Håvard Breivik-Khan

TOWARDS AN ARCHITECTURE OF NON-EXCEPTIONAL HUMANITARIAN SPACES

This doctoral thesis examines the architecture and urbanism of places used for displacement management and contingency planning. Current policy and practice concerning emergency reception promote limited engagement with long-term plans for communities receiving new arrivals, and domestic contingency planning is delinked from urban planning, though the two domains intersect in critical ways. The thesis asks: What are the spatial intersections between international and local governance in contingency planning and displacement management? How can these intersections contribute to frameworks for evolving understandings of displacement? And how can these frameworks be used in policies for spatially integrated emergency and daily uses? To address these questions, I investigate the localized spatial manifestations of global displacement management policy, the site selection process, and the mediation of the contested spaces these decisions may produce. Cases include Norway's reception architecture shaped by the Cold War and urban securitization, and Romania's earthquake contingency planning, which intersects with hosting refugees from Ukraine. The thesis challenges the mono-functional and time-limited displacement management practice known as humanitarian exceptionalism.

Håvard Breivik-Khan (1981) is an architect, researcher, and expert in international emergency planning and response. He has worked for the United Nations in Haiti, Nepal, North Macedonia, and Hungary, at UN Headquarters in New York, and with government ministries in Moldova and Romania through the Norwegian Refugee Council's emergency roster, NORCAP. Breivik-Khan has extensive research and teaching experience from AHO and Columbia University on topics bridging architecture, urbanism, and displacement. He holds a master's degree in architecture from AHO's Institute of Urbanism and Landscape, with academic residencies in Paris, France, and Shanghai and Chongqing, China.

ISSN: 978-82-547-0377-9
ISBN: 1502-217X

PhD thesis 132



Håvard Breivik-Khan

TOWARDS AN ARCHITECTURE OF NON-EXCEPTIONAL HUMANITARIAN SPACES

Arkitektur- og designhøgskolen i Oslo
The Oslo School of Architecture and Design

PhD thesis

© Håvard Breivik-Khan, 2025

ISSN 1502-217X
ISBN 978-82-547-0377-9

CON-TEXT 132
Towards an Architecture
of Non-exceptional
Humanitarian Spaces

Akademisk doktorgradsavhandling
avgitt ved Arkitektur- og
designhøgskolen i Oslo (AHO)

UTGIVER:
Arkitektur- og
designhøgskolen i
Oslo (AHO)

BILDE OMSLAG:
Håvard Breivik-Khan

TRYKK:
Aksell

DESIGN AV BASISMAL:
BMR

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful for the time I was given to write this thesis and most of all for the time others dedicated to me. My supervisors deserve all the praise in the world for the way they guided me throughout this time. Thank you Lisbet Harboe for sharing your vast knowledge with warmth and wit and for being caring and generous with your time. Thank you Peter Hemmersam for being solid, dependable, and always providing pertinent remarks with few superlatives, which added double value to every word of praise. Thank you Cathrine Brun for the rare combination of candor and kindness.

Thank you Jørn Casper Øwre for turning a blind eye to linguistic shortcomings during the shortest job interview of my career and for sending me to Haiti as a fresh-out-of-school architect. It was reckless. None of this would have happened without you. Thank you Tone Selmer-Olsen, my friend and confidant and the only one who will ever understand what it was like when the ground shook and the borders closed. Thank you for your vigor and vision and for the joyful times of building the In Transit Studio together.

Thank you Marianne Skjulhaug for taking a chance on me and for giving me space and more autonomy than most newly minted educators can dream of. The legacy of the In Transit Studio is shared with you and with every single one of the brilliant In Transit alumni—thank you all! Thank you Paul-Antoine Lucas—first, my student and, later, colleague—who brought new life into the studio and my research. Thank you Mattias Josefsson for being instrumental in luring me back to my alma mater and for not only generously sharing your own images but also showing me how to capture new ones. Thank you to all my DWELL colleagues in Finland, India, and the UK—my social science friends—for sharing my ambition of mediating cultural worlds.

Thank you Jan-Paul Brekke for summarizing my work with elegance and humor, and Hanne Cecilie Geirbo for capturing the essence of my thesis and following up with precise comments when they were sorely needed. Thank you Tim Ainsworth Anstey for championing my cause and for your intra-institutional mediation. Thank you Jessica Hemmings for your clear-eyed appraisal, meticulous attention to detail, and for the engaging and fun meetings at a critical moment. Thank you Johanne Borthne for the unconditional moral support and Hege Breivik for your unwavering big-sister backing.

To Asif. Thank you for everything. You're the best.

Håvard Breivik-Khan

New York, April 2025

Contents

Acknowledgements iii

Abstract 1

Prologue I 2

Prologue II 3

Chapter One: Outlining the field 4

BACKGROUND 4

INTRODUCTION 5

THE REALITY GAP IN ARCHITECTURAL URBAN THEORY
DEALING WITH DISPLACEMENT MANAGEMENT
—AND IN THE SPATIAL REALITIES OF HUMANITARIAN CRITIQUE 7

HOW IT STARTED 11

EXCEPTIONAL TIMES AND PLACES IN
GLOBAL DISPLACEMENT MANAGEMENT 13

EPHEMERAL VERSUS PERVASIVE
TEMPORALITY IN ARCHITECTURE THEORY 15

MEDIATING PLACES OF NORMALCY AND EXCEPTIONS 17

DISPLACEMENT 18

SHELTER 23

BETWEEN SHELTERS AND BEYOND 28

THE ARCHITECTURE OF CONFLICT AND BENEVOLENCE
AND THE EXTRAORDINARY ARCHITECTURE OF DAILY LIFE 36

Chapter Two: The research questions and framing of the three articles **41**

MULTI-SITED DISPLACEMENT 41

TRANSNATIONALISM 42

POLICY SPREAD 43

PLACE 44

EXCEPTIONAL URBANISM 45

HUMANITARIAN EXCEPTIONALISM 46

HUMANITARIAN SPACE 47

Chapter Three: Multimethod qualitative research design **49**

DOCUMENT ANALYSIS:
OPERATIONAL-REFLECTIVE DOCUMENTS AND NEWSPAPER ARTICLES 50

EMBEDDED RESEARCH, PERFORMATIVE KNOWLEDGE,
AND OBSERVANT PARTICIPATION 56

EMBEDDED RESEARCHER 56

OBSERVANT PARTICIPATION 57

FIELD NOTES AS REFLECTIONS ON TRANSITIONS,
TENSIONS, AND THE ETHICS OF MY ALTERNATING ROLES 59

CASE STUDIES 70

TEACHING AS PRODUCTION OF SOURCE MATERIAL
FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATIONS 75

THE STORY OF THE IN TRANSIT STUDIO 76

TEACHING AS CAPACITY BUILDING 81

A PEDAGOGY THAT EMULATES PRACTICE 83

THE CHALLENGES OF ENGAGING STUDENTS
IN POLITICALLY CHARGED SITUATIONS 86

TEACHING AS RESEARCH METHODOLOGY
AND DRIVER OF KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION 88

A MULTIMETHOD RESEARCH APPROACH 96

Chapter Four: The three articles 98

ARTICLE ONE
THE CONCEPT OF PLACE IN DISPLACEMENT MANAGEMENT 100

ARTICLE TWO
THE MOUNTAIN HALL AND THE SMART CLUB:
THE ARCHITECTURE OF EMERGENCY RECEPTION IN NORWEGIAN CITIES 128

ARTICLE THREE
NON-EXCEPTIONAL HUMANITARIAN SPACES: THE EMERGENCY
RECEPTION OF UKRAINIAN REFUGEES AS CONTINGENCY PLANNING
FOR DOMESTIC MASS DISPLACEMENT IN ROMANIA 142

Chapter Five: Critical reflections and conclusion 162

FINDINGS FROM THE THREE ARTICLES 163

KEY FINDINGS 167

IMPLICATIONS FOR THEORY 169

IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY 172

IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE 173

LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH 174

CONCLUSION 175

FURTHER RESEARCH 178

Epilogue I 180

Epilogue II 181

References 182

Abstract

This doctoral thesis examines the architecture and urbanism of places used for displacement management and contingency planning purposes. While holistic displacement management regimes, advancing "whole-of-society" solutions, are part of a paradigm shift in the international humanitarian, development, and peacemaking domains, current policy and practice concerning reception and other shelter and settlements solutions promote limited engagement with long-term plans for the built environments of host communities receiving new arrivals. The time frames of "here and now" or "before and after" are currently challenged in crisis management theory (Hilhorst 2018) but not in the built environment practices of emergency response and planning. In parallel, contemporary domestic contingency planning is largely delinked from urban planning. The two domains, however, intersect in critical ways. In my thesis, I ask: What are the spatial intersections between international and local governance practices in contingency planning and displacement management? How can these intersections contribute to creating conceptual frameworks for evolving understandings of displacement? And how can these frameworks be used in policies for spatially integrated emergency and daily uses? To explore these questions, I investigate the complex interactions between global displacement management policy and the localized spatial manifestations of these provisions. I outline the complicated processes of site selection for emergency response and the mediation of the contested spaces these decisions may produce. This thesis includes a case study of reception architecture in Norway that resulted from contingency planning decisions during the Cold War and the present urban securitization era. It also includes the case of Romania—a country simultaneously providing humanitarian assistance to refugees from Ukraine while preparing for internal mass displacement in the event of a major earthquake. In my quest to re-actualize the relationship between architecture and urbanism with displacement management and contingency planning, I initiated the In Transit Studio in 2016. To complete the trajectory from theory, through case studies, to practice, I examine how the In Transit Studio has substantially contributed to this research, and how teaching—as a research methodology and a driver of knowledge production—became an integral part of this thesis. The perspectives identified in my thesis addresses the urgency of climate action and challenge the mono-functional and time-limited displacement management practice known as humanitarian exceptionalism.

I

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 2020

Senior United Nations Mediation Expert: So, what's your thesis about, what's the title?

Architect (me): Spatial Mediation—or that's the working title at least.

Mediation Expert: Everyone's a mediator these days.

Architect: Everyone's an architect these days.

II

PORT-AU-PRINCE, JUNE 2010

By now this has become a routine. I look for the nearest tree, or any safe structure that provides shade, and move our little group there. With my shirt I wipe off the moist finger marks on the blue plastic clipboard. I then lift my sunglasses and use the other shirt tail to wipe off the sweat dripping down to my eyes. I take a questionnaire out of the hollow clipboard container and attach a paper on top. Pen in hand, I ask the interpreter to ask the man in front: "What do you urgently need? What can we do for you?" I have already started noting down what I know we can assist with, as we cannot give him back what he has lost. We are standing in a pile of rubble that used to be his floor, his walls, his roof, his home. He now lives in zone A2, but only my team members and I know this. I look over to the makeshift homes he and his neighbors have built a stone's throw away and, in the silence that follows my question, I use the time to note in my questionnaire "Majority of the groups'/ clusters' residents at the hillside of zones A1, A2, B, C, and E (see map) should be relocated as their present locations are at risk from landslides and shelters being washed away or inundated by the rushing floodwater from the hill." Then the man starts talking and I stop writing. He looks at me and says: "I need a TV."

