

THE [SEASONAL] ARRIVAL CITY

Designing for migrants' 'transient right to the city'

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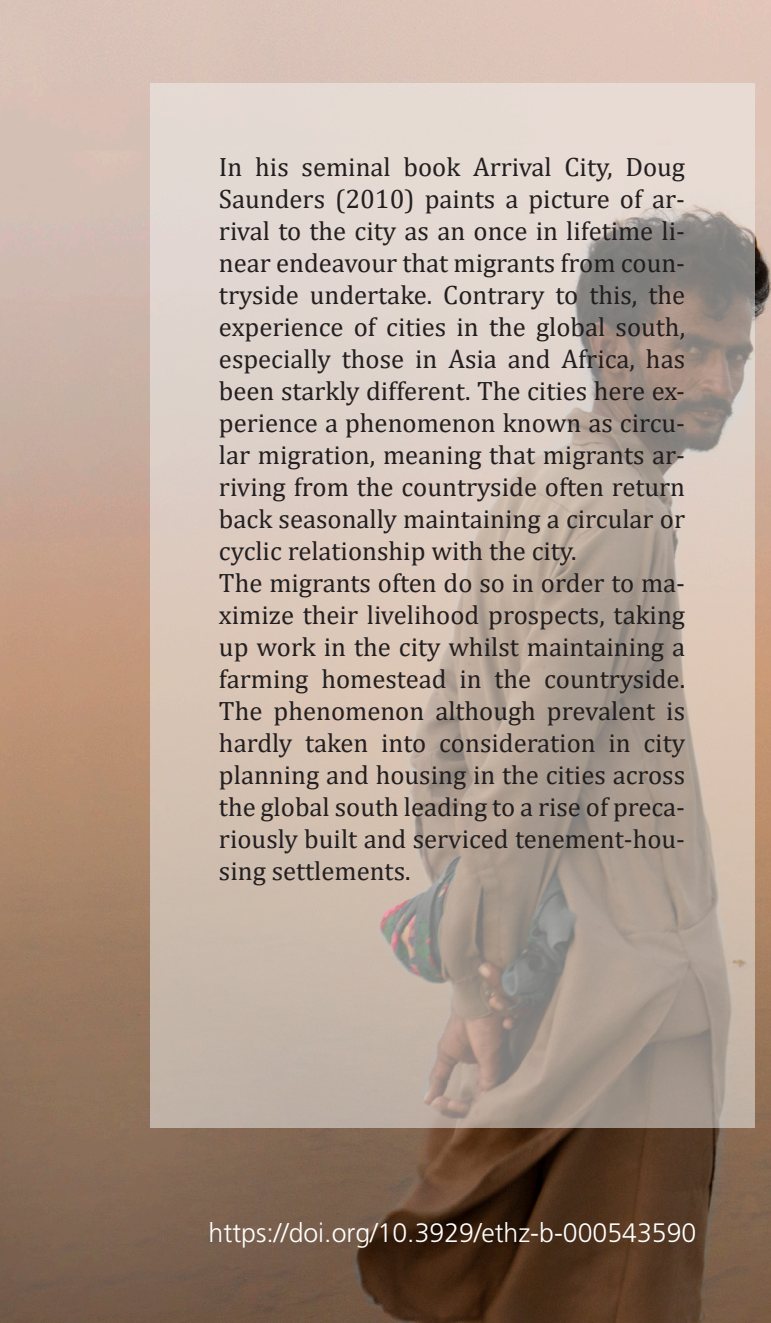
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In his seminal book *Arrival City*, Doug Saunders (2010) paints a picture of arrival to the city as an once in lifetime linear endeavour that migrants from countryside undertake. Contrary to this, the experience of cities in the global south, especially those in Asia and Africa, has been starkly different. The cities here experience a phenomenon known as circular migration, meaning that migrants arriving from the countryside often return back seasonally maintaining a circular or cyclic relationship with the city.

The migrants often do so in order to maximize their livelihood prospects, taking up work in the city whilst maintaining a farming homestead in the countryside. The phenomenon although prevalent is hardly taken into consideration in city planning and housing in the cities across the global south leading to a rise of precariously built and serviced tenement-housing settlements.

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Edited by
Nitin Bathla & Jennifer Duyne Barenstein

ETH Wohnforum
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Foreword

This book was primarily co-created by a group of young architects that in 2019 decided to take a reflective break from their professional life and to pursue a Master of Advanced Studies (MAS) in Housing at the ETH Zurich. The MAS ETH in Housing aims to enhance students' awareness about the global housing challenges and their capacity to creatively contribute to sustainable, inclusive, and affordable cities and housing solutions. The challenges to ensure the right to adequate and affordable housing for all in an increasingly urbanised world are immense with over a billion new residents in need of adequate housing by 2025. Facing these challenges requires highly committed professionals capable to engage with a wide range of stakeholders. In the framework of the MAS ETH in Housing our students engage in a critical study of the multiple strategies, scales and options aiming at meeting the housing needs of the world's most disadvantaged groups, including the urban poor, seasonal migrants, refugees, the elderly and disabled, and the people displaced by conflicts, disasters and climate change.

One of the highlights of the MAS ETH in Housing is the so-called "Seminar Week" during which students are given the opportunity to jointly meet and engage for one week with relevant organisations and learn about their projects. In October 2019 this brought us to the city of Bhuj in Gujarat, India, where we were kindly hosted by the Hunnarshala Foundation, a non-profit organisation working with communities towards the right to the city and sustainable and inclusive habitats. In Bhuj we were confronted with the challenges faced by migrant labourers to find a place to stay and to make a living in their arrival city. We had the opportunity to meet and talk with women, men and children and to visit their settlement and homes. We learned that behind what at first appeared to our eyes as temporary shacks there were ingenious attempts to build and maintain dignified and welcoming homes that incorporated their owners' knowledge, skills and cultural identity. But we also learned about migrant labourers precarious living conditions and their constant fears of being evicted. Hunnarshala's friendly and

highly experienced staff helped us to contextualise and interpret these situations and introduced us to their endeavours to support these itinerant migrants to claim their rights to the city. It was an overwhelming experience that left behind the commitment to express our solidarity and gratitude to all the people we have met and from whom we learned so much. If further led to the desire to share our experience with those students who were not able to participate in this seminar week. This led Nitin Bathla to organise a one-week workshop that brought together all students of the MAS in Housing to share, reflect and further elaborate upon their learnings. This book consolidates and translates into design prototypes their experience. While these prototypes may be perceived as utopic, they reflect an important and for architects not so obvious take away: asserting the right to the city entails more than housing and profound understanding of the history, identity, and the multiple needs and challenges itinerant migrants face in their journeys.

I would like to thank all those who made the publication of this book possible. First of all, Sandeep Virmani and Sushma Iyengar for their friendship, inspiration and hospitality. Without their support and encouragement it would not have been possible to visit the remote city of Bhuj with a group of students from Switzerland. My gratefulness further goes to Aditya Singh and all the staff of Hunnarshala who welcomed and guided us through this journey and to all the people who gave us their time and wisdom during our week in Bhuj.

I am proud and profoundly impressed by my students' curiosity and openness towards all the people they met in India and by their creative capacity to translate into innovative ideas their learnings. This was only possible thanks to the intellectual and artistic guidance and the persistence of Nitin Bathla who trained them in the creative methodologies that were employed for narrating people's storylines and who guided them in developing the design prototypes that are presented in this book.

Last but not least I would like to thank and to dedicate this book to all migrant women and men for generously sharing with us their time and for sharing with us their knowledge and wisdom.

Jennifer Duyne Barenstein, PhD

Executive Director, MAS ETH Housing
ETH Wohnforum - ETH CASE

The (Seasonal) Arrival City: Designing for migrants' transient right to the city An Introduction

Nitin Bathla

We arrived at the Khasra Ground labour migrant settlement in Bhuj at the break of dawn on an early October morning in 2019. The settlement is located in the northern part of the city on the site of a former lake which was filled up with debris from a powerful 2001 earthquake. The earthquake had destroyed more than more than half of the city in 2001¹. We had visited the camp just the evening before in an attempt to learn from the challenges of housing migrant workers in the city of Bhuj. We were accompanied by the representatives from two important local civil society organisation

'Homes in the City'² and 'Setu'³ that work on housing rights for migrants in Bhuj. The Khasra Ground settlement is made up of over 100 single-family transitory shelters laid out in parallel rows. The shelters are constructed using bamboo, and wood from the fairly abundant *Prosopis Juliflora* trees in this area, and waterproofed with blue tarpaulin.

While the Khasra Ground settlement emerged through an agreement with the city of Bhuj in 2015, it is not an exception in the housing of labour migrants in the city. It is estimated that over 17 such

settlements exist in Bhuj alone housing a total of 1,725 migrant families⁴ between them making it a dominant settlement typology. According to local sources and studies, such transitory settlements started to popup all over the city after the 2001 earthquake when the reconstruction of the city created an exponential demand for labour. This demand attracted a considerable migratory workforce from agrarian villages in the adjoining state of Madhya Pradesh that continue to maintain a fluid relationship between Bhuj and their home villages. While initially such settlements might have emerged through an inability to house labour migrants, their continued persistence in similar material conditions almost two decades since the earthquake present an important contradiction. This contradiction presents a challenge to the theories of incremental housing improvement, occupancy, and settlement transformation.

This provokes the question; what role does housing play in maintaining a certain class of migrants that are described as 'seasonal', 'circular', or 'multilocal' migrants, or guest workers as a vulnerable 'permanently temporary' (Yiftachel 2009) workforce in the city. Moreover, do the representa-

tions that paint 'arrival' as a once in a lifetime event invisibilise the existence of settlements such as Khasra Ground and the vulnerabilities of permanent temporariness of the migrant communities inhabiting them? More importantly, what can the right to the city mean for migrants who are not fixed constituencies in cities like Bhuj, and whose arrival in the city is transitory or seasonal depending on the eventualities of finding work there?

Ample of academic literature has emerged over the years on the seasonal mobility of migrants between cities and agrarian villages around harvesting and sowing of crops during the autumn and spring cycles. This phenomenon is not only limited to India, but has been reported as a dominant phenomenon in many parts of Asia, Africa, and South America (See - Deshingkar and Farrington 2009; Schmidt-Kallert 2009; Schmidt-Kallert and Franke 2012). Such accounts describe how migrants share and split their families between multiple location, and more importantly, how the migrants invest their savings in household improvements in villages and not cities. While indeed the experience of most migrants that we interacted with at the Khasra Ground settlement aligned with

¹ Hunnarshala Foundation, our hosts in Bhuj emerged in the aftermath of the Bhuj earthquake for reconstruction efforts in the city.

² Homes in City is an organization that advocates for housing justice in the city of Bhuj for especially vulnerable groups such as labour migrants and communities with insecure land tenure. Further information on the initiative and their work can be found at the website - www.homesinthecity.org

³ Setu is an organisation that attempts to bridge local governance institutions in the city of Bhuj and its people. It works as a part of a coalition with other civil society organisations in the city of Bhuj. You can read more about SETU at the following link - <https://setuabhiyan.org/>

⁴ 625 families were identified directly through a survey by SETU, and it was estimated that an additional 1100 families were brought directly by contractors.

such accounts of seasonal mobility, what we were especially interested in understanding as researchers and practitioners on housing and the built environment is the nature of urbanism of settlements like Khasra Ground. Specifically, how the materiality of the settlement not only enforces a 'permanent temporariness' but also aids a fluid mobility between separate yet connected life worlds of the city and the village.

In the book 'Arrival City', Doug Saunders (2012) urges for framing the understanding of urbanisation processes through the perspective arriving populations as arriving populations create similar arrival cities (urbanism) across the world. Looked at it from this relational perspective, it is indeed true that the socio-materiality of urbanism embodied by settlements like Khasra Ground replicate not only over the so called 'global south' but also historical and contemporary geographies of the so called 'global North'. The socio-material conditions find resonances not only in the refugee camps over Europe such as the famous Calais camp in France, but also in the settlements of seasonal farm workers across Europe. Moreover, the 'tent cities' sprouting all across North America in the aftermath of the 2008

subprime crisis represent a similar socio-materiality (see also - Khosravi 2010). Such settlements exist in a constant ephemerality, whereby they are allowed to exist albeit under a constant threat of eviction. Such uncertainty translates into such settlements functioning as 'gray zones' (Yiftachel 2009) through which the labor of certain migrants can be expropriated through maintaining them in a position of 'permanent temporariness'. There is thus a need to better understand and incorporate 'arrival' as a non-linear process and to frame the 'right to the city' through eventualities and transience.

Dwelling in transience

Back at Khasra Ground, we split into smaller groups of four and were invited by the inhabitants into their dwellings as we walked around the settlement making observations. One of the families that we interacted with was Sanjay and his wife Geeta, whose dwelling was located at the far end of the settlement. Sanjay and Geeta invited us into their home for a cup of tea as they were preparing and packing their lunch and getting ready to leave for the workday. While the blue tarpaulin on the exterior elicits a sense

of ephemerality to their dwelling, as we stepped inside, we encountered humility, ingeniousness, and labour of care in every little detail of the house. The floor of the dwelling was constructed out of waste mosaic tiles and excess cement that Sanjay who works as a construction worker brings back from work. The humble bathing enclosure at the back of the house had a small herb garden attached to it that utilised the runoff water from the shower. As we admired the diversity of herbs in the garden, Sanjay and Geeta explained us how planting a specific herb next to another produces a symbiosis leading to them not requiring any fertilisation. This little herb patch is a means through which they and other migrants at the camp preserve their agrarian knowledge even in the city.

Rather than being a container for a fixed or linear form of inhabitation, Sanjay explained us how twice a year when they travel back to their villages to help on harvest and sowing, another family takes their place. When they return to Bhuj, they might or might not return to the same dwelling. He points to the shelter next to his where his brother used to live, and which has been empty for a few weeks with a hope that it would be soon inhabited by some-

one from his village. Sanjay adds that their inhabitation is not fixed and depends on the eventualities of finding employment in Bhuj or somewhere else. The dwelling thus functions more akin to an infrastructure of solidarity, allowing a socially managed mobility between Bhuj and their villages.

Under the overarching assertion of a 'great and final shift of human populations out of rural, agricultural life into cities' in the Arrival City Saunders does discuss forms of arrival that are seasonal and transient in nature. However, such narratives still operate under notions of spatial binaries of the 'urban' and the 'rural' and 'urban triumphalism' (Glaeser 2011). Contrary to this, in framing the 'right to the city', Henri Lefebvre provokes questions regarding the inherited understanding of the city itself (Lefebvre, Kofman, and Lebas 1996). In the book, Lefebvre discusses how post-industrialisation, 'exchange value' replaced the 'use value' of the urban, leading the city to implode and explode as an urban fabric that transcends spatial binaries. Therefore, the right to the city today cannot be conceived as simply the right to the traditional city, but rather needs to be formulated as right to urban life. When read through this perspective, the tran-

science of these itinerants can be understood as what AbdouMalik Simone (2011) calls as the 'urbanity of movement' between cities like Bhuj and other smaller towns or villages.

This publication attempts to provoke an intentional dialectical and generative clash between 'the arrival city' and 'the right to the city'. In doing so, we attempt to reframe the arrival city and the right to be city through movement, transience and through eventualities. We aim to pose this question more specifically through our positionality as researchers and practitioners on housing and the built environment. In the sections that follow, we attempt to represent marginal and underrepresented forms of transitory inhabitation through exploring storylines of itinerants at the Khasra Ground settlement. Through the design prototypes and collective ideas that emerge from these storylines, we explore how understanding transience and eventualities can help designers, policy makers, governments, civil society organisations, and labour unions in improving inclusivity of non-sedentary itinerants.

Methodology and the Structure of the book

While our attempt was to learn from the experiences of housing migrant workers in Bhuj and from communities attempting to make a foothold in Bhuj, we were invited by 'Homes in City' to contribute ideas to help improve current housing practices in the city. This book emerged out of an attempt to do justice to the knowledge that we benefitted from during two workshops organised in October 2019 in Bhuj, and in March 2020 in Zurich. The students spent a week in Bhuj in October 2009, visiting the settlement at different times of the day and conducting interviews with the migrants both at the camp and on the way to their work. The students used participatory observation, interviews, and drawing in attempting to understand the itinerants' politics of dwelling and the challenges in accessing work in the city.

During the time in Bhuj, we benefited immensely from the generosity of a great number of people who shared with us their knowledge and helped us piece together an understanding of transience in dwelling. Foremost, we benefited from interacting with the inhabitants of the Khasra Ground settlement, who not only generously opened their lives to us, but also

patiently helped us understand their politics of dwelling. We also benefited from the presentations by members of SETU and 'Homes in the City' on the experiences of advocacy and asserting rights of transient communities in the city. We also learnt about the debates on 'right to the city' in the Indian context through a workshop with Professor Himanshu Burte from the Indian Institute of Technology, Mumbai. We learnt about the local ecological challenges and traditional practices of movement, transience, and seasonality from Sushma Iyengar, Sandeep Virmani, and Aditya Singh from Hunnarshala Foundation. The students also benefited from the vast knowledge and experience on Bhuj of Jennifer Duyn Barenstein, the current Director of the MAS ETH Housing, who has been studying the rebuilding efforts in Bhuj since 2001.

In conceptualising the workshops and the publication, we were particularly inspired Michele Lancione's (2017, Bathla & Garg 2020) call to adopt creative methodologies that help transcend research-activism divide while engaging with particularly vulnerable communities. The student contributions in this book use narrative storytelling and graphic novel as a medium to narrate stories and introduce de-

sign prototypes for 'the seasonal arrival city'. The book is divided into three main sections.

In the first section on narrativised migrant storylines, the students extend and visualize five migrant itinerants that they had interacted with in Bhuj. The storylines follow the non-linear journeys of the itinerants to Bhuj, their attempts at making home in Bhuj, challenges in finding work, and the journey back to the village. For example, the first section includes the story of Laksha, an adolescent girl, who is making her first journey from her village to work alongside her parents in Bhuj. The story captures the thoughts running through Laksha's head after receiving a call from her parents asking her to come to Bhuj.

In the successive section, the students develop design prototypes building upon the specific needs of the itinerants sketched out in the previous section. For example in this section, a 'petticoat belt' is proposed by Charline Lafrançois for Laksha that not only serves as utilitarian object for working women, but also as a vector for intergenerational knowledge transfer. Another intervention in this section, the *Prosopis Juliflora* Manual, addresses the fact that in many instances migrants are unable to find daily wage work

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In the final section, the students attempt to bring these prototypes together for collective design of 'experimental utopias' for the seasonal arrival city. They propose concrete interventions for improvements at the Khasra Ground. At the end of each section are essays that help relativize the interventions at Khasra Ground with the experiences from other

geographies. The essay entitled 'Return(s)' at the end of the first section, describes the complex journey of return of people displaced by the civil war in Colombia to cities and settlements in the countryside. The essays 'ek-shelter' and 'The Seasonal City' at the end of the second section provide a view into the design of a prototype for homelessness in Delhi and a discussion with architect Yona Friedman on impermanence. Finally the essays 'Becoming Home' and 'Not Arriving in the Seasonal Arrival City' in the section on collective design offer theoretical reflections on autonomy and multilocality respectively. Instead of making conclusive connections for the readers, this book provokes more open-ended reflections on framing the understanding of arrival and right to the city through movement, transience, and eventualities (Bathla 2021).

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The seasonal arrival city and municipalism: Lessons from the work of Setu, Hunnarshala in Bhuj

Interview: Nitin Bathla, Jennifer Duyne Barenstein

The following is an interview conducted by Nitin Bathla (NB) and Jennifer Duyne Barenstein (JD) with Sandeep Virmani, Karman Marwad, and Aditya Singh from Setu and Hunnarshala in Kutch. In the interview, the respondents discuss the specificity of Bhuj and Kutch's recent urban history, why it attracts migrants from all over India, and the challenges that the migrants face in their access to the city. Sandeep, Karman, and Aditya also discuss the advocacy work of Setu in bridging the gap between the migrants and local governance institutions in Bhuj.

NB & JD: Bhuj as a city exhibits a very vibrant space for civil society organisations and citizen initiatives. This is quite unique. Could you discuss about how this came about, and what is the current state of municipalism in Bhuj?

Setu/Hunnarshala: Natural disasters have contributed significantly to the spirit of 'coming together' of civil society organisations. During the late 1990s and early 2000s, Kutch saw a series of disasters; cyclones, droughts, a devastating

earthquake, and even a flood. After the cyclone in 1998, diverse organisations came together for post disaster relief; a traders collective mobilised food and trucks for transport, social organisations organised the affected communities to assess damage and set up representative communities to receive aid, and even support one another. On the other hand, policy organisations coordinated with the government to design sensitive programs, and still others mobilised citizens to provide relief. Philanthropists, largely people from Kutch settled in Mumbai and abroad found a legitimate, credible, and effective platform to provide aid and assistance to their native land.

