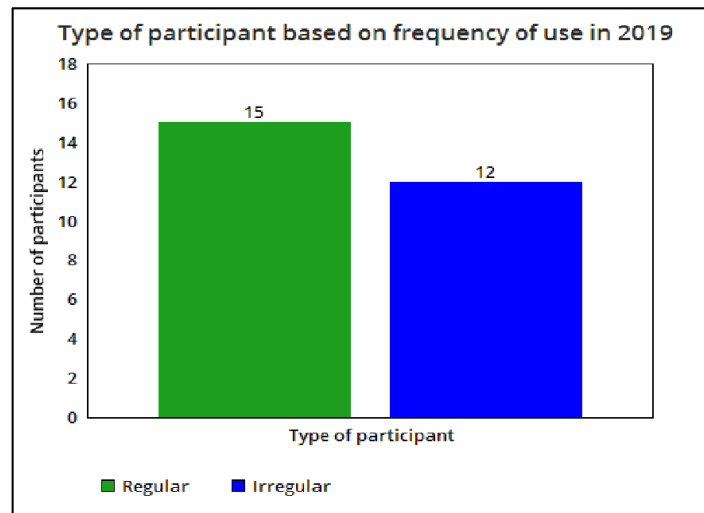

Figure 1: Type of participant based on frequency of use in 2019 (own data)

As we can see and have already discussed prior, the results are split into 2 groups. The answers of the questionnaire may differ throughout those groups based on the frequency of use of club venues in the year 2019 before the pandemic. The answers could also differ because of different expectations throughout those groups. We will discuss this matter later in this paper.

The answers for the question if the participants have used any alternative concepts discussed in this paper are the following.
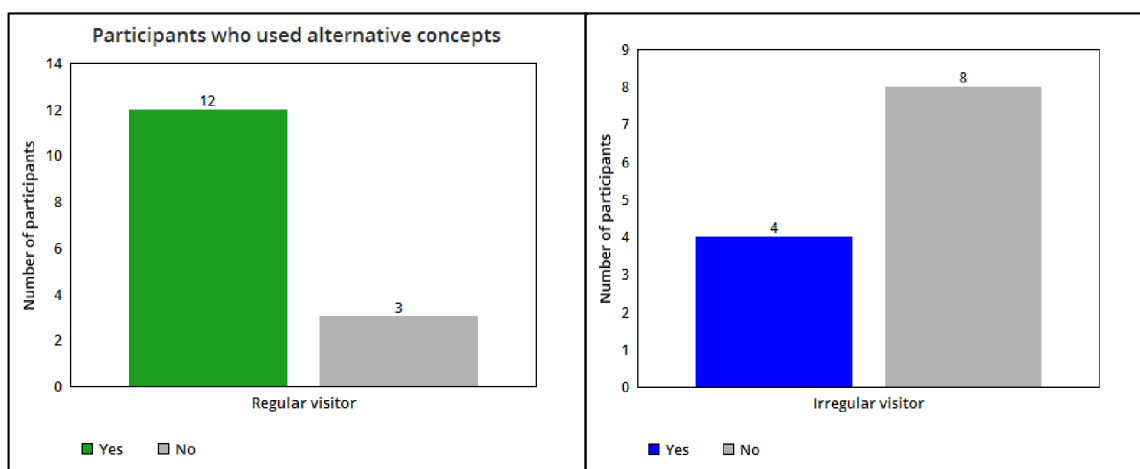

Figure 2: Participants who used alternative concepts (own data)

As we can see regular visitors were more prone to use alternative concepts in the pandemic. I discussed this matter in an open interview with 3 regular visitors and 2 irregular visitors who used alternative concepts. Two subjects of the regular visitor group used the alternative concepts due to habits made prior to the pandemic. They liked the idea of being in their favorite club venues and meeting people they knew only through partying, even with the new regulations put in place. One participant of the regular visitor group only used the concept because of friends who worked there and not out of habit. Both subjects of the irregular visitor group used the new concepts due to invitations from friends.

The next question is about the average frequency of use of alternative concepts in the year 2021. The results are based on an estimate because the participants could not recall the exact number of visits. The results only apply to 12 regular visitors and 4 irregular visitors that used alternative concepts. As a comparison I will provide the frequency of use in the year 2019.

Of course it should be taken into consideration that such concepts were not available throughout the year 2021, but for most of it.
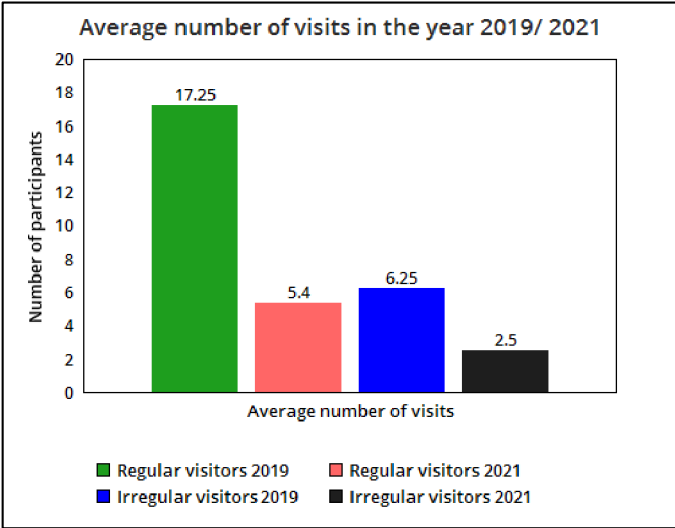

Figure 3: Average number of visits in the yer 2019/2021 (own data)

As we can see the number of visits differ drastically. The results indicate that visitors were using club venues to a lower degree while the new concepts were put in place. I discussed this matter with the same amount of participants as the question prior in an open interview format.

Most of the regular visitors explained their reduced use of club venues due to changed habits and also because they could not make a separation between bar culture and club culture anymore. They implied that they could not see the reason for visiting club venues on a regular basis anymore instead of just going to a bar close by. The feeling and atmosphere provided by the regular club

experience could not be provided. They still liked to go there to spend time but would not compare it to the experience they were used to. Some also said that the cultural aspect and philosophy that provides an alternative approach to the "regular lifestyle" of the general public got lost in the (re)conception of club venues.

In the following we can see the results for the question if participants would support the idea of club venues continuing to provide similar concepts in the future after the pandemic.
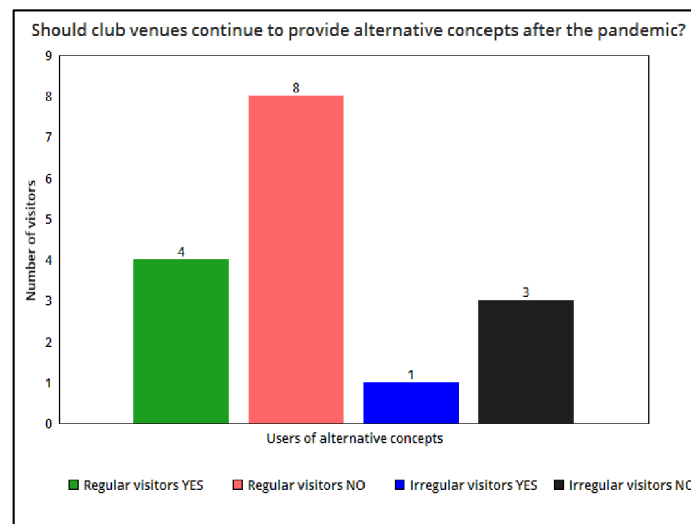

Figure 4: Should club venues continue to provide alternative concepts after the pandemic? (own data)

As we can see the majority of users of alternative concepts would not mind if club venues would not continue providing alternative concepts after the pandemic. Most of the participants in both groups felt the alternative concepts were lacking the main reason why they would consider visiting club venues in the weekend in general. It had too many similarities to venues that provide a similar experience, such as bars or commonly known beer gardens. Those venues are specialized in those areas and can provide a better package altogether. One of the things that users of the alternative concepts of club venues thought as very positive was the music choice and to meet friends they usually would not see outside of a club setup.

They argued that in most bars or beer garden there is no music at all, or music they cannot identify with as much as with the music provided in club venues. This refers to the inter connectivity of club venues and electronic music. Another problem was the no dance policy. All of the participants that were interviewed stated that this was one of the big selling points that contribute to the popularity of club venues. They provide a safe space for "letting go". This feeling is being amplified through dark spaces and intimacy from the outer world.

Some of the participants really liked the idea of using the usual closed spaces differently, similar to what the Berghain did with the reopening of the club as museum venue. This concept is a outlier and was not included in the questionnaire.

6. Conclusion

The pandemic deemed itself as a huge test of patience for a lot of industries, especially the event industry. Unsurprisingly, venue owners tried to find ways in order to survive the financial havoc and to keep the culture alive. The sample size of this study cannot provide any significant data in order to have a concrete stance on this matters, but nonetheless it seems like the concepts provided were a desperate move for survival. The majority of participants of this study could not identify with the new concepts and would not recommend continuing that path in the future. The study was conducted while strict restrictions were still in place. By now most of the regulations were dropped and it is possible to enter a club venue with the commonly known 3G rule set. Club venues open regularly and there is basically no difference, besides the additional checkup for vaccine certificates, compared to the time before the pandemic. This is also an indicator that the alternative concepts were not successful or just did not fit into the idea that draws people into club venues in general. As talked about in the beginning of the paper, club venues are not only spaces, but places of culture and creativity. They are deeply rooted in Berlins past and provide an alternative to other urban night time locations. It is difficult to connect these alternative concepts with the values and beliefs that make club culture what it is. There are certain expectations bound with the term club culture and with visiting a club venue that can hardly be replaced with anything else. Still I think there is room for experimentation, but probably not in the way things were handled throughout the pandemic. After all I still think that a lot of visitors were glad that there was a possibility to either reconnect with people they knew from being part of the scene, or just having a fun experience and enjoying art. In the end you could argue that it is about the people you meet along the way, and being able to gather and enjoy music is a universal human need that was somewhat nourished despite the difficult time, even if not in a perfect way.

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THE EVENING AND NIGHT TIME ECONOMY IN BERLIN AND THE ROLE OF MIGRANT WORKERS

Philipp-Moritz Riesel & Jonas Aubert Nchoundoungam

1. Introduction

The night as a more or less recently discovered economic opportunity and strategy to revitalize city centers and the resulting Evening and Night-Time Economy has been introduced within the fields of geography with the "domestication of the night" (LOVATT & O'CONNOR, 1995: 130) as an essential prerequisite. Particularly in British research contexts, there have been numerous theoretical and practical explorations of the Evening and Night-Time Economy, for example, in the form of case studies of nocturnal economic activity using a wide variety of qualitative and quantitative methods (SHAW, 2012, 2022). Consequently, there has been a development of the contested terms and concepts of the night and the Evening and Night-Time Economy as well as a broadening of the study area, resulting in the emerging fields of Night Studies or Nightology (SHAW, 2022). The role of migrants and precariousness in the context of night work has been qualitatively researched and further developed terms and concepts such as hyper-precariousness (LEWIS ET AL., 2014) were introduced to the scientific debate to reflect the realities of nocturnal migrant work (MACQUARIE 2017, 2019, 2020). This paper investigates and explores the Evening and Night-Time Economy of Berlin and the role of nocturnal migrant work using a mixed-method approach. First, the study examines a hot spot of Berlin's Evening and Night-Time Economy, the Simon-Dach-Kiez, using qualitative methods, particularly a participant observation and a perception walk, and quantitative methods, a GIS analysis to characterize Berlin's evening and night economy using the Simon-Dach-Kiez as an example as a hotspot of nocturnal economic activity. Second, the role of migrants and migrant labor is explored through qualitative interviews as well as analyzed and discussed in light of existing research and studies. Building on these the following research questions are to be explored: What constitutes the Evening and Night-Time Economy within the Simon-Dach-Kiez? How is it spatially distributed? Which facilities of the nocturnal economy are found? Which role does nocturnal migrant work play? What are the personal experiences of migrant workers made within the context of their work? Are their experiences

similar or different from those described in the literature? First, the theoretical foundation is laid by an extensive literature analysis through a theoretical analysis considering the concept of the night and building on this the Evening and Night-Time economy as a concept under consideration of western, industrialized countries. To theoretically embed and understand the role of migrants and migrant work within the Evening and Night-Time Economy, migrant work and concepts of precariousness and hyper precariousness will be theoretically analyzed against the background of night work. Second, the study area is outlined and characterized. Subsequently, the mixed-method approach of the research and the data are presented. Based on this, the research and results are described, discussed, and critically reflected. Lastly, a brief conclusion including the main findings and statements of the research are provided, possible courses of action in the future are identified, and future research needs are outlined.

2.   Theoretical Background

The following section deals with the theoretical foundation of the present paper. It explores the conceptualization of the night, the concept of the Evening and Night-Time Economy, and migrant work with its central characterizations like precariousness and related concepts and notions like hyper precarity through an extensive literature analysis (MAC QUARIE, 2019; SCHWANEN ET AL., 2012).

2.1 Conceptualization of the Night

To gain a basic understanding of the concept of Evening, and especially the Night-Time Economy, it is necessary to clarify and scientifically conceptualize the concept of night. This leads to the following question: What is the night, and what constitutes it? A handful of scientific papers deal with the nighttime economy and attempt to define the night as it is a contested term (FÜLLER ET AL., 2018). Additionally, the emerging field of night studies contributes to further conceptualizations of the term. First, the word night is a word of everyday and common use (SHAW, 2022). Furthermore, SHAW 2022 identifies two overlapping concepts of the term or concept of the night. First, he describes it as the "downtime proportion of daily rhythm of activity or alertness and inactivity and rest" (SHAW, 2022: 1150). Second, the night is described as the dark part of the light cycle, which means the night is defined in opposition to the bright day using the aspect of natural illumination. Furthermore, he distinguishes between what he calls the biogeoastronomical components of the night and the social components of the night while both being associated with sleep and rest (SHAW, 2022). To summarize, SHAW, 2022, describes two concepts, one includes the

physical and material conditions of darkness, and the other social rhythms and routines. Nevertheless, there is also an interaction of day and night, manifesting in nocturnality, describing shifts in space and time due to the night (SHAW, 2022). Further definitions or descriptions of the night, depict the term as "a descent of darkness, arrival of sleep and suspension of work" (LOVATT & O'CONNOR, 1995: 130) whilst associating it with fear, rest, and dreaming and understanding the night as a site of transgression, describing it as space and time of the other and space of encounter with the other (LOVATT & O'CONNOR, 1995). Moreover, the night is described as ambiguous, and dangerous, with attributes such as light, crime, and sin (LOVATT & O'CONNOR, 1995). The night, as accessible time and space, was made available through technological advancement, especially the installation of gas and electricity within cities, which is described as the "Domestication of the Night" (LOVATT AND O'CONNOR, 1995: 130). To summarize, there is no clear definition of what the term night means, rather there are several attributes that characterize the night mostly through the absence of light and day-time attributed routines. In the context of the present work and research, the night is thus considered the dark period of the 24-hour day, which is subject to a fluid transition from light day to the dark night. Further differentiations, especially considering the nocturnal economy, will be presented later on.

2.2 Evening and Night-Time Economy

Building on the foregoing, the following section describes and analyzes the concepts of the Evening and Night-Time Economy based on existing literature. It is important to note here that the description of the concept varies considering the included temporal dimension, meaning that most of the scientific work focuses on the Night-Time Economy, whilst others include the transitional period of the evening and therefore describe it as Evening and Night-Time Economy. This is mostly due to the Evening and Night-Time Economy being a relatively new concept (HADFIELD, 2015; SHAW, 2022). Other research structures the Evening and Nigh-Time Economy into further differentiated time frames, e.g. SCHWANEN ET AL. 2012 divide the Evening and Night-Time Economy in the context of their case study into the evening economy, the night economy, and the late-night economy. To get a better understanding of the concept, it is important to define it. The IGI GLOBAL (no date), an international publishing company that specializes in scholarly research publications, defines Night-Time Economy as a "contested and controversial time-space where multiple formal and informal economies run from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m. corresponding to different ways of experiencing the urban night. Examples include informal parties, live-music sector, hospitality sector, sex industry, festivals, food and alcohol delivery platforms, digital events, 24h trades, small and niche oriented night-businesses, big size and commercial oriented night businesses." (IGI

GLOBAL, no date: 1). Further definitions describe the Night-Time Economy as a term "used to describe a wide range of activities from a trip to the theatre or a family meal to a night out at a club. Night-time economies are an important part of our towns and cities […]." (LOCAL GOVERNMENT ASSOCIATION, 2020: 1). To summarize, the Night-Time Economy describes economic activity which occurs during the night or dark time of the day (cf. 2.1 Conceptualization of the night) and includes a wide range of businesses and formal and informal economic activities. Applying this to the broadened concept of the Evening and Night-Time Economy it includes the transition period of the evening and therefore constitutes a time frame from 6 pm to 6 am (IGI GLOBAL, no date; SCHWANEN ET AL., 2012). The development of the concept, scientific debates, and literature on Evening and Night-Time Economy has taken place within three proclaimed waves (HADFIELD, 2015). The first wave consisted of cultural planners considering the Evening and Night-Time Economy as a redevelopment strategy of city centers beyond the temporal dimensions of the day, incorporating the 24-hour city concept. The second wave includes a change in the public debate and discourse about the night and its economic activities due to the outcomes resulting from planning during the first wave, such as criminogenic, environmental, and social ones with parallel negative media reports and a negative perception of the local population, NGOs, and public health professionals. The consumption of alcoholic beverages and respective outcomes like disorderliness and its implications play an important role in this discourse (HADFIELD, 2015), followed by increased political accountability, management, laws, and regulations, and therefore increased involvement of policing authorities and city or local governments (HADFIELD, 2015).

The third and current wave of research and scientific debate coined the concept Evening and Night Time Economy, emphasizing research on exclusionary outcomes, securitization, gentrification, the underlying processes of the Evening and Night-Time Economy, and ultimately the conduction of case studies to broaden the scientific knowledge. It is important to note, that the spatial research focus within the first two waves was primarily focused on English or British and Australian contexts. During the current third wave, this spatial focus shifted to other European countries, North America, and Southeast Asia, building on the research conducted in waves one and two (HADFIELD, 2015).