Chapter One: Outlining the field

BACKGROUND

My first professional experience as an architect was as a site planner deployed to the United Nations as part of the humanitarian response to the 2010 earthquake in Haiti that displaced 2.1 million people (IDMC 2019, 12). My competencies as an architect were deemed relevant for work in the built environment part of displacement management, also referred to as the *shelter and settlements* sector. Yet, being an architect in this context was met with wonder from my new international colleagues from other professional fields, who often asked: "What does an architect do here?" Fifteen years later, this is a question I still get, also from colleagues in agencies whose mandates are built around the concept of international protection and upholding basic human rights and the security of individuals or groups who are not protected by their own state (UNHCR 2023).[1]

Protection entails physical safety that involves at least a minimum of spatial design. After all, shelter is one of the most basic needs. Displacement, however, is a complex condition that requires knowledge exceeding the most basic competencies of the built environment professions. Beyond the fundamental protection offered by floors, walls, and roofs, the variety of daily life normally framed by architecture is reduced to a bare minimum in displacement situations. Thus, this thesis is about the architecture and urbanism of places used for displacement management and contingency planning purposes. Mostly, however, it is about people's dignity, health, and wellbeing, whether they are displaced, living in fear of being displaced, or unable to access the places that constitute their lives.

1 https://www.unhcr.org/what-we-do/protect-human-rights/protection Entry date: November 1, 2023.

INTRODUCTION

"Shelter is a process" is the unofficial slogan of the Global Shelter Cluster, the coordination mechanism of the United Nations and Red Cross movement on matters relating to emergency architecture.[2] Shelter is also an area that accentuates the complicated relationship between time and place in displacement management. The shelter and settlements sector is not only the common ground for the built environment and displacement management domains but also a source of the so-called architect-humanitarian divide that has developed in the late 20th century and the early 2000s (Scott-Smith 2017, 67). In the words of migration scholar Tom Scott-Smith, "given the persistence of this divide, which is based more on misunderstanding than genuine animosity, we need to promote some mediation between these cultural worlds" (2017, 68). This divide also exists between different governing entities in [urban] contexts receiving new arrivals. Urban planning scholar Stacy Anne Harwood reveals in her research that planners are not very engaged with welcoming initiatives or immigrant affairs staff. "Overall, planning continues as 'business as usual' in cities calling themselves welcoming to immigrants. Surprisingly, immigrant affairs staff and planners know little about each other" (Harwood 2022, 413). With my ambition of mediating these domains, my research critically explores the policies and practices related to built

2 The Global Shelter Cluster is an Inter-Agency Standing Committee coordination mechanism that supports people affected by natural disasters and internally displaced people affected by conflict with the means to live in safe, dignified, and appropriate shelter. The Global Shelter Cluster enables better coordination among all shelter actors, including local and national governments, so that people who need shelter assistance get help faster and receive the right kind of support. The Global Shelter Cluster is a public platform co-chaired by IFRC and UNHCR at the global level, and it has 44 partners who participate on a regular basis. IFRC is the convener of the Shelter Cluster in natural disasters while UNHCR leads the Shelter Cluster in conflict situations. Source: https://sheltercluster.org/. Entry date: June 16, 2023.

environment matters in displacement management and contingency planning as well as the lack of attention to this topic within the architecture and urbanism domain. Because, as architect and scholar Reenie Elliott wrote:

> Enormous resources are invested each year in contested spaces and this has been the case for centuries. Yet most architects claim that architecture has no part to play in conflict resolution, or in salvaging community relations, or in the pursuit of social cohesion in contested space. Surely architectural typologies exist which can be used as tools to enhance communication in contested spaces? (2013, 249)

In this chapter, I provide an overview of the practical experiences that led me to investigate the interactions between the two domains—or "cultural worlds," as phrased by Scott-Smith—of displacement management and contingency planning on the one hand and architecture and urbanism on the other. I also use this chapter to introduce key terms and concepts that I treat throughout my thesis. The challenges and knowledge gaps outlined in Chapter One form the background for formulating my research questions, which I present in Chapter Two. In Chapter Three, I account for the thesis' methods, data, and source material. To complete the trajectory from theory, through case studies, to practice, I tell the story towards the end of this chapter of how I returned to academia as a practitioner and initiated the In Transit Studio at the Oslo School of Architecture and Design (AHO) in 2016. I further reflect on how the studio has shaped and greatly contributed to this research, including considerations of the ethical and methodological implications of integrating insights drawn from teaching into the research process.

The three articles that constitute the magnitude of my thesis are included as an integral part of the exegesis and constitute Chapter Five. The articles build on one another and explore different aspects of my research questions. They are presented in their entirety in the order they were produced, which illustrates how my research evolved from focusing on international displacement management to also include domestic contingency planning and the spatiality of asylum regimes. The first article is entitled *The Concept of Place in Displacement Management* and is a hybrid literature review and clarification of the concept of place and how it is understood in displacement contexts. The second article, *The Mountain Hall and the Smart Club: The Architecture of Emergency Reception in Norwegian Cities* explores the built environments of contingency planning in Norwegian cities through a case study of two emergency reception structures. With my empirical foundation as an embedded researcher in-situ, I explore in the third article, *Non-Exceptional*

Humanitarian Spaces: The Emergency Reception of Ukrainian Refugees as Contingency Planning for Domestic Mass Displacement in Romania, the duality of everyday life and a state of emergency in Romania's capital, Bucharest. I use this as a framework for expanding the notion of humanitarian space as it may unfold within the conception of non-exceptionalism.

THE REALITY GAP IN ARCHITECTURAL URBAN THEORY DEALING WITH DISPLACEMENT MANAGEMENT—AND IN THE SPATIAL REALITIES OF HUMANITARIAN CRITIQUE

"Modern life demands, and is waiting for, a new kind of plan, both for the house and for the city," wrote architect Charles-Édouard Jeanneret, better known as Le Corbusier some hundred years ago (1927, 44). The title of my thesis, *Towards an Architecture of Non-exceptional Humanitarian Spaces*, may be seen as a nod to Le Corbusier's *Towards a New Architecture*.[3] While I do share his view that architecture goes beyond utilitarian needs (1927,10), other similarities, however, between his manifesto-style collection of essays and my thesis, are limited to a shared recognition that the architectural discipline must be rationalized against a changing global reality. It is fair to recognize that Le Corbusier also turned to refugee housing between and after the two world wars (Herscher 2017, 43-48, 68-69). The "great epoch [that] has begun" (1927,12), however, to further paraphrase Le Corbusier, must, in my view, now be oriented towards the growing need to re-examine the relationship between the built environment and global displacement because of climate-change and escalating conflicts.

As a professional, I operate in the overlapping and sometimes conflicting spaces of architecture and urbanism on the one hand, and displacement management and contingency planning on the other. The so-called architect-humanitarian divide I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, has resulted in architectural urban theory that currently fails to adequately take into account the particular knowledge of professionals involved in displacement management and is instead oriented towards critique of crisis response mechanisms and mandates. In theoretical writings in both the humanities and social

3 The original French title *Vers une architecture*, is commonly known as *Towards a New Architecture* after the 1927 translation by Frederick Etchells, but is now entitled *Towards an Architecture* in more recent translations.

sciences, the critique of the spatiality of displacement management is mostly concerned with the concept of the *camp*, and as stated by humanitarian urbanist Marianne Potvin, the camp is often used as a metaphor to articulate inhumane treatment and an increasing production of placelessness (2019). Anthropologist Michel Agier investigates the global mechanisms of aid which, he argues, display a police mentality of confinement and separation. Agier claims that today's humanitarian organizations have made a specialty for themselves of managing these spaces as separate from their populations (2011, 4). He calls these extra-territorial spaces out-places, specifically made for a section of the world population who are deemed undesirable and vulnerable and whose political existence depends no longer on their origins, but on local contexts of identification, and particularly on the camps in which they live (2011, 4-15). Agier's theory reveals how refugee camps are more than just shelters; they are politically managed spaces.

The history of the fraught relationship between space, aid, and control is also treated in current architectural urban theory. Architect and historian Andrew Herscher points to the international institutionalization of displacement and corresponding spatial responses, leading to the establishment of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in 1950. Herscher's outlines that the room for providing meaningful contributions for architects in displacement management is, ironically, limited by the set up and mandate of the intergovernmental organizations in question (2017, 5-8, 70-71). Herscher further points out that the *architecting*—a term he uses—of refugees is conspicuously missing in the literature of displacement and architecture, but that scholarship on the architecture of refugees in camps and cities has begun the important work of historicizing the refugee as architect (2017, 5, 10). Herscher points out that there is a close relationship between spatiality and legal status of a displaced person, and wrote, "Asylum is not only a *right*, as it is described in human-rights and humanitarian law; it is also a *space*" (2017, 30-31). However, he argues that while international law defines this space as being within a country other than the refugee's country of citizenship, it remains notably silent on the architectural form that such a space takes (2017, 31-32).

Moving beyond the scope of the camp and theory concerned with global displacement management critique, geographer Romola Sanyal, writing over a decade ago, observes that there is a "prominent silence" in urban studies on the question of refugees. Despite the increasing numbers of displaced persons in the urban environment, discussions on refugees are largely confined to humanitarian relief and the United Nations (2014, 558). She wrote:

> Refugee spaces are emerging as quintessential geographies of the modern, yet their intimate and everyday spatialities remain underexplored. Rendered largely through geopolitical discourses, they are seen as biopolitical spaces where the sovereign can reduce the subject to bare life. (2014, 558)

While Sanyal developed her theory of *displacement urbanism* by looking at displacement as a key analytical framework to understand contemporary urban transformations, her focus is primarily on the Global South and the phenomenon of *urban displacement*. Along with the absence of displacement management from discourse beyond what Sanyal acknowledges as humanitarian relief and the United Nations work, the Global North also remains neglected in discourse.