During the post-disaster relief work, the people heading the various organisations realised how much they were able to achieve through bringing their diverse knowledge and skills together. It was the first time that NGOs collaborated across ideological lines; there were Gandhian, Leftist, empowerment based, right leaning and trade and industry-based charities that worked intensely

side by side, mutually influencing one another and creating lasting linkages. It was then decided to form an umbrella network of the various NGOs working in Kutch called the Kutch Navnirman Abhiyan. This network would pool their human resources together, often an upwards of 250-300 individuals immediately after a disaster to take stock and organise relief. The Kutch Navnirman Abhiyan went on to continue the collective work, building models of development in the spheres of health, women's empowerment, drought proofing villages, strengthening local governance, and environmental rejuvenation. At all times, the focus of their collective efforts was on humanitarian work, and their commitment to the region over sectoral intervention and ideological relationships. This empowered the collective even as it strengthened development in the region and the communities.

From the collective, later five of the organisations took a further initiative to work towards the development of the city of Bhuj. The motivation of this effort was to bring experiences from working on direct governance and deep democracy from villages, to the cities of Kutch. This entailed efforts towards strengthening democracy, decentralisation, social justice,

and environmental recovery.

NB & JD: India represents a vibrant case of circular or seasonal migration to cities. In Bhuj this is very evident. Could you talk about where circular migrants in Bhuj come from, if this is voluntary and what is the history of circular migration to Bhuj?

Setu/Hunnarshala: After a powerful earthquake in 2001, Kutch saw a significant inflow of new industries, setup to extract the rich natural resources all over the district in the name of development. Furthermore, a canal from the Narmada River brought a new source of water in this arid region, intensifying farming, and horticulture practices. The earthquake also necessitated a significant reconstruction of buildings, and alongside a major overhaul of the urban infrastructure was approved under the newly formulated city development plan. All these activities required human resource at an unprecedented scale drawing migrants from all over the country to Kutch.

The kinship networks established by the migrants post-earthquake, persisted even after the reconstruction was finished; facilitating movement for various kinds

of work. Due to the safety net offered by embedded ties of the kinship networks, the migrants state that they feel safer working here in Kutch, especially the city of Bhuj. Furthermore, the wages that they receive in Bhuj are far higher compared to other parts of India. Alongside, the post-earthquake infrastructure construction improved transport connections between Kutch and the rest of the country making it significantly more accessible, thus accelerating the migrant inflow. However, migration to Bhuj has not been free of conflicts, and the migrants often face evictions by the civic authorities in Bhuj.

The migrants in Bhuj come from various parts of the country. The migrants coming from the states of Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar are largely involved in building construction related work. Migrants from tribal villages of Gujarat usually work in the construction of roads and drainage lines. Many migrant workers from the states of Nepal, Maharashtra, Uttarakhand, Uttar Pradesh, and Rajasthan also come to Bhuj to work as private security guards and restaurant staff. The region also draws a large industrial workforce from the states of Odisha, Jharkhand, Bihar and Ut-

tar Pradesh.

Most of the migrant families arriving into Bhuj from across the country in the last 20 years have built makeshift shelters. They often stay in the city for 6-8 months and then return to their places of origin (usually villages and small towns) to pursue seasonal livelihood opportunities such as farming. Many of these families have worked in Bhuj for several years, and even have documents to prove their residency here. However, they are often denied an equal citizenship to people from Bhuj and often lack access to social security and health services accessible to fully domiciled residents. They thus still remain closely attached to their places of origin as they can claim social benefits there.

Khasra Ground is one of the sites in Bhuj where migrant families currently reside. Interestingly, this site was setup by the urban local body themselves after evicting these families from another site in the city called Bhujio. The migrants were evicted for aesthetic reasons; as the settlement lay close to an earthquake memorial which was set to be inaugurated with much media attention. Currently about 60 families from Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan live in the Khasra Ground settlement. Many of these families

have significantly contributed towards the development of the city through their labour in the last 10-15 years, without seeing much improvement in their own living conditions. After the eviction, they had to renegotiate their travel routes across the city and the added costs put an extra burden on their already stretched resources. However, now through the efforts of local organisations, some basic services are available at the Khasra Ground site.

NB & JD: During our visit to Bhuj, we heard several heart-breaking accounts of evictions in seasonal migrant settlements. Could you explain why these evictions happen and the challenges of advocacy in ensuring the rights to the city for such vulnerable groups.

Setu/Hunnarshala: The migrant families mostly occupy empty public land, but in some instances also private land through informal arrangements, and many even squat on the sidewalks. They build their shelter using plastic sheets, discarded cardboard boxes, waste-wood, and bamboo. Most of these clusters are near the central parts of the city, or near major transport nodes as it helps cut on daily transportation costs for these families. To put things into

perspective here a Rupees 20(USD 0.3) shared auto ride translates into 8-10% of the daily wage of the migrants. However, given the centrality of the locations that the migrants settle into, they often come into conflict with authorities or other powerful urban players who prefer more sanitised urban spaces. These conflicts gives rise to frequent evictions, affecting not only the daily wages of the migrant workers, but also making them vulnerable to the weather and theft due to loss of shelter and a loss privacy.

Given that the migrants do not have voting rights in Bhuj, they often cannot garner political support against evictions, unlike the more permanent slum settlements. This in turn makes them soft targets for the authorities and the powerful sections of the city.

NB & JD: Could you explain ways through which the migrants make dwelling in Bhuj, the infrastructures they access, and how they access and express citizenship even if only transiently.

Setu/Hunnarshala: The migrant families that come to Bhuj often do not have enough resources to pay rent, and so they are forced to occupy empty and unclaimed land

parcels in the city. They construct makeshift shelters using plastic sheets, waste wood and cardboard that they may be able to collect lying discarded, from different places in the city. Many families even live in the open without even a minimal shelter. These families live in a very challenging environment and are often burdened by a constant fear of losing their shelter or spot without any warning. These makeshift shelters cannot be locked, which means they often have loose access to important legal documents and identification, adding further to their burden.

To access water, the families often have to trek up to half a kilometre from their settlements, mostly to a public tap. They have to often wake up very early to fetch water before they can leave for work, and they have to repeat this in the evening after 6 pm when their daily work ends. In the evenings, they often have to wait in long queues stretching in an hour wait to access water for drinking, cooking, and washing. Most of them also do not have adequate means to store water, which means that they are often forced to go without a bath or clean clothes for days or even weeks.

Recently, due to consistent efforts by Setu, the local urban body installed one water-tap at each of

the two migrant settlement sites of Khasra Ground and Leva Patel, which gave these families some respite.

These families also often lack access to sanitation services forcing most of them to defecate in the open. The migrants thus get up while it is still dark in the early mornings, and after it is dark in the late evenings for privacy. This is often easier for men, but for women and children this routine is often very taxing. They may also use toilets or open areas near the sites they work at. However, these few toilet structures that are accessible to them are often ill maintained, and many times without water making them susceptible to diseases. Lack of toilets also severely hampers women's security often leading to sexual harassment and exploitation.

Setu attempted provision of mobile toilets in these settlements with the help of the local government, however these turned out to be unusable, and now there is an attempt to provide permanent toilets in these settlements.

Lighting and electricity are the other basic services that the migrants often lack access to. They use oil lamps at night for lighting, and collect waste paper, and fuel wood for cooking. The com-

mon spaces in the settlement are mostly dark, and people carry flashlights to find their way. Basic necessities such as charging of mobile phones require arrangements with shopkeepers outside the settlement, to whom they have to pay some minimal amount. Setu has been working with the local government to get electricity available to these families. However, as a temporary solution, they have been distributing solar panels to them.

The migrant families often also lack access to healthcare and education. Most of the workers that come here are not educated themselves and hence find it difficult to get their children into education. Even if their children are in school back in their native places, their long absence makes it difficult for them to continue studies in a sustained manner. The local schools in Bhuj use Gujarati as the medium of teaching, which the migrants do not speak and it thus becomes a barrier for the children. This either results in the children staying back unsupervised while their parents go out and work, or they are carried by their parents to the worksites, which is often highly unsuitable for the physical and mental health of the children. At Khasra Ground, Setu along with the municipality has now

opened an anganwadi (day-care facility) for the children, and are now working towards setting up a system for school admissions for the children. The anganwadi also doubles up as a health centre for these families, who are mostly dependent on private pharmacies for healthcare. For major health issues, they have to travel back to their native places to access health services. They generally lack the awareness on government run healthcare schemes that are available to them. Currently, Setu has arranged for mobile health centres, through which a mobile health clinic visits these settlements once a week.

Due to a lack of access to these services, and also of legal documentation, their citizenship in the city is practically non-existent. They are often seen by the more permanent residents of the city as permanent migrants who are almost the second-class citizens in the city and lack equal rights even though it is through the labour of these migrants that the city reproduces. Perhaps the only physical and temporal space where they express their existence with certain degree of right, are the early morning labour chowks (labour squares) where the migrants arrive at early in the mornings in the hope of being hired by potential

employers or contractors for the day. Currently, Jubilee circle, the most prominent road junction of the city, functions as the labour chowk for the city, where one can see large crowds of migrant workers gathered early morning between 7:30 AM and 9:30 AM.

NB & JD: An important phenomenon we noticed during our visit to Bhuj was that of transhumance. The territory of Kutch is criss-crossed by native trails, and there is such an abundance of transitory people on the move. Do you see any intersections between these itinerants and the seasonal migrants?

Setu/Hunnarshala: Kutch and Bhuj have historically been isolated from the mainstream of the rest of the country's tryst with liberalisation and open markets. It was only after the earthquake in 2001 that it has seen a spike in developmental projects. Tax-free incentives, huge mineral reserves, coastal access, combined with cheap and abundant land encouraged industry and rapid economic growing in Kutch. This brought with it a massive demand for 'cheap labour', thus drawing migrant labour from tribal regions of south Gujarat and as far away as the east of India including Bihar, UP, Nepal, Odisha amongst others.

Kutch has also been inhabited by several pastoral communities traditionally on move from Kutch to Sindh, and also various parts of the Indian subcontinent. Historically, Kutch was a part of trade routes that allowed for the mixing of different cultures. Even though this kind of migration is increasingly on a decline due to newer administrative divisions and due to the new market systems emerging in its place; given the density of such travellers historically present in Kutch, there may be a certain degree of acceptance for the people from 'outside' amongst the people here. This is reflected when the migrant families state their comfort with safety and acceptance experienced here in comparison to the other parts of the country. However, that may be the lone intersection of the traditional migrants and the post-earthquake migrants who arrived here to fill the space opened up by newly injected market economy.



kinley

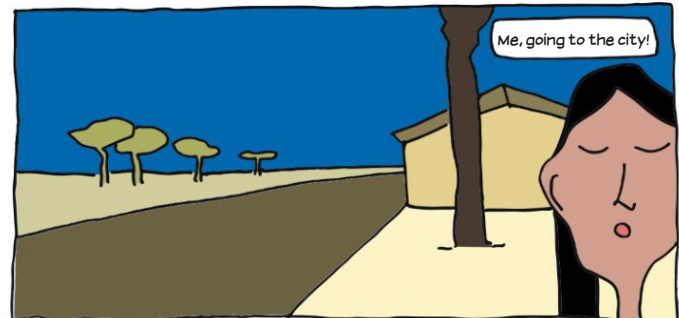
BASIC SERVICE
LONG TERM / SHORT TERM
MAY 2012-2014

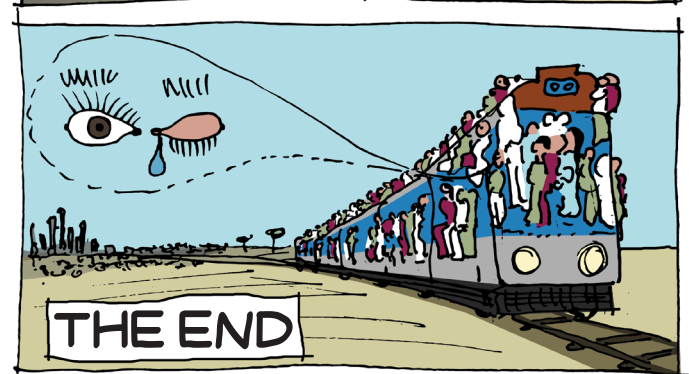
Section I

Migrant Storylines

Lashka is Leaving for the City

Charline Lefrancois & Angelika Scheidegger





The (Seasonal) Leaving of the City

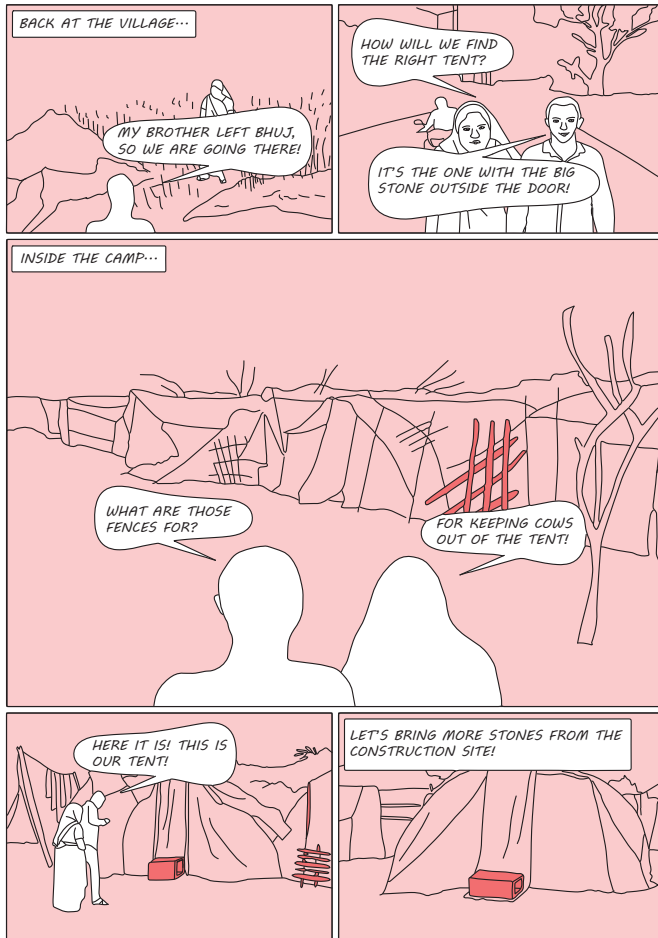
Efjeni Kokedhima & Maria Bazzicalupo





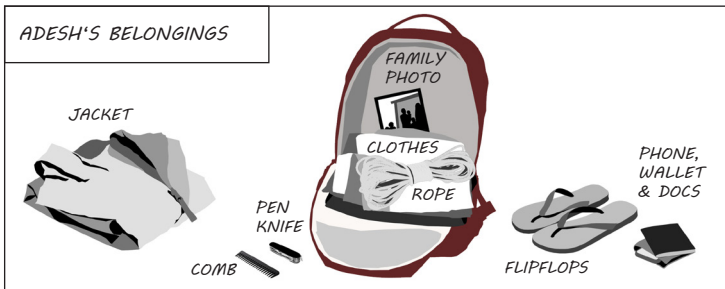
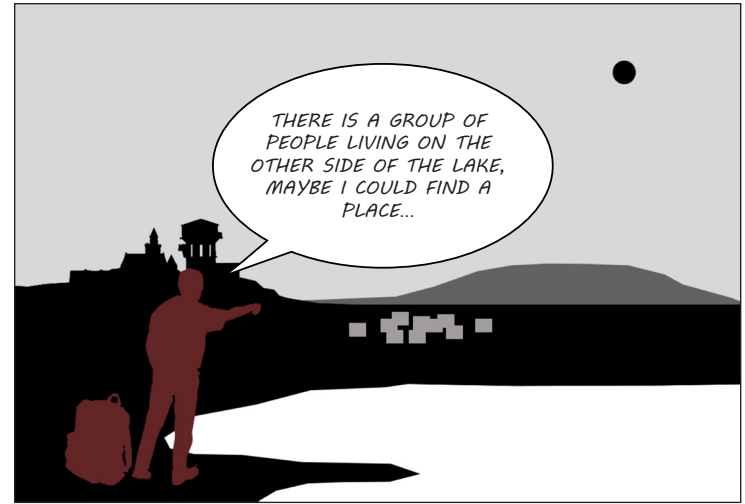
The Arrival - Making the Place a Home

Iakovos Birdas & Eleftherios Papamichelakis

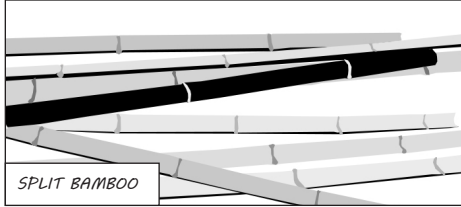


The Single Man

Joanna Lawson & Laura Sachis Estruch

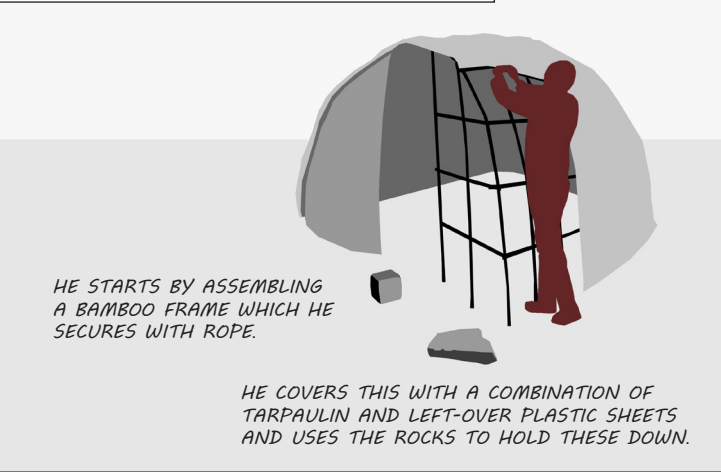


TARPAULIN FROM THE MARKET



SPLIT BAMBOO

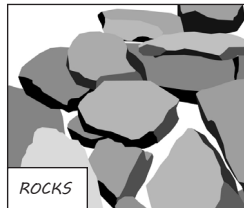
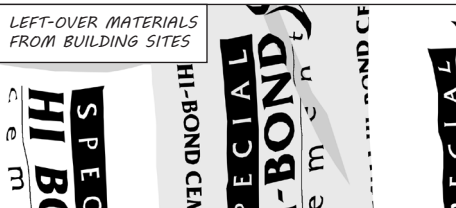
AFTER SEVERAL TRIPS TO THE MARKET AND LOCAL CONSTRUCTION SITES, ADESH HAS THE NECESSARY MATERIALS TO BUILD HIS SHELTER.



HE STARTS BY ASSEMBLING A BAMBOO FRAME WHICH HE SECURES WITH ROPE.

HE COVERS THIS WITH A COMBINATION OF TARPAULIN AND LEFT-OVER PLASTIC SHEETS AND USES THE ROCKS TO HOLD THESE DOWN.

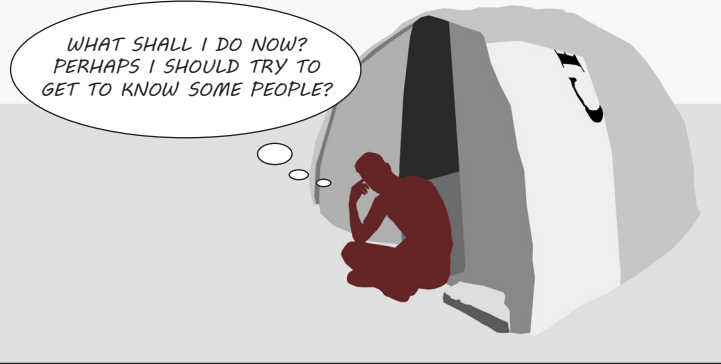
LEFT-OVER MATERIALS FROM BUILDING SITES



ROCKS

ADESH SITS ALONE OUTSIDE HIS FINISHED SHELTER AND PONDERES HIS NEXT STEPS.

WHAT SHALL I DO NOW? PERHAPS I SHOULD TRY TO GET TO KNOW SOME PEOPLE?



WHO ARE ALL THESE PEOPLE? HOW CAN I FIND A LIVELIHOOD?

COME! SIT HERE WITH US!



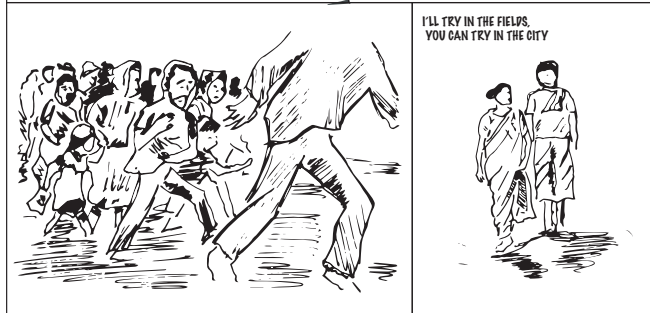


SOME MONTHS LATER...
THE MIGRANTS HAVE DECIDED TO ORGANIZE THEMSELVES TO PLANT VEGETABLES IN A COMMON GARDEN. MANY OF THEM HAVE AGRICULTURAL KNOWLEDGE WHICH ENABLES THEM TO OBTAIN A HIGH YIELD OF FOOD PRODUCTION.