As pointed out, the Evening and Night-Time Economy underlies regulation and therefore governmental activity and governance. Several papers and research have focused on the resulting governance forms and arrangements (FÜLLER ET AL. 2018; HADFIELD, 2015; SHAW, 2012). The need for governance and regulatory activity stems from increasing problematic outcomes and rising tensions due to nightly economic activities of consumption. These include problems related to the misuse of alcohol, pollution of public areas, and increased noise levels, which results in residents' demands for regulation of the night-time use of public space and the formation and creation of

neighborhood initiatives. This constitutes a conflict between residents and the economic interest of the Night-Time Economy (FÜLLER ET AL., 2018). Building on this, several governance approaches were scientifically identified. For example, FÜLLER ET AL. (2018) identified changing modes of urban governance with the inclusion of non-state actors, and more horizontal, intentional, and inclusionary modes of governing. They proposed an "UnGoverning" (FÜLLER ET AL., 2018: 28) of the night. HADFIELD (2015) identified and analyzed four overlapping modes of governance. The first one, Law, Statute, and Urban Design includes licensing, planning regulations, urban design, and delineating types of certain activities. The second mode of governance is described as "Police Governance" (HADFIELD, 2015: 607), meaning police and other law enforcement agencies use their respective power to shape space-time, encouraging or suppressing social interaction and cultural activity. The third form "Private Governance of Affect" (HADFIELD, 2015: 607) describes the operation of consumer markets and niche positioning by businesses, therefore interactions of supply and demand and the collective and individual operation of businesses. Lastly, the "Informal Governance" (HADFIELD, 2015: 607) described as social processes of selection, discrimination, accessibility, and processes of self-selection which ultimately influence the degree of participation of certain population groups was identified. Furthermore, there are constrained choices, shaped by social, financial, bodily, gender, capital, life-course demands, ethnicity, sexuality, and cultural assets which are required to access certain spaces within the nightlife and respective economy (HADFIELD, 2015). SHAW 2012 identified the development of the Night-Time Economy in the United Kingdom as strongly associated with and tied to neoliberal urban governance. He describes neoliberalism as a series of policy networks and as governance of subjectivities that shape and explain the "nocturnal cityscape" (SHAW, 2012: 456) and concludes that the nature and role of neoliberalism as crucial to understanding the night-time city. Planning, as a mode of governance, is therefore central to not only understanding the night and its economy but also shaping and regulating it from a (local) governmental perspective. The active development of a Night-Time Economy and respective strategies planned and applied by local authorities can be interpreted as a measure to revitalize city centers (LOVATT & O'CONNOR, 1995). This was for instance used in 1990s Great Britain, to mobilize the time-space of urban-night consumption. Further initiatives or projects like "Alive after Five" (SHAW, 2012) illustrate and prove this. As stated above, nightlife participation is more accessible or less accessible to certain populations than others. Accessibility is shaped by social inequality based on race, ethnicity, social class or status, sexuality, age, disability, and health (HADFIELD, 2015). This is to be thought in the spatial and temporal dimension of the night, as SCHWANEN ET AL. (2012) analyzed it through the lens of rhythms and identified a fluidity of inequalities and exclusionary processes in city centers during the night while researching the Evening Night-Time Economy in Dutch cities. They

identified inequalities along race and ethnicity, inequalities and exclusion based on gender which differed across the temporalities and spatiality of the night, such as influences by the composition of the night-life participants and their collective habitus, the presence of policing authorities or private security of businesses, and the temporal and spatial dimension (SCHWANEN ET AL., 2012). Therefore, there are social modes of exclusion and power relations influencing exclusion (HADFIELD, 2015) within the Evening and Night-Time Economy that has to be understood in temporal-ecological terms (SCHWANEN ET AL., 2012).

The discourse and underlying concept of the Night-Time Economy also gained relevance in urban development and media discourses in Berlin and public dissatisfaction in affected areas. With rising issues of quality of life during the night-time, this has become an area of conflict in affected districts such as the inner-city district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, which includes the study area of the following qualitative research. This is influenced by the growth of tourism in the 21st century, the importance and political recognition of the nocturnal economy, as it is central to the marketing of the city, and its implications. The development of a Night-Time Economy in Berlin has been part of development strategies since the early 2000s. Berlin's Night-Time Economy is characterized by a composition of many small businesses, a distinct club culture, and 24/7 entertainment (FÜLLER ET AL., 2018).

2.3 Migrant Work and Precariousness

After the theoretical discussion of the Evening and Night-Time Economy, the term migrant, the realities of migrant labor, and related concepts of precariousness and hyper-precariousness are explained and analyzed below.

The German Federal Agency for Political Education defines the word migrant as "[…] generic term for immigrants and emigrants and refers to people who move from one country to another. In Germany, people who were born abroad and moved to Germany are considered migrants. They thus have their own migration experience and are also referred to as 'first-generation' migrants." (BUNDESZENTRALE FÜR POLITISCHE BILDUNG, no date: 1). Further definitions define a migrant as "[…] foreign birth, by foreign citizenship, or by their movement into a new country so stay temporarily […] or to settle for the longterm" (ANDERSON & BLINDER, 2017: 3) whilst other definitions include "children who are UK-born or UK nationals, but whose parents are foreign-born or foreign-nationals in the migrant populations (ANDERSON & BLINDER, 2017: 3). Some define a migrant in terms of policing as "[…] an individual who is subject to immigration controls." (ANDERSON & BLINDER, 2017: 3). A recent conceptual and definitional examination of the terminology by SCHEEL & TAZZIOLI, 2022 notes the "word migrant has become a toxic term that

should be abandoned because it stigmatizes people labeled as such." (SCHEEL & TAZZIOLI, 2022: 2). They call for the use of the term refugee instead and offer a different definition. They understand a migrant "[…] as a person who, in order to move to or stay in a desired place, has to struggle against bordering practices and processes of boundary-making that are implicated by the national order of things" (SCHEEL & TAZZIOLI, 2022: 3). Within the context of the present paper and research, the definition by the Federal Agency for Political Education is used, because it not only fits and stems from the German context but also because the research focuses on "first-generation migrants" (BUNDESZENTRALE FÜR POLITISCHE BILDUNG, no date: 1). Data from the FEDERAL STATISTICAL OFFICE show that in 2022 13,383,910 migrants lived in Germany. In Berlin, the share of migrants is 24.3 % with a total migrant population of 935.747 (AMT FÜR STATISTIK BERLIN-BRANDENBURG, 2023).

The work of migrants is often described as precarious and often takes place at night, since night work and nightshifts are better paid than equivalent day-time work (MACQUARIE, 2020). In post-industrial Western capitalist societies, it is common, that precarious, mostly low-paid, and hard work, such as delivery drivers, hospital cleaners, workers in food manufacturing or supply chains, construction and care work, agricultural occupations as well as sex work, is reserved for or given to migrant workers (LEWIS ET AL., 2014; MACQUARIE, 2020). Migrant workers are often engaged within a complex web of sub-contracting which further complicates the granting of human and labor rights, sometimes even in forced labor (LEWIS ET AL., 2014), and are often found within the "lower echelons of the labor market" (LEWIS ET AL., 2014: 585). As a key group underlying insecurity, they experience vulnerable employment which furthers the risk of continued poverty, and social and economic injustice, which is partially explained through the power imbalances between employer and migrant worker. Vulnerable jobs are characterized by insecurity, as being temporary, sometimes not only low-paid but no-paid, and irregularity, such as working irregular hours. Additionally, those typical jobs are highly time and place-bound (LEWIS ET AL., 2014). MACQUARIE, 2017 describes the night work exercised by migrants as "glocturnal" (MACQUARIE, 2017), meaning that migrant workers produce the global city through nocturnal practices and work. Therefore, there are interconnections between the neoliberal system of work and the exploitation of migrant workers (LEWIS ET AL., 2014). Migrants can be seen as subject to precarity due to the implications of night work and night shifts, such as working in times when the human body is designed and supposed to rest and resulting in sleep deprivation, bodily and mental exhaustion, and social alienation. The lack of decent working conditions, the seizure of private time, and therefore also social life and activities, contribute to the precarious position migrant night workers find themselves in. Additionally, migrant workers are often victims of abuse, due to the hierarchical

power relations. Another important factor is the invisibility of night work (MAC QUARIE, 2019; MACQUARIe, 2020).

Precarity, as a concept and experienced reality, can be considered from two points of view. First, precarity can be seen as to work under neoliberal market conditions that result from ongoing globalization and neoliberalization. Second, it can be seen as a broader feature of life. The rise of precarity is a direct result of neoliberal globalization and the resulting exploitation of migrant workers (LEWIS ET AL., 2014). As previously described, the precariousness amongst night working migrants is due to the nature of night shifts being mostly invisible (MACQUARIE, 2019). LEWIS ET AL., 2014 coined the concept and term "hyper-precarity" (LEWIS ET AL., 2014: 592). The concept describes the pressure migrants with various immigration and socio-legal statuses experience on a daily basis. Hyper-Precarity manifests in three key elements. First, there is "deportability in everyday life" (LEWIS ET AL., 2014: 593). Deportability is a powerful power tool of nation-states to 'discipline' migrants, especially dangerous for migrants who do not have papers or valid permits to stay and work in certain occupations, influencing the choice of possible jobs and workplaces. Second, the prevalent risk of bodily injuries, since migrants are prone to work in dangerous jobs with oftentimes little security provided by the employer, is described. Third, "transactional relationships" (LEWIS ET AL., 2014: 593), which describe arrangements that can become exploitative and unfree due to shifts in power relations, are, mentioned as part of hyper-precarity.

3. Methods & Data

The following sections give an overview of the used methods and describe them in terms of application and selection. Based on this, the collected data are introduced and characterized.

3.1 Methods

The research methods have been chosen under consideration of the research topic, questions, and goal. The explorative approach as well as the nature of the topic at hand requires the use of qualitative methods. The applied methods consist of a participant observation of the Berlin Evening and Night Time Economy in the study area and qualitative interviews with night-shift migrant workers. The foundation for the chosen method lies within the written explanations by the author APPEL 2020 about qualitative methods. In addition to the above, the author uses GIS-Software not only to visualize the study area and the outcome of the participant observation, but also to identify the economic facilities of the Evening and Night-Time Economy. Therefore, the

present study uses a mixed-method approach consisting of qualitative observations, qualitative interviews, and quantitative GIS-Analysis.

3.1.1 Study Area & GIS-Analysis

For the characterization and analysis of the Berlin Evening and Night-Time Economy, a hotspot of nocturnal economic activity, the Simon-Dach-Kiez, was chosen (FÜLLER ET AL., 2018), not only to derive conclusions about the Berlin evening and night economy but also to get into contact with possible participants for the qualitative interviews through the participant observation conducted in the study area.

The Simon-Dach-Kiez, named after the street of the same name that runs north and south in the heart of the neighbourhood, is located at the eastern end of the sub-district Friedrichshain which is embedded in the district Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg. Friedrichshain is located in the eastern center of Germany's capital, Berlin (cf. Figure 1). In addition, the study area is part of, but not identical to, the district region Frankfurter Allee Süd FK, a spatial unit administratively defined by the city administration (BEZIRKSAMT FRIEDRICHSHAIN-KREUZBERG, 2020). Due to the lack of data directly tailored to the study area, the characterization of the study area is partially carried out below using data from the district region. (GEOPORTAL BERLIN, 2019, 2023a, 2023b). The study area has been defined as the area between the Frankfurter Allee in the north, the Warschauer Straße in the west, the boundary in the south constructed by the railroad line, and in the east by the Gürstelstraße and the railroad lines (cf. Figure 1). The 4.09 km² district region Frankfurter Allee Süd FK (GEOPORTAL BERLIN, 2019) is home to 53,631 inhabitants. The study area of the Simon-Dach-Kiez has a size of 1.62 km², which was calculated through GIS. The migrant population in the district region amounts to 12,677 migrants living there (BEZIRKSAMT FRIEDRICHSHAIN-KREUZBERG VON BERLIN 2020). In addition, the study area is characterized by tourism and therefore by tourists who visit it to experience the Berlin evening and night economy (FÜLLER ET AL., 2018). To further explore and characterize the Evening and Night-Time Economy in the study area a GIS-Analysis is conducted via the use of a Berlin-wide data set provided by GEOFABRIK (2023) which was then intersected with the study area. The dataset includes point data and building data on, for example, amenities, restaurants, bars, green spaces, sports fields, and playgrounds. Based on this, the facilities of nighttime economic activities identified in the literature were taken from the dataset and categorized. Thus, the following categories were created: art & nightlife, bars, beverage trade, entertainment, gastronomy, night-club, 'spätkauf' & kiosk, and supermarkets with extended opening hours (LOVATT & O'CONNOR, 1995; HADFIELD, 2015; FÜLLER ET AL., 2018). It

is important to note that unidentifiable data was deleted, and due to the nature of the present data set, further retail with extended opening hours was excluded.
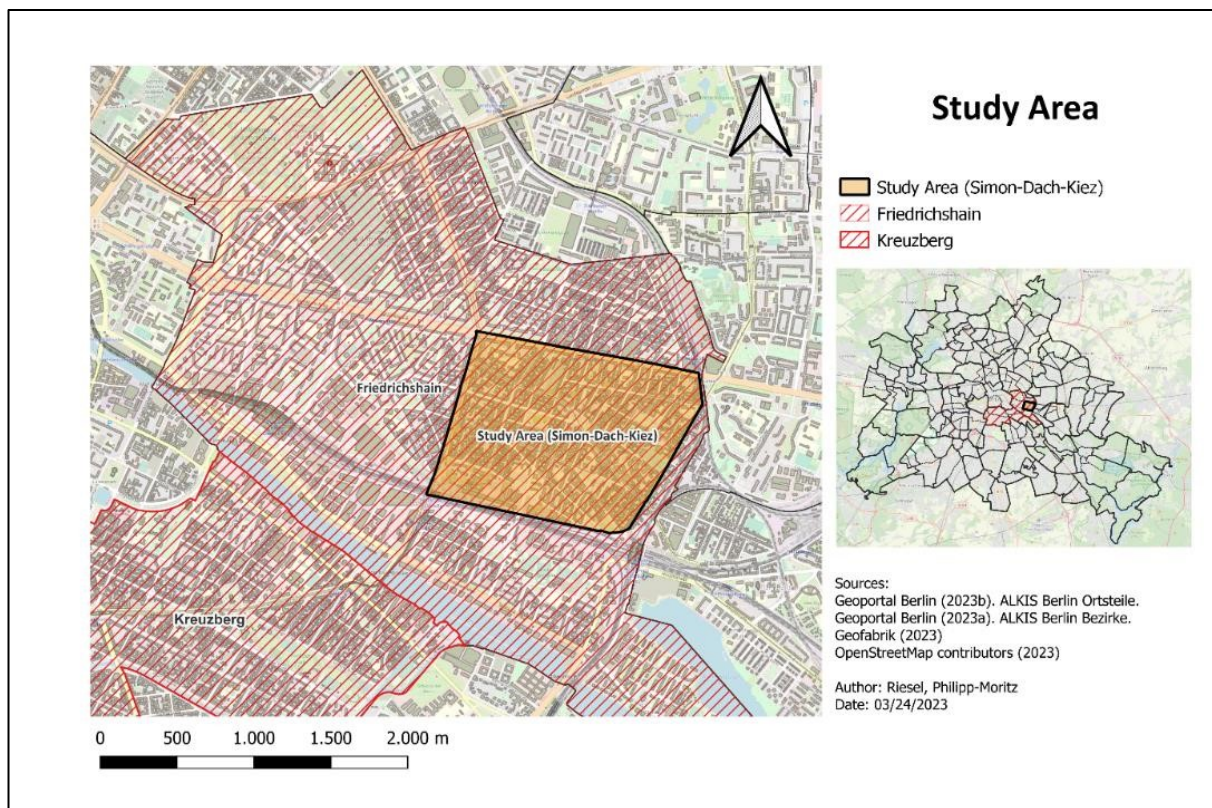

Figure 1: Study Area and District of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg (Source: the author)

The participant observation represents the first step of the present exploratory research and serves not only for qualitative data collection itself but also for the establishment of contact with subjects of the target group, migrant workers in the Evening and Night-Time Economy, for the qualitative interviews. As an immensely open method, the participant observation is prone to recognize and identify social realities and contexts of meaning through participation in cultural practices (APPEL, 2020). In the context of this research, a mixed form of overt and covert participant observation was employed. Covert in the sense of not being directly recognizable as a researcher when immersing into the nightlife and nocturnal economy and overt in the sense that, when possible, opportunities for contact with possible interview partners arise, the author is to make himself known. The participant observation is unstructured, and the use of a prepared observation protocol was omitted due to the exploratory nature of the present research (APPEL, 2020). Despite executing an unstructured observation, weather conditions are identified and recorded as they have an impact on the nighttime use of public urban space (SCHWANEN ET AL., 2014). Furthermore, the observation is conducted during two different time periods. First, the evening economy is studied from 5.57 pm to 7.08 pm. Second, the night economy is studied from 9.54 pm to 10.56 pm, which

partially follows the characterization by SCHWANEN ET AL., 2014. The study of the late-night economy, as classified by SCHWANEN ET AL., 2014 is not conducted due to personal limitations. The observations were documented using smartphone applications for voice recording, a camera to take photographs, and GPS tracking applications to track the route. Afterward, the voice recordings were transcribed into a protocol. The recorded route was subsequently imported, processed, and visualized via GIS (cf. Figure 6). Due to the modus operandi, meaning the documentation via GPS and taking of imagery, one might add that the participant observation includes elements of a perceptual walk, which is another method used within qualitative research, which includes elements, such as the collection of impressions from the field, writing down or here recording the objective elements. Likewise, a critical reflection is necessary regarding the researcher concerning the field of investigation (OMAHNA, 2012).

3.1.2 Qualitative Interviews

The four qualitative interviews were conducted with subjects of the target group of migrant night workers which were partially approached during the previously described participant observation, as suggested in the literature (APPEL, 2020), and partially derived from existing personal contacts and relations. APPEL, 2020 differentiates between three distinct forms of qualitative interviews: narratives, guided interviews, and group interviews. Considering the exploratory nature of the research topic, the author opted for qualitative interviews in the sense of "guided interviews".

The qualitative interviews were conducted on 28 March 2023 and 29 March 2023. Three interviews were conducted via audio call, one interview by handing over a questionnaire and thus answering the questions by the interviewee in the absence of the author. The basis for the qualitative interviews is provided by the questionnaire, consisting of guiding questions on the topics of night work and migration. The only static questions used were those that recorded the demographic characteristics of the interview partner, nationality, sex, age, and education, to be able to review, discuss, and analyze the qualitative data in a differentiated manner from a demographic point of view as part of the evaluation. Therefore, the interview is classified as a semi-structural qualitative interview.

Mainly, the guiding questions centered on the main topic of the present research, the Evening and Night-Time Economy. First, the subject was asked to narrate personal experiences considering their respective night work without further interference by the author. The following guidance questions include those asking about the conduction of night work, the current occupation and sector of employment, the temporal frames and rhythms of the night work, financial aspects, the formality of the employment, and the reasons for the night work. Differentiating the illustrated

picture, questions about negative and positive outcomes of the night work, such as guiding questions about power relations and power abuse, consequences, and feelings towards them, were included. On the contrary, guiding questions considering positive perceptions or sentiments connected to night work were prepared. On the topic of migration, the subject was asked to narrate their respective personal experiences and associations with migration. The following guiding questions include those about the country of origin and migration route, the reasons for the migration, the arrival, and timeframes of being in Germany and or Berlin as well as the desire to migrate to Berlin, the current legal status of the subject and problems of barriers considering integration and migration as a whole. It is important to note that the leading questions were not asked directly to the interviewee but rather served as a form of conversational guidance and direction. The names of the interview subjects are partially anonymized, if they wished for it. This is done concerning the workplace so that no conclusions can be drawn and possible negative consequences, such as economic ones in this context, for the interviewee are avoided if this research were to be published (Appel, 2020). All interviews were conducted in German, then translated into English, and qualitatively processed and corrected concerning grammar as part of the evaluation.