Explained more recently by human geographer Cathrine Brun, "[…] the international refugee regime has not come up with an alternative to camps that includes social and legal protection: even forced migrants in a non-camp solution cannot escape the camp-logic of care and control, temporary lives and exclusion" (2020, 8). In other words, displacement management is in theory also treated as a constant condition of *exceptionalism* and camps—in their broadest meaning—thus remain *exceptional* places. Following Brun's claim that camps are almost always places on the margin, and the status of the camp will always constitute an exclusionary element, even if it becomes a city (2020, 8), I have built my theoretical framework in the margins of conventional urban theory (Campbell 2005; Chircop 2018; Gandy 2006; Sample 2005, 2012, Dean 2005). In an effort to speak to the gap I perceive in urban theory's engagement with displacement management, I draw from both spatial and contingency planning (Alexander 2002, 2016; Sample 2005, 2012; Sorkin 2008; Dean 2005; Campbell 2005) and global displacement management critique (Brun 2016; Koshy et al., 2022, Hilhorst 2018; Hilhorst and Jansen 2010; Potvin 2019).

Connecting the domains of architecture and urbanism with global displacement management and contingency planning requires a theoretical framework capable of encompassing different disciplines and many levels of discursive scholarship. Despite their differences, each knowledge domain, either explicitly or implicitly, features spatiality. Article One draws from urban theory on *Place* from the humanities and social sciences (Augé 1995; Cresswell 2015; Hvattum 2009; Massey 1994; Madanipour 2014; Relph 1976/2008; Seamon and Sowers 2008; Tuan 1977/2011; di Masso et al. 2019; Herscher and

Siddiqi 2017; Herz 2013; Urry 2007/2012; Brun 2016; Brun and Shuayb 2020; Brun and Fabos 2015). Article Two uses architectural urban theory from the humanities that together constitute *Exceptional urbanism frameworks* (Campbell 2005; Chircop 2018; Gandy 2006; Sample 2012/2005; Dean 2005). Article Three works with displacement management theory, primarily from the social sciences on *Humanitarian space and exceptionalism* (Mrudhula Kosh et al. 2022; Collinson and Elhawary 2012; Potvin 2019; Hilhorst 2018; Hilhorst and Jansen 2010). Implicit in the three articles is a transnational perspective, which I account for in Chapter Two.

Nevertheless, the discourses I draw from here do not sufficiently highlight the reality gap experienced by built environment professionals operating within the expanding domain of displacement management—where multiple, simultaneous crises require aid provision for both new arrivals and internally displaced persons. These situations compel built environment professionals to engage with a wider assemblage of governance actors and mechanisms than, let us say, Agier's "humanitarian government". In an attempt to pinpoint my contribution to the current knowledge gap in theory and bring these discussions together, I introduce three key conceptualizations from each of the three articles—*place in displacement*, *contingency urbanism*, and *non-exceptional humanitarian space*.

Humanitarianism criticism theory is concerned with who are said to be entitled to humanitarian intervention (Agier 2011, Herscher 2017). However, and because of my alternating roles, I alternate quite freely between how I refer to groups with different displacement and migration statuses, without putting too much emphasis on their different rights and the legal implications of this. Spatially people require the same dignity—reflecting the architect's responsibility to uphold a standard of care— and as multiple, overlapping crises unfold, the global need for humanitarian assistance will continue to shift rapidly. As I explain in Chapter Four regarding the In Transit Studio, the immigration status of the imagined clients for the design projects, has in general not been a guiding concern for the spatial and programmatic proposals. Mediating between new arrivals and host communities through placemaking has instead been the focus. The concepts I have introduced in this thesis suggest new ways of collaborating between disparate international and national governance entities and levels, and systemic change is required for this to be successful.

Nevertheless, the scope of my research is limited to the spatial and programmatic aspects of reception in displacement situations and the potential of daily life inclusion in the environments in which they are placed, including an expanded geography that takes into consideration the Global North.

In Chapter Five, I present my findings and explain how the key conceptualizations from each of the three articles build on one another and together constitute a way of re-actualizing the relationship between architecture and urbanism with displacement management and contingency planning. Based on this, I discuss the implications of my research, outline limitations and end with a conclusion.

HOW IT STARTED

Many of the moments I experienced in Haiti gave me cause for further reflection, as alluded to in the prologue. Two are recounted here. The first pertains to the story from the prologue, and the meeting with the man who had lost everything and asked me for a television instead of a shelter. As an inexperienced site planner acting in accordance with my newly acquired mandate and shaken by the destruction and suffering caused by the earthquake, I found the request for a TV odd. My job was to provide spatial and material interventions meant to keep the man safe and protect him from the next hurricane. Moreover, I had no TV to give him. TVs are usually not stockpiled as *Non-Food Items* (NFI)—displacement management lingo for essential household items other than food (UNHCR 2016).[4] The second moment arose a little later when I, being responsible for the Site Planning unit of the International Organization for Migration (IOM), declined to build a church for the local Jesuit Order on a newly developed relocation site for internally displaced persons situated outside Haiti's capital, Port-au-Prince. Looking back, I now see this decision as a misguided interpretation of the core humanitarian principles of humanity, impartiality, neutrality, and independence (UN General Assembly Resolution 46/182). Would a social gathering place have negatively affected a population in distress, even if assigned a religious purpose?

4 https://www.unhcr.org/sy/21-non-food-items-nfis.html Entry date: November 2, 2023.

Framing people's daily lives is an essential part of the architecture profession. Most of my professional experience, however, stems from extraordinary contexts. In 2013, a Norwegian newspaper called me an "emergency architect" (D2 | Dagens Næringsliv 2013). What I was not able to convey to the journalist writing the story was that I would rather consider myself an ordinary architect who is also needed before, during, and after emergencies. In Haiti and in the many emergency response missions later, I gradually came to realize that the knowledge provided throughout my architectural training and the guidance tools available to site planners in displacement management practice did not emphasize the same priorities. This realization formed the motivation for undertaking the research presented in this thesis. Thus, my ambition is to strengthen the dim links between the mutually important competencies that inherently exist within the two domains.

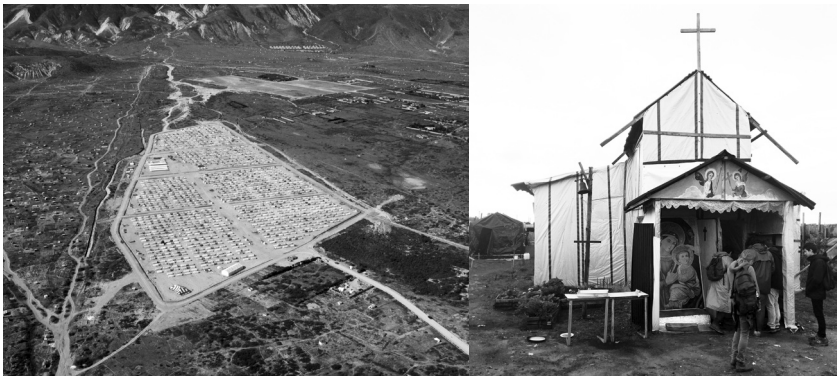


Figure A. Left: Aerial photo of Corail-Cesselesse, Haiti, 2010. The relocation site of Corail-Cesselesse, a 7,500 hectare plot of land twenty kilometers north of Haiti's capital, Port-au-Prince. The site was constructed by the UN and NGOs to accommodate internally displaced persons as part of the humanitarian response in Haiti after the 2010 earthquake. Would the construction of a social gathering place within the camp have provided relief to a distressed population? Right: Auto-construction. The contours of the archetype of a church with a minimum of detailing, erected by inhabitants of Calais' "the Jungle" camp in Calais, France, 2016. Is this structure spatially sufficient as a sacred place reminiscent of "back home"?
Photos: Håvard Breivik-Khan (2010, 2016)

Similar to the gradual realization about the site planning shortcomings described in the paragraph above, the three articles emerged from a focus on international displacement management but evolved into a discourse that also includes domestic contingency planning and the spatiality of asylum regimes. While the discrepancy between the ways of working as an architect and a humanitarian was the starting point, the commonalities between these domains gradually uncovered during my research became the main topic of explora-

tion. I wrote large parts of my thesis during the COVID-19 pandemic while in lockdown in New York. The real-time and constant monitoring of national border control regimes, and the confluence of disease and migration control manifested through spatial solutions, also contributed to domestic contingency planning becoming a more prominent part of my research than initially planned. The pandemic revealed that the future of displacement management will also take place in contexts like the one from where I originate, the global and geographic north. Furthermore, as science journalist Gaia Vince points out, large populations will have to transcend continents to reach the planet's cooler places, in other words, go north (2023 xii). Thus, international and local contingency planning will have to be even more intertwined, and aid operations will take place in places typically not—until now—associated with humanitarian contexts.

EXCEPTIONAL TIMES AND PLACES IN GLOBAL DISPLACEMENT MANAGEMENT

In global displacement management, the response in crisis situations is organized as a series of time-limited phases that replace one another along with the responsible agencies: emergency response, early recovery, and reconstruction (Meritens et al. 2016). Each phase is also directly linked to spatial and material aspects of the response, as I explain in more detail in the section Shelter, later in this Chapter. The global ambition of improving aid is to maximize the use of the expertise in complementary institutional domains through the sequencing of overlapping activities. One such initiative is the Humanitarian Development Nexus, which aims to ensure better connectivity between humanitarian and development efforts (UNOCHA, 2017). Another is the Humanitarian-Development-Peace Nexus (HDPN), which the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) explains as "a whole-of-system approach", a policy and an operational imperative in which humanitarian, development and peace actors take account of each other's actions and collaborate to be efficient and effective" (IASC 2023, 1).[5]

5 Created by United Nations General Assembly resolution 46/182 in 1991, the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) is the longest-standing and highest-level humanitarian coordination forum of the United Nations system. It brings together the executive heads of 19 organizations and consortia to formulate policy, set strategic priorities and mobilize resources in response to humanitarian crises. Text from website: https://interagencystandingcommittee.org/the-inter-agency-standing-committee Entry date: September 16, 2024.

The global ambition of improving aid by humanitarian, development and peacemaking actors partaking in each other's professional domains with overlapping activities and not only along a linear time axis may also be transferable to the architecture–displacement management nexus.

The limited interaction between the two domains of architecture and urbanism, and displacement management and contingency planning, may be attributed to different ideas about what place is and how it should be organized. Humanitarian actors are mostly concerned with the time frame "here and now" in the event of a disaster. Further, what was previously understood as the "before and after" of these events is now partially recognized as cyclical, because disasters, and the need for responses, are becoming more frequent. This is increasingly considered the new normal in global displacement management (Hilhorst 2018). Still, this is often not reflected in emergency reception as built form.