A Day in Their Life

Luigi Gualiera & Elaheh Iranmanesh



Return(s)

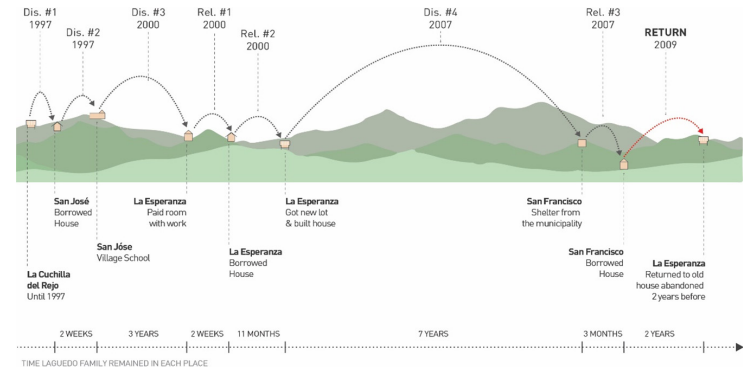
Alejandro Jaramillo & Daniela Sanjinés

The story of “return” for displaced families in Colombia, is not one of displacement and arrival but of multiple displacements and consequently, multiple arrivals. Just like seasonal migration in India, displacement in Colombia is another example of a non-linear process of migration and the impossibility of a clear return, which characterises literature in public policies and humanitarian aid. Understanding migration not as a temporary state of movement that eventually stops, but rather as a dynamic and constant process of adaptation and change, opens the possibility to not only support vulnerable communities access to livelihoods but also to reimagine ‘the architecture of arrival’.

So how do return processes happen in the context of an ongoing armed conflict? Multiple displacements and continued violence has widened the gap between Colombia’s national programs to assist one of the largest displaced populations in the world and the harsh

reality that many displaced families face when seeking housing and reparation. In 2019, through fieldwork conducted as part of the MAS ETH in Housing program¹, the authors interviewed over 60 displaced families collecting their accounts of loss, reconstruction, hardship and solidarity.

Many of the people that we interviewed had been displaced as much as three to four times. They recounted that these multiple relocations were partly due to the scarce support and lack of opportunities in the places of arrival. Depending on their resources, the work prospects, and the family’s situation, Internally Displaced Peoples (IDPs) remain displaced anywhere from a couple of weeks up to twenty years. This situation exposes the struggle that displaced people have in trying to re-establish themselves in territories different from the ones that they come from. Although each of the IDP families’ story is unique, they share similar difficulties and



challenges. The following story² was narrated to us by the members of Laguedo Family, one of the many families in the municipality of San Francisco, Antioquia, which constitutes as one of the most affected areas due to the country’s ongoing internal armed conflict.

La Cuchilla del Rejo, San Francisco-Antioquia (until year 1997)

Mrs. Laguedo: It is 22 years since we left the Cuchilla del Rejo, it was the year 1997. At that time, we had a very ordinary little house made of straw and bamboo mats. It had only one room, a living room, and a kitchen stove.

Mr. Laguedo: We were forced to abandon that house. However, our biggest loss was not the house; but rather the food and crops that we had to leave behind.

Mrs. Laguedo: In that house, we had water that we collected from the stream that passed through the farm. Yet, we did not have electricity. There is still no electricity in that place. Today that whole territory is empty, all alone, all alone! Everyone was displaced for the same reason, and afterwards the armed groups placed landmines everywhere. We lost the property title of that house during the displacement and we still have not been able to recover it.

¹ Jaramillo, Alejandro. “Architecture of Return in Post-conflict Colombia.” MAS diss., MAS ETH in Housing, ETH Zurich, 2019

² Interview has been translated, edited and adapted by the author.



Figure 2: A traditional House in San Francisco. Houses in the region have traditionally been self-constructed using locally available building materials such as rammed earth, bahareque (mud and guadua), and sawn wood. For many, these techniques have several advantages. Foremost, they offer the possibility of repair and upgradations for the residents using the resources at hand. Furthermore, they can easily adapt the spaces that are a part of the local vernacular, and these houses respond better to local weather conditions than structure constructed using concrete blocks and bricks.

Between 1985 and 2018, the presence of armed groups and their constant fight over the control of San Francisco's territory forced over 5,600 households and 19,000 civilians to abandon their houses and to migrate to other municipalities and cities within the country.³

Laguedo's son: When it seemed that the war was ending, about six years ago, we went back to plant beans. However, it was very far away from where we had re-

located and bringing the beans back required a lot of work. For the money we received through selling them, it was not worth it. Eventually my dad exchanged the plot for a piece of land here in La Esperanza.

In many cases, economic precarity of displaced families means that they cannot move back to their places of origin, as they cannot afford the cost and time of rebuilding shelters and preparing the land again for farming.

Mrs. Laguedo: The land we had in La Cuchilla del Rejo is about 25 hectares large. It still belongs to us, but it also belongs to the man we sold it to. He never wanted to sign any documents, and years later, he died. Before he passed away, he sold the plot to someone else, but if you ask me, that land is still ours!

Laguedo's son: After displacement 22 years ago, we made plans to go back to our plot to get wood. However, when we arrived we found that the guerrilla fighters had cut down all the trees to build their camp. We lost the will to return!

Mrs. Laguedo: We had to leave that place, because supposedly, the army had arrived, but we know that those who arrived were in fact not from the army. They told us to leave because they were going to bomb the place! In total, seventeen families fled. They burned everything we had, and took over our house. They forced us to leave the place for fifteen days, and to go somewhere far away. While we were away, they burned everything they burnt even our clothes. We lost everything! We went to a man named Darío, in San José.

We stayed there for a fortnight, in a very small house, and since we could not go to our farm, Darío shared his food with us.

Approximately two thirds of the families interviewed stated that they had to abandon their homes because armed groups ordered them to do so, or because their lives had been threatened. The remaining, stated that they left their houses because of fear of fighting, bombing, landmines, deaths, and the presence of armed troops.

The school in San José, San Francisco-Antioquia (1997-2000)

Mrs. Laguedo: Later, again we were forcibly displaced from Darío's house. These people (armed groups) came, and they damaged all our things again. This, we left and took shelter at a school in the community of San José.

Mr. Laguedo: While living in the school, they burned everything again, even the children's clothes, everything! In October this year, it will be a full 19 years since we were displaced from that school in San José.

³ Colombia-Red Nacional de Información, RNI. 2019. "Desplazamiento Hogares-Territorial Antioquia-San Francisco." <https://cifras.unidadvictimas.gov.co/Home/Hogares?vwg=1>.



Figure 3: An abandoned School in San Francisco

Mrs. Laguedo: It was the Autodefensas (paramilitary group), I say it was the Autodefensas! I had a photo album with pictures of all my children. A brother of mine who lives in Medellin had two nephews who were members of the Autodefensas. Years later, our photo album re-appeared in their house.

Mrs. Laguedo: When we were displaced from the school, nobody helped us. We only ate yuca cooked with salt and water for many weeks. At that time, I was pregnant. Two weeks later, we returned to San José with another 14 people - we did not want to go alone because we were too scared, and we thought that there would be landmines everywhere. When we returned, we could feel a persistent sadness! I had 72 poultry ani-

mals, and they did not leave even one. They ate them all and burned down our home! They left the corn and beans on the ground to rot and they burnt our clothes. That day, they threatened to kill me, I was very scared and I cried. They burned everything, everything!

The intimidation of the violent actors was not only physical and emotional, but also spatial. The participants stated that the troops used the main roads and public spaces to terrorise them by perpetuating massacres, public deaths, and by exposing the corpses of those who helped their opponents. Likewise, the main paths, roads, and important parcels were covered with landmines to restrict their access and control the terrain.



Figure 4: Community of La Esperanza, San Francisco-Antioquia

La Esperanza, San Francisco-Antioquia (2000-2007)

Mrs. Laguedo: My husband went to San Francisco, where he met the owner of the house below us, who invited us to come to his house and allowed us to stay there. We were happy because La Esperanza is much closer to the main town. There, we worked for a man for five months, and once my child was born, he threw us out.

As San Franciscans work mainly as farmers, they tried to relocate to territories where we could live in a house in exchange for work. These were place where they had access to farming land, or where people could cultivate illegally.

Mrs. Laguedo: We found another house in La Esperanza, the house of Humberto; he lent it to us. We lived there for eleven months until we were finally able to build a wooden ranch.

Mrs. Laguedo: In the community, there was a group of women that were supported by the church. They met every week to help the neighbours in improving their houses. They replaced wooden walls with bahareque (wattle and daub) and fixed leaky roofs. I began to work with them, hoping that at some point they would fix our house too.

Community based organizations, relatives, and friends have offered most of the assistance, aid, and support

for the returnees. A common opinion among the interviewees was that they managed to return or resettle because at some point someone lent them a house, or because relatives and friends shared their homes with them. Moreover, neighbours also often provided food and shelter for the returnees, allowing them to focus on repairing or rebuilding their houses, growing food, and starting new productive projects.

Laguedo's son: My mother was working with those women and my father bought this piece of land, but without a house. Then, my dad built a very small house with bahareque.

Mrs. Laguedo: At that time, the church was giving away houses for the displaced and thankfully, one of the Fathers offered us materials to build our own house.

Mrs. Laguedo: From La Esperanza, we had to flee again in 2007. This time the displacement for us was really horrible, because we had just finished building our house, and we had to abandon it again. The guerrillas wanted to kill one of my sons; they thought he was in

the paramilitary. My son left first, but we knew it was common for armed groups to kill other family members if they did not find the person they were looking for, so we left as well. Almost everyone left and only two families remained.

The armed conflict severed the rich social fabric that existed in San Francisco not only due to the displacement of families but also because fear and suspicion eroded the trust that was built. The people who remained back became targeted by armed groups as they were suspected of collaborating with the government or with other rival groups. Thus, people could no longer trust their neighbours, as it was impossible to know who was really involved with the armed actors.

Urban area San Francisco-Antioquia (2007-2009)

Mrs. Laguedo: We moved to the main town and stayed there for about two years. At first, the Red Cross supported us with food, mats, and clothes, but after three months, the mayor told us that we had to organize for a house ourselves. We had nowhere to get the money to pay rent, we had no-



Figure 5: An urban area in the Municipality of San Francisco

where to work. Fortunately, a man lent us his house where we were able to raise poultry animals; it was like being in the countryside but in the middle of a town. Eventually, the man needed his house back and we had no choice but to return to La Esperanza.

La Esperanza, San Francisco-Antioquia (2009-2019)

The process of return is more complex than just the act of going back to the territories or places of origin. Factors such as the causes and circumstances of displacement, the living conditions during their displacement, and the housing and work opportunities that they have access to, play a major role in processes of return.

Mrs. Laguedo: When we returned,

we thoroughly cleaned the plot, and first made a vegetable garden so we had something to eat. Later, we started working on the crops so that we could start earning money again.

The duration of displacement varies significantly between one family and another, some of them are able to re-establish within the first year, while others take up to 20 years to find a place to start over.

Laguedo's son: Here, people were cultivating illicit substances. For example to plant coca, farmers had to use a lot of fertilizer, that made other plants also grow faster and in greater quantities, such bananas, avocados, beans, etc. Eventually the government started paying the same people to manually eradicate the coca plan-



Figure 5: Family Lagedo current house

tations and later, the army started to fumigate the fields with chemicals. The fumigation really damaged the land, it lost its fertility, it was dead, and almost nothing could grow on it. Today, ten years later, the earth is beginning to recover and the crops are growing better, but when we returned, it was very difficult to do agriculture here.

Interestingly, most returnees and IDPs affirmed that not only did the land lose its fertility, but also that they have increasingly less space for growing crops. Prolonged lack of tilling and an excess use of chemicals to grow coca during the conflict, has required ex-

cessive resources and effort to produce the same quantities of food as they did before.

Mrs. Lagedo: We feel still displaced, we returned to La Esperanza, but never to our house in La Cuchilla del Rejo. We have not recovered many things. There is not enough room for all of us here. We also do not have enough land to be self-sufficient.

Lagedo's daughter: People always tell to us farmers that real progress is in the cities. However, if you understand the countryside intimately, your ideas of progress change completely, you can grow your own food and live off the land without spending much. Pol-

iticians do not understand this; they only seek the progress and development of cities. What we are doing in these territories is re-organizing ourselves, and making sure that we do not lose the tradition of working off the land, and of being farmers.

Notwithstanding the difficulties today, San Francisco serves as a good example of reconciliation and regeneration. Over 24% of its population has returned, other displaced victims were able to resettle, and even victimizers were given a chance to reintegrate into the society. As many feel they will never be able to recover the life they had before displacement, returning seems like an impossible feat. However, their journeys are filled with stories of ingenuity, of solidarity, and of resilience highlighting the value of a more careful understanding of the role of architecture and place in the process of return(s).

Section II

Design Prototypes



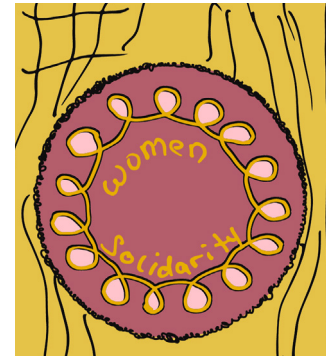
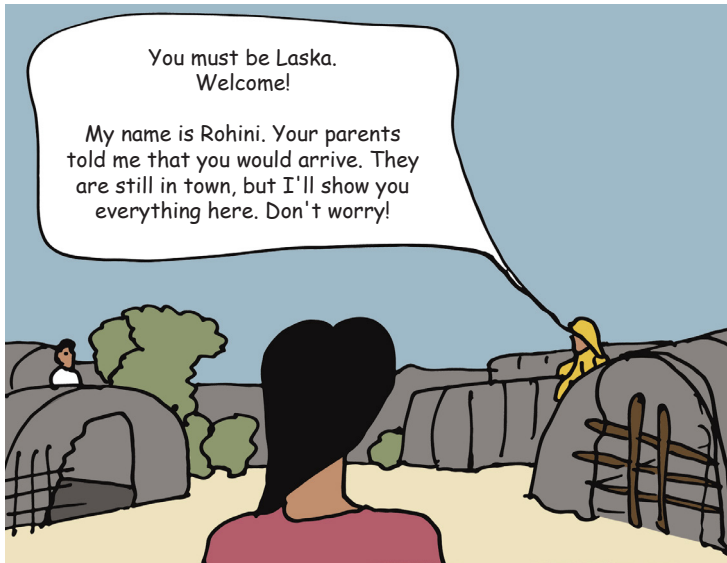
Symbol, embroidered

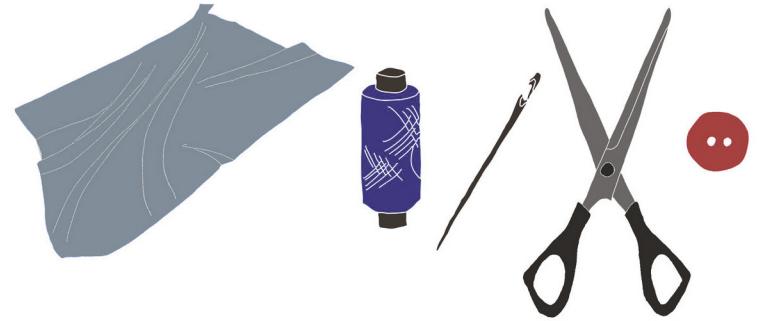
A Symbol for Women Solidarity

Angelika Scheidegger

The symbol serves as a sign of solidarity and mutual support between women. It is intended to encourage collectivity among women in self-built communities and camps in India, to organise themselves and thus form a strong community. Mutual mental support, an exchange of knowledge and experience can increase the quality of life, security and chances of finding fair work.

The sign is embroidered by the women themselves on a piece of fabric which can be pinned or sewn to their clothes. The symbol, worn by the women, is intended to increase the awareness on the existence of the women's circle, so that new members can be found. After reaching a certain level of publicity, it can also serve as a solidarity network against domestic abuse and violence against women. The sign should help to give the women in these settlements an agency.





Things needed for the Petticoat Seasonal Belt

The Petticoat Seasonal Belt

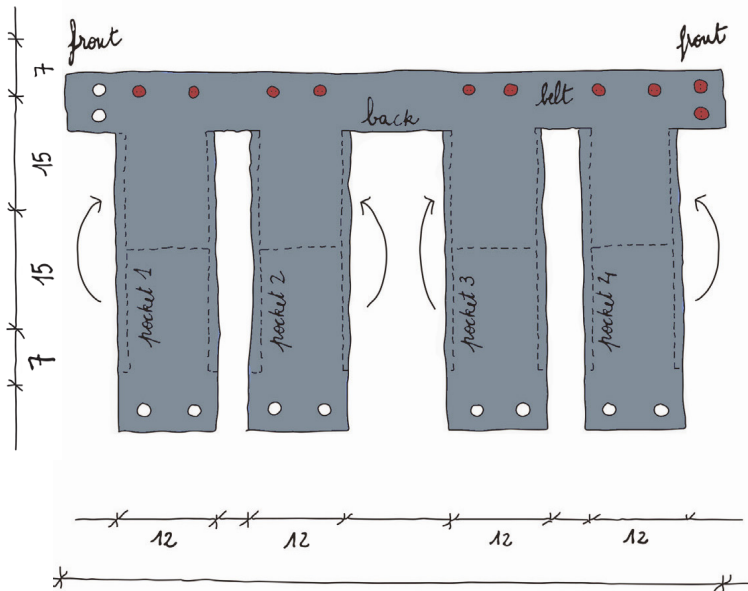
Charline Lefrançois

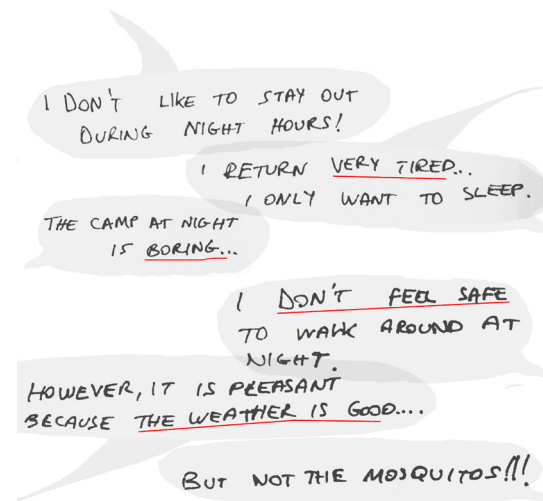
Lashka is arriving to the City. This is the first time she leaves the village where she comes from. She does not know yet where she is going to sleep. Will she find a place to keep her belongings safe? The petticoat seasonal belt is a clothing accessory proposal that becomes a place to keep personal effects on you until a safe place can be found.

It can be very easily self-made with few tools : fabric, sewing thread, a needle, scissors and buttons. The sewing pattern can be adapted to each woman figure. The belt must be wide enough to be comfortable and fit the silhouette well. Also pockets can be added or removed if needed. The seasonal belt is worn on the petticoat and is covered by the sari or the tunique.

Once Lashka leaves the city and goes back to her village to live, she will not need the belt anymore. She passes it on to a younger woman leaving the village and going to the city to work. At the same time knowledge and advices might be transferred between the two women.