3.2 Data

Building on the previously described methods of the present research, the respective data are resulting from the participant observation and qualitative interviews described below.

3.2.1 Participant Observation

The data collected through the participant observation are presented in Table 1. The gathered data is mostly qualitative and available in the form of voice recordings and photographs taken by the author, as well as quantitative GPS data. The data was gathered within two distinct observation periods on Friday, 24 March 2023, and Friday, 01 April 2023, as described below. The first observation period took place on 24 March 2023 from 5.57 pm to 7.08 pm. During the first observation period, 69 voice recordings were made and 71 photographs were taken by the author. The second observation period took place on 01 April 2023 from 9.54 p.m. to 10.56 p.m. During the second observation period, 73 voice recordings were made and 48 photographs were taken by the author.

Table 1: Participatory Observation & Perception Walk (Source: the author; 'timeframes' after SCHWANEN ET AL., 2012)

Date	Weekday	Economic Period & Timeframe	Observation Period	Illumination	Weather Condition
24.03.2023	Friday	Evening Economy (6 pm – 9 pm)	5:57 pm – 7:08 pm (71 Minutes)	beginning still slightly bright; transition to dusk; dark at the end & artificial illumination	sunny at the beginning; no precipitation
01.04.2023	Saturday	Night-Time Economy (9 pm – 2 am)	9.54 pm – 10.56 pm (62 Minutes)	complete darkness, artificial illumination by lanterns and neon signs	none to light or medium precipitation, rather windy

3.2.2 Qualitative Interviews

A total of four qualitative interviews were conducted as part of the research. Due to the limitations of the present work and the realities of the migrant workers and migrant work at night, it was not possible to conduct more interviews. The names of all interviewed subjects were changed. The first interview took place on 28.03.2023 at 2 pm and lasted 35 minutes until 2.35 pm. The interviewed person, Emre (male), is 28 years old and in Germany and Berlin since 2015. The interview was conducted via audio call and the answers and narratives given by Emre were written down during the interview without any data loss. He works as a waiter in a restaurant at night. The contact was established during the participant observation.

The second interview took place on 28.03.2023 at 5.30 pm and lasted 18 minutes until 5.48 pm. The interviewed person, Ahmed (male), is 27 years old, immigrated to Germany in 2018, and came to Berlin in 2019. The interview was conducted via audio call and the answers and narratives given by Ahmed were written down during the interview without any data loss. Ahmed worked as a waiter in a hotel. Nowadays, he no longer works at night. The third interview took place on 29.03.2023 at 11 am and lasted 32 minutes until 11.32 am.

The third interviewed person, Pasi (female), is 25 years old and immigrated to Germany in 2019, stayed in Berlin, moved to Kiel and now lives in Berlin since 2021. The interview was conducted via audio call and the answers and narratives given by Pasi were written down without any data loss. Pasi works as a waitress in a restaurant during the evening and night. Contact was made, as with Emre, through the participant observation.

The fourth interview took place on 29.03.2023, and as previously stated, independently by the interview partner, Ali. He is 28 years old and immigrated to Germany and Berlin in 2016. The

interview was conducted by handing out the interview to Ali as described above. Therefore, the quality of the respective data is to be handled differently since the researcher was not present and could not guide the interview. Ali worked several jobs within the Evening and Night-Time Economy. All interviewed night-shift migrant workers are within the range of 25 to 28 years old. The data consists of three male and one female migrant night worker. Table 2 represents an overview of the interviewed subjects.

Table 2: Qualitative Interviews: Dataset and characterization of participants (Source: the author)

Interviewed Subject	Nationality	Sex	Age	Date of Interview	Duration of the Interview	Night-Work Occupation(s)	Establishment of Contact
Emre	Syrian	male	28	03/28/2023	35 minutes	Waiter in a Restaurant	Participant observation
Ahmed	Iranian	male	27	03/28/2023	18 minutes	Waiter in a Hotel	Personal Contact
Pasi	Nepali	female	25	03/29/2023	32 minutes	Waiter in a Restaurant	Participant observation
Ali	Iranian	Male	28	03/29/2023	no data due to selfcompletion	Hotel & Worker in Kebab store	Personal Contact

4.   Results

The following sections describe the findings of the quantitative and qualitative mixed-method approach described in the previous section above. First, the Evening and Night-Time Economy of the study area is examined using a quantitative GIS-supported approach. Second, the outcomes of the participant observation are described. Third, the qualitative interviews are presented and narrated.

4.1 Evening and Night-Time Economy in Study Area

The following chapter characterizes the study area in terms of the Evening and Night-Time Economy. As previously described, the elements and facilities of the Evening and Night-Time Economy are captured, processed, and visualized using GIS. In total, 473 facilities of the Evening and Night-Time Economy were identified and classified using the dataset from GEOFABRIK, 2023. The individual facilities and elements were classified as follows: 288 gastronomic establishments, 89 bars, 58 "Spätkäufe" and Kiosks, 15 supermarkets with extended opening hours, eleven

nightclubs, five entertainment facilities consisting of two cinemas and three theatres, five beverage trade facilities and two facilities of art and nightlife, including the RAW-Area. This shows a high prevalence of gastronomic establishments and bars following a rather even distribution over the study area. The famous Berlin Spätkauf also plays a special role in the study area, not only because of the high number of them but also because of their importance in the nightlife, which will be further explained in the next section. Furthermore, it is visible, that there is a clear clustering of nightclubs at the RAW-Area in the southwest of the study area, due to its nature as an industrial wasteland and correspondingly vacant areas and buildings. The two facilities of art and nightlife are also located there (cf. Figure 2).
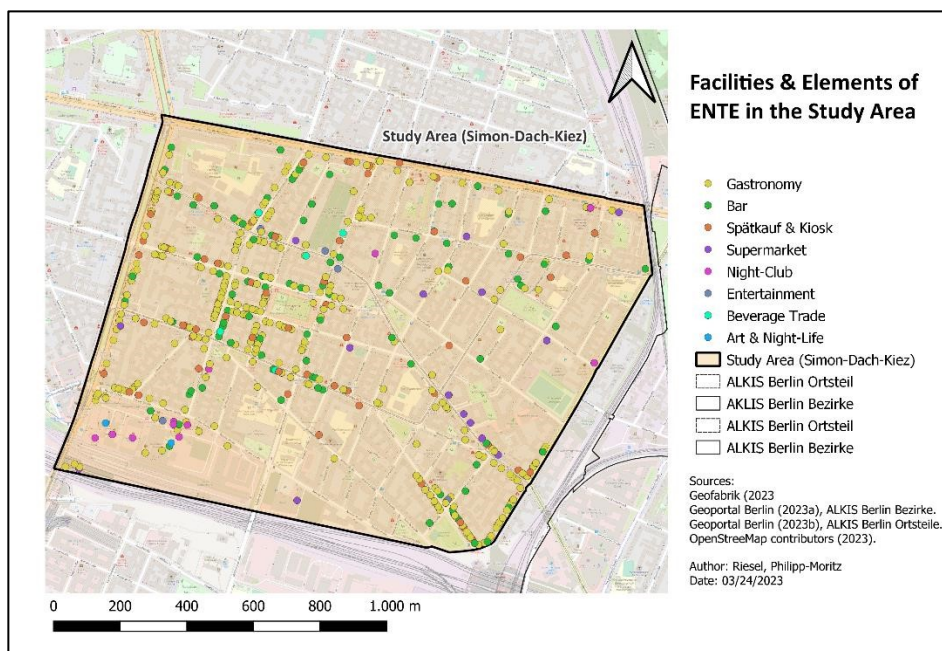

Figure 2: Facilities and Elements of Evening and Night-Time Economy in Study Area (Source: the author)

In addition, distinct hot spots of facilities of the Night-Time economy can be identified within the study area. First, there is a very pronounced hot spot in the western part of the study area around the Simon-Dach-Straße, mainly consisting of Restaurants, Bars, and late-night shops. Second, another very pronounced hot spot is located in the southeastern part of the study area near the S-Bahn station Ostkreuz in the Neuen-Bahnhofsstraße, following the same pattern as the first one concerning the facilities, with the exemption of more supermarkets located there. Further smaller hotspots are found along the Warschauer Straße, in the western area of the study area, and along the northern expansion of Simon-Dach-Strasse, the Niederbarnimstrasse (cf. Figure 3).
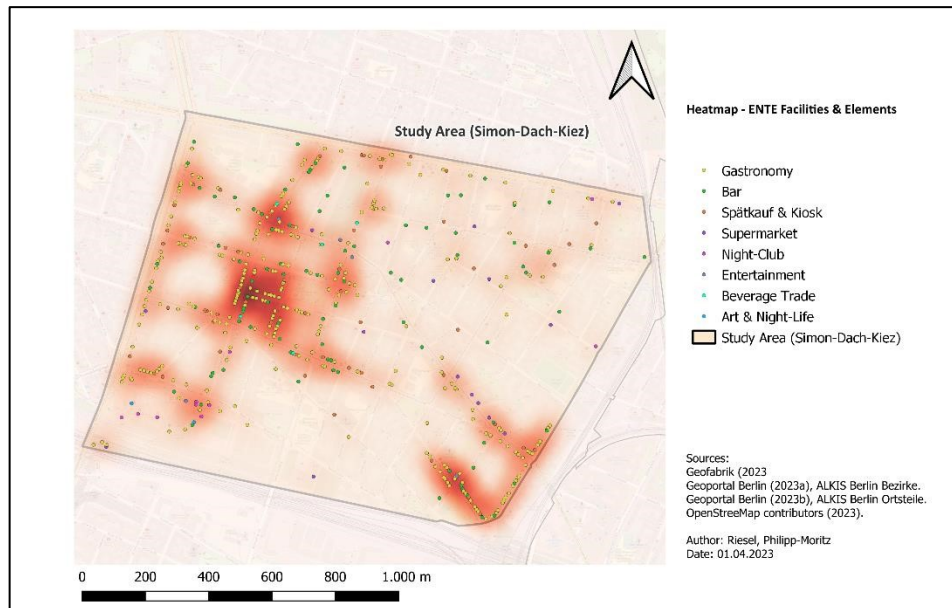
Figure 3: Heatmap – Hotspots of Evening and Night-Time Economy Facilities in the Study Area (Source: the author)

To summarize, the Simon-Dach-Kiez as the defined study area, is a "vibrant" (LOVATT & O'CONNOR, 1995) hotspot of the Berlin Night-Time Economy. Furthermore, it is characterized by a high number of facilities, which are part of the evening and night economy. In addition, there is a clear occurrence of hot spots of nocturnal economic activity based on the existing facilities (cf. Figure 2 and 3). The next section will examine and qualitatively evaluate these findings again through the participant observation, as for now they only exist on paper, which took place temporally after the characterization of the study area through the author.

4.2 Participant Observation

The following section describes the results of the participant observation in the study area. The participant observation took place in two periods. The first observation period took place on 24 March 2023 from 5:57 pm to 7:08 pm during the evening economy period. An illustration of the route is provided in Figure 6. The second observation period took place on 01 April 2023 from 9.54 pm to 10.56 pm and covered the night economy in the study area which is illustrated in Figure 4.

The first observation started during the daytime and progressed into the evening and early night as time proceeded, therefore covering the transgressional period of the 24-hour day. This is also reflected by the corresponding natural sunlight and artificial lighting. Accordingly, the observations of this period are again divided in two into the evening period from 5.58 to 6.42 pm and the twilight

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period from 6.42 pm to 7.03 pm. The weather was characterized by light clouds and light sunshine. It did not rain, nor was it noticeably windy. During the first period, from 5.58 pm until 6.42 pm the main observations were people sitting in front of restaurants, cafés, and especially late-night stores, drinking primarily alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages, eating, and talking to each other. The visitor composition was very diverse in terms of perceived ethnicity, gender, and age. There were sightings of families with children, young people, elderly people, foreign languages speaking people, and also homeless people. The observed facilities of evening economic activities were mainly Restaurants and late-night stores, with differing numbers of visitors sitting outside and inside. Furthermore, there were businesses with extended opening hours, such as a furniture store, a tattoo store, a hairdresser, a jeweler, a nail salon, and a flower store. Whilst visiting the RAW-Area in the southwest of the study area, drug use, such as smoking cannabis and drinking alcoholic beverages was prevalent. In addition, there were little to no visitors, since the main attractions, such as nightclubs, were still closed. The author perceived a high level of littering and sporting activities such as skateboarding and as well some gastronomic facilities like food trucks. The noise levels ranged from small to medium and were partially influenced by conversations of people, music playing from portable speakers, and the railroad lines in the south of the study area. Furthermore, no policing activities were observed. During the second period, from 6.42 pm to 7.03 pm, the onset of twilight, the advancing of darkness, and the beginning of artificial illumination took place. Considering the visitor composition, the noise level, and policing activities were no differences. The author identified clear hotspots of economic activity, derived from the number of visitors, mainly consisting of late-night shops, restaurants, and bars. As the night wore on, the establishments filled up, especially the late-night shops and their respective outdoor areas, but also restaurants and bars. In addition, the Boxhagener Platz, an urban green space, was very crowded, with many different groups of different sizes. In general, it seemed like the economic activities were centered around the consumption of alcoholic beverages which were prevalent in every part of the study area (cf. Figure 4). As stated in the literature (APPEL, 2020), the participant observation helped to get into contact with the proposed target group. The contact with two of the interview partners was established during the observation by simply approaching them in the outdoor areas of the restaurants they worked in.
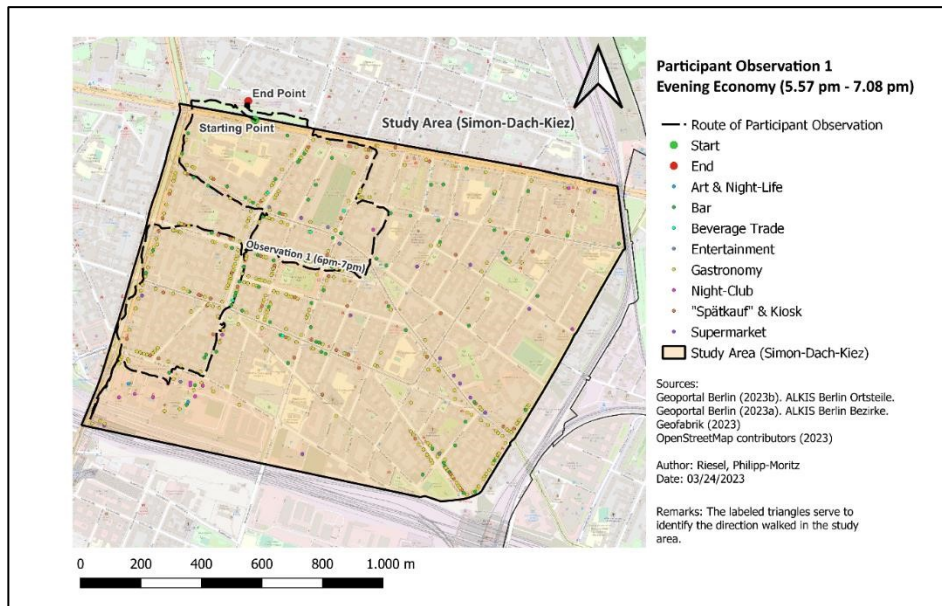
Figure 4: Participant Observation – Evening Economy (Source: the author)

The second participant observation took place on 01 April 2023 from 9.53 pm until 10.55 pm. Due to the time period, it took place in complete darkness accompanied by artificial illumination such as streetlights and neon signs at facilities of the Night-Economy. The weather conditions differed from the first participant observation since it was rather rainy and windy, there had been light to moderate precipitation in between. The visitor composition was similar compared to the first observation, but no elderly people were observed. Accordingly, the visitor composition at night was more characterized by ethnically very diverse and young to middle-aged people, who traversed in larger group sizes in the study area. The observation of facilities of the Night-Economy was also similar, but with the main difference that late-night shops and bars were the focal points of economic activity. In addition, nightclubs, cinemas, and shisha bars were visited by people. The noise level was perceived as rather loud compared to the first observation, mainly observed in the main hot spots of economic activity (cf. Figure 6), such as the Simon-Dach-Straße, with noise coming from bars with live bands playing in them, late-night shops playing loud music, and the overall background noise due to conversations of the visitors. The RAW-Area was visited again and was now more filled with people traversing through it, sitting outside of bars and similar establishments, drinking alcoholic beverages, and smoking cannabis. The strongly illuminated area with nightclubs experienced the first big influx of visitors, accompanied by policing activities through nightclub door staff. The noise level was particularly high here. The author also encountered heavily intoxicated, menacingly perceived people in the RAW-Area. As a focal point and special institution in Berlin, the late-night shop plays a special role during the night. Heavily illuminated, the late-night shops attract especially younger and middle-aged people seemingly

magically. Many late-night shops were observed with high attendance, people sitting in the outdoor areas with tables and benches, smoking cigarettes and cannabis, and drinking alcoholic and nonalcoholic beverages, despite the rather bad weather. This was partially possible due to the equipment with awnings and other types of roofing. A possible indicator for a use conflict was observed as one late-night store had placed a sign on the store window prohibiting the consumption of alcohol on the benches and as well as prohibiting being outside the store after 10 pm (cf. Figure 5). Lastly, the restaurants and especially bars were busy and filled with guests. In front, there were large gatherings of people smoking and drinking.