The prevailing exceptionalism thinking—the common perception of emergencies as time-limited and exceptional events (Alexander 2002; Hilhorst 2018)—is a feature of operational guidance tools for the shelter and settlements sector within global displacement management. One example is the concept of Collective Centers, which, according to the UN, are "pre-existing buildings and structures where large groups of displaced people find shelter for a short time while durable solutions are pursued" (UNHCR 2022). Predesignated collective shelters are also included as reception solutions in contingency plans of countries prone to natural disasters, which include cyclone, hurricane, storm, and flood shelters (CCCM 2010, 2015). In the UN Collective Centre Guidelines, the collective center typology is described as a non-durable solution that should be avoided (CCCM 2010, 6).

In these types of documents, reception begins with the end in sight: "It is extremely important that the closure of a Collective Centre is considered from the time of the Collective Centre set-up throughout its lifecycle. The way in which a Collective Centre is closed will have a significant impact on the future of its former residents" (CCCM 2010, 117). Furthermore, time in displacement situations is commonly understood as something fluctuating and temporary. This is often not the case, anthropologist Anita Fábos and human geographer Cathrine Brun argue, referring to "the permanence of temporariness" (2015) because of the many examples of displaced populations living in refugee camps for decades with no clear solutions in sight. A very practical and incontrovertible aspect of designing, planning, and constructing the built environment is that it takes time—usually not a privilege allocated to the operational part of displacement management.

EPHEMERAL VERSUS PERVASIVE TEMPORALITY IN ARCHITECTURE THEORY

Discourses of exceptional temporality versus ordinary times of reality also feature in architecture and landscape architecture theory. The qualitative description of alternating time frames often comes in pairs of two: from normal to abnormal; temporary versus permanent; before and after. This dichotomy, however, is challenged by built environment scholars working at the intersection of spatial design and ecology. This evolving understanding of the impact of the built environment also dissolves the notion of architects being only concerned with either the aesthetic aspects of buildings and landscapes, or the climate resilience properties of built structures, and instead celebrates both. One example of treating perceived exceptions as the norm is provided by architect Dilip da Cunha and landscape architect Anuradha Mathur who use the hydrologic cycle to narrate that moments of ephemerality are wet, while what is denoted as reality, is dry—and this is when maps are drawn, properties marked, infrastructure designed, and when the future is envisioned and fixed (da Cunha 2019, Mathur and da Cunha 2020). They challenge the dichotomy of water and land as something on either side of a line, the outline of a surface that features only in maps, which again are products of politics and power. The line, da Cunha wrote, requires clarity as to the place of water, and rain blurs this separation between land and water, which is why the line is drawn in dry moments. The consequence of this, he explains, is that other moments in the hydrologic cycle: mist, snow, and humidity, are considered ephemeral and seen as visitors (da Cunha 2019, 8-9). Da Cunha and Mathur ask whether it is time for a new imagination "[…] a hydrologic one—that says that we do not inhabit a surface but rather a ubiquitous wetness?" (2020, 139). Da Cunha and Mathur's call for a new imagination suggests that we need to rethink before and after conditions in displacement management, because what was previously perceived as exceptional is now increasingly normal. Temporality is no longer only ephemeral, but pervasive. The built environment in displacement management, however, does not yet reflect these new conditions.

In my first article about the concept of place, I use a photo to illustrate French anthropologist Marc Augé's description of a non-place, explained by him as a by-product of urban development (Augé 1995 / 2008). The photo is similar to the one that follows. The caption of the image presented here, however, is in-cluded to tell a story of cyclical uses of public spaces that adapt to water level fluctuations. At first glance, the spatial conditions of this so-called non-place may be perceived as a form of displacement—a disruption between

people and place (Elliott-Cooper et al. 2020)—but instead illustrates how shifting conditions are cyclical and accepted as such by the ones occupying them. Second, water—or *wetness*, the term da Cunha and Mathus use—is one of the most pressing global challenges and a trigger for conflict and displacement. Thus, water has also become a central subject in conflict mediation and water diplomacy, also referred to as *hydrodiplomacy*, and is a growing field (Klimes et. al 2019, 1362).



Figure B. Photo: Pop-up public spaces and the hydrological cycle. Chongqing, China, 2009. The placemaking of these alleged non-places (Augé 1995) is generated by the sandbanks being accessible only at certain times due to tidal water, flooding, and drought. Whenever possible, people bring their plastic chairs and make use of the land. Photo: Bergqvist and Breivik-Khan (2009).

MEDIATING PLACES OF NORMALCY AND EXCEPTIONS

Spatial mediation is an emerging field, but connecting conflict mediation with spatial design has surfaced in architecture theory in recent years. Architects and scholars Armina Pilav, Marc Schoonderbeek, Heidi Sohn and Aleksandar Staničić organized in 2019 an international conference called *Mediating the Spatiality of Conflicts*. As editors of a publication following the conference, they write about the capacity of visualizing a conflict and its spatiality through artistic work as one way of creating awareness of the causes of conflict and its consequences (Pilav et al. 2020, 18). The role of space, they further argue, is "a relational product of social actions and material transformation is equally significant, as it provides a common ground, or shared problematic, across a broad range of disciplinary fields and practices, which would otherwise remain distant" (2020, 18).

The informal conversation with the mediation expert, as I recounted in the first part of the prologue, illustrates how we attribute different understandings of each other's domains based on how we see our own profession or mandate. While the mediation expert had noticed an increase in the use of mediation outside of their knowledge field, I, on the other hand, referred to the array of meanings of architecture in disciplines other than its own—including meanings frequently used in the mediation expert's own domain. The term mediation is commonly understood as: "the interaction between two or more parties who may be disputants, negotiators, or interacting parties whose relationship could be improved by the mediator's intervention" (Wall et al. 2001, 371). Spatial mediation, however, as I argue in my thesis, quite literally pertains to solving conflict through spatial design. Thus, mediation is a more productive concept than the nexus approach as it seeks to actively find a way for the two domains to co-exist and interact.

DISPLACEMENT

Displacement can be used to describe either indirect or direct forced mobility that produces a spatial output in a new location, including but not limited to migrants, refugees, internally displaced persons (IDPs), host communities, and displacement managers. *Displacement management* is a broad term and was chosen to include a vast range of displacement contexts. In my research, I have primarily examined situations that involve entities with managing authority: the United Nations, international non-governmental organizations (INGOs), national immigration agencies, local governance actors, or domestic contingency planning authorities. Displacement management includes contingency planning. That said, contingency planning inevitably includes displacement management. However, the points of departure for developing and implementing contingency plans are different in ongoing disaster situations than in peacetime and non-displacement contexts. In global displacement management, contingency planning for other possible threats in addition to the event that triggered displacement in the first place is common practice. In Nepal, shortly after the 2015 earthquake, I was part of a team that identified monsoon evacuation sites to temporarily protect displaced persons living with minimal protection at further risk of being exposed to a second wave of displacement. Thus, identifying emergency reception sites for temporary accommodation prior to an unforeseen event is one aspect of contingency planning for both emergency and non-emergency contexts.

Planning for emergencies is similar to urban planning as both attempt to provide capacities for unknown events and futures. Many such strategies result in residual architectural and urban forms that affect the everyday lives of local communities. Previous generations of contingency planning policies are still evident in cities' physical forms today. For instance, from the conclusion of the Second World War until the 1990s, buildings and complexes were purposefully built as part of hybridized emergency contingency and urban planning processes of Norwegian towns and cities. Contingency planning in non-emergency situations typically has a long preparation time but is used only briefly (see Figure C), sometimes assigned other purposes than intended (see Figure D), and in many cases never activated and eventually decommissioned or left abandoned. In contrast, the built environments in global displacement management are commonly, and often hastily, planned for expedient implementation but often in use far longer than intended. Yet, despite the disproportionate planning time, the spatial output of the two different conditions is often also the same (see Figure F).



Figure C. Diagram: Time distribution of linear emergency reception: Simplified overview of planning time versus uses of emergency reception between global displacement management and domestic contingency planning. The Mountain Hall can be placed on the lower of the two lines in the diagram as an example of "Long planning time—short use"; however, it also represents a place with spatial and programmatic overlaps between international and local governance. Pictured is the interior of the Mountain Hall, with chairs distributed around foldable tables to transform the indoor sports arena into a makeshift cafeteria for asylum-seekers crossing the Norway–Russia border in 2015; that put a temporary stop for daily exercise and friendly rivalries in wrestling, handball, and badminton between countries in the Barents region.
Photo: Sidsel Vik / NRK (2015)

Figure D. Diagram: Time distribution of linear emergency reception: Simplified overview of variations of planning time versus uses within emergency reception in both global displacement management and domestic contingency planning. Top image: Photo taken from the publication *Fredsbruk av Tilfluktsrom* (1971), which translates to "Peacetime use of air raid shelters," featuring the basement shelter of the Trosvik primary school in Fredrikstad, Norway, designed by architects Arne Bang Larsen and Schumann Andersen and constructed in 1961, which can be used as a youth center during peacetime. The structure can be placed on the fourth line from the left of the diagram, "Long planning time—other uses." Below: Photo of Corail-Cesselesse, Haiti (Håvard Breivik-Khan, 2010); *see also Figure A*. This site can be placed on the second line from the left of the diagram, "Short planning time—indefinite use." The tents were arranged in rows, in a grid structure, that would eventually become internal but without adequately sized site boundaries. The absence of a few rows of tents constituted the only public space in the middle of each sector of the new settlement. Addresses were also assigned, but only as letters and numbers, in accordance with *the CCCM Cluster's Camp Management Toolkit*. *See Figure E on the following page >*