SEWING PATTERN



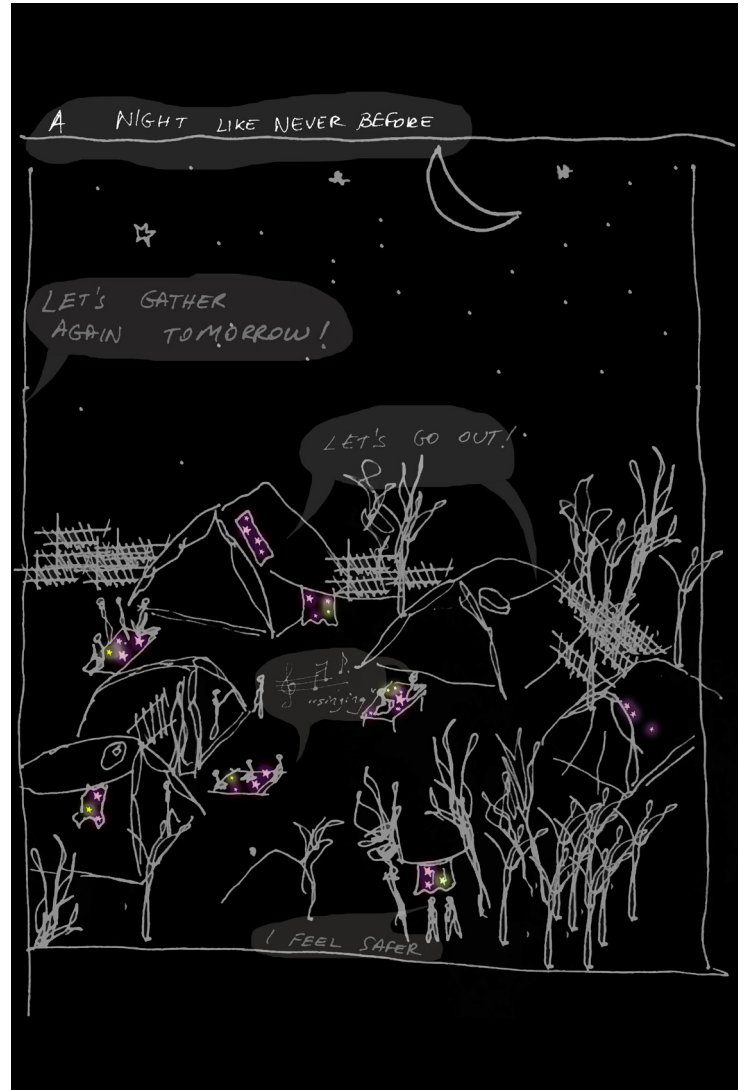
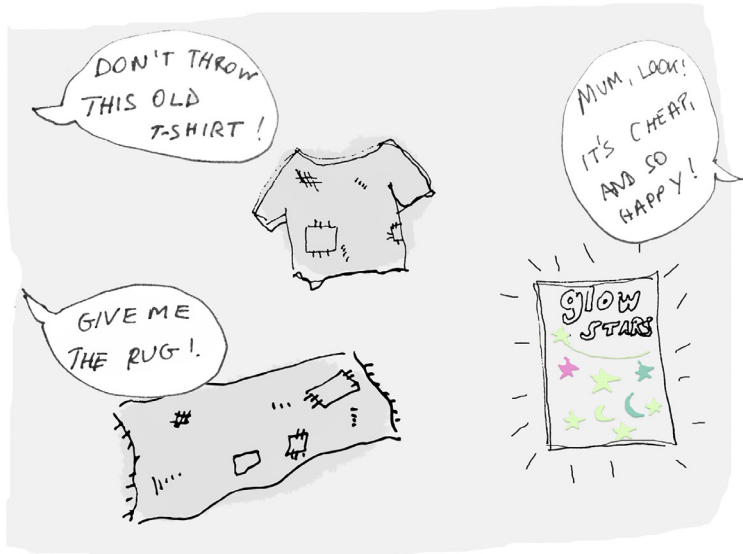


Glow-At-Night Stickers

Efijeni Kokedhima

Life as a seasonal migrant comes with many costs and compromises; one of them is to live in a camp away from your home, together with other migrants. However, the camp itself is mostly of use for the night sleep, as most of the day is dedicated to hard work, in order to save as much as possible for the «seasonal return» home.

Thus, I wanted to explore the possibility of contributing to the atmosphere at the camp itself in the most vulnerable hours: the night. My idea is to introduce a playful atmosphere through glow-at-night stickers upon everyday ordinary objects, that can serve as little landmarks for the community, or simply, as reasons to foster togetherness in the camp. «Glow-at-night» comes as an invitation to play with everyday materials that are easily found at the camp, such as old clothes, tires, plastic cover sheets, etc. Through sticking the fluorescent starry elements that come with a cheap price in the city, those materials can turn into points of orientation, reason of togetherness, foster a happier atmosphere and contribute to the feeling of safety inside the



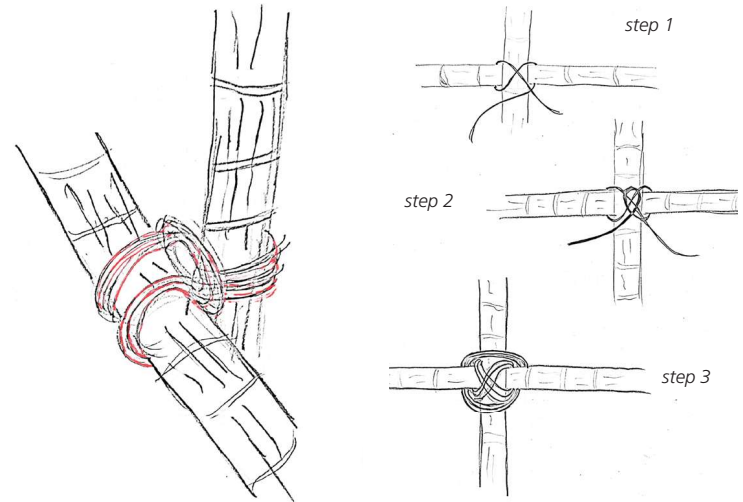


Image 3 _ Tying the structure

Diversity through a Module

Eleftherios Papamichelakis

The door is a surface that conceptually symbolizes the separation and union of the interior and exterior. The proposal is inspired by this surface that connects the inside with the outside and seeks to create closed and open spaces based on surfaces. For this reason, a module is used to form the structure of all surfaces and has dimensions about the size of a standard door.

The module, which can be easily constructed, used and multiplied gives a standardization character in the proposal. The material used to build the structure is bamboo, which is tied with rope. Bamboo leaves are also used to create secondary surfaces for shading or coverage, such as mats. This technique also gives an ephemeral character to the inhabitation, as it can be easily decomposed and constructed, while having a small footprint in the environment.

On an urban scale, the multiplication of the module can form different geometries, such a square or a rectangle with an interior atrium, or develop linearly, creating a system of different functions and needs.

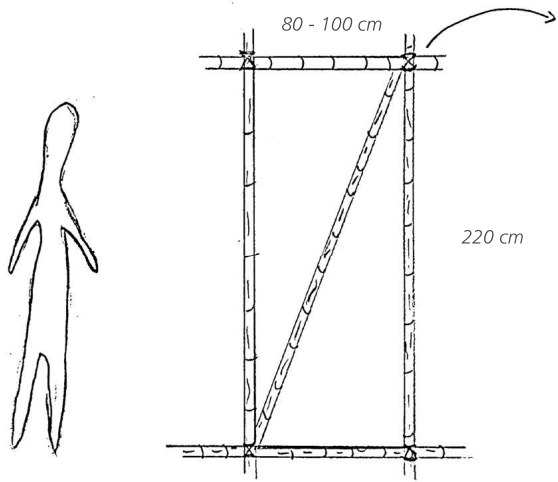


Image 1_Module

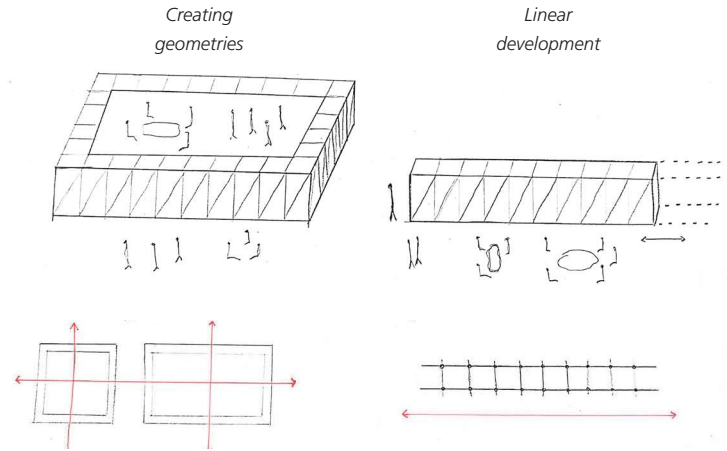


Image 4_Urban forms of the structure

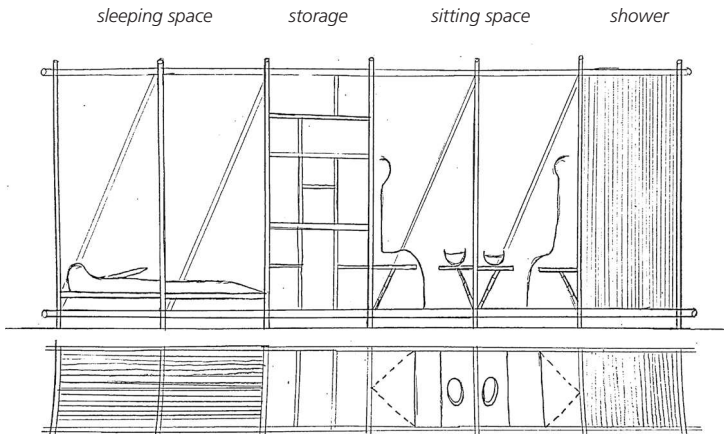


Image 2_Plan and Section of the structure

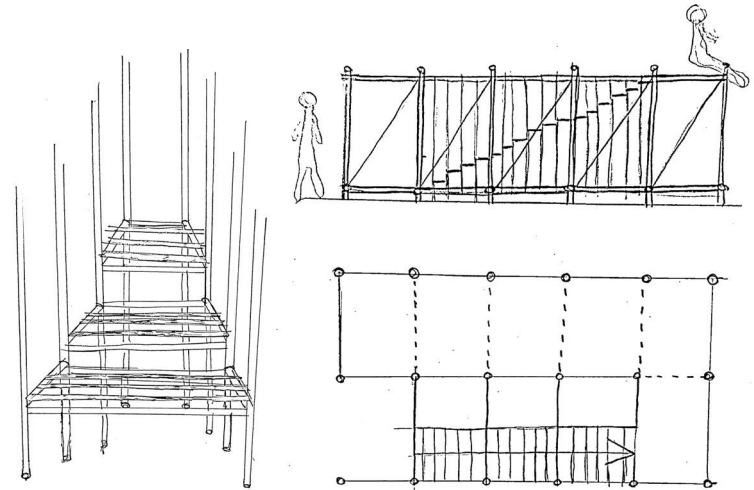
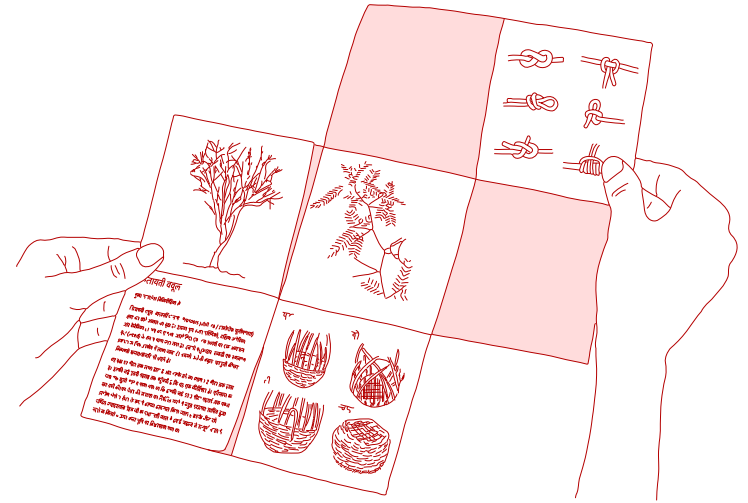


Image 5_Version with stair and rooftop



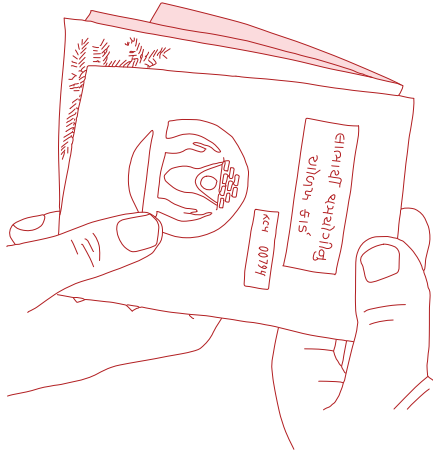
Foldable manual

Prosopis Juliflora Manual

Iakovos Birdas

Reflecting upon the storyline *The Arrival* - Making the place a home in the previous chapter, this manual aims to inform the seasonal migrants about the merits and demerits of a local tree species named *Prosopis Juliflora*, commonly known as *Vilayti Kikar*.

The main characters of the storyline end up making fences out of branches of this tree in order to prevent stray animals from entering their space. The existing knowledge of using available resources, like dry branches, to create everyday useful items is coupled here with a real challenge in Kutch's grassland: the *Prosopis Juliflora*. This is an invasive tree species that was introduced more than five decades ago and has a great impact on both environment and social life today - a wide variety of unique type of grasses, as well as livestock are now under threat. This printed foldable manual could provide useful information about



The Prosopis Juliflora manual can be slipped into the Labour Card.

the danger posed by this tree species, as well as how to use it in a practical way (i.e. light structures) or even in a creative way (i.e. baskets or any other item made out of its bendable branches). At the moment, the only proof of identity available to the seasonal migrants in Bhuj, is the Labour Card. This card does not provide residence, but it gives access to health care. The *Prosopis Juliflora* manual could be provided to them at the same time with the the Labour Card or even become a part of it. This manual could assist not only in the everyday life of the seasonal migrants, but also hopefully in reducing the impact of this invasive species in the whole region.



Prosopis Juliflora's Branches in use at migrant camp in Bhuj. Photo by Mariia Kushchenkova

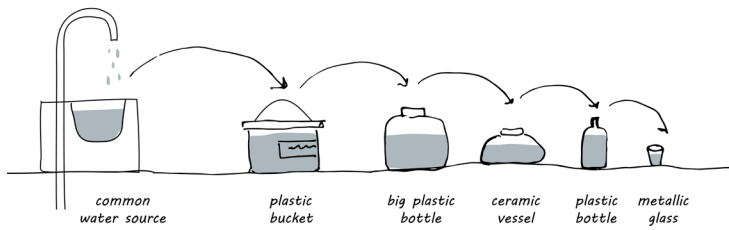


Outsourcing daily activities. Photo by Laura Sanchis Estruch

An extensive home

Laura Sanchis Estruch

Living in small hut, covered by re-used plastic sheets can sometimes become a problem when several people are sleeping inside or after having cooked dinner after a warm long day. Nevertheless, migrants have developed resilient strategies for coping with these challenges. They have been transformed into an opportunity to think the shelter as an extensive home, where some daily activities are outsourced, generating an ephemeral private-public threshold around their house, where common life and social interactions can take place. Activities like cooking, having a shower, washing dishes, drinking water, drying clothes can be carried outside due to the lack of space or climatic comfort. This way of understanding their home can lead to the further aggregation of other units around this non-limited common space, creating cluster structures where families, friends or neighbours can support each other or share common infrastructures.



Water can be a scarce resource during the dry season. With just one common water source, people transport it in different water recipients for different uses and purposes from the common point until their shelters where they use it for cooking, cleaning, having a shower, watering plants or washing their clothes.



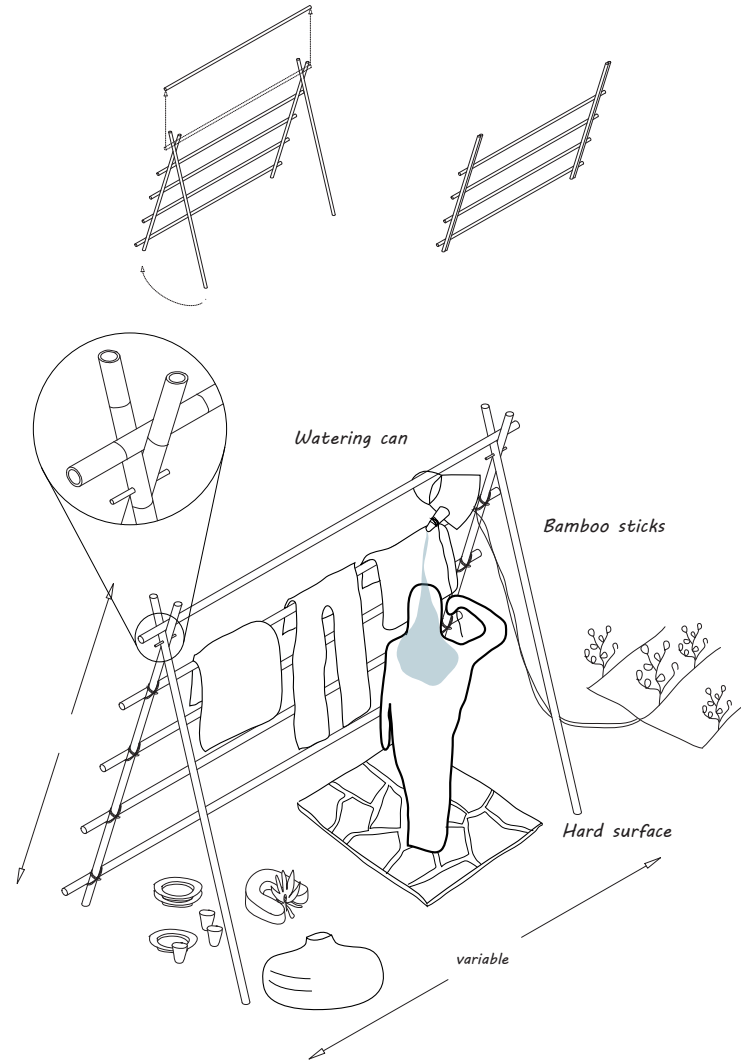
Structures to dry clothes. Photo by Maria Bazzicalupo



Self-made drip irrigation. Photo by Mariia Kushchenkova



Off-grid sink. Photo by Daniela Sanjinés



A prototype for an extensive home



Memory box

Luigi Gualiera

Necessary:

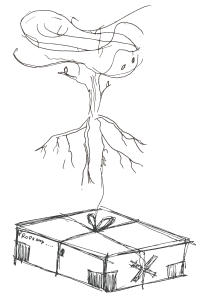
Small tree or seeds

Paper or wooden box

Plastic wrap

Ducht tape

Locate a specific place and save coordinates



Like in the story of the salesman by Bruce Chatwin who describes new kinds of migrants and nomads. A box become the house and a place where one can belong and identify himself. Not always this little objects, insignificant for many, but meaningfull for us can follow us.

«
...Apart from the clothes he stood up in, he owned no possessions other than a spare tropical suit, a spare tie, a pullover, three shirts, underwear, socks, an umbrella and a sponge-bag. Everything fitted into a suitcase he could carry as hand-baggage. [...] He had neither English friends, nor Family [...]

The salesman was past retiring age. «Don't you have a base?» I asked Him
«Don't you have anywhere you could call Home?»

He said that, in the office safe, he kept an old solicitor's black tin deed box, the kind with «the Estate of Sir Somebody So-and-So» in white lettering. Whenever he passed to London, he would lock himself in the bunk room and spread the contents over the mattress.

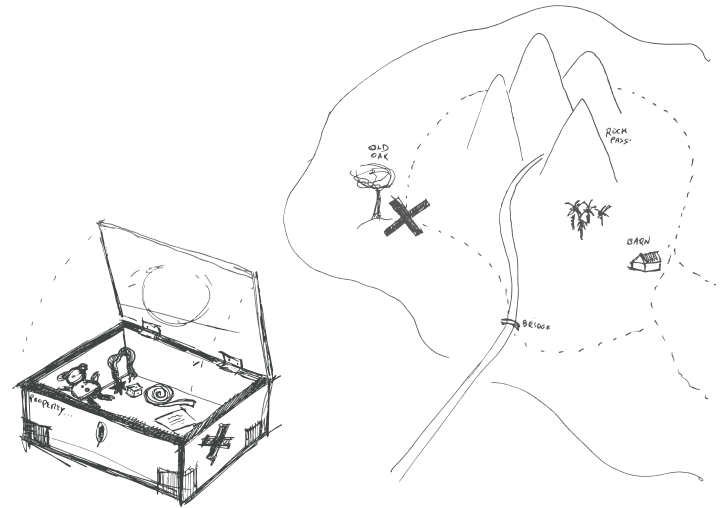
In the bottom of the box he kept the bric-a-brac salvaged from an earlier existence: his parents wedding photo; his father's medals; the letter from the king; a teddy bear; a Dresden kingfisher that had been his mother's favourite; her garnet brooch; his silver ashtray for twenty five years loyal service to the firm.

In the top half of the box, separated by a layer of tissue paper, he kept his African things – worthless things, each the record of a memorable encounter: a Zulu carving bought off a sad old man in the Drakensbergs; an iron snake from Dahomey; a print of the Prophet Horse, or a letter from a boy in Burundi thanking him for the present of a football. Each time he brought back one new thing, and chicked out one old thing that had lost its significance.