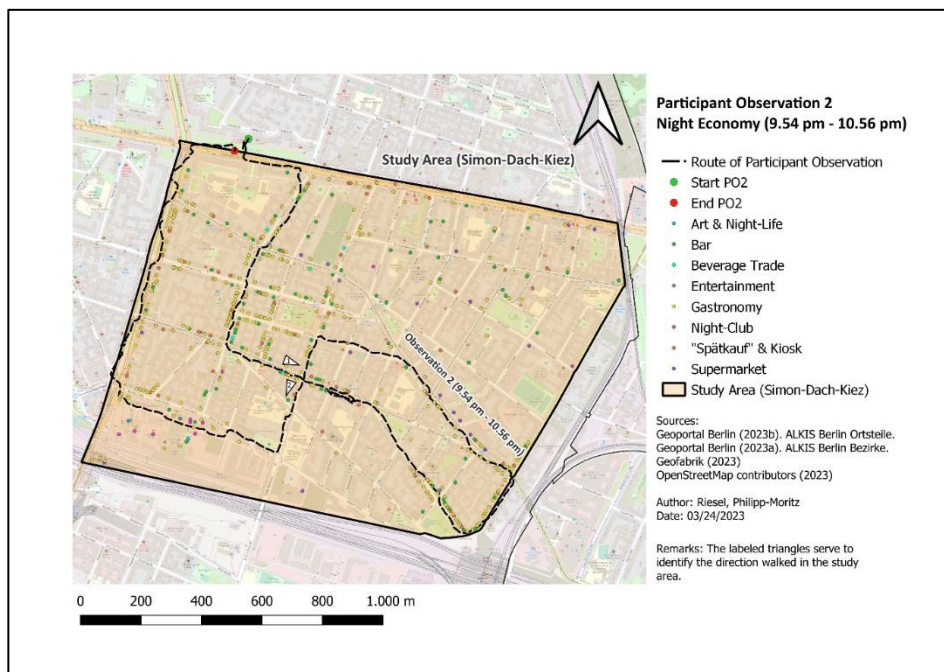**Figure 5: Sign at late Night store** (Source: the author)

Figure 6: Participant Observation – Night Economy (Source: the author)

To conclude, first, both observations confirmed the hotspot mapping on the heat map. Second, the prevalence of intoxication via alcohol and also cannabis was prevalent and sometimes dominated the observation. Third, the visitor composition was highly diverse but shifted during the night to rather younger people, but still highly diverse concerning perceived ethnicity.

4.3 Qualitative Interviews

The results of the qualitative interviews are presented below. As previously stated, a total of four interviews were conducted, three via audio call, one via handing out the questionnaire to the interviewed subject.

The first interview with Emre was conducted via audio call and lasted 35 minutes. Emre is a 28-yearold male born in 1994 with an Abitur as his highest academic degree. He is a Syrian coming from the capital Damascus. He lives in Berlin since early 2015, even though it was not his desired place to immigrate to, but due to circumstances, specifically due to the person who filled out the required documents for him in return for payment, because he did not have the necessary knowledge and capabilities, he landed in Berlin. He described his way over the border as rather easy, despite the Army of Lebanon being a problem whilst crossing the border. After crossing the border to Lebanon, he took a flight from Beirut to Berlin. He is currently formally and legally employed as a waiter in a restaurant and therefore working within the gastronomy sector. He is paid €12.50 per hour and usually works from 4 pm or 5 pm until midnight, but also states that "there could be more help, that I don't have to work so much overtime, the overtime I get paid". From his point of view, the reason for the overtime he has to work is that his employer does not want to hire additional staff because he wants to save costs. This results in more work and less time off work. Furthermore, he states that "you are always much demanded or overstrained". He stated that his reasons for working at night and not during the daytime are that "at night there is more tip" and that "if I want to work during the day, it should be in my profession" meaning what he studies. Although he has to do paid overtime, he has not experienced power abuse by his supervisors and said, " […] when I feel something like this, that I am being taken advantage of or that power is being abused, I [would] leave [the] work". On the positive side, he stated that he builds relations with customers by getting to know them better, and over time he became friends with some customers. As an immigrant, he has stated that he has been given a German passport.

The second interview with Ahmed was also conducted via audio call and lasted 18 minutes. Ahmed is a 27-year-old male born in 1995 with a master's degree in renewable energy systems which he obtained in Germany. He was born in Teheran, Iran, and lived there until he migrated to Germany in November 2018 via a student visa. He did not directly arrive in Berlin but lives there since March

2019. He did not specifically want to come to Berlin, "[…] but afterward when I heard that Berlin is very artistic, cultured, very international" he changed his decision. The reason for his migration to Germany is on the one hand the required military service in his home country and on the other hand the condition of his hometown Tehran, which he describes as follows: "[...] the weather was very dirty in

Tehran [but] above all [I] didn't want to stay there anymore". He currently does not conduct night work but has worked as a waiter in a hotel where he was formally legal employed. He was paid minimum wage, which was during the time he worked nightshifts €8.84 per hour (INSTITUT ARBEIT UND QUALIFIKATION DER UNIVERSITÄT DUISBURG-ESSEN, 2022), which resulted in a monthly wage of €600 - €650. Furthermore, he usually worked from 4 pm or 5 pm to 2 am on weekends from Friday to Sunday, almost every week, sometimes every two weeks. His time as a night worker was described as "quite interesting" and positive. He mentioned he could sleep alone in the hotel and eat breakfast in the morning. Further-more, he describes a positive and sincere relationship with his female boss who praised him a lot because among other things of his good German skills at the time. In turn, he also mentioned negative aspects of night work, such as being alone and a door in the hotel that could not be closed, which resulted in anxiety for him.

The third interview was conducted with Pasi was, as the other two, carried out via audio call and lasted 32 minutes. Pasi is a 25 year old female born in 1997 in Nepal which also is her nationality. Her educational background is the Nepali equivalent of the German Abitur. She came to Germany in January 2019 via a student visa and lives in constantly in Berlin for approximately two years which is due to a break living in Kiel due to the required preparatory course including an entrance exam. Furthermore, she describes her migration route as "normal, it was [...] not a direct flight, it was like this from Nepal to Turkey and Turkey to here [Remark: Berlin]". Nevertheless, she wanted to come to Berlin because she has a relative living here and states "[…] when someone you know is there it is just easier, and you don't get homesick". Pasi migrated to Germany because she wanted to study here. Currently, like Emre, she works in a restaurant as a waitress where she is formally legal employed since two to three years. She earns 12€ per hour, which, however, increases to about 18€ to 19€ per hour due to surcharges and tips, according to her which is a huge positive financial factor for her. Among other things, she cites this as a reason why she enjoys working in her job in gastronomy. Her usual shift starts at 4 pm and lasts until midnight and is carried out mostly on weekends due to her studies taking place on weekdays. She prefers working on weekends "[…] because during the week I have studies, I cannot manage two things at the same time". Even though she says she does not feel exhausted, she states later in the interview, that "times, when you work really in the evening, you are somehow a completely different kind of tired". On the one hand, she describes many positive experiences during her night work, such as not experiencing power abuse

by supervisors or "scary people" on her way home during the late night, the customers who are according to her statement's nice guests, her colleagues, and a good division of labor. On the other hand, she describes a few negative experiences. One is already stated above "different kind of tired", and another is a specific bad experience, where she was verbally sexually harassed by a guest saying, "I want to take you home".

The fourth, and last interview, was conducted with Ali. Unlike the other qualitative interviews where the author guided the conversation through the leading questions, this interview was conducted independently by the participant. For this purpose, the author handed out the same questionnaire to the participant. The reason for this was time limitations and the personal circumstances of the interviewee. Nevertheless, the results show some interesting insights. Ali is 28 years old, was born in 1995, is male and has a German secondary school certificate, called MSA. In contrast to the other interviewees, Ali did not come to Germany as a student, but as a refugee. He fled religious persecution from Iran with his family, as he states, "because I didn't want to be a Muslim anymore and in Iran, there is a death penalty for that." Therefore, his legal status in Germany is the one of a refugee. Furthermore, he describes his migration as illegal but nevertheless made it across all the borders and arrived in Berlin in 2015. He questions his own journey as follows: "It was not easy to arrive here, I risked my life and my family, was it worth it? Good question. Freedom is worth". Although he currently no longer works nights, he has been informally and illegally employed in the past through two jobs, specifically working at a hotel and a kebab store. His work in the hotel was rewarded with an hourly wage of €11, and his work in the kebab store with an hourly wage of €7. Within the scope of his work in the hotel, he worked from 8 pm to 3 am. In the kebab store, he worked from 11 pm to 9 am Within the questionnaire, he shared a series of negative experiences. As part of his hotel work, supervisors have threatened him with termination and replacement if he does not work longer. He states, "They needed me most of the nights. I was a cheap labor for the night shift." In the course of his work at the kebab store, he even experienced physical injuries: Due to fatigue, he fell over and broke teeth. The reason for this is that he felt a loss of energy on the days after his night shifts. In addition, he describes being annoyed by his clientele at the kebab store because they were "drunken gambling machine gamblers." "One time I was supposed to let in two teenagers who had been stung," presumably to offer them protection. On the contrary, he also made positive experiences as he states he was able to test himself and learned how to run a kebab store as he worked the night shift alone.

The four interviews paint a quite interesting picture. On the one hand, there are the first three interviews consisted of interviewed students working in gastronomy with positive and few bad experiences in the context of their respective night work. On the contrary, the picture painted by

Ali is a darker and more precarious one. This is to be further explored and discussed in the next section.

5. Discussion

The following sections discusses the in the previous section described results against the background of the theoretical foundation in the present work. First, the study area is discussed against the background of the previous characterizations of the Evening and Night-Time Economy using the results from the GIS-Analysis and participant observation. Second, the role of migrant workers and present results of the qualitative interviews are discussed against the concepts of migrant work and precariousness.

5.1 Discussion of Research Results

First, the GIS analysis of the study area showed not only the high presence of typical facilities of nocturnal economic activities, such as restaurants and bars and night-clubs (LOVATT & O'CONNOR, 1995; HADFIELD, 2015; FÜLLER ET AL., 2018) but also the composition of small businesses proposed by FÜLLER ET AL., 2018 due to the high presence of the famous Berlin late-night shop ("Spätkauf"). The nightlife and its economy were observed during the participant observation and perceived as vibrant (LOVATT & O'CONNOR, 2018). It furthermore illustrated, that within a hot spot of the Evening and Night-Economy, the Simon-Dach-Kiez in Friedrichshain (FÜLLER ET AL., 2018), there are several hotspots of economic offers and facilities which is also backed by the participant observation, which regularly showed the author, that while walking and perceiving the study area, there are residential areas with no to little nocturnal economic facilities and therefore few visitors traversing. In a sense, the Berlin Spätkauf can be described as a small and niche-oriented business, as stated in the literature (IGI GLOBAL, no date). It has a special role in the study area since according to the author's observations it almost magically attracts visitors and serves the 24/7 economy of the study area and probably also has positive effects on the other businesses and facilities. The presence of alcohol and the open consumption of alcoholic beverages was one of the main observations, if not the main observation during the participant observation. Connected misuse or public disorderliness has not been identified. In contrast to the existing scientific literature, little to no informal activities, little to no policing activities, and few conflicts of use (FÜLLER ET AL., 2018) were perceived. However, this is due in part to the limited observation period, which will be elaborated further in the following section. The present study also showed that the inclusion of the evening in the framework of the night economy is not only a logical step

in the scientific discourse, since the demarcation of the evening from the night is difficult due to its transgressive nature (LOVATT & O'CONNOR, 1995: 130) but it is also shaped by the perceived reality of the author and allows the widening of the view to the totality of the concept. This is backed by the participant observations, which were different from each other, but the main observations were mostly the same.

The reality of migrant workers and migrant labor in the context of the evening and nighttime economy, which was examined through the qualitative interviews, paints a highly contrasting picture. As described in the previous section, three of the interviewees are students and came to Germany with an equivalent visa, whereas one of the interviewees, Ali, and the realities of a migrant worker he shared during the interview paint a different picture, one of precarity. When asked what the reasons for his night work were, he answered "They needed me most of the nights. I was cheap labor for the night shift", a reality described in the scientific literature (LEWIS ET AL., 2014; MACQUARIE, 2020). When working in a hotel, he was asked to do overtime and threatened with replacement, which constitutes power abuse from the supervisors (LEWIS ET AL., 2014; MACQUARIE, 2019). The experiences he made during his work, drunken customers, the lack of energy, and the experience of crime, further contribute to the picture of precarity. Combined, with his status in Germany, being a refugee, and other described problems, such as housing problems, and the lack of recognition of his Iranian certificates, may contribute to a picture of various precarities combined – hyper-precarity (LEWIS ET AL., 2014). Furthermore, he was also informally employed. Another experience, shared by Pasi about the misbehavior of guests manifesting in sexual harassment, shows another reality, which mostly female migrant workers experience, presumably mostly at night due to the misuse of alcohol (FÜLLER ET AL., 2018). Even if painting mostly positive pictures, the other three interviews also contributed to the present research, by showing that not all migrant and night work has to underlie insecurity and precarious. Therefore, also positive experiences and benefits of nightshifts were described and are therefore part of the realities of migrant night work. Night work can also possibly help with the personal situation, as Pasi for example can only work at night because of her studies, and has financial benefits, as she states the tip money is an important reason for her choice of night work. This shows that concerning migrant work and night work of migrants that not all underlie precarious conditions.

5.2 Critical Reflection of the Research

As the presented research underlies its explorative and qualitative nature, especially concerning the participant observation and qualitative interviews, it is necessary to critically reflect on the research, the underlying processes, and the author as a subject.

About the chosen study area, it should be noted that the author has been living in the vicinity for six months and, due to a previous job, is already familiar with the area and its nocturnal economy. In addition, the participant observation took place at the end of March and the beginning of April, respectively. It can be assumed that the picture of the nocturnal economy is different during the summer months, not least because of the higher temperatures, longer days, and lower probability of precipitation. Furthermore, due to the many impressions, the author could not capture everything during the observation and thus record the entirety of the nocturnal economy. It can be assumed that several investigations on different (week) days would have further differentiated the picture. Furthermore, due to personal limitations, the economy of the late night was not investigated, which probably would have yielded further research results, especially concerning the RAW area and the nightclubs. The semi-structured qualitative interviews were only partially guided by the author. Possible influences occurred through the author's follow-up questions but were intentional in the context of the study and should not be classified as negative. It should be noted again that one of the interviews was not conducted in the presence of the author, and thus the results and the scope of the narratives are smaller than in the other interviews. This is particularly unfortunate, as the picture drawn during the interview could have analyzed the background of precarity and hyper-precarity in more depth.

6. Conclusion

Lastly, the presented research is concluded by summarizing the results from the mixed-method approach and therefore the quantitative and qualitative research and the disclosure of the limitations. Furthermore, the author gives an outlook for future research on the Evening and Night-Time Economy in the context of Germany and Berlin. The GIS analysis shows, that the Simon-Dach-Kiez is a vibrant hotspot of the Berlin Evening and Night-Time Economy. It is characterized by a high number of facilities that are part of the Evening and Night-Time Economy. Within the study area, the GIS analysis shows, that there are several hotspots of economic activity. The participant observation in the study area mainly covers these findings. In addition, shows the special role of the Berlin "Spätkauf", which serves not only as a place for selling consumer goods but also as a place for lingering and coming together, talking, and drinking alcohol. The qualitative research consisting of the participant observation and qualitative research illustrates a vibrant nightlife within the study area, consisting of a very diverse visitor composition and mostly gastronomic facilities such as bars and restaurants, and nightclubs as well as the above-mentioned late-night-shop. Due to the relatively small number of four qualitative interviews, they only show a specific reality of migrant night work or nocturnal labor. Nevertheless, the qualitative interviews

paint an interesting picture. On the one hand, the interviewed students working formally employed within gastronomy mostly had positive experiences during their respective night work. On the other hand, the interview with one of the subjects illustrated a more precarious situation regarding nocturnal work and informality. It shows that migrant night work does not necessarily underly precarious conditions. Moreover, it is implicated the status of employment is crucial concerning precarious circumstances. Future research therefore should focus on two fields of study. First, more quantitative data could be gathered, integrated into GIS systems, and analyzed, perhaps for whole cities to identify the several proposed hotspots of nightly economic activity. It could therefore further differentiate the picture of the Evening and Night-Time Economy of Berlin. Second, more qualitative data could be gathered concerning the role of migrant workers within the Evening and Night-Time Economy. Due to the described limitations of the present research, the picture painted is constricted. An enlargement of the scale to higher spatial levels or different urban spaces in Germany could contribute significantly to the study of the Evening and Night-Time Economy in Germany and possibly also to the conceptualization of the Evening and Night-Time Economy and the emerging fields of study, such as Night Studies and Nightology.

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HOW DOES NIGHT TIME ACTIVITY IN THE GASTRONOMY SECTOR IN NEUKÖLLN IN BERLIN AFFECT THE WELL-BEING AND LEVEL OF SATISFACTION OF MIGRANT WORKERS?

Julia Kowalska

1. Introduction

Neukölln is one of the largest districts of Berlin and one of the poorest regions in Germany with a feeble social infrastructure. In recent 2015 also for historical reasons, many migrants have come here to settle here permanently. Many individuals with a migration background opened their businesses, including restaurants, which gained popularity due to the diverse meals and menu offered in their restaurants. This attracted more townspeople as well as tourists, making Neukölln famous for being one of the most culinary spot in Berlin. The gastronomy sector is specific and demanding, due to long working hours and fluctuations in emergencies, such as the COVID-19 pandemic, which means that not every employee can be satisfied with one's work there. For a significant proportion of migrants, it might be problematic to find a job due to the lack of good German language proficiency. Therefore, most of migrants take up work/jobs in a culturally close environment at the beginning. Some employees of the catering sector (especially those who have already started their own families) may experience large discomfort and fatigue working late in the evening. In this way, their family relations deteriorate, which, especially for foreigners, is extremely important due to the great distance from the rest of the family and possible lack of close friendship-contacts with locals. Their options are limited. Moreover, the poor social infrastructure in the district can be an obstacle to the well-being of employees in the gastronomy sector.

Research questions:

1. Are migrants working in the catering sector satisfied with their current job?
2. If migrants working in the catering sector had better conditions, easier access to other working activity, would they choose it?
3. Does night activity negatively affect the personal life of migrant employees in the catering sector?

Hypotheses of the research:

1. Migrants working in the catering sector are satisfied with their current job.
2. If migrants had better conditions, easier access to other working activity, they would choose different type of activity.
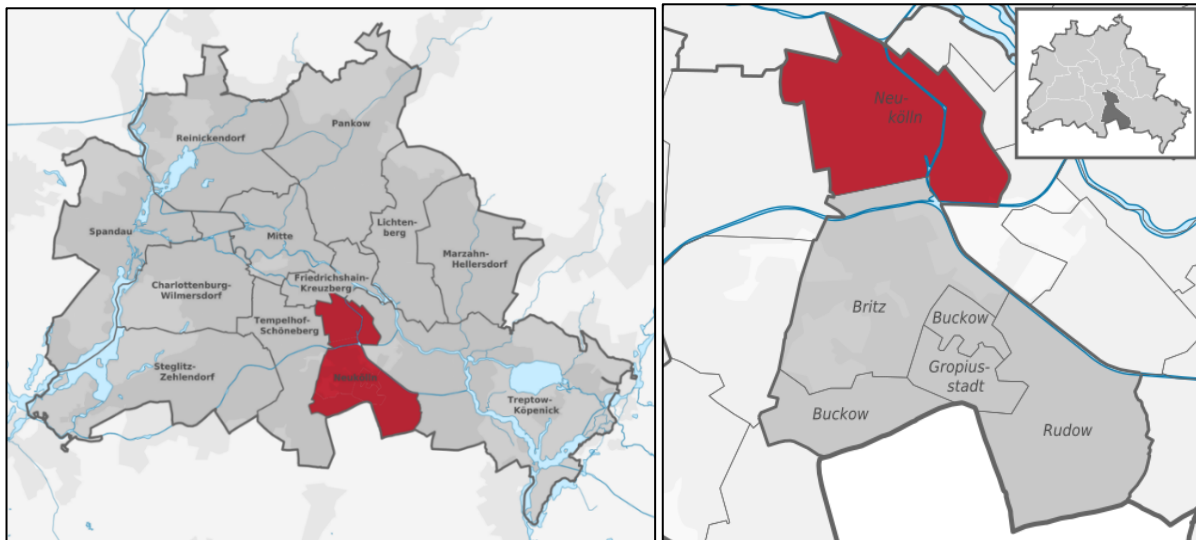3. Night activity negatively affect the personal life of employees

Figure 1: The district Neukölln on a map of Berlin (left) and its division (right)

Neukölln is located on the south-east side of the Berlin city center, in the north of the Neukölln borough, adjacent to the district of Kreuzberg (Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg). It also borders with the districts Alt-Treptow, Plänterwald and Baumschulenweg (Treptow-Köpenick) in the east, and Tempelhof (in Tempelhof-Schöneberg) in the west, separated by the parks Volkspark Hasenheide and Tempelhofer Feld, the vast field of the former Tempelhof Airport, now a popular recreation area.