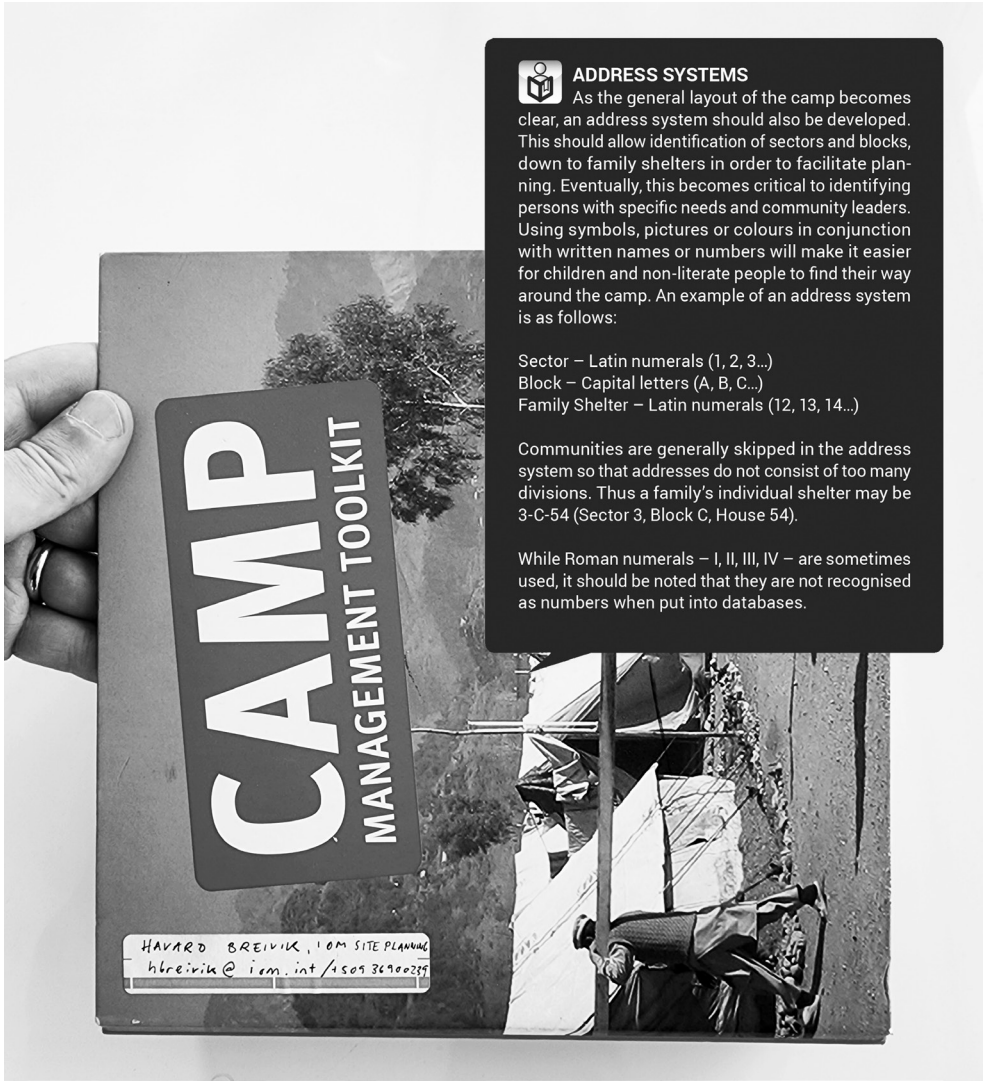
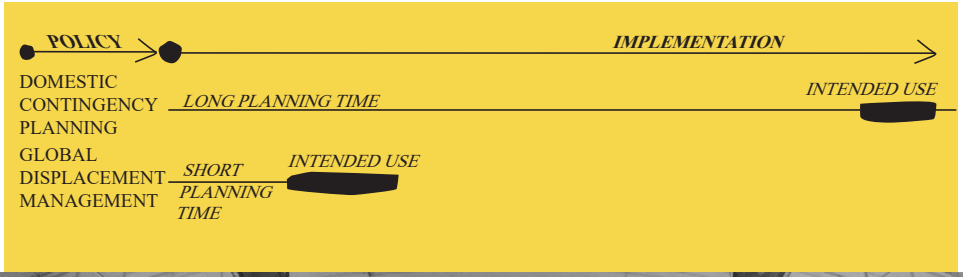


Figure E. Illustration: From *The CCCM Camp Management Toolkit 2015*. Geneva: CCCM Cluster. Page 104 in Chapter 7, *Camp set-up and closure*, states that "Communities are generally skipped in the address system so that addresses do not consist of too many divisions." Photo: Håvard Breivik-Khan (2022)



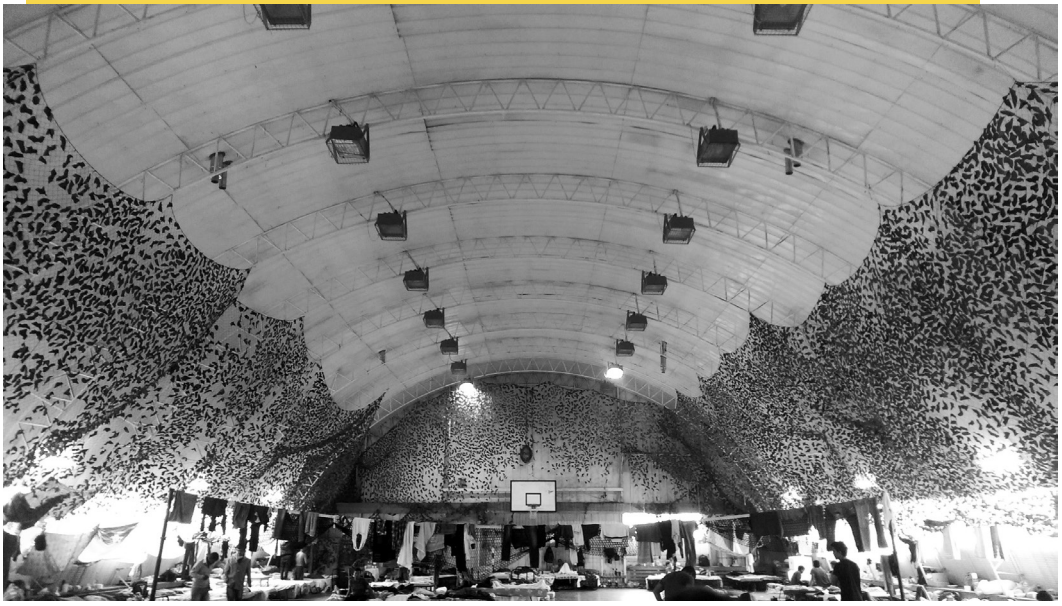


Figure F. Diagram: Linear emergency reception: Typical spatial output. While the planning time is disproportionate between global displacement management and domestic contingency planning, the spatial output is often the same (e.g., a sports hall). Pictured is one such example. This photo was taken during my mission to support the UNHCR Regional Office for Central Europe in Hungary and the Office of Immigration and Nationality of the Government of Hungary with advice on shelter and site conditions and camp management in 2015. The objective of the mission was to support of the government's plan to provide adequate conditions for the increased number of new arrivals entering Hungary. As stated in our report to describe the conditions of this reception center, "the situation in the camp was extremely disheartening. Living conditions were poor, and protection issues numerous." Photo: Håvard Breivik-Khan (2015)

SHELTER

Shelter in the humanitarian domain indicates a specific temporal scale and is linked to various degrees of permanence and, thus, also to materiality. This ranges from emergency shelters to transitional shelters—defined by the Global Shelter Cluster as the incremental process that leads to permanent structures and, thence, permanent solutions, defined as structures used for over six months (Shelter Centre 2012; GSC 2021). Global displacement management actors often consider transitional shelters a stop-gap between temporary tents and permanent housing (Sanderson et al. 2014). The mutual focus on shelter as the converging point between the domains of displacement management and contingency planning, and architecture and urbanism, paradoxically explains some of the shortcomings of the shelter and settlement sector: the under-prioritization of social and material sustainability with solutions benefitting both host communities and displaced populations alike, as one example. The materiality of reception structures is relevant for host communities because it indicates a duration of use. The types of construction materials are, therefore, often a central and concrete aspect in negotiations between international displacement management actors and national, local, or private counterparts in obtaining permission for using potential sites for emergency reception. One example is the discussions concerning transitional shelter (T-shelter) construction materials as part of the response to the 2010 Haiti earthquake. The topic of discussion was a concrete platform, the foundation for the slight timber construction that would be placed on top, and whether the platform was too permanent. The choice of materials and, hence the lifespan of the structure was seen in relation to the legal aspects of land ownership with, according to Shelter Cluster guidelines, three years or longer as the preferred duration (IASC 2010).[6]

Another shelter with a similar architectural typology is the Better Shelter, developed by Bettershelter.org, a social enterprise that grew out of a partnership between furniture retail company IKEA and the UNHCR. The product is described by the enterprise as "a sustainable shelter that lasts throughout the duration of displacement and beyond its basic purpose as emergency shelter" (Better Shelter n.d.).[7] Developed as a contribution to emergency reception, this shelter has instead made the shortcomings of the current

6 An overview of transitional shelter (T-shelter) specifications can be found here: https://www.humanitarianlibrary.org/sites/default/files/2014/02/100421_Haiti_Shelter_TechnicalGuidance_REVISED.pdf Entry date: April 27, 2025.

7 bettershelter.org Entry date: April 27, 2025.

practice of global displacement management more visible, according to geographer Daniel Monk and architect Andrew Herscher. They argue that "as it claims to make incremental gains along the axis of durability, the Better Shelter also replicates the same illogic of humanitarian governance it is intended to redress" (Monk and Herscher 2021, 8). In simpler terms, Monk and Herscher criticize the Better Shelter enterprise for designing a generic shelter for temporary use but with durable materials, which in effect may prolong the displacement condition and provide neither dignity nor livability for the displaced person. A similar critique of displacement practice and asylum policies through analyses of emergency architecture typologies can also be found in political geographer Polly Pallister-Wilkins' text about the infamous Moria camp in Greece. Pallister-Wilkins writes that the variety of accidental and improvised shelters on offer in Moria—including the Better Shelter—represents a politically crafted materiality of neglect, and the 2015 so-called refugee crisis in Europe was first and foremost a border crisis (2023, 72).



Figure G. Photo: Better Shelters on the island of Kalymnos, Greece, 2016.
Photo: Mattias Josefsson (2016).

Shelter as an object—and, in particular, the shelters described above—accentuates the complicated relationship between time and place in displacement management. However, these shelters also illustrate the serial approach of time-limited response phases in global displacement management and correspond with increasingly durable materials as the phases replace one another along with the responsible agencies: emergency response, early recovery, and reconstruction (Meritens et al. 2016). Furthermore, displacement status is linked to the same gradation of materiality, and in displacement management guidance documents, durable materials are only recommended for a displaced person when they have reached the end of their displacement period—in other words, when a durable solution has been achieved (Brookings 2010).



Figure H. Three-dimensional expression of asylum policies. Top: One of many buildings in partial or no use at Floyd Bennett field, a former airfield constructed atop a landfill turned national park on Barren Island, Jamaica Bay at the southern tip of Brooklyn, NY. Bottom: The Floyd Bennett Field family shelter is composed of a series of tents placed on one of the abandoned runways, with perimeter chain-link fences. The site has been used to accommodate asylum-seekers since 2023.
Photos: Håvard Breivik-Khan (2023)

Time and temporality are also expressed through the material qualities of reception structures used in official asylum regimes in major Western cities. The materiality and spatial layout of reception facilities are also used to visually communicate a governing entity's attitudes and policies on these issues to the public. For instance, in 2023, the US National Park at Floyd Bennett Field in Brooklyn, New York, became a political flashpoint over how the city should handle migrants arriving from the country's southwestern border (Breivik-Khan 2024).[8] The decision by the administration of Mayor Eric Adams to send migrant families with children to the Floyd Bennett Field family shelter—or as described by a local news outlet "City Will Send Migrant Families to Flood-Prone, Far-Off Tents" (The City 2023)—was met with strong opposition. New York lawmakers tried to block the plans (New York Times 2023), neighborhood residents organized demonstrations, and several New York aid organizations opposed the camp due to protection and safety concerns linked to the local climate and shelter materiality.