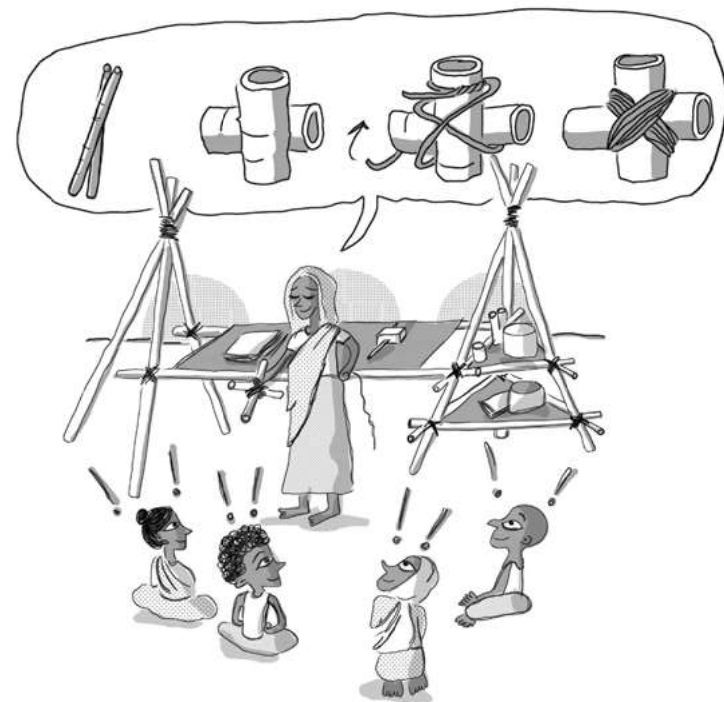
Alan Brady had only one fear: that soon they would make him retire.

»

Bruce Chatwin: Songlines 1987



Migration travels are long and often those who go through it, can't carry much. They leave a life full of memories behind. What happens with the few things they leave? This prototype is a melancholy bequest to the earth that is left behind and a promise of return. In a digital world where the physicality of the objects is more and more forgotten, Smartphones have become an essential tool also for migrants following the routes and news through social media, phone numbers to start a new life and of course images to remember. Therefore a box for what should be left but not forgotten. A tree to signal the location of the treasure is a romantic bequest to a hypothetical future maybe when the retirement from a dreamt job will arrive or when better condition in your country will arise.



Collective workshop and storage

Maria Bazzicalupo

The idea is to provide the migrants with a place to share their knowledges, goods and resources.

The design consist of a table for the migrants to work, and shelves for them to store materials and objects that can be at everyone disposal. The table is designed in bamboo as it is a material that they can easily find and they already have knowledge on how to build with it.

ekSHELTER: A designed solution for seasonal migrants

Rakhi Mehra and Marco Ferrari



Temporary shelters built directly by migrant construction workers. New Delhi
source: mHS CITY LAB, 2010

Context

In India, “jobs lure at least 45 million people to cities from the countryside every year, according to government estimates” (The New York Times, 2020). This migration is either seasonal - rural households desiring to diversify their sources of income migrate, either individually or with families, to urban centers, or the move is a leap of faith, in hope of a better life. In either case, a critical need

for migrants when they arrive in a city is shelter.

While some are able to gain a foothold and settle (mostly in informal settlements), for others, social and economic vulnerabilities or unexpected problems lead them into a poverty trap, and accommodation shelter becomes a challenge.

The teenage balloon-seller outside your car window at the traffic junction, the man behind the corner cigarette stall, the woman

who sweeps the streets, the worker at the Metro construction site, the rickshaw puller. These are a few of the daily faces among the thousands of homeless living on the streets of the capital city, Delhi. When does living on the street become the chosen option? Many homeless individuals say they prefer the flexibility of renting blankets in order to be able to save as much as they can from their daily earnings. In other cases, it is a forced choice as due to precarious earnings they are unable to commit to monthly rent in informal settlements. Furthermore, there are entire families - victims of forced slum evictions, who have been made homeless overnight and have nowhere to turn to but to the streets.

The numbers of roofless people in urban centers around the world are grossly underestimated. In Delhi, the government puts this number officially at only 45,000 people (Census of 2011). NGOs working on homelessness estimate that the numbers are more likely to be anywhere between 150,000 and 300,000 people. Though these figures and the survey methodology used have been questioned by several civil society organizations, who believe the figure may in fact be much higher, as

many homeless prefer to remain invisible, as publicly acknowledging their life on the street attracts the fear of being targeted by the police.



Early morning street bedding: A common sight in many urban centers of India

A Government Option: Rein Basera

The existing capacity of night shelters in the Capital, as of March 2019, according to the Delhi Urban Shelter Improvement Board (DUSIB), is 17,945. Even so, at best, only around 12,000 people are currently residing in these shelters – a low number “because of overcrowding, lack of basic amenities including space for belongings” (The Print, 2019). Fur-

thermore, these shelters are located far removed from the sources of livelihood, which is a major reason behind many migrants choosing to sleep in the open. Moreover, there is also a lack of nuanced understanding of different kinds of homelessness in the



One of the ekSHELTER tents in use, Lodhi Road, New Delhi

demographic data collected by the government, which treats the homeless population as a homogeneous group. This offers limited insight into shelter requirements for the different categories of homeless individuals especially of women, children and families in particular.

ekSHELTER – Design to Simplify Shelter

In 2015, mHS CITY LAB attempted to investigate a suitable design solution for the families living on roadside pavements, and thus was born a shelter project which was eventually named ekSHELTER. The project aimed to be a case in point of minimalist design intervention and a wider call for policy action and innovative solutions. ekSHELTER is a low-cost family tent for two adults and one to two children, which can be set up within a few minutes at night and packed equally quickly in the morning. It is made from affordable and readily available materials in Indian cities – bamboo for the frame, welded rebars as joints and wax coated canvas as skin – which can be easily repaired or replaced. The shelter uses locally available skills of a tailor and a welder, with a design that is easy to understand and can be easily replicated. The lean experimentation and testing, interaction with the beneficiaries, design and the eventual implementation of this pilot was led by three young designers at the mHS CITY LAB: Swati Janu, Julia Masalska and Lisa Barrow. Another critical collaborator in the project was the NGO, IGSSS,

which enabled us to facilitate fieldwork, identify the families, obtain feedback (to improve the design) and conduct an impact evaluation over a period of six months.

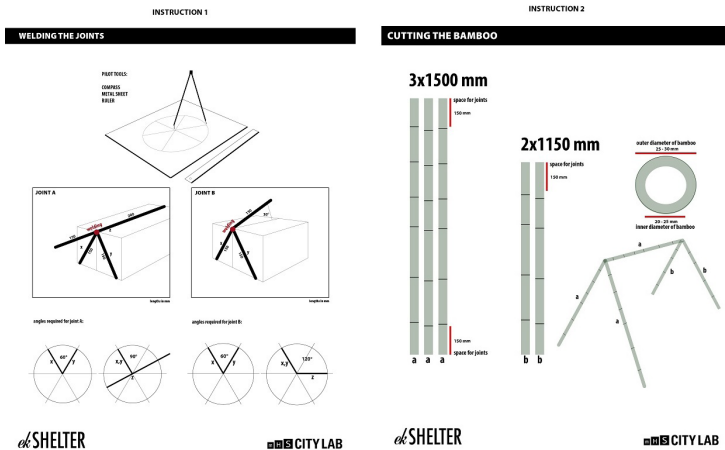
Design Ideation & Considerations

The main motivation behind the project was to assess how design could improve the living conditions of homeless families or of single women with kids, even if only marginally. Aside from creating a physical layer of protection and allowing privacy, the project aimed at addressing the aspect of psychological protection. The sense of security that accompanies shelter would be a crucial improvement in the lives of those exposed to harsh elements of nature and under a constant gaze of the passing traffic. During our interactions, we also learned about other hazards that affect the pavement dwellers. Many of the families we interviewed, mainly women, expressed concern for their safety and a fear of a very real danger of their children being kidnapped in the dead of the night by traffickers. Another important idea behind the ekSHELTER project was to persuade the government to ac-

tively experiment using interventions, to see if transient solutions could be a viable route to tackle widespread homelessness. Could a temporary shelter act as the first support for arrival migrant families? Could the marginal physical and mental sense of well-being offered by such a simple and basic intervention allow people to work better and eventually improve their livelihood opportunities as they gain a foothold in the city?

Design Challenges

The design process brought with it an array of technical considerations. Anchoring a tent or any other structure to paved surfaces is a difficult task. This was key, as the police constantly monitor for permanent or semi-permanent structures erected in public spaces. Thus, any proposed design would have to allow convenient assembly (by nightfall) and be easy to dismantle (by the early morning). It is this background rule against the erecting of permanent or semi-permanent structures on pavements that forces the homeless to sleep on the ground without any protection except for blankets during the winter months. Other significant difficulties



ekSHELTER Guide: Material components and instructions for manufacturing the tent

were those of portability, since migrants moved seasonally, and more importantly of affordability.

Material Considerations and Design

The shelter was designed with the aim of making its fabrication possible anywhere in India. It was therefore also imperative to keep the cost of the tent as low as possible. This led to a peculiar choice of materials - bamboo, steel, and canvas. These are components that are easily available anywhere across the country. mHS also worked on a solution that utilized

locally available skills - local welders to fabricate the steel joints, and tailors to stitch the canvas, both ensuring easy replicability and repairs whenever needed. The form was inspired by the shelters that the homeless in India often put together by themselves. The result was a self-supporting structure erected via two metal joints, which allows the bamboo poles to be secured. This design solution addressed the main challenge of erecting the shelter at night and dismantling it in the morning. Added improvements included a waterproof skin to withstand the

rain and to keep the inhabitants warm in the winters, openings for ventilation during the summer months, and a mosquito net to help protect from mosquitoes. The bi-coloured canvas and in-seam pockets for storage were a part of the minimal design.

Funding & Distribution

After the first prototypes were released, a 100 Shelters initiative was launched to build 100 ekSHELTERS for homeless families in Delhi through a crowd-funded campaign. The beneficiary families were selected by the NGO IGSSS. Each shelter cost around USD 20 (material + labour) to produce. Our immediate goal was to directly improve the lives of the 100 homeless families who would benefit from these shelters. The long-term vision was to encourage experimentation in this field with an aim to bring about meaningful change to their lives, and to give visibility to the issues surrounding homelessness.

Impact & Afterlife

After a successful campaign that enabled distribution of over 100 tents, the ekSHELTER project received considerable media atten-



The kids of a family with one packed ekSHELTER: the two metal joints, the bamboo poles and the canvas

tion (Hindustan Times; The Better India; NDTV, among others). The ekSHELTER project attained an interesting afterlife as several NGOs started expressing interest in suing them in post-disaster situation in Kolkata and Nepal. In 2016, the project was selected as a case at the "Oxford Social Innovation Case Competition" by Oxford University, UK. Furthermore, it has also been promoted by the Skoll Centre For Social Entrepreneurship of the SAID Business School. The feedback that we received while conducting surveys and periodic site visits, indicated a high level of satisfaction with the design of the shelter, especially from female-users. During the first winter months, the shelters were

used very widely. Six months after the distribution, only some shelters were still visible, but also many families had moved out of the original locations and were no longer at the selected sites.



The distribution of a tent to one beneficiary with the help of IGSSS staff

Conclusion

The ekSHELTER project may inspire, bring hope and optimism. Within a limited budget, the MHS CITY LAB developed a shelter solution for over 100 families in Delhi. We believe that through the initiative of the government this solution can be scaled up to offer safe shelter option for the homeless all over the country. However, there is an urgent need to better understand and address

the multipronged challenges faced by the homeless, and to develop a nuanced understanding of a group which is often understood as homogenous and offered a one size fits all solution. It needs to be highlighted that for many of the migrants homelessness is a forced intermittent solution that could be addressed through better social inclusion in the city and able to gainfully access the socio-economic opportunities that urban centers offer.

The government's simplified assumptions and ignorance of the phenomena unfortunately often translate into ineffective policies, wasteful expenditures and un-utilized shelter projects. The state system, which holds primary accountability for providing shelter as part of the basic safety net, should respond with a dynamic policy and coordination mechanism. A starting place could be to link policies of the Ministry of Employment and Labour (for instance leveraging resources from pools such as Construction Workers Welfare Funds) with city level housing/shelter departments and civil society agencies- to facilitate access to a range of shelter options that are local, decentralized and meet the diverse needs of the urban poor.



The Seasonal City.

Yona Friedman in Conversation with Antonio Scarponi.

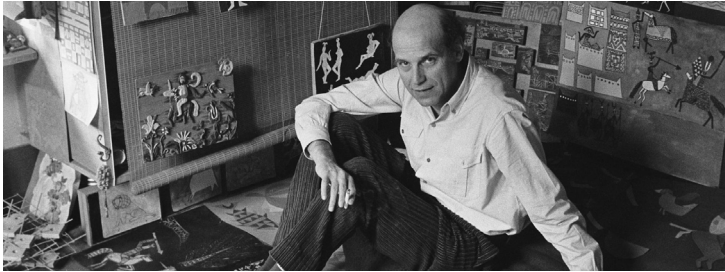


Figure 1: Yona Friedman in his atelier, about 1980.

An idea of architecture always implies a philosophy (of architecture).

Yona Friedman dedicated his long life and career to a notion of a nomadic, mobile architecture philosophy. However, the philosophy of Yona Friedman is not expressed in the normative proeses of cryptic and dogmatic theories, but rather expressed in the form of visual poetry. It engages, inspires and empowers individuals and collectives towards an aesthetic of resiliency, giving voice and agency to an idea of architecture that is not necessarily made by architects.

This text aims at introducing one of the last interviews with Yona Friedman before his death in February 2020. I had a chance to conduct the following interview with Friedman in April 2019 and an earlier version of it was published in June 2019¹. The general frame of our exchange was the ‘future of dwelling’. Within this context, we had the chance to discuss his latest reflections around the idea of ‘democracy for yourself’ and the ‘Global Biosphere Infrastructure’. These ideas are not new to the research and contribution of Yona Friedman, but can instead be read as one of the

many syntheses across his vast legacy in the disciplines of design and architecture.

In the context of this publication, this interview offers a possibility to reflect upon the ‘seasonal migration to the city’ through Friedman’s architecture philosophy. It is for this reason that I have attempted to reframe this exchange as the ‘seasonal city’. The original interview has not been edited in content, however I have extracted a short excerpt from the interview that shine light on the challenges of the seasonal migration to the city, retrospectively.

In Friedman’s words, I read the possibility in which political and humanitarian challenges can be elevated to concrete observations and concrete actions of the way in which we can live together. They provide a vision that can inspire us towards a philosophy of architecture beyond architecture, for the people, but never beyond them.

AS: The first book of yours that I read was the Utopies réalisables². It was in 2003, when it was published in Italian with Quodlibet

in its new edition. I devoured it! There is a point you make at the end of your book that still makes me jump from my chair. You argue this equation: Agriculture = sedentary; City = nomadic. It excited me because it reverses the collective imaginary where nomadism belongs to erratic untouched landscapes and introduces a counterintuitive vision in which nomadism is in reality a mass event, happening within a cluster of infrastructures which we call cities. You have explored this idea since the early days of your career, projecting already in the 1950s the possibilities that technologies, already available then, allowed. Do you think that contemporary societies are more inclined to ‘walk the talk’?

YF: I do not know, I am an architect, not a fortuneteller! (Laugh) Contemporary architecture is today a pure expression of the economic capital. In the past was also like that, of course, but the “economic capital” represented, in some respects, also a “symbolic capital”. A spiritual capital if you like. In an age where the economic capital is the symbolic capital,

¹ Antonio Scarponi, “Democracy for Yourself. Yona Friedman in conversation with Antonio Scarponi”, *Life at Home*, 26.06.2019: https://lifeathome.ch/en/2019/06/demokratie-fuer-dich-selbst_-antonio-scarponi/

² Yona Friedman, *Utopies réalisables*, (L’Éclat, 2000). Available online: <http://www.lyberclat.net/lyber/friedman/utopies.html>

meaning that the economy does not stand much else than for itself, symbolic values are dissociated from physical forms. I guess that it makes us more and more symbolic nomads looking for the authenticity of true living, and we moved from the supposed quality of things toward the quality of life. The city dissolves with mobile infrastructures and detectors are smaller and smaller, and with them, we tune our mood like we used to do with the radio to catch a clear signal, to find our home feelings without the home, away from the four walls. In a way, mobile infrastructures makes traditional architecture obsolete. They free the disappearance of bourgeoisie and the spaces in which it was used to celebrate itself. This affects not only the home, but also the working spaces. As a result, cities are becoming the infrastructure of nomadic tribes that follows data flow instead of 'Songlines'. The home is no longer a place but rather a feeling dispersed across many places in time, something that we continuously seek

fine-tuning with our micro devices as 'neuromancers', by ourselves, for ourselves.

AS: *Your work is often described as 'utopian', while you argue that you are an irreducible realistic optimist. Indeed, you fulfill a "here and now" vision with your work. What does the 'future stand for you?*

YF: I think the future is made of the accumulations of many different presents. The way we speak of the future is an illusion, I have been around for a while, I think I can say that with a certain confidence! (Laughs!)

AS: *Last year I had the privilege to review one of your recent works, which is the work of a lifetime as Domus Magazine³ describes in Roofs (Italian edition)⁴. I am extremely fascinated by this work, and not only because it contains so many years of research, fieldwork and study, but because all this is written with an absolute lyricism. I like the clarity of the challenge: how to build roofs, for yourself, by yourself (even with your own bare*

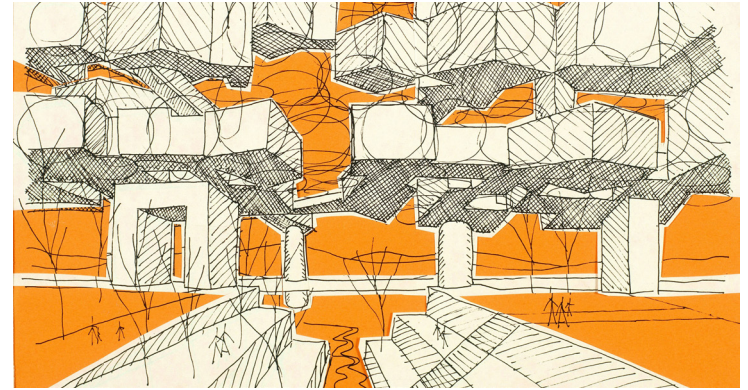


Figure 2: Yona Friedman, *Ville Spatiale*, 1959-1960.

hands) in the middle of nowhere. In a way it allows us to connect with the essence of the act of building. It reminds me of the famous novel-la that Reyner Banham used to recite to describe the two archetypes of architecture, 'the hut' and 'the campfire'. He describes: 'A group of hunters that find themselves in the midst of a clear at sunset when it is getting too late and dangerous to return back to the village. They have to decide between either to build a hut with the wood from the surroundings or to start a campfire in order to keep themselves warm in the night. According to Banham this dilemma represents the two archetypes of architecture: 'the hut', which is the built form and 'the campfire', which is the unbuilt form. Do you think "a

roof" represents the essence of dwelling?

YF: The essence of dwellings belongs to humanity as a whole, as an ecosystem, and this goes far beyond the four walls. It has always been like this; dwelling did not change significantly in the "animal nature" of human beings. Technology can change social structures or maybe infra-structures; it is part of our ecosystem. A roof is a part of an ecosystem, humans build ecosystems. Ecosystems change! I have an impression, that today, Instagram is more important than MOMA as ideas circulate much faster there, it is seen by way more people with much less mediation than in a museum. Now what is essential

³ Antonio Scarponi, "Yona Friedman: Roofs", *Domus Magazine*, 21.07.2017: https://www.domusweb.it/en/reviews/2017/07/21/yonafriedman_roofs.html

⁴ Yona Friedman, *Tetti*, (Quodlibet) 2017.

is to keep in mind is that these two realities are interwoven, one does not exclude the other, or better said, one includes the other, in some cases even amplifying it. Knowledge today is produced and shared in a new way. This also influences how we learn on how to build a roof or how to start a campfire; how we can live underneath or around it and even the way we look upon it.

AS: Speaking of the city as 'infrastructure' or city-infrastructure (maybe in relation to the idea of the cloud-infrastructure) when, in your view, does the city 'dissolve' or disappear? I recall here your last book: 'The Dilution of Architecture'⁵.

YF: I think that we can look upon the city as a place where we project our dreams and our desires and where we share them with others. I think it is not the city that disappears or dissolves, instead there is a disappearance of an old notion of infrastructure where networks are no longer or not only, supported by physical infrastructures but they are sub-

stituted by household equipment such as mobile phones, solar captors, rain captors, and micro antennas. All of a sudden, the city in its traditional form, as we know it, becomes obsolete, theoretically unnecessary. We are witnessing the dissolution of the working place as we know it, we are seeing the demise of the home as we know it, and we are witnessing the dissolution of institutions. I think there is the possibility for a new maturity of humanity and for architecture to be autonomous, free, democratic, and aware!

AS: Is this the premise of a Global Biosphere Infrastructure?