During the Cold War Neukölln retained its status as a traditionally working-class area and one of Berlin's red-light districts. In the 1950s, there was a decline in the number of employees in Germany and Berlin. This resulted in an influx of so-called *Gastarbeiter*, foreign or migrant workers who had moved to West Germany between 1955 and 1973. They were seeking work as part of a formal guest worker program. Many *Gastarbeiter*, especially from Turkey and Greece, settled in Kreuzberg and Neukölln in the 1950s, later followed by Palestinian and Arabic refugees from the Lebanese Civil War. The Ortsteil is characterized by having one of the highest percentages of immigrants in Berlin. In recent years an influx of students and creative types has led to gentrification. In connection with this phenomenon, various activities are undertaken in the city and district offices.

The Urban Development Concept Berlin 2030 mentions the words of District Councillor (Neukölln) Thomas Blesing, who says:

The main task in the Stadtspree and Neukölln transformations area is to mould the accelerated processes of change triggered by their sudden leap in appeal and demand in a socially acceptable manner, and to get all sections of the local population 'on board'. The Urban Development Concept Berlin 2030 also says that:

> *These [Stadtspree und Neukölln] are the neighbourhoods of the new 'Berlin mix', characterised by the juxtaposition of different nationalities, the creative scene, neighbourhood culture, businesses and service and media companies. […] Some of the neighbourhoods in the Neukölln transformations area have social problems as the high demand for living and creative working and service spaces creates competition for sites and space in some parts of the area.*

The quoted words confirm the belief that the district is struggling with social problems, which are also related to the influx of immigrants. As of 2019, 46% of Neukölln residents were first or second-generation immigrants. With 166,714 inhabitants (2018) the Ortsteil is the most densely populated of Berlin. The above-mentioned statistics show how intense it is and how important research is in this area.

The image of the street where the study was conducted, the Sonnenallee, is shaped by Arab restaurants, shisha cafes and chicken restaurants. Shisha cafes are visited mainly by Arabic-speaking men, which is why they were perceived from the outside as "male cafes". (STOCK, 2017)

2. Background

The survey was carried out on February 9 at the gastronomy spots of the Neukölln district on Sonnenallee, in the afternoon light hours. The research began at the U-Bahn Hermannplatz station and then proceeded to Sonnenallee. After walking along the Sonnenallee and exploring the local eateries, it reached the Weserstraße. Then it returned to Hermannplatz (during making another observation of the eateries) where the study was completed.

The reason this localization was chosen is because of the characteristics of Sonnenallee as site-specific. The predominant language here is Arabic, even before German. As it turned out, communication in English was not so easy, which I will mention later. Arab and Turkish cuisine was predominant. Being on this street could give a feeling of not being in Germany. A large accumulation of eateries in one place was also the reason for choosing this place for the study, because of possibly similar and objective experiences among study participants from different restaurants (probably similar demand in restaurants and earnings due to almost identical location

of the premises). These premises have late opening hours (22:00 to 5:00), which is in line with the theme of the essay.

The research was conducted to find out what is the motivation of employees of gastronomic establishments to work in this sector of the economy. The aim was to investigate whether the work of migrants in gastronomy until late in the evening significantly influences their personal life and whether they feel satisfied with their work. It is also important whether the choice of the job was made due to coercion (resulting, for example, from a language barrier related to the recent settlement in Berlin, the need to be in a group of people from the same cultural circle or the lack of appropriate competencies to undertake another, better-paid job) or from one's own choice.

The study consisted of three basic questions:

1) Are you satisfied with your current job?
2) If you had better conditions, easier access to other working activity, would you choose it?
3) Does night activity negatively affect your personal life?

For each question asked, the interviewee had to choose one of three answers, "yes", "no" and "hard to say". The study was conducted using two following methods:

2.1 Mapping

The map was prepared with the visited gastronomic points marked. Red color marks restaurants, blue color marks pastry shops, and purple color marks areas where the research could not be conducted. The initial direction of movement was also marked, as well as the starting and destination place – Hermannplatz.
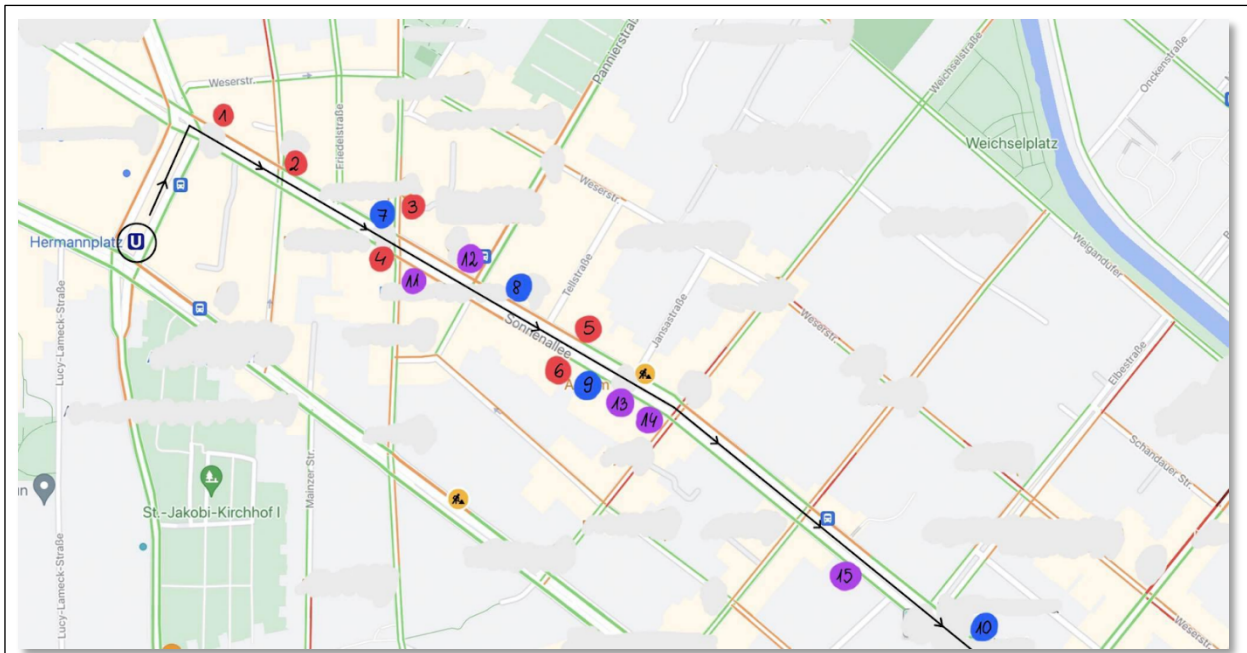
1) Gemuse Kebab	6) Ocean Fisch Restaurant	11) Shawarma Albaik**
2) Al Faisal	7) King Konditorei*	12) Star Burgerhome**
3) Aldimashqi	8) Sultan Zwei Backerei*	13) Azzam Restaurant**
4) Risa Chicken	9) Konditorei Umkalthum*	14) Mr. Grill Berlin**
5) Eiscafé Jakoub	10) Konditorei Damaskus*	15) Alagha Konditorei**

* - pastry shops which were distinguished by slightly shorter opening hours and a different specificity of work
** - premises where the research could not be conducted

Figure 2: Places where the research was conducted

2.2 Interview

A direct, in-depth interview with restaurant and pastry shop employees was conducted. The interview type was structured, but the topic is related to the personal feelings of employees, which would be difficult to describe with a short answer. On account of questions about personal feelings, it was more prudent to conduct a face-to-face survey rather than using a questionnaire to give trust to the interviewee. Using a direct, oral interview, it is possible to better discover the true feelings and thoughts of the respondent using, for example, body language and tone of voice, which in the case of this study was crucial.

The target group in the study were migrants working in restaurants or pastry shops. Their age and gender did not matter. The length of their stay in Berlin was also irrelevant. One person was

interviewed from each of the premises. Every gastronomy point was photographed from the outside where research was conducted (documentation below).

3. Results

The people who participated in the study, despite the freedom to conduct the study in terms of gender, were only men. Most of the respondents were over the age of 25. The survey shows that more than half of the respondents are satisfied with their work (chart 1). The same number of people answered "no" and "hard to say" to this question.

In the question "If you had better conditions and easier access to other working activities, would you choose it?" a bigger part of the respondents were undecided, yet half of them replied in the affirmative (chart 2).

The third and final question "Does night activity negatively affect your personal life?" has been divided into two parts due to the slightly different nature of the work performed by individual employees and the opening hours (charts 3 and 4). The same question was addressed to the employees of restaurants and pastry shops, whose opening hours are a bit shorter, which influenced the answers of the respondents. None of the pastry shop employees answered this question in the affirmative, unlike the restaurant employees, of whom as many as half answered "yes". It can be noted that in the general comparison, the number of respondents who are not negatively affected by their private life by work is higher. This means that the percentage of people affected by long working hours and the specificity of the profession are higher among restaurant employees.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the study could not be conducted on 5 premises. The reason was in particular the language barrier, but also the lack of trust in the person conducting the research and the lack of time for the interview.
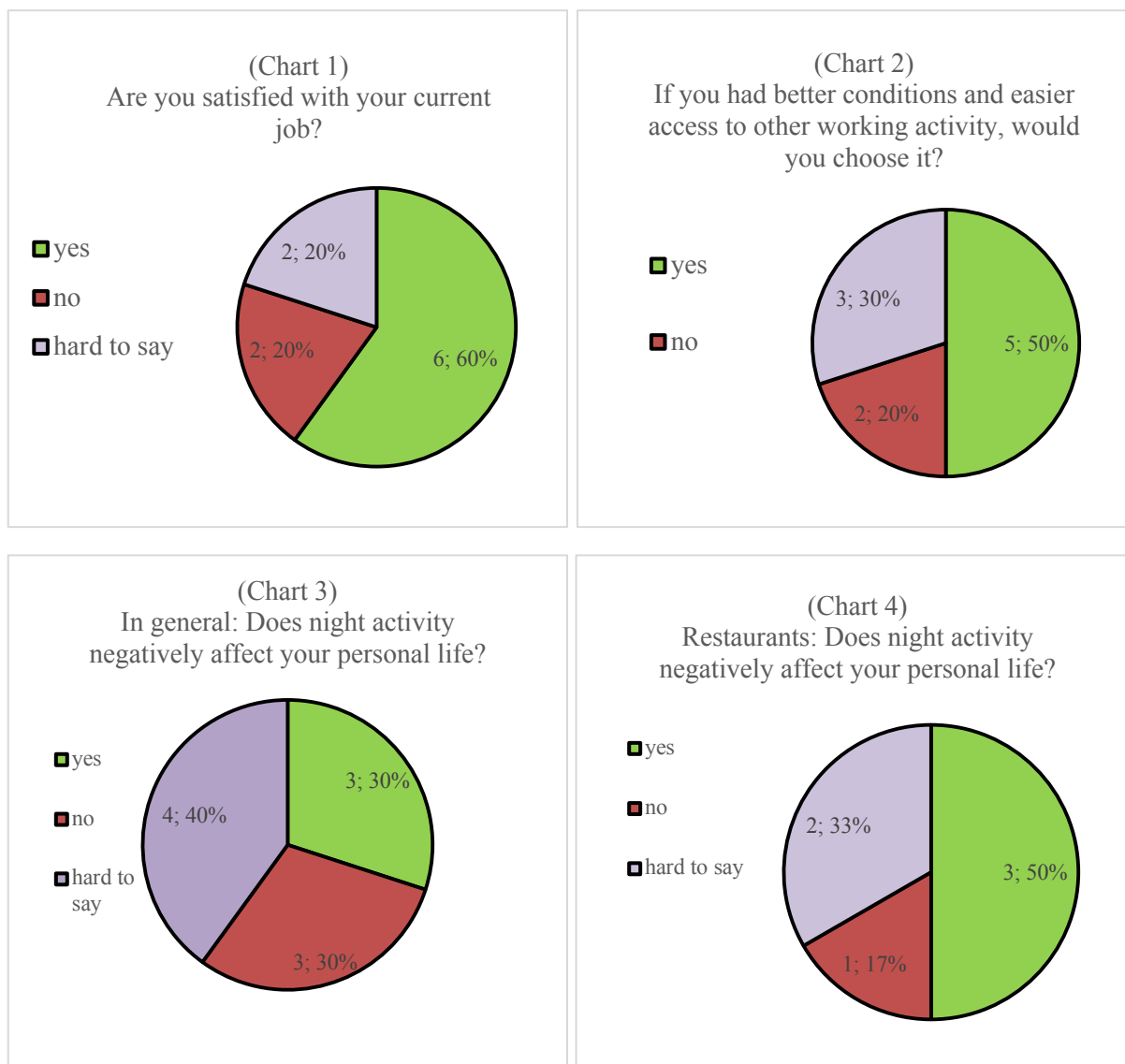
Figure 3: Response of participants (source: the author)

4. Discussion

Concerning research questions, after conducting the research and analysis, the previously created hypotheses were confirmed. Migrants working in gastronomy are mostly (60%) satisfied with their current job. If they had better conditions, and easier access to other working activities, half of them (50%) would choose a different type of activity - in this case, it is not possible to say unequivocally whether the hypothesis has been confirmed. Half of the respondents are neither a minority nor a majority. However, given that this was the most popular answer, the hypothesis can be considered confirmed. The third hypothesis (*Night activity negatively affects the personal life of employees*) also cannot be clearly considered as confirmed. In the case of restaurant employees, the situation is the same as in the case of the second hypothesis, namely only 50% of the respondents supported the answer

consistent with the hypothesis (of which this answer was the most popular). When the answers of the confectionery and restaurant employees are combined, there is no clear solution, because the answers of the respondents are almost evenly distributed (40%, 30%, 30%, with 40% corresponding to the answer "hard to say"). The last hypothesis is therefore stated to be unconfirmed.

In connection with the results of the study, it can be assumed that employees of the catering sector are satisfied with their work (perhaps because of being with people in a location with a large number of people of similar origin or plain because of the specificity of the profession). However, if their language skills were of a higher level, possibly they would take up a different job due to potentially higher wages.

The level of employee satisfaction is worth considering because it may affect the number of gastronomic points created in the future. If employees in the catering sector are satisfied with the working conditions, there will be more employees in this sector, thanks to the mutual transfer of information, recommendations and the image of the employee being built up. This sector, in particular, is very vulnerable as having a lot of hard skills are not required to work here. Moreover, it leads to an increased number of satisfied owners. In the same way as with employees, overall satisfaction can increase the prestige of being a restaurant owner and increase the number of future gastronomic points in a given location. Thus, it meets the needs of residents and tourists. Berlin is famous for its cultural diversity (which is maintained thanks to good working conditions and satisfaction) and its culinary diversity. All the above-mentioned elements build a showcase of the city, which attracts tourists and brings profits to the entire city, not just the district or individuals. Therefore, it is worth looking at the needs of those surveyed by, for example, district or city councillors or owners of private companies who can offer their services to help such employees expand their competencies and skills.

4.1 Obstacles

During the research, the language barrier was a significant problem. Most of the respondents spoke Arabic first, and then German. Interviewing only with the knowledge of English and poor German, an insightful conversation with the employees was impossible. Additionally, it was problematic to build a relationship of trust with the interviewee, if it was not possible to communicate to a large extent. The survey was conducted in the afternoon when some of the premises were in high traffic, so some employees had enough time to answer the questions. A better solution would be to survey at noon. Some employees answered several sentences during the survey, and their answers were not clear-cut. It is related to voicing their personal feelings. The atmosphere during the interview

was mostly very pleasant, which made the respondent open to the person conducting the survey. The respondents often wanted to convey their thoughts in the most understandable way, which had the opposite effect - their answers were not included in the three answers they had to choose: "yes", "no" and "hard to say".

5.   Summary

The main goal of the research is to examine the level of satisfaction of migrant workers in the catering sector in the Neukölln district, the impact of their work on private life and their willingness to change jobs when better opportunities arise. To conduct the study, we rely on mapping method (a map with all the visited points was made), environmental observation, direct interview (structured) and photographic documentation to be able to appreciate, apprehended and uncover the research questions rise by this study. The result of the study is a concrete confirmation of one of the three hypotheses, namely "Migrants working in the catering sector are satisfied with their current job." The other two hypotheses leave some doubts. If migrant workers had better conditions, and easier access to the rest of the working activities, half of them (50%) would choose a different type of activity. Night activity negatively affects the personal life of 50% of restaurant employees. In summary, migrant workers in the catering sector are satisfied with their job, but are not opposed to a better one should a better opportunity arise. Some of the respondents declare that their work negatively affects their personal life, due to their work in the night economy sector. The results of the research may be significant and helpful for business owners offering an improvement in competencies, hard skills, and language learning. The district and city office struggling with gentrification in the area of research has the opportunity to learn about the needs of the inhabitants and can get closer to the group represented by the respondents to integrate with other social groups newly moving into these areas.

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IN THE FAMILY AS AN AU-PAIR. THE EXPERIENCE OF THREE COLOMBIAN AU-PAIRS WORKING FOR GERMAN FAMILIES DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

Juan Diego Peña Murcia & Jonas Aubert Nchoundoungam

1. Introduction

The migration of Latin Americans to Germany through the Au-Pair program has become increasingly popular in recent years and recent studies have highlighted the high representation of the Colombian population in the Au-Pair program, whose percentage in 2018 was higher than that of other population groups from other countries such as Georgia, Ukraine and Russia. (DR-WALTER, 2019). The Au-Pair program is conceived as a form of cultural exchange in which the migrant comes to the home of a German family and provides childcare and light household services, in the case of non-European Au-Pairs in exchange for: the opportunity to stay in Germany for a maximum period of one year, food and lodging, pocket money of around 280 euros per month and 50 euros per month as a monetary support to take a German language course (For more information about the conditions, requirements, and general characteristics of this type of Visa see the document *"Au-Pairs in German families, Information for Au-Pairs and host families."* (BUNDESAGENTUR FÜR ARBEIT, 2020)). This means, on the one hand, that the regulations for entering Germany as a non-European Au-Pair are more flexible and easier to comply than with other types of visas, since the maintenance and responsibility for the migrant falls on the host family, and on the other hand, that the Au-Pair activity is not covered by the same rights than other regular works, since it is legally defined as a cultural exchange and not as a normal job (STENUM, HELLE; MARLENE, HANNE, 2011).