8 Text segments taken from the syllabus of Studio Breivik-Khan, an advanced architecture studio at Columbia University's Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation (GSAPP) of which I was responsible for in the Spring of 2024. The syllabus in its entirety is not published, but a summary of the course can be found here: https://www.arch.columbia.edu/books/reader/1166-eoys24_adv-iv#reader-anchor-0 Entry date: April 27, 2025.

While it is uncertain whether the family shelters at Floyd Bennett Field will be assigned a permanent place in the New York asylum system, The Smart Club, an abandoned warehouse outside Norway's capital Oslo, became the country's National Arrival Center after a similar process as the one in New York. In this case, however, material upgrades of an existing structure were undertaken: the retrofitting of The Smart Club building involved waiving building codes and making labor law exceptions about daylight, noise and pollution and changing the planning regulations of the site to make the temporary use of the transit center into a permanent location for temporary uses. These exceptions also led to substandard work conditions for staff. Thus, the site's zoning had to be retroactively adjusted to fit an acute situation; indeed, the decision of placing the national arrival center on the Smart Club site, was not based on qualitative urban planning priorities and procedures.



Opposite and current pages. Figure I. Bunkbeds replacing wholesale shelves. Interior view of the retrofitted Smart Club ready to accommodate asylum-seekers instead of home goods in 2016. The living quarters inside the warehouse is set up as a camp with tents as room dividers—following the emergency shelter typology. The warehouse is spatially adjusted to accommodate basic protection needs but is not *transformed* in the meaning of typological adaptations that provide architectural qualities.
Photos: Håvard Breivik-Khan (2016)

Furthermore, the living quarters inside the warehouse is set up as a camp with tents as room dividers—following the emergency shelter typology, according to international humanitarian guidance literature (GSC 2021). As described by geographers Ragne Øwre Thorshaug and Cathrine Brun, multiple and precarious temporalities meet in these tents and buildings and materialize as experiences of clashing time in the asylum seekers' lives, exemplified by "the juxtaposition of the durability of the institution and the aim of temporariness that it operates" (2019, 236). Thus, this architectural emergency reception typology was not based on health or wellbeing parameters.

BETWEEN SHELTER AND BEYOND

In this section, I outline some of the aspects of architecture and urbanism that are useful in displacement management and contingency planning. Philosopher of everyday life Michel De Certeau wrote that "the neighborhood can be called the outgrowth of the abode; for the dweller, it amounts to the sum of all trajectories inaugurated from the dwelling place" (1998, 11). In displacement situations, the spatial relationship between the temporary dwelling and its surroundings is often one of detachment. Typically, a new typologically generic shelter structure is placed atop an altered site, either in a new location or on the same site—but then with unrecognizable spatial properties. The neighborhood as the sum of all trajectories inaugurated from the dwelling place, as described by De Certeau, is in displacement situations broken down, yet reminiscences of the dwelling can partially be rebuilt, also temporarily. Sometimes, it does not require much to create conditions for daily life. Oftentimes, it does not require architects either. A TV for the man we encountered in Port-au-Prince would have provided a sense of normalcy, a social gathering point for him and his neighbors, and the invaluable entertainment of the soon-approaching 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa.

A paradigm shift in displacement management, referred to as *area-based approaches*, has partially replaced assistance focused on the individual beneficiary or target population groups (GSC 2019). This approach is understood as "a methodology that is inclusive of all populations, sectors and relevant stakeholders and uses a specific geographic area as entry point, in order to inform a more holistic understanding" (JIPS 2022).[9] In urban planning,

9 Taken from an introductory text to a practitioner-centered webinar entitled *Area-Based Approaches in Durable Solutions Analysis: Practitioners' Insights from Niger, Somalia, and Syria* held in June 2022.

area-based approaches, also referred to as *area-based initiatives*, emerged in Europe in the 1980s and 1990s as a new policy tool for a decentralized, integrated, multidisciplinary and participatory approach to tackle social exclusion, often in deprived neighborhoods (Atkinson and Zimmerman 2018, 267-268). In the early 2000s, however, the notion of area-based approaches was gradually replaced by the place-based approach, a similar policy tool but less focused on pre-existing administrative boundaries as the relevant spaces of intervention, but instead selecting areas that "[…] have a coherent functional geography" (Atkinson and Zimmerman 2018, 286). In displacement management, area-based approaches are often conflated with place-based approaches or labeled as sub-categories of each other. The concept of *place* or *place-based approaches* is increasingly presented as a concept appropriate for interventions especially in urban, non-camp settings and often in the recovery part of displacement management. The benefits of this approach, architect and urban vulnerability scholar David Sanderson argues, are that it includes "consideration of other aspects of community life beyond shelter and how these aspects all fit together physically and functionally" (2019, 88).

In architecture and urbanism theory, there is a strong correlation between public space and urban space. *The urban* remains the privileged scale of analysis while cities are the privileged sites, according to spatial ethnographer Setha Low and geographer Neil Smith (2006). In global displacement management, however, "the urban" is still an emerging knowledge field, with displacement management actors increasingly focusing their attention on the phenomenon of urban displacement, which constituted a key element in the UN-Habitat–initiated New Urban Agenda of 2016 (UN-Habitat 2017).[10]

There is a widespread perception among urbanism scholars of public space being essential for wellbeing in civic, urban life, as it facilitates social interaction and promotes social inclusion (Anderson et al. 2017; te Lintelo et al. 2018; Whyte 1980). This is also recognized in displacement management as part of the recent attention given to "the urban" and the "beyond shelter" sentiments. The paradigm shift of area- and place-based approaches in displacement management includes "life between shelter", to paraphrase architect Jan Gehls' book *Life Between Buildings* (1971/2011) on the importance of urban public spaces. Gehl's theories, however, mostly address spatial and

10 The New Urban Agenda was adopted at the United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development (Habitat III) in Quito, Ecuador, on October 20, 2016. It was endorsed by the United Nations General Assembly at its sixty-eighth plenary meeting of the seventy-first session on December 23, 2016: A/RES/71/256*.

social aspects of spaces between and outside buildings in non-displacement situations, whereas the design and material qualities of spaces surrounding shelters in humanitarian contexts are time-bound and hold more complex life-cycles. Yet, the relationship between public space and displacement management—in the way it is championed by US-based INGOs and UN agencies today—can indeed be traced back to the 1970s and to urbanist and writer William Holly Whyte, who is frequently referenced in urbanism theory (Fitzpatrick 2011; Low and Smith 2006; Vroman and Lagrange 2017). Whyte studied social behavior in dense urban settings in response to or as a direct result of architecture, urban design interventions, and zoning and planning regulations. His work was influential in the development of the field of urban design and in the establishment of the Project for Public Spaces (PPS), a non-profit founded in 1975. The PPS has made its mark on global operational displacement documents through its many collaborations with the aforementioned displacement management agencies (IRC 2017; Aerts/UNICEF 2018; PPS/UN-Habitat 2012), which to some extent has implicitly contributed to a de-professionalization of built environment expertise in displacement management, with placemaking activities substituting the architect.[11]

Current humanitarian operational guidance literature tends to narrowly consider placemaking in urban public spaces to be a spontaneous bottom-up process (IRC 2017; Aerts/UNICEF 2018).[12] Planners and urban policymakers use the term *livability* when referring to urban wellbeing (Shirazi and Keivani 2020) and refer to policies aimed at urban livability as *placemaking*. Urban planning theorist Ali Madanipour suggests that placemaking is an alternative to modernist urban planning practices and that in the neoliberal shift from urban government to governance, "place became the focus of developing visions,[and] where problem parts of the city could become the target of area-based regeneration and renewal, [and] where resources could be mobilized to focus on strategic projects" (2014, 240). Placemaking can then also be explained as public policy aiming to "fix problems" through spatial and programmatic improvements in neighborhoods with high numbers of settled

11 Taken from a blogpost entry—found through the earlier-mentioned ALNAP search function—titled 8 Reasons Place Should Matter to Humanitarians, authored by IRC staff and featured on the Project for Public Space's website. A draft from 2012 featured on the PPS website is the only publicly available digital output: https://www.pps.org/article/placemaking-and-the-future-of-cities. Entry date: March 16, 2021.

12 Operational displacement management documents are hybrid sources from the vast repository of humanitarian lessons and evaluations—policy papers, opinion pieces, manuals, and guidelines (Breivik-Khan, 2022).

or recently arrived migrants. This is similar to the displacement management approach.

Moving beyond shelter in displacement management also requires an account of the different understandings of architecture and urbanism. I use place theory to illustrate these various perceptions. I also incorporate examples from displacement management and contingency planning to contextualize the interconnection of the two domains and to illustrate some of the challenges I aim to address. In urbanism theory, displacement can be defined as the disruption in the relationship between people and place (Elliott-Cooper et al. 2020). However, conceptualizations of place asserted by scholars associated with the *new mobilities paradigm* challenge the notion of place as location and mobilities as disruption (Di Masso et al. 2019; Urry 2007/2012; Massey 1994).

The oeuvre of place theory is vast and spans many fields and is also included in the global displacement discourse. As summarized by geographer Tim Cresswell, an influential contemporary place scholar, "given the ubiquity of place, it is a problem that no one quite knows what they are talking about when they are talking about place" (2015, 6). To some extent, this also applies to architecture. Architect and scholar Petra Kempf argues that place does not materialize through the three Vitruvian *firmitas*—the qualities of durable, useful, and beautiful—but in a continuum of temporal relations (2009, 156). Kempf's view can be described as non-sedentarist within place theory and is often promoted within other disciplines such as geography and psychology (di Masso et al. 2019).

A common view among architects, however—at least in the European tradition—is, according to architectural scholar Mari Hvattum, based on *geographic determinism* and the notion that a place holds a collection of qualities that inform design decisions. Hvattum refers to this as the tyranny of place, which reduces architecture to an illustration of already existing conditions (Hvattum 2009, 40). She further states that place does not create architecture—quite often, it is the other way around: architecture creates place (2009, 46). Nevertheless, in the field of architecture, place is commonly associated with spatial conditions, whether constructed by man or nature. This does not mean, however, that architecture is fixed. Architecture also migrates with people, as exemplified by the continuous reproduction of built environments in nomadic cultures (Shoshan 2021, 89). Thus, while non-sedentarist theories primarily focus on the social relations and interactions between people as the main component of place and placemaking, the built environment in itself

can also be non-sedentarist. This notion is useful when envisioning novel forms of habitation and governance that address climate-induced migration and evolving understandings of displacement.