YF: Yes. But we need to keep in mind that trees are also important.

AS: I have learned from you that architecture is made of hope more than bricks and mortar. I just finished reading a novel by Romain Gary, "The Kites"⁶. In my opinion, this novel well describes this idea of "imaginative resistance", which is close to where I also place your work. Let's imagine designing a

kite that we can fly high in a clear sky so that it could help us to have an opinion, or a hope, for tomorrow. I would like to ask you to pick five keywords on dwelling today which can, in your opinion, frame an understanding of a "new today".

YF: Maybe if I tell you what I am working on now, I might indirectly address your question. I am currently working on the idea of "Global Biosphere Infrastructure", it is a paper and drawings that I presented last year at the Kiesler Foundation that frames the concept of "Democracy for Yourself":

- *Planning for Yourself*
- *Building for Yourself*
- *Maximum Autonomy*
- *City Infrastructure and Object at home (Cloud Infrastructure)*
- *Trees (very important).*

I guess this can be the brief to design my kite.

AS: In your vision, where does "'democracy'" meet 'autonomy'? Don't you think that these two words are in contradiction with each other?

YF: For me "democracy" is a particular pattern of our everyday

behaviour, which manifests in all of our acts as human beings. Even the way we talk right now is fundamentally an act of democracy, while 'autonomy' means for me the possibility to empower decision-making by yourself. Technology offers only the means for it. If you like, it's the string of a kite: it anchors it to the ground but allows us to see it and feel the wind. Maybe we can stretch this metaphor even further and think of architecture as a "kite". Architecture should be "mobile", and trees are the stable fixed environment. They are the landmarks of the new city, sort of natural monuments eventually helping orientation.

AS: Do you think that the nature collaboration and participation rely on the gap between "democracy" and "autonomy"? Or, in other words, what is for you the role of the "other"?

YF: It is a fundamental part of the ethical code in praxis. Without "the other" a kite won't fly. The "other" is the wind, ideas need to be shared to fly, even if we know that everything will touch the ground sooner or later.

⁵ Yona Friedman, Manuel Orazi, *The Dilution of Architecture*, (Park Books) 2015.

⁶ Roman Gary, *The Kites*, (Penguin Books) 2017.

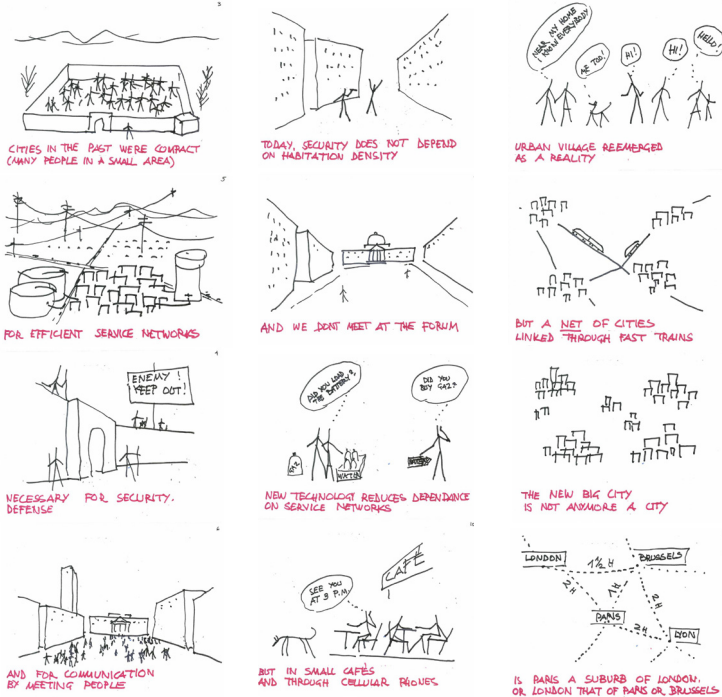


Figure 3: Yona Friedman, *Cités virtuelles* – It is not only the city-scape that changes,

Figure 4: Yona Friedman, *Cités virtuelles* – It is not only the city-scape that changes,

Figure 5: Yona Friedman, *Cités virtuelles* – It is not only the city-scape that changes,

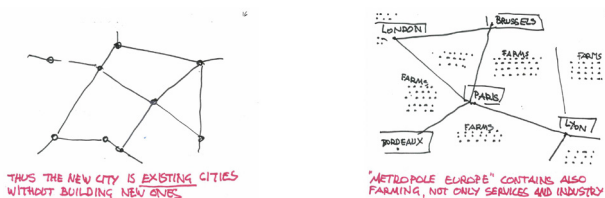


Figure 6: Yona Friedman, *Cités virtuelles* – It is not only the city-scape that changes,

Afterword

In the landscape of the architectural profession, Yona Friedman defines a horizon. One can call it a 'utopia' and as any horizon, it moves forward when we move towards it, and therefore it can never be reached, but it is what helps us in moving. The horizon of Yona Friedman provides an aesthetic to the contemporary version of the ancient human condition of nomadism which defines an architecture 'before and beyond' architecture. An oxymoron, as architecture is by tradition, bound to the ground by 'capital'. However, Friedman gives form to an architecture of existence, bound to the people through the symbolic capital of human existence. The philosophical aesthetic of Yona Friedman acknowledges and provides dignity and vision to the bare lives of migrants. It does so by establishing an empowering narrative, 'how to' make the best of nothing: a roof, a wall, or to provide yourself and your community with drinkable water. He does that through communicating joy and irony that even a child can understand and, in doing so, he pushes the boundary of our discipline. This conversation allows a glimpse behind the scenes of the monumental works of a great master, and they allow to grasp the life behind so many stances and personal choices and to make them

available to the many. Yona Friedman's view on nomadic architecture is a desirable form of living together; free from the political restrictions and cruelty that humankind is capable of imposing itself. It might not change the living condition of the many, but it surely shows the many the steps of the way ahead of us.

Yona Friedman

(Budapest, 1923), was trained as an architect assisting among others, some of the most important conferences of Werner Heisenberg and Károly Kerényi. After the Second World War, in which he took part in the resistance against the Nazi regime, he moved to the city of Haifa in Israel, where he lived and worked for a decade. From 1957 onwards, Friedman lived in Paris. He taught at a number of American Universities and collaborated with the United Nations (UN) and UNESCO. His immense literary activity extends from architecture to physics and from sociology to mathematics. In his final years, Friedman was invited to the eleventh edition of Documenta in Kassel among several art and architecture festivals such as the Venice Biennale. His last book was the "The Dilution of Architecture", (Yona Friedman and Manuel Orazi, edited by Nader Seraj, Park Books, Zurich, 2015).

Section III

Collective Design

Priya inspires women to fight for their dreams!

A story of a migrant woman empowering local women in Bhuj

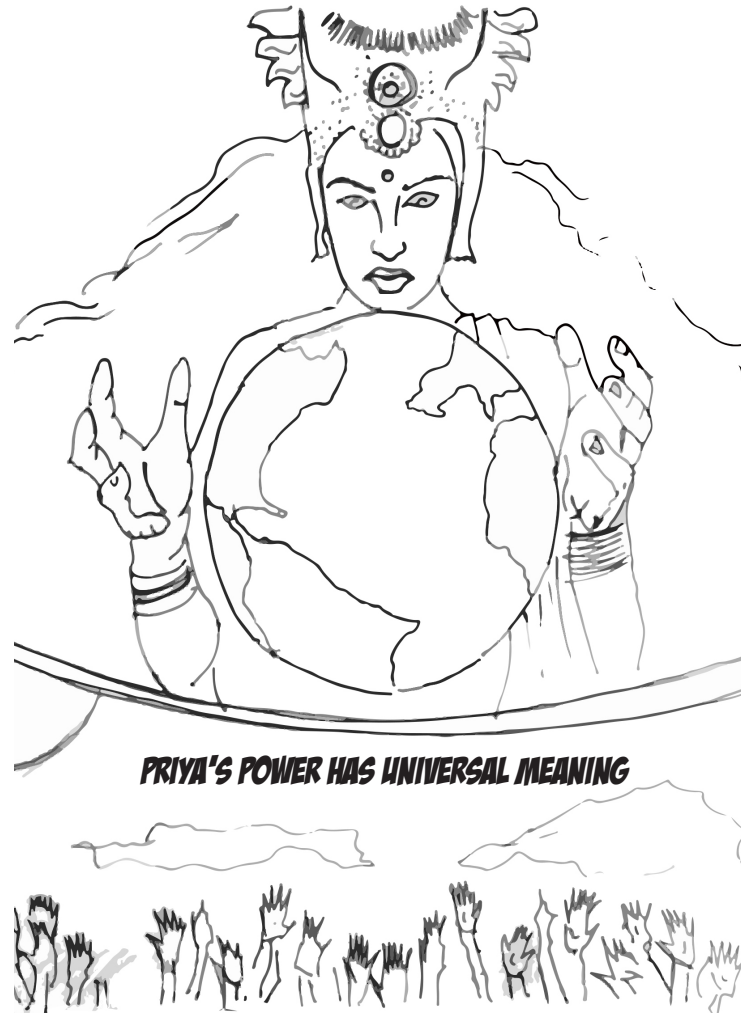
Charline Lefrançois - Efijeni Kokedhima - Luigi Gugliara

**SHANTI LOOKS SAD ALL DAY. PRIYA, THE NEW MIGRANT GIRL
IN THE HERBS MARKET, NOTICES HER SORROW...**

**I ALWAYS WANTED MY OWN
SHOP PRIYA, BUT MY HUSBAND
DOESN'T AGREE...**

**SHANTI, I CAN FEEL YOUR SOUL
IS TROUBLED. TELL ME... WHY?**





**SHANTI IS SELLING SPICES IN HER NEW SHOP.
PRIYA WATCHES OVER HER**



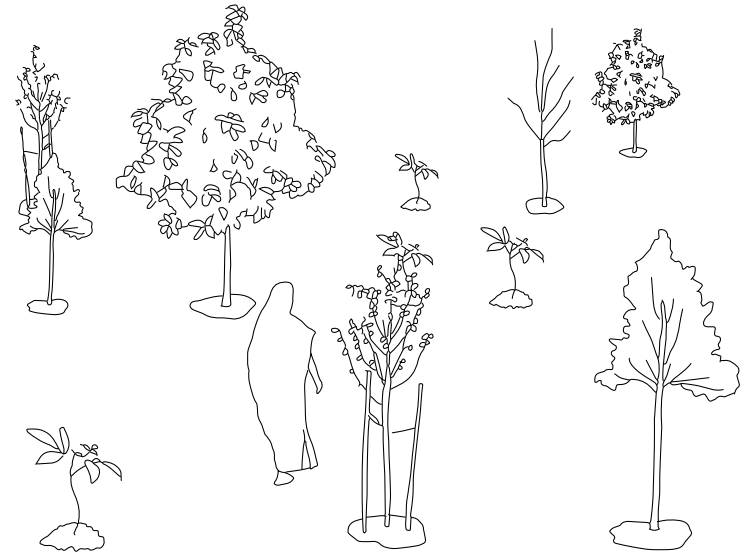
**IN THE DECADES COMING PRIYA WILL
INSPIRE AND GIVE STRENGTH TO
THOUSANDS OF WOMEN !
THEY WILL BE ABLE TO REALISE THEIR
DREAMS LIKE SHANTI DID.**



An Utopian Collective Settlement

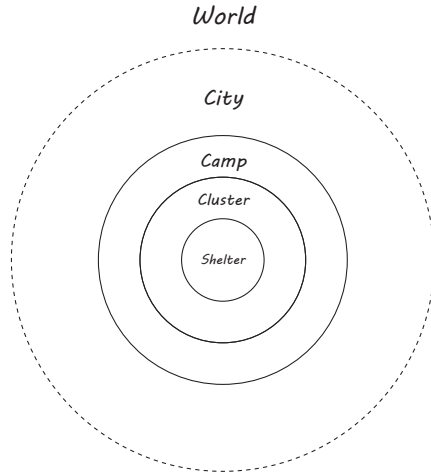
'Grouping Around a Tree'

Laura Estruch Sanchis - Joanna Lawson - Elaheh Iranmanesh - Iakovos Birdas



Plantation at the seasonal migrant camp

From the Shelter to the World

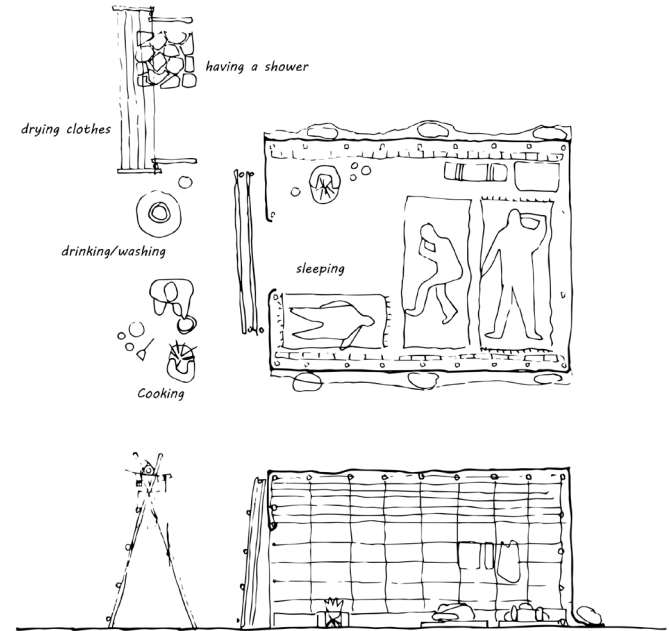


A diagram representing the entanglement of scales

This section focuses on the various components that constitute the camp, beginning with the shelter at the smallest scale and ending with the settlement as a whole. Beyond the camp is the city, upon which it depends. The role of the city is addressed separately in a latter section.

'The Shelter' illustrates the significance of this smallest unit to transient migrants. 'The Cluster' explains how the individual shelters are formed into cluster arrangements that can serve a particular function. 'The Camp – the Grid' proposes an underlying infrastructure network with a rigid layout that nonetheless allows for flexibility; the grid is not detectable from above, giving the impression of an informally developed settlement. Only trees are visible, which mark utility outlets as well as serving further functions. 'The Camp – the Commons' proposes ways of supporting the sense of community, with communal spaces and platforms for sharing information. Finally, the implementation of the proposals is tested on a real settlement in Bhuj.

1. The Shelter



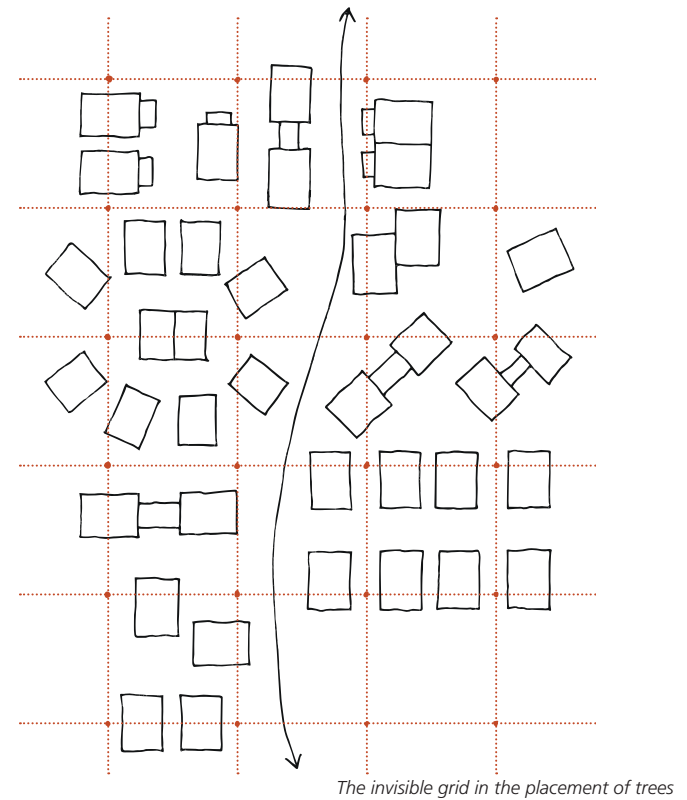
The shelter as a support to everyday activities

Shelters are the basic unit where transient migrants carry out their daily activities and which is used as a provisional storage place for migrants' belongings and memories. They are self-built incrementally with materials that can be found on-site such as bamboo, re-used plastic sheets, stones and leftovers from the construction site. As some of the migrants return back home, the shelters are re-used by others who, like themselves, once started this cyclic journey to the city, in search of livelihood opportunities. They become provisional homes for a 'nomadic' life.

2. The Cluster

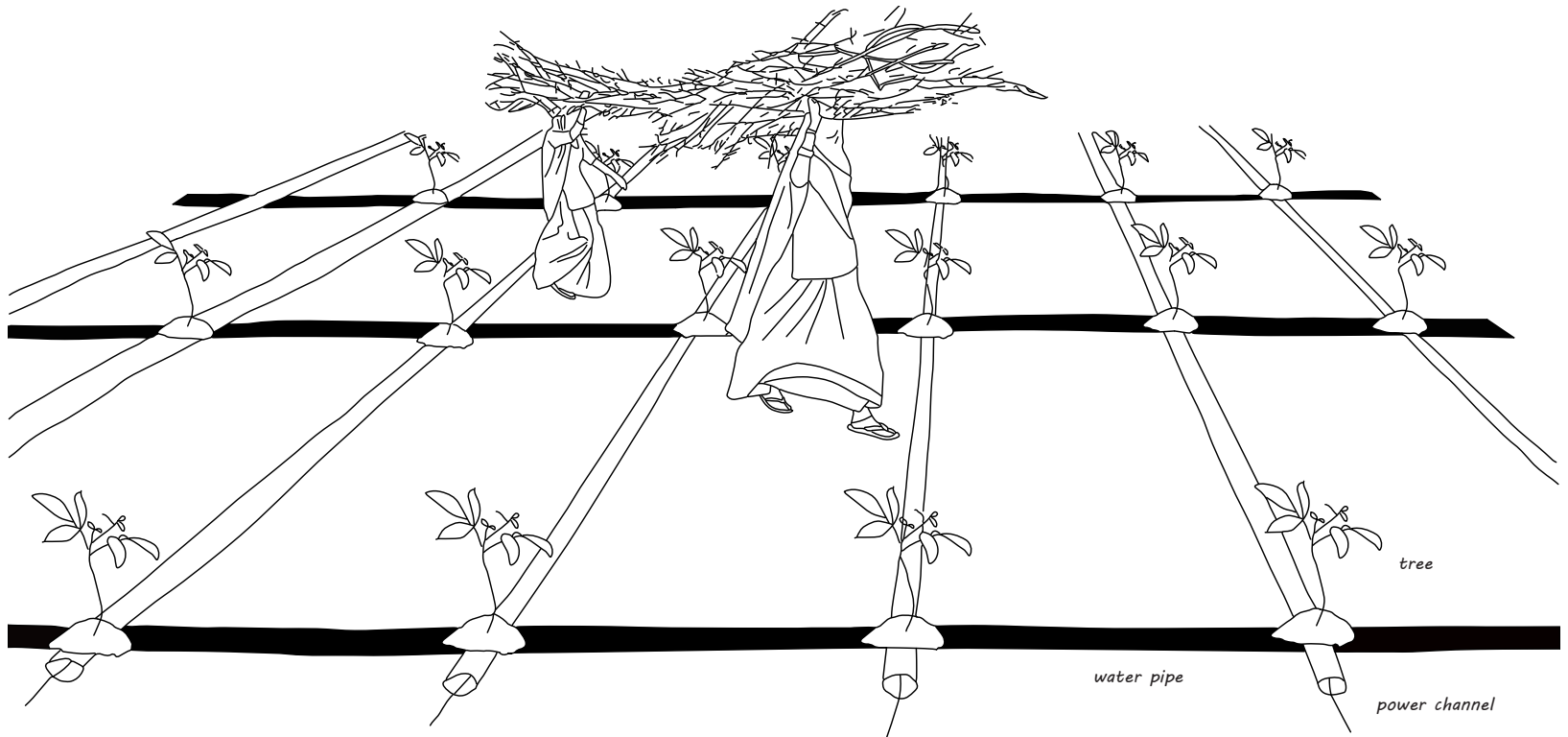


There are a mix of people living in the camp: migrant families, single women and men, young and old; as well as those who do not have families or land elsewhere and live in the camp permanently. This heterogeneity is reflected in the different types of cluster arrangements identified in the existing camp in Bhuj and illustrated here in our proposals. The way the shelters are arranged can serve a particular function, such as providing a sense of protection for single women.



At a first glance the cluster arrangements appear almost randomly positioned and do not give the impression of being aligned to a grid. However, an organised pattern is needed for the infrastructure network. While the utility outlets are spaced wide enough apart to allow the migrants flexibility in arranging their clusters, they are also close enough together to ensure that all shelters are near to several of these central points.