By this way, the regulation of the program within the German migration regime delegates part of its surveillance and control function over the Au-pairs to the host families during their stay: the agreement between both parties becomes unequal once the Au-Pair arrives to Germany and even before, contradicting the alleged intention of creating a cultural exchange program based on equal conditions for the parties involved. The situation has led in many cases to labor abuses and violence against people who immigrate to Germany under this program, affecting in many cases their mental and physical health. (ESPINOZA-CASTRO ET AL., 2021).

The intention of this research project is to unveil through an empirical and qualitative study, carried out with three Colombian Au-Pairs, which factors might have had an influence in their experience and integration during their stay working for a host family in Germany. In this sense, to understand and identify the conditions through which the violence and mistreatments that affect the people who come to Germany under this type of program are perpetuated. For this purpose, three Colombian people currently living in Berlin were contacted, who had their experience as Au-Pairs in different parts of Germany: One in a small town whose location was not specified, another one in Munich and the last one in a small town belonging to the *Bundesland Rheinland-Pfalz*.

Consequently, semi-structured interviews were conducted aiming to elaborate a series of categories that reveal circumstances in which the participants felt they have experienced situations of significant impact during their stay as Au-Pairs. This requires an understanding of the role and hierarchy of the Au-Pairs within their host families; thus, it is assumed a perspective that seeks to enter the understanding of the power flows to which the participants were subjected and confronted from the moment of their application and once they started to be part of the host family. The home is also a scenario of power (TAYLOR, 2012), it is a *"constellation of Powers"* („En una familia, ¿Cómo se ejerce el poder? - How is power exercised in a family? ", 2022) in the face of which the Au-Pair, as a migrant, becomes vulnerable and ambiguous, but which at the same time allows its own realization, that of its desire to be integrated into the family, in Germany. This work also seeks to deep in the mechanisms through which the family exercises its authority over the Au-Pairs, not only the existing power relations, but also the way in which this power becomes effective and influences the Au-Pair's emotions and experiences.

2. Methodology

For the empirical study, it was sought to work with Colombian population with different demographic characteristics and that had spent their Au-Pair stay with a German family during the COVID 19 pandemic. However, due to logistical reasons and the time available to carry out this study, it was only possible to reach and work with three Colombian participants with differences of gender, age and with a different assessment of their experience as Au-Pairs. The decision not to choose the participants randomly was intended to reach a point of saturation in the construction of categories that could get to explain the factors or situations that might have been of greater impact during their stay with a host family. Since it was not possible to reach out people with much more notable demographic differences, it cannot really be said that this study has reached the

intended saturation point that was described above, still, it was possible to find important results regarding the relation and day-to-day encounters of the interviewees and their host families.

The crisis context of the pandemic not only accentuates and shows the conditions to which migrants are subjected in their daily lives, to some extent their vulnerability, but also marks milestones and changes in migration trends (The paper *"Shifting forms of Mobility related to COVID-19"* published by Susan F. Martin and Jonas Bergmann is a good reference that describes how the pandemic situation affected the forms of human mobility in the categories of Voluntary mobility, involuntary immobility, voluntary immobility and involuntary mobility, for example generating a decrease or greater control in international mobility, as well as influencing internal mobility patterns in multiple ways (SUSAN F. MARTIN & JONAS BERGMANN, 2020)). Another aspect that could be studied in a further development of the present work could be to analyze the specific consequences that the context of crisis had on the immigration procedures through Au-Pairing and the described "ease" to immigrate to Germany under this figure.

The three participants were found through previous contact with some of their friends or relatives that I, as the researcher, knew beforehand. For future work and further development of this study, snowballing could be used as a technique to reach more people with different backgrounds, also, using snowballing through Facebook or other social networks could be a good way to reach a wider and more varied group of participants.

Table 1: Overview of the participants (source: the authors)

Interview 1	**P1:** Female, 23 years old, Higher education: Professional Technical Level, from Bogotá.	Changed her first guest family, currently working for another one.
Interview 2	**P2:** Male, 27 years old (26 at the time of the Au-Pair placement), Higher education: Professional level, from Bogotá.	Left the Au-Pair program, changed his Au-Pair Visa to working Visa.
Interview 3	**P3:** Female, 29 years old (26 at the time of the Au-Pair placement), Higher education: Professional level, from Bogotá.	Completed the planned Aupair stay in its entirety, extended it for a while.

This empirical study is qualitative and should not be understood as an attempt to get an absolute truth about the experience of Colombian Au-Pairs in Germany and the factors that influence it. On the contrary, I seek through this work to analyze and understand each case individually and get access to the most subjective experience of the participants, to the routines and emotions that arose during their stay as Au-Pairs. I thus seek to build up a constellation of the intertwined factors that

play a preponderant role in the descriptions made by the interviewees about their experience as Au-pairs.

The empirical study was based on semi-structured interviews lasting between 50 minutes and 1.5 hours. The interviews were manually transcribed and then entered into MAXQDA software for their organization and qualitative analysis. In MAXQDA, categories were manually constructed according to the description of the personal experience of each of the interviewees during their period of application and stay in Germany as Au-Pairs.

Table 2: Overview of the interview guideline (source: the authors)

Topic	Question	Description / Objectives
Background and application process	Could you tell me about the arrival process to Germany?	Open question to get into the reasons why the participants decided to come to Germany under the Au-Pair program and their perception of their application and arrival process in Germany. An insight into their motivations, expectations, and desires.
Experience and stay as an Au-Pair	Could you tell me about your experience as an Au-Pair?	Understand the perception of the participants regarding their routines, roles, and general experience as an Au-Pair. Also, to establish relationships between the perception of the participants regarding the Au-Pair agreement conditions and their personal experience, their relationship with the family. Identify conflict situations, the reaction and perception of the participants to these situations and developed strategies to counteract abuse and mistreatment situations[1].
Assessment of the experience in Germany	How would you rate your overall experience in Germany?	understand the importance of the Au-Pair experience for the interviewees within their overall experience in Germany. Also, to analyse in depth the feelings that the Au-Pair experience has left on the interviewees.
Possibilities to improve the Au-Pair program	How do you think the Au-Pair experience can be improved?	Identify and confirm which are the most important factors that influenced the experience of the people interviewed, to which factor or aspect they end up giving greater weight.

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[1] In a first moment the present work had also as an objective to identify strategies that were developed by Colombian Au-Pairs to counter-act and exit from risk and abuse situations, but due to the scope of the current work and the complexity that such an analysis requires, it was decided to present here just the analysis regarding the factors that influence the experience and integration of Colombian Au-Pairs. Nevertheless, different strategies of disobedience, integration, and self-positioning were identified, that could make up a further development of the present work.

3.   Results and Analysis

To address the topic and objectives of the present work the three interviews were coded establishing codes/categories that show the perception of the Au-Pairs' self-experienced during both their application process before migrating to Germany and their stay as an Au-Pair with a German family. The generated codes about the experience and integration of Colombian Au-Pairs were sorted in two main categories; one describing the perception of the participants of a more contextual setting during their application process and stay as Au-Pairs, and the other one, describing their direct experience working as Au-Pairs. Table 3 shows the generated Codes about the identified factors that from the perspective of the participants might have played an important and influential role during their stay as Au-Pairs with a German guest family.

Table 3: Generated codes, factors that influence the experience and integration of Colombian Au-Pairs in Germany (source: the author)

Contextual framework
• Time frame (Application and stay as an Au-Pair).   • Third parties involved in the process.   • Reasons to immigrate as an Au-Pair to Germany.
Perception of their experience as an Au-Pair   • The chosen Family.   • Delegated tasks.   • Control over leisure time.   • Wage and language course.   • Expectations / Subjectivities.   • Accidents and situations of conflict.

It is worth noting that the family is the factor to which the participants give the greatest relevance throughout their narratives, which makes sense insofar as it is the "institution" to which the German migration system delegates sovereign power. However, as mentioned above, this power is consolidated through the interaction of multiple instances and actors, it is a constellation of factors in which each one plays an important role and defines the position of the Au-Pair within it. Each of these aspects is described below, along with excerpts taken from the interviews conducted. The number and length of the fragments were introduced in this text intentionally, since the mere paraphrasing of what the participants describe in the interviews would just fall short of the feelings and experiences described by them firsthand.

4. Contextual Framework

Time frame (Application and stay as an Au-Pair)

The time frame in which the Au-Pair application and stay takes place becomes relevant as it occurs during the Coronavirus pandemic. The influence that the time of the pandemic has on the experiences of the participants can be evidenced both in the application process to the Au-Pair program, as well as in the stay of the participants with a German family: delaying much more the migratory procedures, influencing their freedom of mobility inside and outside the German territory, limiting their access to language courses in Germany, among other things. P1 and P2, who made their application period during the pandemic, had to wait between 5 and 6 months to get an appointment at the German embassy in Colombia, while P3, who made her application just before the measures against COVID 19 became effective in Germany, got an appointment at the embassy between one month and two months, and therefore had much more agility in the procedures. Regarding the Au-Pair stay in times of pandemic, in the case of P1 and P3 personal attendance to a language course was not possible, for P1 the context of the war in Ukraine is added, reason why the language courses close to her home were without vacancy. In the case of P1, the time and context at the time of her arrival clashed with her desire to take the language course and her expectations created in Colombia:

> "...I asked them "where can I take the course? how close is it? do you know any institutions? "and well, I arrived and there was only one school and it was completely full because of Ukraine, yes, so I never studied with them, I never studied for 2 and a half months, I took a course that I got on my own that cost 70 EUR per month, no, not per month, 15 days, and it was really bad, yes? and that's it..." (TRANSCRIPTION P1, Pos. 57)

The impact of the pandemic and of crisis situations such as the war in Ukraine is directly evident in the integration of the participants, since for them access to a language course represents one of the most important forms of socialization, if not the goal of their stay as an Au-Pair (which is cultural exchange and language learning). In the case of P2 the time of the pandemic influenced his decision to emigrate to Germany as an Au-Pair, as opposed to his original idea of applying for a DAAD scholarship:

> "... initially I wanted to come to Germany as I told you with the DAAD scholarship, but because of COVID and the pandemic it was a bit like that it was left behind, and in 2021 my sister, the one who follows me in age, came here to Germany as an Au-Pair, so I feel that this also influenced a little in, I feel that this also influenced my decision to wait again for the scholarship, because the deadlines had already passed, or to come as an Au-Pair. The thing is that as an Au-Pair it is not so easy

because normally German families are looking for a girl to take care of the children... "
(TRANSCRIPCIÓN P2, Pos. 9)

Third parties involved in the process

Third parties are understood as agencies that provide intermediary services for the Au-Pair visa, the search for families and accompaniment during the Au-Pair stay, but also other means or channels through which the interviewees acquired relevant information during their application and stay as an Au-Pair. P1 and P3 carried out their application process hand in hand with an agency, while P2 began his process independently through a page called "Au-pair world" and completed it through a Whatsapp group of Latino Au-Pairs. P2 argued that for him the fact of being a man made it more difficult to find a family through the website and that he did not see the need to incur expenses by contacting an agency:

> *"... I feel that this figure is also being left behind because it is basically a third party who only asks for money, so it is not very useful, you yourself, I mean, you can do this process yourself without the help of that third party, but I mean, I did start like, judiscious I did make my profile on the page and all that, and I even wrote to many families, but what I mean is that it is not so easy for a man, because not all families are looking for a man, in the searches there were more than 100 results for women, for men 10 or less, eh, but my sister, being here, told me that there was a WhatsApp group of Latin Au-Pairs, that normally the Aupairs who were here wrote when they were leaving their families that their families were looking for someone, so I got into that WhatsApp group and someone wrote a message like "hey my family is looking for an Aupair, they pay double because they are really 2 families, not just one" and obviously I don't know, you know? I said, like "uh they are going to pay double, Germany, let's take advantage of it, it's a man, they are looking for a man, so let's do it"..." (TRANSCRIPTION P2, Pos. 11)*

Doing the application process through an agency has a first economic impact, since the applicants must pay the agency to take care of the family search and other services that vary depending on each of the agencies. Likewise, the requirements and the application process vary according to the agency or the absence of an agency; compared to the others, P3 had to do an internship through her agency in a day care center in Bogota, she had to make a video to show the socioeconomic environment in which she lived in Colombia and highlighted the fact that she had to take an HIV-AIDS test for her application and the strange it was for her to undergo this requirement in Colombia. It is noteworthy to note that P3 was the only participant who described her "match" with the family as positive, which may have been related to the family selection procedure by the contacted agency. However, it is worth noting that P3 was also receiving psychological counseling

at the time of her application, there she was told that the family chosen seemed to have a "better match" with her because of their closeness in professional and academic fields, what could have influenced her experience with the guest family. In general, P3 describes more rigorously her family search process and the requirements she had to fulfill with her agency, it can be deduced that her investment of time and money was greater in the application stage of the Au-Pair program than in the other two cases, a factor that may have influenced her future experience in Germany.

The presence of an agency or a third party in the migration process of the interviewed Au-Pairs influences their choice for a host family and delimits a margin of action in the face of conflict situations during their Au-Pair stay. In the case of P2, his reaction or non-reaction to moments of crisis being mostly influenced by his support network from the language course, while in the case of P1 by his agency, the need to look for a new family and to continue in the Au-Pair program.

Reasons to emigrate as an Au-Pair to Germany

The imaginary of Germany as a "first world" and advanced country, at the top of the capitalist system, offering attractive opportunities for education and work, a historical reference of human knowledge, is evident in P2's testimony:

> *"...I think that my sister's decision influenced me a little bit, you know? the fact that she came to Germany first, I said like, well I feel that it is a country, I mean, I don't know, I feel that it is like an imaginary that we have, a collective imaginary that we have that is like "oh an European country, oh! Germany one of the richest countries, oh! one of the most advanced first world countries, then like Oh! what an opportunity", and also because initially I wanted to do my master's degree, because I feel that the Bauhaus, well it was like "Oh! the reference that they teach you in the career, oh! studying there must be also great" and because I had also seen the program, right? , So I feel that that also influenced my decision a lot, then I feel that it was a little bit the reason why I chose Germany..."*
> *(TRANSCRIPTION P2, Pos. 15)*

It is noteworthy that P2 attributes the reason why he decided to travel to Germany to a "collective imaginary" and not to material reasons. The imaginary described by P2 shows his perception of the German-Colombian relationship as a hierarchical relationship that influenced his desire to migrate. Likewise, P2 describes the possibility of traveling to Germany as a "great opportunity"; faced with the possibility of the trip, the materialization of his desire is immediately materialized, P2 shows that he would very hardly have denied himself such a possibility. The possibility of migrating to Germany is thus for P2 wrapped by many other meanings and emotions that go beyond a mere labor contract. The expectation he has about his trip must have been very high, consequently, being

able to influence his behaviour and reaction to the situations he could have been subjected to. During his interview P2 describes the requirements for the Au-Pair visa as easy to meet:

> *"... what else from Colombia, well it was also a little bit, I mean, I would say that it was not so easy, but because of the pandemic, you know? because the process was not, I mean normally those processes I feel are very agile, I mean, they are very fast because of what I was saying, it is a very simple way to enter here to Germany, because they do not really ask you for anything, I mean, the level of German that they ask for is A1, I mean, in my opinion that is something very basic that you have to fulfil and the rest is like a motivation letter, a contract with the family that is going to host you here, that is going to receive you, and the rest are things like ID documents and so on, but otherwise nothing special..."*
> *(TRANSCRIPTION P2, Pos. 9)*

The perception of ease in the migration process through the Au-Pair figure was clearly one of the factors that materialized the desire shown by P2 to travel to Germany. The influence of migratory regulations on the decision to leave the country can also be seen in P1's testimony when she describes the reasons why she decided to migrate to Germany. Her testimony also evidences other components that comprise her desire to travel to Germany and leave her home country, as well as the role other actors played in the construction of such a "desire":

> *"But for me, I love to travel, I have an aunt who lives here in Germany, and she had the possibility of going to the United States or Germany, so I said, well the United States is very complicated because of the visa issue, but I didn't realize the language in Germany. My aunt told me: look P1 there is this possibility, you can come like this, tatata, all the countries are nearby, blablablablá, and that's why, that's why I made that decision to see the world in a different way, to have more experiences, and so..." (TRANSCRIPTION P1, Pos. 11)*

Apart from the intention to learn and strengthen the German language skills, present in the 3 interviewees, and the attributed ease of the migration process through the Au-Pair figure, it is notable that both P1 and P2 also attribute as an important factor in the choice of Germany as a country to immigrate having had a family member who has come to Germany as an Au-Pair. The reasons for migrating to Germany of P1 and P2 were influenced by the existence of a family network or acquaintances who had already had the same migratory experience, or who were already living in Germany. This network is a source of information and support, and influenced the decisions made by P1 and P2 at the time of their application to the Au-Pair program, as well as during their stay with a host family.