Many locations used for displacement management purposes could be classified as *non-places*, a term introduced by French anthropologist Marc Augé in the 1990s. The hypothesis advanced by Augé is that super-modernity produces non-places, spaces which are not themselves anthropological places, relational, historical, or concerned with identity (Augé 1995, 63). Linguist Emer O'Beirne questioned Augé's distinction between objective and subjective non-places as an attempt to distinguish between concrete spaces and human experiences of them. This leaves open the question of who decides what is "objectively" a place or a non-place—an entity after all defined by the individual's relation, or rather non-relation, to it (O'Beirne 2010, 447). Political scientist Maarten Hajer and sociologist Arnold Reijndorp asked, "but can it work the other way round, and can non-places become places?" (Hajer and Reijndorp 2001, 45).

In professional architecture practice, giving existing spaces new uses through design is now common and has many interchangeable names such as *transformation*, *retrofitting*, and *rehabilitation* as a few examples. The overall target of this practice is to minimize building obsolescence, and it is thus presented as both climate adaption and a measure for reducing greenhouse gas emissions produced by demolition and new construction (Shahi et al. 2020; Plevoets and van Cleempoel 2019). These processes typically involve qualitative changes through spatial improvements. In contrast, many of the buildings I have studied have been repurposed and spatially adjusted per international minimum standards accommodating basic protection needs, but often not *transformed* in the meaning of typological adaptations (De Castro Mazarro et al. 2023) that provide architectural qualities. In other words, they do not promote increased wellbeing and they have not necessarily become places—even if they have been altered.

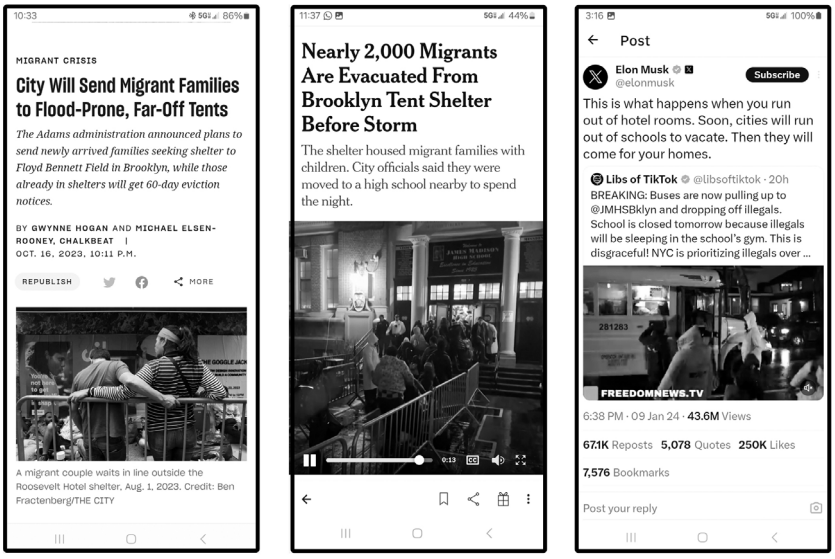


Figure J. A story in three acts. Phone screenshots / facsimiles: local New York news outlet The City's story on the plans of the Mayor Adam's administration to accommodate migrants and asylum-seekers with children at Floyd Bennett Filed national park (left), New York Times's news story from January 9, 2024, on the evacuation from the camp before a winter storm (center), and billionaire Elon Musk's reaction on X (formerly Twitter) later the same day (right). The three images illustrates the out of sight, out of mind perspective of the peri urban location rationale found in western asylum regimes, and a reception facility with sub-standard material and spatial qualities placed in an unsafe location, leading to an evacuation operation disrupting the lives of host community members. This episode was then used for to fuel anti-immigrant sentiments. The emergency reception typology of Floyd Bennett Field is one of many examples of reception architecture that have resulted from contingency planning decisions, without considering the welfare of displaced persons and host communities in the process.







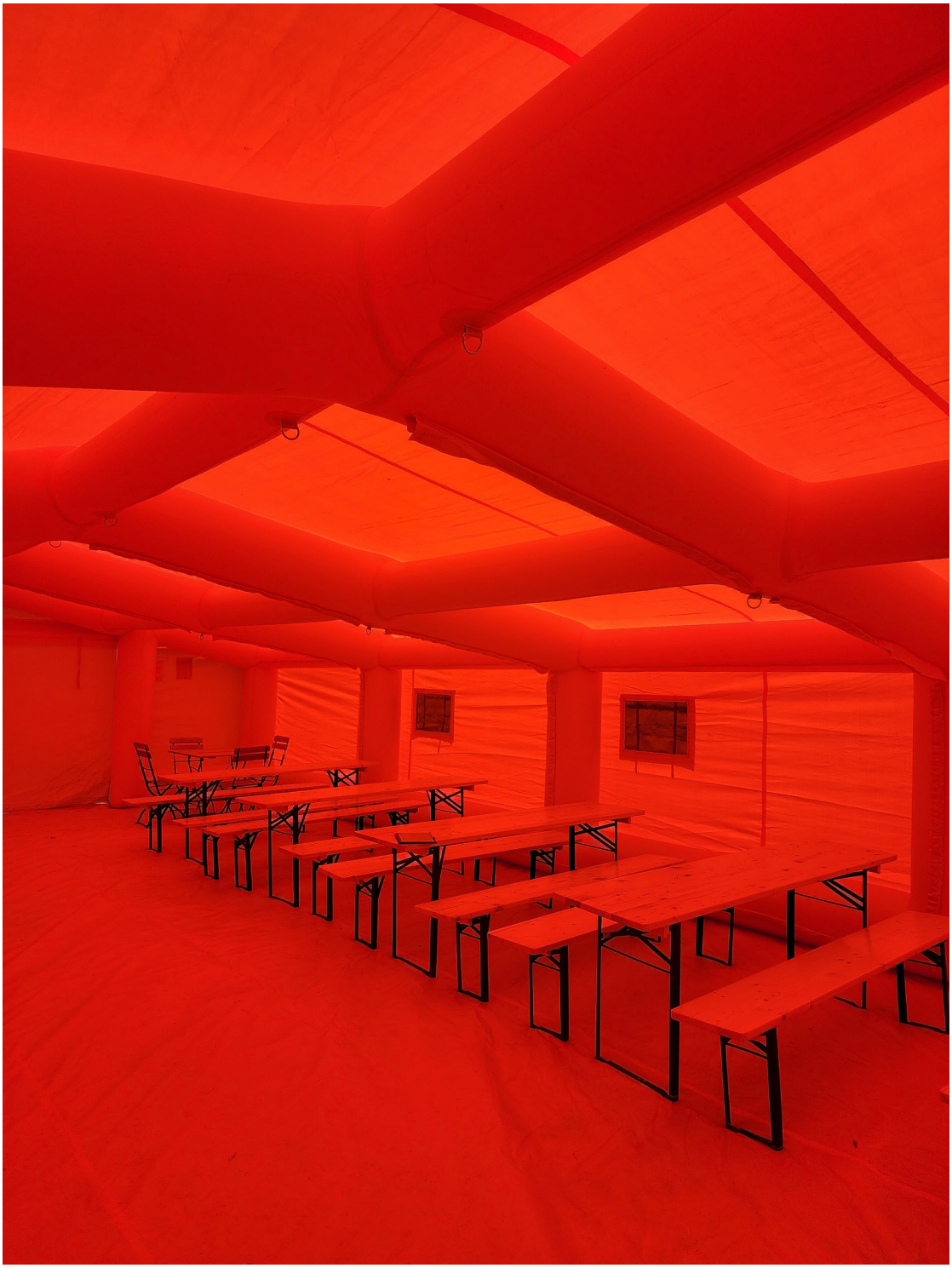
Figure K. Placemaking without architects, Nepal. Second photo from right: Social infrastructure adaptations with a helipad used as public space. Kids playing soccer at 2,700 meters above sea level with no perimeter fences in the spontaneous camp in Gupsi Pakha, Nepal, after being displaced by the earthquake in 2015. Photo far left: Lunch break at 2,500 meters above sea level on the way to provide site planning support to the local community of Gupsi Pakha. Photos: Håvard Breivik-Khan (2015)

THE ARCHITECTURE OF CONFLICT AND BENEVOLENCE, AND THE EXTRAORDINARY ARCHITECTURE OF DAILY LIFE

In this section, I provide an overview of different tracks of architecture that conceptualize phenomena at the margins of conventional architectural practice, and then proceed to explain my view on architecture as a framework for daily life. I use this to outline the aspects of architecture and urbanism that would be useful in displacement management and contingency planning.

While I have outlined the gradations of how architecture is understood within the place discourse, architecture can also be placed in the dichotomy of conflict and benevolence. The idea of spatial arrangements as tools of control has a long history (Sorkin 2008, xi). Architecture has been used not only to instill fear (Ellin and Blakely 1997) and inflict violence (Herscher 2010; Herscher and Siddiqi 2017; Kenzari and Andreotti 2011) but also to reveal human rights abuses through research methods conceptualized by terms from criminology, such as *forensic architecture* (Weizman 2017). The dark sides of the convergence of architecture, contingency, and urban planning, such as surveillance and the marginalization of groups in society through the securitization or militarization of space by quarantining the "other" or "exiling" new arrivals to peripheral locations, is further discussed in my second article.

In contrast to considering architecture as a tool of separation and control, or only engaging with those who have the financial means to pay for customized spatiality, is the concept of socially engaged architecture, at least at first glance. As explained by architect and scholar Farhan Karim, socially engaged architects prefer to bypass state authority and instead work directly with a community, often in collaboration with NGOs and philanthropic entities. A central perspective of this concept, he explains, is to understand and address the spatial experiences of marginal subjectivities such as women, children, ethnic groups, refugees, immigrants, and displaced populations (Karim 2018, xxxiv–xxxv). On the phenomenon of socially engaged architecture, architect and scholar Tatiana Schneider explains the conflicting aspects of this concept. On the one hand, she argues, they highlight concerns about situatedness, embeddedness, class or patriarchal relationships, and the importance of relationships and processes. Yet, as she wrote, "I can't get rid of this suspicion that what's been termed the 'social turn' in architecture has, in fact, not managed to go beyond its good intentions," and she further states that this concept has instead been absorbed by the forces these types of projects initially criticized (Schneider 2018, 3–4). Nevertheless, Schneider argues that socially engaged



architecture offers the possibility of a critical reflection upon a wide range of spatial interventions (2018, 10), but only if this category of architecture forms broader alliances and coalescences across disciplines and practices (2018, 12). Karim and Schneider's theories indicate the importance of addressing the spatial experiences of marginal groups as well as recognizing the inadequacy of focusing on good intentions instead of engaging in the politics of contested spaces. The disengagement of socially engaged architects with governing or coordinating entities, as pointed out by Karim, prevents these good intentions from being useful in displacement management and contingency planning across international and national mandates, which are dominated by coordination mechanisms between a multitude of actors.