3. The Camp – the Grid



Trees at the intersections of the camp's basic infrastructure network

The knots of the camp's grid are symbolically and practically illustrated here by trees. As we learnt from our visit in Bhuj the symbolism in planting a tree is quite strong. Especially for seasonal migrants, the importance of planting a tree lies in the opportunity for them to appropriate a space of their own by having their own tree planted in a specific site inside the camp.

Although there is a grid underneath that brings some basic infrastructure to the camp (i.e. power, clean water, etc.), only a variety of trees can be seen above the surface; each planted and maintained by the seasonal migrants or their family.

3. The Camp – the Grid



Tree trunks used as access points to the underground infrastructure network

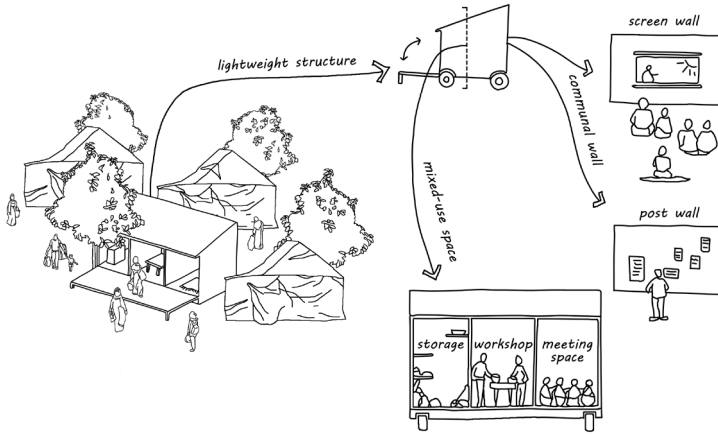
Apart from the symbolism in planting trees into the seasonal migrant camp, their practicality is of equal importance. Each tree can provide shade, but it can also be used as a connection point to the infrastructure network. Thanks to the trees, the migrants can protect themselves from the sun during hot days, as well as organizing their daily needs in situ (i.e. charge their mobile phones, drink clean water, take a shower, clean their crockery, etc.).



Trunks coloured with fluorescent paint assist in navigating through the camp at night

Reflecting upon some prototype ideas presented in the third chapter, the trunks of the trees – aside from their fundamental role of providing access to basic infrastructure – can be used to accommodate a variety of practical needs: from the simple necessity of hanging clothes to dry or other everyday items from the trees' branches, to the need for navigation inside the camp during the night thanks to their fluorescent painted trunks.

3. The Camp – the Commons



A lightweight mixed-use structure at the heart of the camp

One of the most important issues in migrant camps and other transient settlements is the sense of community among residents. These residents face many different problems that can be overcome if they can share their knowledge and experience.

Organizers can facilitate the process of cohesion. The proposition here is to have a mixed-use structure that can serve as workshop, seasonal shop, meeting place, storage and so on. This can be placed in the 'square' or heart of the camp. A wall of this building can serve as a communal surface to post announcements. It can also change its function to become a screen for projecting films.

Transforming Utopia into Reality

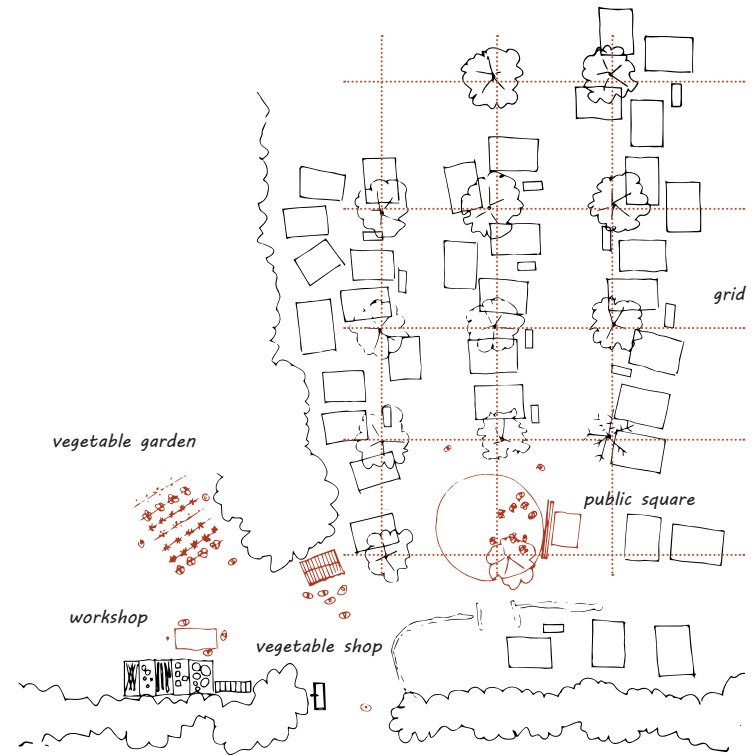


Diagram showing a possible implementation on the existing settlement

The plantation of trees is a strategy proposed by 'Homes In the City' and it already exists on the ground. The idea would be to give an added significance to it, so that it serves as a structuring masterplan to distribute possible future 'sites and services' strategies. Besides this invisible regularity, it would allow a free shelter placement and the spontaneous formation of cluster structures that allow networks of community support.

The right to the city for the seasonal migrants

A policy design

Maria Bazzicalupo - Angelika Scheidegger - Eleftherios Papamichelakis

MANIFEST

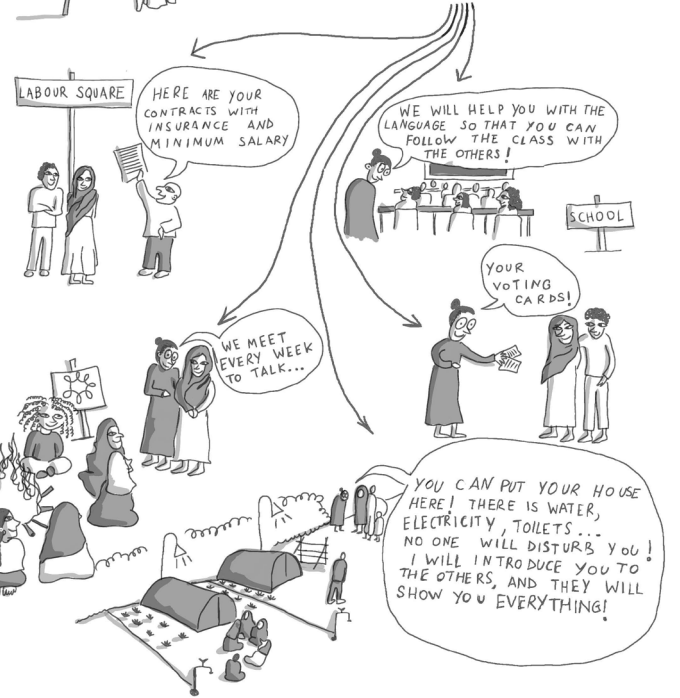
Right to the city for the seasonal migrants

We **RESPECT** the strong working power of the seasonal migrants, and their important contribution to the city and **WELCOME** them. Therefore, we give them the following **RIGHTS**:

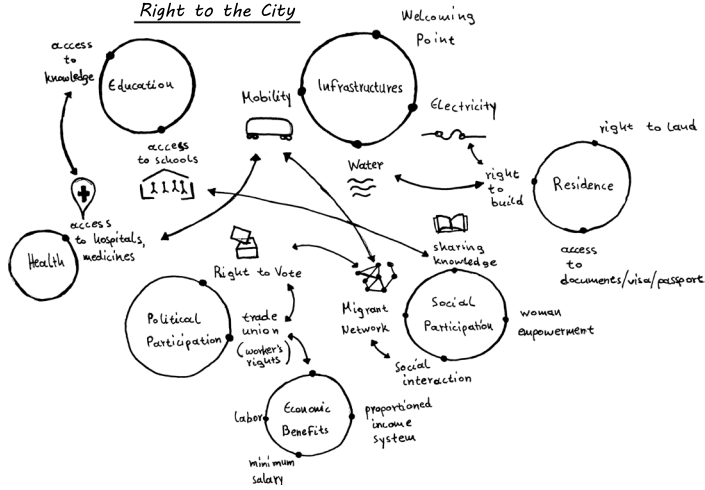
- 1) **RIGHT to LAND:** Seasonal migrants have the right to adequate housing. We enable and support them in the construction of their houses.
- 2) **RIGHT to EQUALITY:** seasonal migrants, women and men, have the same rights as permanent citizens.
- 3) **RIGHT to BASIC NEEDS:** We ensure that seasonal migrants have access to all basic needs: water, electricity, sanitation, schools, hospitals, transport.
- 4) **RIGHT to BASIC WORKING CONDITIONS:** We ensure a minimum level of working conditions, a minimum salary, a maximum number of hours worked, insurance and pension schemes.
- 5) **RIGHT to PARTICIPATION and INTEGRATION:** We embrace the participation of seasonal workers in politics and urban life. We support integration into society.
- 6) **RIGHT to SOCIAL COHESION:** We support all types of networking between seasonal workers and groups within and with permanent citizens. We support people in sharing goods and sharing

THE RIGHT TO THE CITY FOR THE SEASONAL MIGRANTS

a policy design...



Right to the City



BE / COMING HOME

Opportunities provided by inclusive, multifunctional neighbourhoods with regard to the creation of home

Stefania Koller, Neustart Schweiz

On the surface, topics such as shelter, transience, and urban migration do not seem close to the work of Neustart Schweiz. However, at a slightly deeper level, one realizes that 'another city' might as well be an 'arrival city'. In his book, Doug Saunders characterises 'arrival cities' as places where migrants can access affordable housing and work, while having the opportunities for self-improvement. A number of key factors can help facilitate this, these include: mobility through public transportation, access to education and literacy, access to information, community health infrastructure, and access to public and safe spaces with recreation and leisure facilities, as well as a number of other infrastructural services provided by the city.¹ In other words, the

term 'arrival city' conceptually integrates all spaces and infrastructure, which provide comparably cheap living spaces while serving as a pathway towards access to the city, its society and its culture. This pathway should be accessible both for the rural-urban migrants as well as for the existing urban poor."² As I will highlight in this essay, all of these characteristics and factors are essential to the model of 'neighbourhoods' and 'another city' professed by Neustart Schweiz.

Neustart Schweiz is a Swiss association founded in 2010, with roots in the youth riots of the 1980s and the ensuing squatter movement in Zurich. It is conceived as a forum for the discussion of sociopolitical issues in the broader sense. Its

members advocate for a sustainable reorganization of society by advocating for 'inclusive, multifunctional neighbourhoods'³ and 'another city'.⁴ In doing so, they are attempting to offer a comprehensive response to the most pressing questions of our time, addressing ecological, social, and economic crises simultaneously. The work of Neustart Schweiz lies at the intersections of activism, scientific knowledge, and existing social movements and projects. It not only helps foster progressive housing projects, but also promotes initiatives to drive change towards a sustainable future.

Before elaborating the topic of neighbourhoods, I should clarify what a sustainable future for a projected world population of 10 billion people could look like in a few basic figures. The starting point of this discussion is the fact that our current lifestyle transcends the planetary boundaries in at least five categories of environmental damage and that exist-

ing western mass consumerism is clearly unsustainable.⁵ According to the Swiss life cycle assessment expert Gabor Doka, an ecologically sustainable and enjoyable lifestyle for all the 10 billion people inhabiting the planet by 2050 is feasible provided that resources are distributed evenly. The following allocations constitute the basis for such a sustainable and enjoyable lifestyle for 10 billion people without draining our planet's resources:⁶

- 20m² of private living space per person,
- 2.5 m² of communal space per person,
- No cars and no flights, and only 6 km by train per person per day,
- a trip of 1000 km per year, a boat voyage of 1000 km per year,
- 15 kg of meat per person per year,
- 20 l of milk per year,
- 70 l of water per day,
- 3 hours of internet use per

¹ Saunders, Doug. 2010. „Arrival City, How the Largest Migration in History Reshaped our World“. New York: Pantheon Books.

² Taubenböck, Hannes et. al. 2018. „The morphology of the Arrival City - A global categorization based on literature surveys and remotely sensed data“. *Applied Geography*, 92, pg 150-167. Accessed May 3rd 2020. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.apgeog.2018.02.002>

³ Neustart Schweiz (Hrsg.). 2019. „Nach Hause kommen: Mit Nachbarschaften der Klimakrise begegnen“. (überarbeitete Auflage). Baden: Edition Volles Haus by ecoloc GmbH.

⁴ Widmer, Hans (Hrsg.). 2017. „Die Andere Stadt“. Zürich: Paranoia City Verlag.

⁵ Widmer, Hans. 2018. „a proposal“, p. 2. www.newalliance.earth/a_proposal.pdf

⁶ Doka, Gabor. 2017. „Ökologische Grenzen in der Anderen Stadt“. In „Die Andere Stadt“, 107-48. Zürich: Paranoia City Verlag.

- *week,*
- *Finally, one newspaper per day per 50 inhabitants.*

These items are of course interchangeable to accommodate for individual preferences and contexts, however; they constitute a base for sustainable living for everyone. Living according to the aforementioned allocations is hard to strive for within the current system of community and urban planning. It would translated require an unpleasant ascetic lifestyle located at the edges of society. These allocations that account for the ecological limits of our planet call for a completely different lifestyle, requiring a different residential, territorial and institutional setting.⁷ This is where the idea of inclusive, multifunctional neighbourhoods professed by Neustart Schweiz comes into play.

In order to succeed in its undertaking, Neustart Schweiz is bound to address all aspects encompassing everyday life, leading into a

large variety of topics, such as: community led agriculture⁸, an economy based on commons⁹, fostering new ways of participation at the various political levels, and in doing so, re-building trust in political processes and democracy¹⁰, individual development, and social embedding¹¹. To prevent a loss of focus and for the purpose of scalability, the association works with a replicable system, ranging from the local, home and neighbourhood scales, to the global. These five global modules, neighbourhoods (glomo1), districts (glomo2), other cities (glomo3), territories (glomo4) and planet (glomo5), are purely functional and no specific lifestyle or cultural identity is implied in them. They form imbedded spheres, meaning that the larger modules come into effect where smaller ones reach the limits of their capacity. Any function should be performed on the lowest or closest possible level (relocalization).¹² Going into detail on all five global modules exceeds the scope of this

paper, however a well-structured summary on all of them can be found at www.newalliance.earth. As mentioned above, the focus of this article will be on the topic of inclusive, multifunctional neighbourhoods. The following text will describe their key features and shed light into the benefits of living within such a neighbourhood.

A neighbourhood includes around 500 inhabitants; its members constitute a collective household complementing the private ones, securing most of the basic needs¹³. It is democratically structured and possible forms of organization include cooperatives or associations. This form of organization ensures that the 500 inhabitants participate in decision-making and therefore practice a high degree of self-determination in their daily life. In order to keep distances short, overall traffic low, and individual mobility high, a neighbourhood is preferably designed as a compact building, located in a dense urban environment. There-

fore, and for the reasons of sustainability, individual consumption of space per inhabitant is to be kept low at 35m² including a share of collectively used space. Despite a strong sense of community, a neighbourhood should also offer possibilities for individuality and retreat. Hence, a wide variety of apartment types is important to meet the needs of all inhabitants¹⁴. In order avoid the concentration of a specific social class, the composition of a neighbourhood should mirror the demographic mix of the urban fabric surrounding it. An exemplary sketch of how such a neighbourhood could look like in the European context is depicted in Figure 1.

Autonomy is achieved not only through having a say in organizational matters, but also through attaining a certain degree of self-sufficiency. Thus, every neighbourhood requires a land base to support its metabolic activities through agriculture, which should be located no further than

⁷ Widmer, Hans. 2018. „a proposal“, p. 2. www.newalliance.earth/a_proposal.pdf

⁸ Dyttrich, Bettina; Hösl, Giorgio. 2015. „Gemeinsam auf dem Acker“. Zürich: Rotpunktverlag.

⁹ Bollier, David; Helfrich, Silke. 2019. „Free, Fair and Alive - The Insurgent Power of the Commons“. Gabriola Island: New Society Publishers.

¹⁰ Van Reybrouck, David. 2018. „Against Elections“ New York: Seven Stories Press.

¹¹ Van Reybrouck, David. 2018. „Against Elections“ New York: Seven Stories Press.

¹¹ Elsen, Susanne; Muckenfuss, Katrin; Seyband Elke. 2009 „Gemeinwesen gestalten – Lernen für eine nachhaltige Entwicklung“. Neu-Ulm: AG SPAK Bücher.

¹² Widmer, Hans. 2018. „a proposal“, p. 5. www.newalliance.earth/a_proposal.pdf

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹⁴ Neustart Schweiz (Hrsg.). 2016. „Nach Hause kommen: Nachbarschaften als Commons“, p.17. (erste Auflage). Baden: Edition Volles Haus by ecoloc GmbH.

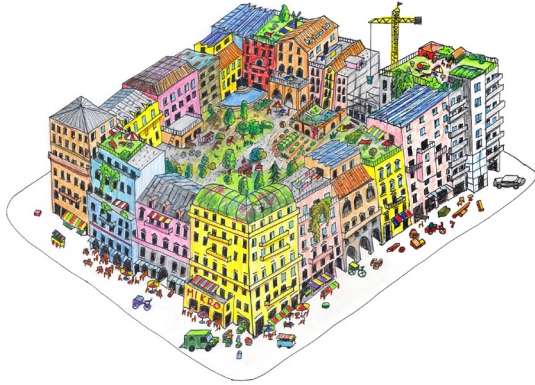


Figure 1: a model neighbourhood in a traditional European city (source: Neustart Schweiz)

50 kilometres away. In the Central European climate, roughly 62 hectares of agricultural land can ensure the basic food supply for a neighbourhood. Needless to say, the food production is carried out according to organic standards. The relationship between land base and neighbourhood should not be divided into producer and consumer one, but should rather be an extension of the neighbourhood cooperation. Accordingly, it can become a social and cultural centre. Possible functions could include vacation or school on the farm, a country inn, opportunities for collaboration, or a centre for

agricultural education.¹⁵

Once harvested, the food is transported to the neighbourhood and stored at a microcenter ideally located on the ground floor and publicly accessible at all time. Alongside food storage, key functions of the microcenter include gastronomic services that operate in synergy with the food delivered from the 'land base', making sure that the food waste is kept to a minimum, childcare, and storage of tools and household appliances. Other functions such as laundromats, sauna or swimming pool are conceivable, depending on the

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

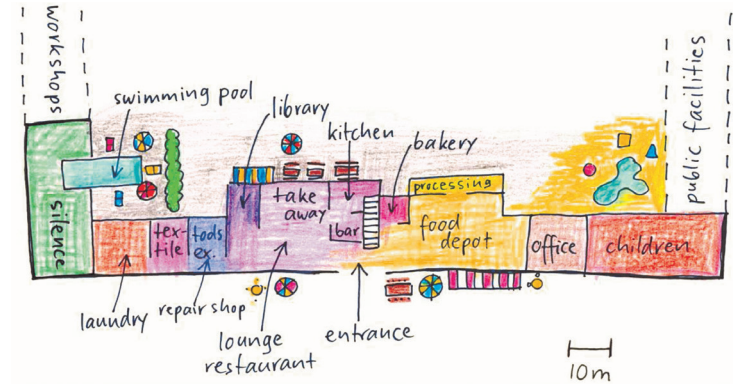


Figure 2. Possible organization of a microcenter (Credits - Neustart Schweiz)

operational concept developed by the residents. A rough sketch of how a microcenter could be organized is illustrated in Figure 2. The microcenter is run by professionals in cooperation with the residents.¹⁶ The ground floor of every neighbourhood is intended to be entirely communal, commercial or public use, thus bringing life to public space and reflecting the identity of the neighbourhood into the surrounding district.

Besides services provided by the microcenter, basic necessities and services such as primary and high schools, health centres, libraries,

etc. should be within walking distance of every neighbourhood. These services are proposed to be clustered around a small, central square (approximately 40 by 40m). Through this, the distances are cut short, synergies are enhanced and communication is made easier¹⁷ as described in Figure 3. These services, which include cultural institutions, sports facilities, public transportation, sewage, recycling, water, and energy, cannot be provided by the neighbourhood itself. They need to be organized at the district or city level, serving from 40 up to 1'000 neighbourhoods in order

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹⁷ Widmer, Hans. 2018. „a proposal“, p. 11. www.newalliance.earth/a_proposal.pdf



Figure 3. Schematic drawing of a basic commune that can be either an urban district or a small town (Credits: Neustart Schweiz)

to be self-sufficient. Overall living, working, supply, and leisure spheres are drawn closer together. The resources are shared and therefore by extension preserved.¹⁸ A more circular and wherever possible local economy is crucial to such organization. It also includes a new, more holistic understanding of work including of household and care work.¹⁹ This alternative economy is defined by ecological and social goals, based on common resources and common needs.²⁰

All of the above enable the residents of a neighbourhood to live a sustainable, autonomous lifestyle within the boundaries of the planetary allowances²¹, while ensuring an overall improvement of their quality of life. If we bring this thought experiment to an end, migration as we know it becomes obsolete. No doubt that it is a rather far-fetched but valuable thought that can help us realise that migration, whether it be seasonal or not, presumably often

arises from an underlying problem that needs addressing as well. One could argue that finding solutions to mitigate migration level is merely scratching the surface of the deeply flawed system that we are living in.