4.1 Perception of the experience as an Au-Pair

The chosen family

The three people interviewed agree that the experience of the Au-Pairs depends mostly on the family they join. Making their stay in a "good" or a "bad" family is something that from the perspective of the interviewees definitely influence and define their experience as Au Pairs. It is worth noting and remembering at this point that the Au-Pair program, being considered a cultural exchange program, does not provide labor protection to the Au-Pairs and delegates to the host family a great deal of authority over them. Based on the interviews, it is also evident that the participants did not only come to work and perform a series of tasks for their host families, but also became part of their families' most intimate dynamics. The Au-Pairs came to fill an often-absent role of care within the family nucleus, also, they felt to assume the violence that this absence implies. The host family assumes a sovereign role over the Au-Pair, P2's testimony about his perception of his role in his host family is remarkable in this sense:

> *"...let's say, I knew that always on Sundays the two families met, and I knew that the one who ended up setting the table, setting the dishes was going to be me, because they were two divorced men, besides I feel that's what it is, isn't it? I feel that there was a serious lack of a woman in that house, that it ended up being me, so I don't know, like yes, those men were also useless, yes, since they didn't do anything then I think they were looking for someone to help them..." (TRANSCRIPTION P2, Pos. 5556)*

P2 describes the absence of a feminine role in the two households he worked for, a role that he feels he has come to fill and that in the "traditional" family succumbs to the dominant role of the man, in this case two men. In this way P2 is aware that the mistreatment and abuse to which he is being subjected is by association the mistreatment to which women are subjected in the *"constellation of powers"* of the traditional family. („En una familia, ¿Cómo se ejerce el poder? - How is power ex in a family?", 2022). The mistreatment received from one of the host fathers is described at another point in the interview of P2 as follows:

> *"I had a very good relationship with the children, even with him I had a very good relationship, which I found curious, because the previous Aupair had warned me, like "hey, there is a kid who is not so easy to get along with", but fortunately with him it went well, but I feel that it affected the father a lot, you know? As the emotional load that that child carried with him was a lot, then he was stressed out, angry and hysterical 24/7, and of course, who did he take it out on? on the Aupair who doesn't know how to speak German. And then the man was, no, with that man it was uncomfortable, uncomfortable, because even, I don't know, it was, I mean, what I'm telling you, with that man I literally felt like a maid, I mean literally it was like, I cook for them, I serve them, I prepared the*

table for them, served them and sat down to eat, I sat down with them, but it was like that, just like that, just the plate and that´s all, and I would eat my food and clean up again and leave, I mean, it was uncomfortable at the end..." (TRANSCRIPTION P2, Pos. 63)

P2 describes his relationship with the children, even with the most problematic one, as positive. P2's relationship with the children takes on a different dimension than with the fathers. The description of the role that P2 assumed within his host family mediates between the absolute and sovereign power of the fathers and a greater scope of action and influence over the children. A similar relationship is present in P1's description about the confrontations she had with one of the girls she had to take care of:

"I always tried to talk to the girl. Since my German is not, it was very basic, so I always tried to write to her through the translator, I told her: "well, look, what's wrong? how can I help you? Let's be friends, look, I'm here it's for you", because she sometimes, I felt, she felt a little bit jealous when I was with her father, yes? She thought I was going to take her place, so I made her feel sure that I wasn't, look, "I'm only here for you, if you weren't here, I wouldn't be here, eee, tell me, how can I help you?" yes, like this, By translator, and sometimes she would say to me, "P1, Look, it's difficult for me to have a different person come here every time to take care of me, eee, I'm not one to let people into my life as easily as that". Yes, and I noticed it was more because of the change that her father was not with her mother..." (TRANSCRIPTION P1, Pos. 29)

P1 thinks that the child's attitude is due to the lack of care in her host family, finds the cause of her discomfort in the fact that her father is not with her mother anymore and perceives her as worried, resistant, regarding the new role she has come to occupy in the host family. From the fragment taken from P1's interview it is interesting on the one hand, P1's insistence to please the girl and win her affection, and on the other hand, the girl's words quoted by P1 that denote the absence of a stable role who offers the care she is requiring, her disagreement with that situation and her intention to prevent P1's integration in the family. P1 is not only working for this family, she is immersed in its struggles and power flows. P1 continues describing her reaction to the child's misbehaviour as follows:

P1: "... at the end there were many days when I told the girl: "I don't have to ask you every day to be nice", because I came and opened the door when she came to study and she came in and didn't look at me, and I helped her to do her homework and she told me how to go away. Yes, yes, when I talked to her and explained to her, well, like the situation of why I was there, she did change sometimes, or sometimes it sounds bad, but I threatened her, I told her like: "No, look, I'm going to tell your dad, if you continue like this, with this behaviour, because I can't stand it, I mean," she would also bring it down a little bit.

JD: And you never told the parents?

P1: No, I never did, but I always thought about it, because the situation was so annoying, I mean, that I was already going psychologically crazy, that is, I said, I am like a person who does not let myself be affected by that, but I mean, the situation was requiring it, I said: "Damn, this is my year as an Au Pair, I am not going to tolerate a whole year like this" but I also said, well yes, I was afraid to talk to the father because I said: "if he tells me to leave, where am I going to go? , Yes, to look for another family, to meet new people, to get back together again, yes...". And that's how it was." (TRANSCRIPTION P1, Pos. 31-33)

The figure of the father appears in this fragment of P1's interview and is perceived by P1 as a predilected dominant role in the family, in front of which P1 shows herself vulnerable and frightened. However, P1 indicates that she needs the father's support to be able to exercise the authority required by her caring role over the child. In P3's interview, a similar perspective can be observed regarding her role in the family and the mechanism that, according to P3, gives her enough authority to deal with the children:

"... there were moments of discord with the children at the beginning, they were rude to me, so that was kind of hard for me to deal with, the good thing was that the parents agreed with me, yes, they were kind of supporting me, and they confronted the 2 older children, eee, so that was like, that was a support that I am totally grateful for, because that was very useful to consolidate my relationship with the children, the children knew that, well yes, that their parents were really on my side..." (TRANSCRIPTION P3, Pos. 56)

In another section of her interview P3 describes her experience and specifically her relationship with the minor child as follows:

"... well, it was great, it was great, the children grew up anyway, the, the youngest one, of course I met him when he was 11 months old and when I left, he was already 2 years old, so it was seeing him grow up, all the things you do in those first 2 years of life, wasn't it? I mean he started to walk with me, he started to talk to me, it was a very, very beautiful thing, even though, of course the pandemic was very hard, I mean, the first year of the pandemic was very hard, but for me, maybe, like being with him, with Bruno, it was something very nice, it was a beautiful experience to see a person blossom, yes, I mean, having him with me all the time and seeing all the things that, that, that he started to do, I fell in love with him, I love him, maybe he is my child, and, and he calls me, with him, P3 calls me sometimes, but also when he was starting to talk and he couldn't say my name, he called me lele, I am lele, I became lele, and that is the most beautiful man in life, isn't he?, he is a sucker but he is beautiful for me...". (TRANSCRIPTION P3, Pos. 18)

P3 shows a very interesting affective relationship with the youngest child, which denotes the degree of integration she felt with her host family and the, let's say, "maternal" role she was given, that she assumed by saying "I love him, he is perhaps my child". Based on P3's interview, it could be said that her feeling of integration into the family is given thanks to the authority delegated to her by their host parents over the children. Indeed P3, unlike P1 or P2, is not only working for a family, but she also feels her experience as if she were part of it.

Delegated tasks

It is possible to distinguish two types of work that the interviewees had to perform during their Au-Pair stay: childcare and housework. For the Au-pairs interviewed the type of work to be done and the workload were related to the age and the number of children they had to take care of. The interviewees experienced a shift from their caring role to the mere performance of household duties in relation to the age of the children: while the need for care of a small child is greater, that of a large child is less, therefore, the Au-Pair comes to supply other household needs when the children are older. However, the Au-Pairs affirm in all cases to have had to do more housework and assume a workload that went beyond that agreed in the Au-Pair contract, resulting in situations of labor abuse. Faced with the situation of labor abuse, it is noteworthy the feeling of guilt on the part of some of the interviewees for having allowed this progressive situation to take place. When talking about the work to be done and the relationship with the family, P1 assumes part of the responsibility for the abusive situation:

> *"...The family I think that, I don't know if suddenly, because of being a good person and wanting to help more, it is a problem sometimes and people misunderstand and want to abuse: Yes, because, Ah well, "because she is like that and she has the time so she can do everything for us", and that happened to me. Yes, for wanting to help, saying well I'll help you with this, and then, well with this and a little bit more, and yes, there is no problem, but I always think that sometimes you have to say no, not always say yes, because No, No, No, how should I say it, it's not, I don't know how to say it, No Cut, No, no, no, no. How should I say it? No, It's not worth it, Or it's worth it, but people misunderstand it, I don't know..." (TRANSCRIPTION P1, Pos. 23)*

P1 also further states that the reason for her intention to help was due to an empathetic attitude towards the family, specifically the mother, and her availability of free time:

> *"...the mother did not work, but I was kind of considerate, I used to say: "Oh, the girl is grown up, I have free time, so I am going to tell the mother "What shall I help her with?" and all the time "What shall I help her with, what shall I help her with, what shall I help her with? ", then She also caught*

that: "Ah, well, do this to me, do this to me, wash me that, fold my clothes, vacuum my house every day, take my dogs out twice a day." ..." (TRANSCRIPTION P1, Pos. 35)

Finally, P1 decides to confront her host mother (the stepmother of the children) and claims to have felt a change in her attitude, the detriment of their relationship. The impact that the host mother's reaction has on P1 is evident, as well as P1's constant intention to collaborate in household chores. Therefore, it is assumed that P1's intention to participate in household chores denotes her intention to integrate herself into the family dynamics, according to P1, an intention taken advantage of by the family for her own benefit. The performance of care and domestic chores go hand in hand with P1's integration into the family, denoting her role in the family, and the position of power of the mother and host family over P1.

"Then, well, when I exploded, and I decided to talk to her, because I was also afraid, I told her: "no, look, I can't stand it anymore, this is happening, you told me that the tasks were going to be shared", then she changed her attitude, after that, she didn't ask me for favors, I was always like: "Oh, what can I help you with? No, nothing," and so on, like dignified, like yes, so that's why things got worse and that's why we also decided, like the two parties, we didn't feel comfortable." (TRANSCRIPTION P1, Pos. 35)

Like P1, P2 also claims to have been responsible for the abusive work situations he said he experienced, for not setting limits and letting the abusive situation to continue:

*"On Fridays the children would go with their mother, so I was almost free, but Fridays were to clean the house, to clean the whole house, so what I mean, it started with vacuuming the house, then the following week it was mopping, the following week it was cleaning the kitchen, the following week it was cleaning the social bathroom, the following week it was sweeping the patio, the terrace, and so on, you know what I mean? the tasks were accumulating and yes, like, and what I tell you, it was also my fault because I always said yes, like I didn't set limits, like "hey, it's good to help them, but I feel that this is not my job, I mean I came as an Aupair, not as a Putzfrau", so even I feel that to me, ush, one of the things that gave me more like aghhh, was that thing about the bathroom, that he told me like "I need you to clean the bathroom", but theirs, and I was like "****** I am not going to clean the ****** for you", I mean, to that man, because I tell you, I cooked for them, I cooked breakfast, lunch and dinner for them, it was like what *****, I mean I don't know, you know? I was like, why am I letting, why am I letting those things happen and yes, I don't know hahaha what ****** now that I start to think about it is like..." (TRANSCRIPTION P2, Pos. 51)*

P2 also says that one of the reasons why he was delegated more and more functions, even in his free time, was because according to his host family's perspective he had a lot of free time, something that his host father told him directly when P2 confronted him about a request made on his day off:

"I remember that one Sunday the man told me like, I mean, like they had breakfast and well I picked up the dishes, I put them in the dishwasher and the man told me like "hey P2, I need you to spread out some clothes that are in the washing machine and hang them outside", I don't know, at that moment

I said "no, I'm not going to do it", so I told the man "Alex, the truth is that I feel that I deserve at least 5 minutes, I mean, Sundays off, I mean, the truth is that I don't think it's fair that I'm working on Sundays" and the man was like, he told me "you have a lot of free time, you have the nights off". (TRANSCRIPTION P2, Pos. 57)

Like P1, P2 receives a violent response from his host father to his above mentioned complain. In the interview P2 expressed his desire to leave the host family in the face of that situation, the dependency in which he found himself becomes evident, since before being able to do so he felt that he had to wait for a procedure he was going through to change his visa to a work visa.

*"...the man said to me "you know what? do whatever you want" and I said "you know what? I'm going to send everything to ******" but I was going through the process of the work visa, so I said "I'm going to put up with it"..." (TRANSCRIPTION P2, Pos. 57)*

P1 and P2 emphasized that their role in the family and the tasks they came to perform did not necessarily correspond to those of an Au-Pair. For these two cases, the shift from caregiving to almost purely domestic tasks, although related to the age of the children and the composition of the household, was driven by the host family, which even, according to P2's account, assumed a role of control, surveillance and administration of his free time. This power acquired by the host family over the free time of the Au-Pairs is also evident in P3's account:

"Once she told me like I needed you to clean the oven because I supposedly had nothing else to do, so I had to clean the oven, and I had to keep the house in order and so on, and if the children spilled something or something, I had to clean it myself, if the children messed up something, I had to clean it myself. That was something that came to me at a moment that led me to a very strong crisis because I was very tired..." (TRANSCRIPTION P3, Pos. 28)

The position of power and the affirmation of authority of the host family is evident among other factors through the delegation of tasks. The feeling of guilt present in some of the interviewees denotes the relationship of dependency and powerlessness experienced by the Au-Pairs during their stay with a host family and in the face of abusive requests from the host family.

Control over leisure time: As mentioned in the previous point, P2 and P3 had the feeling that the host families had the intention to control and manage their free time, both agree in having

experimented a constant delegation of domestic and care tasks during this time. When talking about one of the parents P2 states:

> *"...one thing that also happened with one of the fathers, with whom I say, that he also wanted me to spend all my time with the children, even on weekends, was that, I feel that the man was not very clear about the concept of free time and privacy, the man spent all his time in my room basically, and I don't know why, I mean, I really don't understand why, and I feel that it was also a problem that the man had, as if he wanted to have everything under control..." (TRANSCRIPTION P2, Pos. 57)*

P2 also stated that he believed that one of them had the explicit intention of controlling and managing his free time:

> *"...but in a certain way that man kind of respected my free time on the weekends, you know? He kind of knew that I already had my free time, so he didn't call me, didn't tell me, didn't ask me for things, but the other guy expected me to stay with the children on the weekends, because I think that in his head it was like "he has a free weekend, so come and help us on the weekends with", that is what I tell you, I also tried to play dumb, I stayed in my room, I didn't go out, eee, but let's say, I knew that always on Sundays the two families met and I knew that the one who ended up setting the table, setting the dishes was going to be me.... " (TRANSCRIPTION P2, Pos. 55)*

The exercise of power and control over P2 was so strong that it led him to voluntarily isolate himself in his room to ensure that his free time was respected. The only space he had in the house to escape and have privacy. However, it was also evident in the interview that P2's room and personal space were constantly invaded by one of the host parents. When narrating a specific situation of conflict P2 describes what in his words was losing his freedom while being with the host family:

> *"I remember that it was a Sunday and normally on Sundays I had to change families, so I went to pack my suitcase and when I got to my room all the drawers were open, and that day I had bought everything at the time. When I ate my bananas or the yogurts I had there, I always threw everything away, because I didn't, I mean, I didn't leave them there, no? but that day I had left them because I had gone out to meet the people of the German course, of course all that was open, and well, you know what I mean? it was more than obvious that the man had gone in to check that I didn't have the things, I didn't, eee at that moment I also felt very impotent, like, I said ****, I mean, and what I was saying, I feel that was one of the changes that hit me the hardest, because I said, how in Colombia I had everything, I mean, I had my economic freedom, my privacy, I had my freedom, you know? My freedom and I feel that little by little I was losing it a lot with those people, I mean, really a lot, then I was like "what ******, really, what is going on?"…" (TRANSCRIPTION P2, Pos. 59)*

P3 also tells of voluntarily isolating herself in her room to prevent the host family from abusing her free time, sometimes even giving up eating:

> *"Interviewer: Yes, and let's say P3, what did you do in your free time?*
>
> *P3: Well, what I was telling you, I mean, when I didn't know anyone and since it sometimes gave me a headache to spend so much time with the children, then what I did many weekends was to stay at home, in the house, but almost to lock myself in my room, and I spent 2 days like that, Saturday and Sunday, I didn't leave my room.*
>
> *Interviewer: And let's say eating and that, also in the room?*
>
> *P3: the first weekends I did that, I was like a fool and I didn't buy anything before and then I spent the days like that, as long as I didn't go out, my host mother would sometimes write me like "hey, we left you food there, if you want to eat" and I would go out when everybody was asleep and I didn't have to do anything....*
>
> *Interviewer: and why?*
>
> *P3: I don't know, I mean, if you ask me why, it's hard to say, I mean, for me it's kind of hard to explain, I understand that it doesn't make sense, I mean, it was, the best thing was to go out and, but I think I became like that, I didn't want to share with them so much in those moments when I wasn't supposed to be working, also because I felt that, yes there was a month that I shared with them a lot, but what I felt was that at the end, like eating and all that, they still expected, if it was the weekend, that I would finish cleaning everything, and the first month I said OK, well yes, but the second month I said OK no, I don't have to clean everything on the weekend too, so what I thought was "well if I don't participate, it's not my turn to clean", so I didn't participate. "..." (TRANSCRIPTION P3, Pos. 35-40)*

When talking about the free time and the people that P3 frequented, the geographical location of her Au-pair stay becomes relevant, also, the first restrictions due to the pandemic. Both factors, according to P3, influenced her possibility of taking a language course through which she could have established more friendships. On this matter, P1 also affirms that she did not do anything in her free time during her stay with the first host family, because everything was far away, which differs from her current situation in Berlin, where she has more possibilities for socializing and recreation.

Wage and language course

When assessing whether the salary received by the Au-Pairs during their stay is sufficient to cover their expenses, they usually put in relation to this the German course and its costs. P1 and P2 state that they did not know the cost of a German course in Germany at the time of applying to the Au-

Pair program, being this the factor that clashed with their expectation of studying the language in Germany. However, all agree that the base salary of 280 EU + the 50 EU allowance for the German course is a very low salary if one wants to take a German course during the Au-Pair stay. P2 states that the information received in Colombia regarding the German course contradicts what actually happens while living with the host family:

> *"...at the beginning they tell you that the family has to, I mean by right you have, not by right, no, how do you say that, I mean you have the right to a German course, you know, that the family is supposed to pay for it, but the truth is that it is not like that, they just give 50 euros for the German course. The family is supposed to pay for it, but the truth is that it is not like that, they simply give 50 euros for the German course and when you get here you realize that the Volkshochschule courses cost more than 350 euros, so it is like, and you get paid, that is, the monthly salary of an Aupair is 280 euros plus a financial aid of 50 euros, plus the 50 euros for the course, that is 380 euros..." (TRANSCRIPTION P2, Pos. 15)*

When talking about her salary P1 states that:

> *"...well, since I didn't take a German course, yes, it was enough, because the family gave me food, things to wash clothes, that is, I only used as my, I spent the money for my personal hygiene and for my activities that I wanted to do, or extra things that I wanted to buy, or so, I feel that this is little but it is enough.... " (TRANSCRIPTION P1, Pos. 69)*

However, it is noteworthy that P1 did extra housework for her host family, as she claimed to need the money:

> *P1: "...I did the house cleaning for them, they paid me 30 euros for cleaning the whole house, it was a very big house, but I said, "yeah well, I don't care, I need that money"".*
>
> *Interviewer: was that extra, apart from...?*
>
> *P1: it was extra, yes, an Aupair is not supposed to, but I said "no, I need that money, this and this," ...". (TRANSCRIPTION P1, Pos. 43-45)*

The effect that the low salary has on the possibility of doing or not doing a German course influence not only the integration and effective learning of the language by the Au-Pairs, but also their possibilities of socialization and building a support network. This can be evidenced in the way that P2 manages to leave his host family and even find another type of job changing his Au-Pair visa for a work visa. It is worth noting that P2 worked for two German families at the same time and therefore received double the pay of any other Au-Pair, allowing him to constantly attend a German course throughout his stay with the host families:

> *"... what happened is that in the German courses I was taking I met other guys who were Aupair, that too, that seemed very cool to me, I mean, I made some very good friendships in that course because*

we even shared our experiences with the families, then, it was to some extend our way to let off steam, to take everything out, and one of the guys was a guy from Brazil, he told me that his host father was a civil engineer and he told him all the stories that I told them, because I think I came to the course to complain to them haha, so I think they transmitted that to the families and in the end, I think that also helped a little haha, because his father, not his father, but his host or his Gastvater, told him that he could help me by getting a job, because I was an architect and curiously I had talked to that family before coming, but they had chosen Renato, that was the boy's name, because he had already talked to them before, only that the visa had not worked out very well, surely because in Brazil there were also issues related to the pandemic, that is to say, everything had been closed ... " (TRANSCRIPTION P2, Pos. 65)

P2 does not ultimately received a job from his course mate's host father, but he did receive a job thanks to his help with making applications and designing a format for his résumé. The fact that P2's salary was twice as much gave him an important tool in the face of the conflict and abuse situations he was experiencing with his host family: the ability to attend a German course and build a support network.

Expectations / Subjectivities

In the interviews it is evident that the Au-Pairs felt a mismatch between their subjectivities-expectations and the lived situation; their reasons for traveling to Germany, their expectations and desires, were confronted with their experience living and working for a host family. According to the perception of the Au-Pairs, their desire for cultural exchange, as described in the Au-Pair program, turned into labor exploitation. P3 tells the story of a friend who had a bad experience with her host family and her interpretation of this moment of confrontation, consequently, a small talk with her host mother on the subject:

"She was like: "well, you, you are here to help me with the house" and Laura said "no, I mean, I am an Au-pair and Au-pairs take care of the children, I can do everything that has to do with the children, but with the house in general I don't think so", and the mother got upset and said "no, well then I don't need you", so she kicked her out and she left the house in the middle of December, but it was, it's strong, isn't it? So, when, when that happened I told my children's mother, Nancy, and she told me "no, but basically that's what an Au pair has to do, isn't it? like taking care of the house, doing things around the house" and I said "I don't know" and she said "of course, that's what she has to do", I mean, that's where I saw, like, that break, right? from what they tell you, or what they make you believe you are going to do and what you finally get to do, there is an abysmal difference, they sell it as a, well they sell it as a bit of a lie in, in our countries, because what you think you are going to

do is like taking care of the children, but then one also goes to study the language, to do all these things

that are more of one's life, and what the families see is finally, yes, as cheap labor, "it is very expensive

to pay 2 nannies, I have 3 children, so I get an Au-pair that I have to pay like a third of what a

normal nanny is paid.... " (TRANSCRIPTION P3, Pos. 34)

The conflict has to do with the caregiving function expected by P3 and displaced to domestic duties, which in many cases leads to labor abuse. According to P3's testimony, it can be seen that her expectation of *"taking care of the children... studying the language... all those things that are more of one's life"* is confronted with her perception of the subjectivity of the host family, which according to her sees in the Au-Pairs the possibility of *"... getting cheap labor... an Au-Pair that I can give her like a third of what a normal nanny is paid..."*; P3 is conscious about the labor exploitation that her stay with her host family meant and also, about the role that third parties play in the construction of desires and expectations: *"I mean there, that's where I saw like, like that rupture yes? , from what one is told, or what one is made to believe that one is going to do and what one finally gets to do, there is an abysmal difference, that is sold as a, they sell it as a bit of a lie in, in our countries".*

Also notable is a comment made by P3 from what she describes as her own subjectivity, an encounter between her more personal family experiences and what she saw, or, what she became part of during her stay with the host family. Indeed, P3 gets to play an important role in the care and upbringing of the children, however, without having any scope of action on this matter:

"... those are much more subjective things and they are like cultural shocks that one has, yes, in the

experience, so, you know how they raise you in Colombia, well I don't know if it is still like that, but

how they raise you, I don't know, I mean, it is very different from how they raise a child here, especially

in this time, here they raise children, yes, with a lot of freedom and that is very good, but there are

many questions about the free will of children that here is very respected and I think it is good, but it

should have certain limitations, I feel that here the children believe that they are God and do not listen

to their parents, it is wrong to say so, yes, but let's say there are some issues of oppressive exercise that

parents do in Colombia that perhaps I think are very positive, as one knows that one has to respect

people, not because, not because one likes them or not, but because one has to respect people, period,

and that here is like an idea that does not exist, that is, children have the right to decide if they want

to respect them or not and that seems to me super bad, I mean, no, I do not think, I do not think it

should work that way...." (TRANSCRIPTION P3, Pos. 66)

As he begins to talk about his experience, P2 describes and questions some of the expectations he felt before migrating, finally questioning the program itself and the constructed imaginary of "cultural exchange". His intention to join a German family, to learn the language, to get to know

the German culture, to leave the country and what this meant for P2, these intimate desires, are confronted and clashed with his experience within the host family.

"...that's when my torment began haha, no lies, not so much, but a little bit, I don't know, you know, it was a little bit exciting the fact that, like, "hey, I'm going to leave the country, I'm going to get to know the German culture", that's kind of the excuse, isn't it? the Aupair visa, they say it's a cultural exchange program, but in the end I don't know how much of that cultural exchange there really is, isn't it? That's the question I'm asking myself right now, how much of a cultural exchange there really is, because it's also a way to improve my German, to get to know the German culture and to, well, to really integrate into a German family, when I was already here, I arrived, I mean, one of the parents of the family picked me up, they took me directly to Germany, to the house, and that's when my story began..." (TRANSCRIPTION P2, Pos. 13)

The expectations and imaginaries constructed by the Au-Pairs constitute an important category in the analysis of their experience, since they are not only related to the fact that the Au-Pairs came to supply tasks that were outside the contractually stipulated ones, but also denote their most intimate desires at the time of migrating. They also reveal the expectations and intentions of the host parents at the moment of signing an Au-pair agreement. For the first ones the emotional seems to play an important role, for the other ones it is the utilitarian, the exploitation.

Accidents and situations of conflict: During the Au-Pair stay, the interviewees had different situations of conflict and confrontation with the families due to different reasons. The people interviewed remember in detail these situations and the words that their host families said to them, they describe these situations as a chain of events, in the face of which stood out a feeling of helplessness and fear caused by the psychological mistreatment to which they were subjected. On the other hand, it can be perceived that these situations were used by the families to reaffirm their authority, their position of power over the Au-Pairs. P1 describes a situation in which she accidentally crashes the family's car out of a parking lot after picking up the youngest child from a class and the reaction of the parents as follows:

"...then the teacher came down, she called the father, the father had a business, he could not come, the stepmother came, then the stepmother came and said "where is she?" at once, she did not tell me, I, no, I was worried, that lady when "where is she, the girl?" then I told her, and then she looked at me badly and said, well, and "how are you?" And then I, no, fine, and then from there I started to have problems with the father, because the father, that day the father, well, that day I got confused, that day, in the afternoon, the father arrived home, the mother, the stepmother went and picked us up, we arrived home and that day the father arrived home, and we all went to see the car, to see how it had

turned out. It was about 15 minutes driving, so from then on, I started to have problems with the
father, that day he came down to my room and told me "Oh, what's wrong with you, why don't you
concentrate? What are we going to do? Now this is going to be very expensive" I don't know what, I
don't know what else, and there I was, I was afraid, I said, no, my God, "what am I going to do?"
"how am I going to pay?" and the father was much to put fear on me, like "you have to pay"..."
(TRANSCRIPCIÓN P1, Pos. 39)

The feeling of fear that the situation and the father's reaction had generated in P1 is highlighted.
P1 continues her story:

"...that day the father scolded me, very badly in German, which I half understood, and I felt so bad
that I started to cry, and I said: "Oh, my God, what am I doing here?", the lady came downstairs
and asked me What was wrong with me?, that, "Why did that happened?", I told her that it had
been an accident... That day the mother told me that the girls said that I was driving too fast, that
they were afraid, that I didn't look at the crossings, I don't know what, so I said, "How can they say
that, right? I mean, how can I risk their lives and mine?" I mean, I know what I do, 13-year-old
girls of that age, they don't know what one does, the person who is driving is different. So, I told her:
"look, if you think your girls are in danger, then let's change families", then she told me: "no, let's
wait", and I think she told me to wait to find out how much it would cost to fix the car, so that I
wouldn't leave and that would stay like that...". (TRANSCRIPTION P1, Pos. 43)

P1 describes how the host mother's claim begins to revolve around the questioning of her caring
role and skills and introduces in the discourse words of the girls to justify her statement, however,
P1 thinks that there is a greater interest behind the whole discussion: the payment of the damage
of the car, something that according to her was beyond her responsibility and should be transmitted
to her insurance. Finally, P1 narrates how at the moment of confirming the termination of her Au-
Pair contract the father also ended up questioning P1's caring role, then, she describes the situation
of psychological abuse she was subjected to during the following days before leaving the home and
the impact it had on her:

"... at that time I had a holidays because they were going on vacation, so they told me: "well, go on
vacation", and since I had my aunt here, I went there, and when they arrived they handed me the letter.
One night before giving me the letter, the father told me that I was not interested in them, that I never
asked them how they were, that I never helped them at all, well, a bit of lies there...". P1 continues
her story further on "...Then, on that weekend, the girls were with the mom and no, I mean, I went
upstairs to eat and they looked at me so bad, I felt terrible and then I went downstairs crying and I
told my aunt: "Aunt, I can't stand this anymore, what do I do?", She told me "ok, find a trip and

come here and here you look" I don't know what, and I told her: "well"..."(TRANSCRIPTION
P1, Pos. 43)

For P1 the accident she had resulted in a situation of psychological mistreatment towards her, it could be said that the accident was used by the host father and mother to question her caring skills, her presence in the house, exclude her from the family and try to get her to pay for the damages caused to the car, a payment that should effectively be covered by the Au-Pair insurance company, or by the parents' one, since P1 was working at the time of the accident.

P2 describes a situation in which he is confronted on the one hand with the arbitrariness of one of the host parents and on the other hand with a situation in which an accident leads to mistreatment. The cumulative impact of his host parent's attitude and actions is such that P2 feels he has lost his freedom during his Au-Pair stay. P2, who was able to develop a close and supportive relationship with his German course mates, asks his host father to borrow his bicycle to go and see them, the host father agrees, but then calls him back asking for the bicycle and claims he needs it to go out with one of his children. P2 describes being confused by the host father's new request as opposed to what had been previously agreed upon, upon which, he decides to return to the station at his place of residence, where he had left it, and finds that it had been stolen. I quote below the following events as described by P2 in his interview:

*"... I wrote to the man and said "Alex, did you take the bike?" and the man was like "no, why? "and I said "they stole it, I mean they took it, they stole it from me", of course, the man was obviously upset, like "ah, I don't know, but who would think of letting that happen" so I obviously didn't tell him, it's not that I didn't leave it secured, what I told him is that I left it secured but to itself, to say it that way, I mean I didn't tie it to any tube or anything like that, but just like the wheel inside, the wheels of the bicycle itself, so it was like "who would think of doing that? "and I was like, well obviously I was also holding the scolding, because at the end he was right, the thing is that I got home and you know, my first reaction was to see the man and the truth is that I was crying, but I cried with rage, because I said "what ****** that these things happen to me and with these people", you know? Then I remember that it was a Sunday and normally on Sundays I had to change families, so I went to pack my suitcase and when I got to my room all the drawers were open, and that day I had bought everything at the time, when I ate my bananas or the yogurts I had there, I always threw everything away, because I didn't, I mean, I didn't leave them there, no? But that day I had left them there because I had gone out to meet the German course students, of course everything was open and, you know what I mean? it was more than obvious that the man had gone in to check that I didn't have*

the things, I didn't, eee at that moment I also felt very impotent, like, I said *****..."
(TRANSCRIPTION P2, Pos. 59)

The first feeling of confusion that P2 says he felt may be related to the fact that he already perceived that his host father wanted him to work with them on weekends as well, also his suspicion about whether or not the father had taken the bike. Following this, P2 describes feeling himself very helpless in the general situation and feels that he had to put up with all the complaints and comments of the host father, the description of his attitude denotes a feeling of guilt, clearly promoted by the father. Finally, he discovers that the father had invaded his personal space again, in the face of which he claims to have felt a great sense of impotence and concludes that he has lost his freedom. The invasion into the privacy of the room and the father's interruption of the Au-Pair's meeting with his German course companions could also be understood as a direct attack on the strategies that P2 had already developed in response to the labor and psychological abuse he was being subjected to; On the one hand, the sabotage of his meeting with his group of friends as a direct attack on the support network among Au-Pairs, on the other hand, the invasion of his private room and personal objects, which was his place of voluntary isolation to avoid situations of labor abuse. P2 had already expressed the host father's discomfort with the fact that he stayed a lot in his room and ate apart from everyone else:

> *"... they would eat until 8:00 at night, it was like ******, I mean, mess with everything, but not with the food hahaha, I get hungry too, and what can I do? so sometimes I would buy bananas and I would leave them in my room, you know? Like, and I would eat them there, then the man started to realize that and I feel that this was also an excuse to get into my room and that, but I said ****** what does it matter if that is my privacy, what does he care?..."*(TRANSCRIPTION P2, Pos. 57)

In the case of P2 it can also be evidenced, how at the moment of leaving the host home the host parents questioned his willingness to integrate, his caring skills and his responsibility, again, exercising their position of power and seeking through manipulation to influence P2's behaviour and his willingness to leave:

> *No, of course, the host fathers there were like "you what *****", then nothing, well obviously yes, the truth is, they got angry and started to say that I was a very arrogant person, that I never did my job well as an Au pair, that I never wanted to be with the children, that, I mean, many things, you know, even I feel that suddenly they were right, you know, because the truth is that I never, I mean, I never wanted to be with the children, I mean, many things, you know? because the truth is that I never, I mean, I told them "I don't want to be with you, I mean, it is very true, I mean in the end you are right, I mean, I don't want to be with you" they even told me like "the least you can do is to fulfil your*

contract" and I told them "I don't want to, I don't want to be with you anymore" and the other man

told me like "you are the only one". (TRANSCRIPTION P2, Pos. 71)

P3 claims to have experienced only one confrontational situation, this time not because of an accident, but because of an attitude of her on an occasion supposedly important for the host mother. The fact that the occasion was important to the mother is not in question, however, according to P3's account it seems that the host mother used the situation to confront P3 for staying too long in her room in general, a strategy she had also developed in the face of work abuse situations in her free time:

"... since they live in the United States for so long they celebrate Thanksgiving, and I had this habit of not going out on weekends, and she, this weekend I kind of went out, but I went out very late, she got upset with me and confronted me and said "P3 I don't understand why you don't go out, I don't understand why you don't share with us, we don't understand if we bother you or what" and I said "no, what a shame, I mean, really, I don't know, I mean, I do want to share with you" but of course, I didn't tell her why I didn't want to go out, I mean, even if I had told her it would have been like exposing myself, so I told her "no, you know, I don't feel so comfortable, it's like I feel embarrassed, I feel ashamed, I am very shy, I don't know blablabla", then she told me "please come out, you are part of the family, yes, it hurts me, it hurts me, because if you don't come out it is as if we were doing something wrong..." (TRANSCRIPTION P3, Pos. 56)

5. Conclusions

The descriptions of the interviewees' experiences about their Au-Pair stay in Germany are constantly mediated by the power constellation existing in each of the host families. Based on the interviews, it is possible to appreciate how the participants perceived to have found themselves in an ambiguous situation within the host family to which they arrived, a situation attributed to the lack of regularization of the Au-Pair program and the randomness of finding a "good" family.

The sovereign position that the German host family acquires over the migrant is related to the fact that in the Au-Pair agreement the German migration system delegates the exercise of its violence to the German families; to the surveillance and control function commonly exercised by institutions ranging from the immigration office to the police in the streets, it is added the family institution. the dependence of the migrant towards its host family goes beyond the fact that its residence permit depends on it and is manifested in the intertwined daily relationships between the Au-pairs and the members of their host families. On the other hand, the intention of the Au-Pairs to integrate themselves into the family core to which they arrive can be evidenced in all the

conducted interviews: the interviewed participants seem not to have felt their Au-Pair stay as just any work stay, but to have developed a much more intimate relationship with their host families.

The *"constellation of powers"*(„En una familia, ¿Cómo se ejerce el poder? - How is power exercised in a family? ", 2022)*, in which the interviewees were immersed during their stay with a host family easily led to abusive situations. This, added to the multiple meanings that the migration to Germany can have for each of the participants, their subjectivities, and the type of care work required, where the emotional aspect plays a leading role, can have an important impact on the mental and physical health of the people migrating to Germany as Au-Pairs. The emotional charge that the experience can have on the interviewees can be evidenced in a fragment of P2's interview, when he answers the question "How would you rate your overall experience in Germany?":

> *Interviewer: well yes, and the rest, well, let's say as another question, right now, how would you rate the experience here in Germany in general?*
>
> *P2: you know, I feel that, I mean I feel that it plays a very important role because it is the first contact with Germany, with the culture and I, there was a long time that I almost related Germany with the family, and I feel that it is very bad, because clearly all that time, I mean, I think that since I arrived with them I thought about going back, and that is in a way, it is sad, because besides the fact that we are very different cultures, they are also a very rich culture, you know? And they also have very interesting things, but then that was my problem, that I related a lot, I mean, my experience with Germany, then Germany tasted to me like ******, I mean, I said Germany is a ******, but in the end it is not Germany, it was an experience I had with a family that simply did not know how to deal with people, or had another idea of what an Au-pair is.*
>
> *Interviewer: OK*
>
> *P2: but now my perspective is improving a little bit haha, but I still feel, I still think that the Germans are a little bit crazy. (TRANSCRIPCIÓN P2, Pos. 100-103)*

Based on the interviews conducted and the constructed codes, it is possible to observe the way in which the control and authority over the participants was materialized by the host family. Thus, the codes generated can be understood as a first approach to identify and understand some of the factors that influenced the experience and integration of the interviewees during their stay as AuPairs. To unveil the issues, or aspects of the Au-Pair stay, in which the exercise of power over the migrant is perceived as persistent and violent means also to reveal the violence allowed by the type of regularization of the Au-Pair program, contradictorily, a cultural exchange program based on equal conditions and retribution for both parties involved, the family and the migrant.

Finally, the lack of regularization and sovereignty given to the German families on this behalf has also given rise to the increase of intermediary agencies that provide support for Au-Pairs in the application and family search process. Based on what was discussed with the participants, it seems that the agencies do provide some security to the migrant in their migration process, however, they are an exclusive stay that not everyone can access and that represents a new filter that the applicants must pass. For this reason, like P2, many decide to carry out their Au-Pair stay without the need for intermediaries and directly contacting the families in Germany. This deregulation and lack of support to the applicants represents a potential risk for them, because apart from the bad luck of finding a "bad" family, Au-Pairs could easily fall into much more harmful and dangerous situations for their physical and mental health.

6. Literature

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