Since our present reality is still a different one, we need to talk about how to deal with the situation at hand, and how the neighbourhood model could facilitate migrants' arrival within the current system. Before elaborating on this, I want to touch upon one last thought, which is the reciprocity of knowledge production within the given situation. There is a great deal of learning we can derive from Saunders' findings and looking at what is happening in arrival cities, especially when it comes to the exchange of soft skills. In light of our privileged situation, we have unwittingly forgotten about many of these skills that are a self-evident and a must in order for people to organize in the situation of arriving into another country or city, skills

that are also necessary in order to build neighbourhoods and other cities. We need to prioritise these skills, which include: persistence, improvisation, creativity, self-organization in and the appropriation of space. Without these, none of the projects leading up to the foundation of Neustart Schweiz would have come to life. They are vital when thinking about neighbourhoods and other cities, because in contrast to the context of arrival cities, we come from a reality where people, buildings and infrastructure are largely already in place. Rethinking and reorganizing functions in existing spaces and motivating people to take matters into their own hands, thereby putting these skills to work is the key to success when it comes to that.

In conclusion, the kind of sovereignty provided by an inclusive, multifunctional neighbourhood casts a different light onto the topic of arrival cities. Heteronomy is replaced by autonomy, and anonymity by a tightly knit net of

¹⁸ Neustart Schweiz (Hrsg.). 2016. „Nach Hause kommen: Nachbarschaften als Commons“, p.10. (erste Auflage). Baden: Edition Volles Haus by ecoloc GmbH.

¹⁹ Vontobel, Werner und Frohofer, Fred. 2019. „zusammen haushalten: Warum es vorteilhaft ist, in Nachbarschaften zu leben“. Baden: Edition Volles Haus by ecoloc GmbH. Seidl, Irmli (Hrsg.). 2019. „Tätigsein in der Postwachstumsgesellschaft“. Marburg: Metropolis.

²⁰ Widmer, Hans. 2018. „a proposal“, p. 3. www.newalliance.earth/a_proposal.pdf

²¹ Doka, Gabor. 2017. „Ökologische Grenzen in der Anderen Stadt“. In „Die Andere Stadt“, 107-48. Zürich: Paranoia City Verlag.

community ties, inclusion and the creation of home are facilitated through participatory processes and self-organization. On a local level, a lot of this can happen regardless of migration. While Saunders argues that arrival cities shape a big part of our urban environment and should therefore be taken into consideration when discussing new development, I would plead to shift our efforts towards the possibility of arrival within the existing cities. How can we shape our cities in order for

them to become more migration friendly, ultimately rendering arrival cities obsolete? One possible answer can be found within the neighbourhood model of Neustart Schweiz. I believe that that the creation of inclusive, multifunctional neighbourhoods, ideally embedded in other cities, can help foster a more resilient environment, which is capable of dealing with urban migration, people in the need of shelter, and transience much more easily than the ones we currently have.

(Not) Arriving in the Seasonal Arrival City — Circular Migration through the Lens of Multi-locality Studies

Giulia Montanari / Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México
Tino Schlinzig / ETH Zürich – ETH CASE

Developing on a global assortment of cases in his 2010 book *Arrival City*, Doug Saunders vividly illustrates a phenomenon that has been shaping the 21st century metropolis. He illustrates the arrival of rural populations into urban centres, and the manifold of implications and potentials for the migrating populations and receiving cities. These include social, economic, and political hurdles, and the challenges of administration and planning. However, as Schmidt-Kallert (2012: 173) points out, while holding on to the importance of urban migration, we must not neglect the ties and relationships that the migrants hold to their villages of origin. This is especially important in the context of the rapid urbanisation shaping up in Asia and Africa. Migrants often maintain a strong relationship with their place of origin, while their shelter in particular city might only be a temporary landing in a larger “itinerary” that serves to secure one’s livelihood (Simone 2020).

In this chapter, we would like to bring the valuable insights of Saunders provides in discussion with literature on multi-locality studies. We argue for the need to understand migration as a phenomenon that operationalises multiple housing locations instead of reading migration as one-time event. Through focusing on the relation of two or more places, as well as the practices in different sites and of transit in between, multi-locality studies open new perspectives. It emphasises relationship between movement and mooring, and expands the narrow understanding of migration from on-off relation that characterise a regular change of locations. This strand of research pays particular attention to the meanings, *modus operandi*, and relationships of the subjects on the move – the active multi-local subject, and the relatively sedentary subject at each of the places – the passive multi-locals (Schier et al. 2015, Weichhart 2015). Following this, the question of arrival emerges anew.

Multi-local arrivals between Mobility and Fixity

Discussing multi-locality means discussing mobility. However, it is important to distinguish spatial and social mobility. If the latter primarily captures the movement of individuals or groups from one social position to another between or within social systems, spatial mobility refers to a physical change of location. Unquestionably, the two are closely related and interlinked. Physically, moving to the Arrival City is always also linked to a promise of social advancement – individually and collectively. At the same time, as Saunders illustrates using different examples, physical mobility does not have to come with social mobility as it depends on various socio-economic factors. Conversely, social mobility can happen without physical movement. These relations also apply to multi-local life forms. Looking at the literature, various definitions and partly synonymous or competing terms exist (Weichhart 2015). A prominent contribution is undoubtedly the concept of local polygamy by sociologist Ulrich Beck (1997: 127ff.). He asks about the life-world and biographical implications of globalization and

points towards the phenomenon of what he calls (transnational) polygamy of places. This «being married to several places», Beck argues, is a «typical case of (geographical) mobility» in societies of the late modernity. In his rather pessimistic interpretation, he argues that there has been a dissolution of the connection between place and community, leading to a de-spatialization of contemporary societies.

Multi-locality studies provide quite a similar definition of the phenomenon, but with different conclusions. In a very general sense, Wood et al. (2015: 364) suggest that (residential) multi-locality can be understood as a «social practice of every-day life whose participants have at their disposal two or more dwellings in different places where they reside in alternating rhythms». These practices entail manifold relations between the different places. Consequently, research on multi-locality and mobilities studies do not give up on space and outline rather the complex cross-spatial forms of social and economic exchange, and structural ties between several locations. They point out that migrants and multi-local actors consolidate their social networks

also above and beyond the bodily and physical movement of persons and objects, through forms of imagined, virtual and communicative travel, by means of the circulation of information and capital – with socially variable intensity and personal ability as Büscher/Urry (2009) discuss. Absent relatives are co-present – virtually, imagined and by proxy through personal objects that make the absent person present (for an overview see Döbler 2019). In the end, multi-locality fundamentally challenges the assumption of a territorially fixed either/or. This opposes common notions of arrival that are usually associated with the idea of settling down and belonging to one place.

Within the dominant cultural framework of a «dictate of sedentariness» in Western societies (Hilti 2009: 82), stability, belonging and identity seem to be at odds with mobile living. Mobility and fixity, flow and sedentariness presuppose each other, as Massey (2005: 95) points out. While dwelling is commonly associated with immobility, stability, sedentariness, rootedness, anchoring and location, mobility is synonymous with movement, flow, uprooting and disembedding.

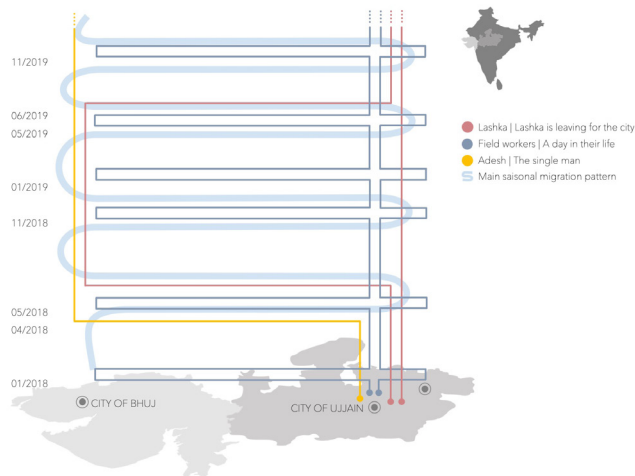
Mistrust in the flâneur and vagabond as archetypes of the mobile human has a long history and feed these dualistic ideas (Bauman 1995).

From Once-in-a-Lifetime Migration to Multi-locality: types, modes and contextual conditions

Notions of a physically located household as for instance in official statistics, with individuals either belonging totally to or not appearing at all, do not reflect lived experiences and practices. Looking at the diverse forms of multi-local living arrangements (as also Saunders talks about), the idea of the migrant, who typically moves to specific territories within an urban agglomeration, is increasingly challenged in contemporary literature. Schmidt-Kallert suggests that «the widespread belief that migrants all over the world take a once-in-a-lifetime decision to leave their home village and settle in the city» for good is Eurocentric. Following Simone (2020: 1129), it may even be an imperial one that does not account for the strategy of multi-locality and/or temporary migration that many families follow (Schmidt-Kallert 2012: 173f.).

In order to get hold of this phenomenon empirically, it is useful to distinguish different types and modes of multi-locality along the criteria of (a-)symmetries in activities, rhythms and durations of stay, motives, ownership and living conditions, and characteristics of the localities (Duchêne-Lacroix 2020: 79ff.). Figure 01 illustrates this as a space-time path building upon examples from later chapters. The diagram depicts the migration path followed by the protagonists in the graphics of Charline Lefrancois & Angelika Scheidegger, Luigi Gualiera & Elaheh Iranmanesh and Joanna Lawson &

Laura Sachis Estruch. Lashka (red line) and her future husband live in a village outside of Ujjain. Lashka travels to the city and returns the next year for a wedding – her husband stays in the village during this time. The two workers (blue lines) also live in a village outside of Ujjain. They go separate ways during harvest season: while one of them tries to find work on the fields, the other travels to the city. The single man Adesh (yellow line) leaves for the city in order to find work and stays there. The light blue thicker curved line depicts the dominant pattern of seasonal migration.



For the purpose of a typification, Dick and Reuschke suggest taking the decision-making process at the individual and household level into account as well as the social status of the multi-locals (2012: 186). Duchêne-Lacroix proposes to look at the phenomenon from the point of view of the locality, asking whether the multi-locals living there mainly use the place for touristic, family, work, or educational purposes (2020: 81). Thinking through multi-locality also means keeping in mind that it is the migrants and their families that decide whether to arrive or not – whether once or recurring. At the same time, it is well documented that it can be detrimental to individualize the efforts of a (un)successful arrival in a community, when migrants face specific structures that may endorse or hinder the establishment of successful ties to the community. It is «the values and norms, laws and regulations and practical policies and procedures in relation to the control of migration as well as the (including or excluding) treatment of migrants living in the respective country» which constitute migration regimes that matter (Pries 2010: 97). According to Pries, it is the formal rights and given opportunities for par-

ticipation, for example residence permits, the path to citizenship rights and opportunities for civil and political participation on a national and local level that have an impact. Moreover, access to public services, such as healthcare and access to employment contribute towards defining the living situation on site and of the relatives back in the country of origin (ibid.: 98). Saunders' Arrival City describes this all too well especially in relationship with housing development and physical structures. He builds upon numerous examples of successful and failed urban development policies. Simultaneously, he assumes that existing ties to the places of origin are a temporary phenomenon that might fade out intergenerationally – an assumption that multi-locality studies do not support empirically.

Studying the Seasonal Arrival City without the Departure Locale?

Multi-local living arrangements question the very idea of arriving – with consequences for the conceptualisation of the Arrival City as a homogenous territory whose inhabitants long for a full integration as urbanites. However, as

we argue, the Arrival City cannot be studied without bringing into picture the Departure Locale to which ties are maintained. From the perspective of multi-locality research, it might even make sense to speak of Second Home Cities with multiple ties and social engagements in more than one place, which produce specific practices in the respective communities. Research on multi-locality and transnational social ties show that multi-localised actors form local identifications on the grounds of recurring social interactions – face-to-face and via digital technologies (Petzold 2020, Madianou 2016, Nedlecu/Wyss 2016). Saunders’ evocation of financial remittances that enable financial security and improvements in the villages of origin shares intersections with research on multi-locality (see also Weichhart 2015: 77f., Pries 2010). The experience of hybridity that Saunders evokes is nurtured through the experience of individuals that identify with more than one place. This brings up questions regarding the usefulness of the terms arriving/departing when individuals never leave to arrive at another place and are present at different locations at the same time.

Consequently, we can think of different kinds of arrivals that do not end with one single move from a village to a city. A new place of dwelling in a territory of arrival such as Saunders had in mind might not be the last movement for most households and individuals (Simone 2020) and might not even happen the way he suggests. The assumption that the links to the departure regions will eventually fade in order to fully arrive seems contrary to the lived experience of many migrants. Furthermore, studies on the variety of multi-local living practices contribute to breaking with the exclusive association of arrival with economic factors, while at the same time suggesting other dimensions that might be useful to get hold of a blurry phenomenon. Methodologically, this entails studying social relationships and practices in several locations. Integration at and identification with different places by multi-local actors, interdependences between locations and different kinds of mobility make it necessary to break with territorially fixed concepts, samples and methods (Schier et al. 2015).

Recurrent mooring in the Seasonal Arrival City. An interim conclusion

As a heuristic concept and expression of the dialectic of movement and anchoring, of mobility and immobility, and of presence and absence, multi-locality directs our attention to recurring processes at different rhythms and geographical scales. Migration within a country, across national borders (Hannam et al. 2006, Massey 2005), as well as within metropolitan regions. The rhythms of these arrangements might be dependent on harvesting periods but can also be induced by school vacations, the temporal logic of construction sites or necessities in the transport industries such as cargo shipping. While some of the multi-local arrangements are put in place in order to last, in many cases they are temporary experiments with rhythms and locations that only occasionally persist for a

longer time. An elaborate call for accepting the realities of rather fragile (and we would add, multi-local) constellations has been formulated by Simone who states: “temporariness is not just an interregnum. It is not a willing or involuntary pause in the real action. It is not simply a deficiency, a lack of stability, opportunity or justice. It is not simply a problem to be solved. Rather, it is a register to be cultivated; a rhythm of endurance” (2020, 1139). Multi-locality also suggests recognising the reality of people with dispersed loyalties whose household locations are difficult to determine in space – while those living it are still able to see the larger picture (Simone 2020: 1140). In order to support the inhabitants of urban territories marked as Arrival Cities, it is essential to understand the larger picture of livelihood which appears to be more provisional and spatially polygamous than often thought of.

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Biographies

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Luigi Gugliara born in Sicily, completed his graduation in architecture at Politecnico di Milano. He has since worked for practices such as: White Arkitekter in Copenhagen, Topotek1 in Zürich and for the 16th Venice Biennale. He is currently a part of A-Mille architects in Zurich and student of MAS housing at ETH.

Elaheh Iranmanesh was born in Kerman, Iran. After her graduation in master of architecture, she worked for several years as an aca-

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Efijeni Kokëdhima was born and raised in Albania. After graduating as an architect from the Polis University in 2017, she was invited as a teaching assistant in the Polytechnic University of Tirana. In 2019 she co-founded Cine Tarkovsky, a nomadic pop-up cinema that explores the Balkan's architecture through film. She is currently a student at the MAS in Housing program at ETH Zurich.

Joanna Lawson has a degree from UCL and a postgraduate diploma from the Istituto per l'Arte e il Restauro in Florence. She has professional experience in the architecture field in England, Italy and Switzerland. She currently works for an architecture and project management firm, in addition to studying for an MAS ETH in Housing.

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Angelika Scheidegger was born in Switzerland. She studied architecture at the ZHAW and ETH Zurich and worked as an architect at Peter Zumthor AG and Knapkiewicz Fickert Architects. She is currently a student at the MAS ETH in Housing where she is researching on participation in planning processes.

Eleftherios Papamichelakis was born in Chania, Greece. After graduation in architecture from the University of Patras, he studied a Master in Architecture and Urban Design at the program „Mediterranean Futures 2018-2019“ in Athens, Greece. In Athens, he worked as an intern at Parthenos Architects and Associates. He is currently a student of MAS in Housing program at ETH Zurich.

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Alejandro Jaramillo is an architect and researcher with several years of experience in the design, management, and construction of public projects. His research focuses on the challenges and achievements of internally displaced persons in returning to

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Rakhi Mehra is a graduate of Harvard Business School (2009) and co-founder of mHS CITY LAB, an interdisciplinary social enterprise. mHS's work has enabled social impact through design and delivery of multi-stakeholder programs in micro-finance, low-income housing and inclusive cities. As a visiting lecturer, Rakhi offers experiential learning opportunities for students through select University affiliations in Europe & Switzerland.

Stefania Koller is an architect based in Zurich. In 2017, her interest in society, environment and architecture led her to join Neustart Schweiz as a board member. She is currently working at Salewski & Kretz Architects, a practice that focuses on design and strategy solutions for complex urban projects.

Giulia Montanari studied human geography in Munich and worked at the Leibniz-Institute for Regional Geography until 2015. She finished her PhD in 2016 at the Karlsruhe

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Daniela Sanjinés is an architect, urban planner and researcher with over 10 years experience in addressing challenges of urbanisation, inequality, and spatial exclusion seen through the lens of housing. As a researcher at the ETH Wohnforum, she teaches at the MAS ETH in Housing and is currently engaged in research projects in Switzerland and Latin America.

Christoph Straessle is a graduate student in architecture at ETH Zurich. He is working as a helping assistant at the ETH Wohnforum and is supporting the staff with this publication.

Hunnarshala was established after the 2001 Kutch earthquake by a group of Civil Society Organisations, Academic Institutions and Corporates as a not-for-profit with shareholding of 50 eminent citizens from across the country. The impulse for its establishment is to bring high quality architecture based on the values of fragal-

ity, creativity and participation of Building and Craft Artisans and Communities in our villages. It is based on reinventing the sustainable building practices of our traditions in earth, bamboo, stone etc. for modern living. It is based on giving credit and meaning to the knowledge and pedagogy of labour and artisanal societies thereby giving them their due in the otherwise largely exploitative building construction industry. It is based on showcasing that participatory design methodologies build better solutions and owned identities for its users.

Aditya Singh is an architect and a project coordinator at Hunnarshala. He has an experience of more than ten years with appropriate construction technologies and inclusive planning of the built habitat. He has worked extensively on housing for the urban low-income groups, as well as appropriate housing systems for the rural communities.

Karman Marwada is a social worker with more than 18 years of experience. He began his work with Kutch Mahila Vikas Sangathan, and then joined Setu Abhiyan working in the rural areas. He finally moved to the urban cell of

Setu in 2011, where he currently works. He has worked extensively on creating awareness amongst the marginalised sections about their rights, linking them with social security schemes, livelihood support as well as on establishment of participatory and decentralised governance systems.

Sandeep Virmani's work spans over more than three decades. Trained as an architect, he moved to Kutch to work closely with the communities here. His explorations cover a diverse range of fields including built environment- housing/planning/infrastructure, water management, organic agriculture including rain-fed crop biodiversity, sustainable animal husbandry with pastoral communities, urban waste management, wildlife and habitat conservation, as well as development models that are more sustainable, participatory, equitable and gender sensitive. On his pursuit to explore these he founded four technical organisations: Hunnarshala, Sahjeevan, Satwik, and Arid Communities & Technologies.

Tino Schlinzig is sociologist at ETH Centre for Research on Architecture, Society & the Built Environment in Zurich. Before this he

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Marco Ferarri is an architect and co-founder of MHS Global Impact, a social enterprise for resilient housing & inclusive cities. He strongly believes that an interdisciplinary approach is necessary to address complex and inter-related issues. The Cooper Hewitt Museum Exhibition: “Design With The Other 90%” chose his innovative design for modular shelter for homeless in Delhi and the Design Home Solutions pilot. In 2018, Marco delivered a TEDx talk on Inclusive Design: Right to safe and Affordable Housing in India Cities where he discussed the ambitious project to leverage technology for last-mile technical assistance for informal housing. Marco graduated from the Politecnico Di Milano in 2003, interned at the Grameen Bank and participated in the Global Social Entrepreneurship Program at Yale School of Management (2010 & 2013).

Leonie Charlotte Wagner is student assistant at ETH Wohnforum - ETH CASE. She studied philosophy, linguistics and architecture at the TU Berlin and is currently continuing her studies with the master’s program in architecture at ETH Zurich. She has worked for archithese, among others, and is a freelance writer in architectural journalism.