Social concerns in architecture can be approached in nuanced ways. In an interview with Anne Lacaton of the French practice *Lacaton & Vassal Architectes*, architect, scholar, and my thesis supervisor Lisbet Harboe asked whether their work was informed by social engagement, to which Lacaton responded:

> Yes, in a way, yes. But I think it is a social engagement that rather works together with architecture, because architecture is not a part of social life. I believe architecture provides conditions for social life. There is an engagement but we don't feel that it's an over-engagement… If you place social engagement in a category, it means that somebody will say, OK, you have a social engagement but you are not into other parts of architecture as quality or more superficial things such as decorations and aesthetic pleasure. These are not separated. Even in social engagement—generosity and pleasure are totally part of it. It's not separated. It's the same with the extraordinary and pragmatism. It's the same. This why it's not a category of architects who are socially engaged: Because it's not a category; it's part of what an architect should be… And social involvement doesn't mean that it's just for poor people. Social involvement is for the life of every body. (Lacaton, in Harboe 2012, 265)

Previous page. Figure L. Photo: A place of relief at the Huși transit site, Romania. In the report 'Contingency Planning – Approaches to Increased Reception Capacity in Romania 2022' I wrote: "As a note of precaution for future procurement or accepting donations, for the wellbeing of new arrivals and staff, the widespread use of a specific tent with an inflatable structure in bright orange color observed during site visits, should be avoided as places for rest and socializing – as the orange light distorts colors and may be perceived as distressing." See Article Three in Chapter Four. Photo: Håvard Breivik-Khan (2022)

Lacaton's view is that the extraordinary aspect of architecture concerns well-being, pleasure, and the functioning and quality of a space or urban organization (2012, 201). To explain why architecture is different from other creative and cultural works, urbanist Sophie Wolfrum wrote, "we cannot be merely an observer from a distance, because our bodies are part of the architectural space that we are experiencing and of the space that we are creating" (Wolfrum 2015, 5). Wolfrum further explains that "the performative potential of architecture can be perceived as the key to the practice of urban design, which involves a relational notion of space. Thus, architecture becomes a driving force within the urban realm" (2015, 5). Within this framework, the materiality of a design intervention is considered as important as the actions and interactions it provides. Architecture and urbanism, understood in this way, encompass both the temporal relations and the places created by architecture. Further, because our bodies are part of architectural spaces and we experience these differently, recognizing the spatial experiences of marginal groups is part of the architect's responsibility as a way of promoting wellbeing for all. These aspects of the built environment are not fully captured by theorists who use humanitarian spaces to critique the humanitarian system, which is what I mean when referring to the *spatial realities of humanitarian critique*.

Within the domain of architecture, perceived mandates and societal responsibilities are interpreted in many ways because of the—somehow paradoxically—intangible quality of architecture. However, as architect Rena M. Klein wrote in the American Association of Architects' handbook of professional practice: "Architects are expected to perform within the legal concept of the "standard of care", which considers what reasonably prudent architects would do in the same community at the same time, facing the same or similar circumstances" (AIA, 2014: xvii). The standard of care, however, must be further developed due to changing circumstances. Thus, spatial mediation, a new spatial practice that is attuned to changing understandings of displacement, is still in the making.

As one way of exploring the overlapping qualitative aspects of the built environment within the two domains of displacement management and architecture and further, mediating between these, I look to operational guidance documents on emergency reception. These documents have been central to my research because built environment experts rely on them to support experience-based decisions when deployed to crisis contexts. One of the key documents for global displacement management, The Camp Management Toolkit, states that the built environment in displacement management should provide human dignity and wellbeing: "The location of a camp and how it is planned have a critical impact on the health, well-being and protection of the displaced population, as well as on the ability to manage daily activities, ensure participation and develop relations with the host community" (CCCM 2015, 96). Thus, the commonalities between these two domains of displacement management and architecture are as follows: 1) architecture is about dignity and wellbeing; and 2) wellbeing, as formulated by Lacaton, is related to the ambition of the architect to not compromise on quality or separate aesthetic pleasure, generosity, and the extraordinary from what may be perceived as pragmatism.

Chapter Two: The research questions and framing of the three articles

Because of my professional experience in emergency response situations, I discovered a reality gap in urban theory dealing with displacement management, but also in the spatial realities of humanitarian critique. There is, however, a cyclical history of emerging and fading interactions between the two domains that forebode future opportunities for knowledge exchange. With the continuous need for emergency reception, the potential remedies for the sparse contributions of architecture and urbanism professionals to the spatial practice of displacement management and contingency planning are important to explore, and this cognizance led me to the main questions of my thesis: *What are the spatial intersections between international and local governance practices in contingency planning and displacement management? How can these intersections contribute to creating conceptual frameworks for evolving understandings of displacement? And how can these frameworks be used in policies for spatially integrated emergency and daily uses?*

MULTI-SITED DISPLACEMENT

My thesis encompasses a wide range of crisis situations: former, protracted, ongoing, and soon approaching. Yet, the scope is limited to what can be described as *reception in displacement situations* and the built output of international displacement management, domestic emergency preparedness, and asylum regimes. Many of the situations I have studied focus on the built environment along the flight from a person's home to a new location and not on the situations that triggered these situations. Within this scope, however, I consider the urgency of climate action as a central argument for rethinking emergency architecture.

Displacement is spatially multi-sited and characterized by multiple temporal conditions. In other words, displacement can be sequential as well as simultaneous and co-occurring in different or in the same places. Conflicts generate transitional spaces across different scales and domains (Pilav et al. 2020), and climate change, natural hazards, conflicts and pandemics have and will continue to change displacement. In the near future, most of us will be displaced, even if we would not necessarily identify as being displaced, as exemplified by the limitation of movement and disrupted access to daily places imposed on most of us during the COVID-19 pandemic. The *in-situ displacement* which occurred during the "shelter-in-place" era of the pandemic complicates our understanding of displacement. This form of displacement does not entail collective reception solutions. Places used for both domestic and cross-border displacement management, however—as exemplified by the case studies in the second of my articles—highlight the heterogeneity of crises, reveal the variegated needs they create, and pose significant challenges for multi-purpose use of evacuation and protection sites. The convergence of the COVID-19 pandemic and war in Ukraine intersected also locally in Norway, and further exposed the conflicting spatial solutions to different types of emergency reception.

TRANSNATIONALISM

In this section, I discuss the concept of *transnationalism*, which appears in the three articles, and how I apply this concept to spatial mediation. *Transnationalism* is concerned with cross-border connections and practices of individuals, communities and institutions that transcend the boundaries of the nation-state (Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton 1992, Ahrens and King 2023; Beauchemin 2014; Jakubowicz 2012). Transnationalism challenges methodological nationalism, which in migration theory is understood as analyses of social and historical processes limited by the unit of the nation-state (Ahrens and King 2023; Beauchemin 2014). Transnationalism is multi-sited, and transmigrants develop and maintain multiple relations— familial, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political—that span borders, and are linked to their societies of origin and settlement (Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton 1992, ix). To explain multi-sited transnationalism in the context of onward migration—a spatial trajectory that involves extended stays in two or more destinations—migration scholars Jill Ahrens and Russell King outline two schools of thought. The first is focused on communities that transcend borders, and the second can be understood as nodes of contact in different destinations that mirror the spatial configurations of social networks, either at

the individual or the community level (2023, 7). The latter approach is useful within the scope of my research, as the spatial aspects of moving or being displaced are linked to overlapping mandates and timeframes of displacement management actors not limited to the nation-state. Further to this, multi-sited transnationalism points to possibilities of challenging international displacement management entities' interventions in local placemaking and vice versa. This, I argue, corresponds with the need for updated spatial solutions to new forms of displacement that can be used repeatedly and on many different occasions.

POLICY SPREAD

Transnationalism is also a central dimension of *policy diffusion*, *policy transfer* and *policy mobilities*, popularized in 1960s, 1990s and 2010s respectively, and to some extent, succeeding one another. The different concepts are linked to different disciplines, the first two primarily to political science and the latter to human geography and urban studies (Haupt 2023, 2). Central in *policy transfer* is the question of what nation states can learn from other nation states, also referred to as lesson drawing—an approach conceptualized by political scientist Richard Rose in the 1990s centered around the question, under what circumstances and to what extent a program that is effective in one place can transfer to another (1991, 3). I note that there are similarities between lesson drawing and the lessons learned approach that is frequently used in the international humanitarian, development, and peacebuilding domain for policy development purposes. Within this area of practice, however, the learning primarily refers to self-evaluation of both successful and failed program design and implementation through case studies from crisis contexts. Further, as urban studies scholar Allan Cochrane and human geographer Kevin Ward point out, global policymaking formulated through the World Bank, EU, or other global agencies cannot deliver a universally applicable template. Policymaking must therefore be approached differently and has to be understood as both relational and territorial; as both in motion and simultaneously fixed, or embedded in place (Cochrane and Ward 2012, 5).

Policy spread, the more general term for the three different approaches, always has spatial implications since they have the potential to change places, human geographer Wolfgang Haupt claims (2023, 2). The concept of *policy mobilities* has a stronger focus on cities and urban spaces compared to the first two as, traditionally, *policy diffusion* has been linked to national concerns, and policy transfer has mostly travelled between countries, primarily between those on the same development index level (Haupt 2023, Stone et

al. 2020). Political economist Jamie Peck argues that policy transfer and diffusion move between jurisdictional spaces, whereas the social constructivist perspectives of policy mobility allow more attention to the constitutive socio-spatial context of policy-making activities, and to the hybrid mutations of policy techniques and practices across dynamized institutional landscapes (Peck 2011). As I will explain in more detail in the *Implications for Policy* section in the last chapter, I argue that the concept of time and place mediation involves participation by international and local actors in the same places—based on transnational policies reflecting new displacement conditions. Furthermore, these places may be used for daily life activities, but also for domestic and international displacement management purposes—and thence also conceptually leveling migration and citizen statuses. The concept of transnationalism in my research is therefore two-fold: 1) it refers to the actual uses of places for internal and cross-border displacement purposes, which we have seen some examples of through history but also envisioned through speculative spatial design and planning projects—further discussed in my second and third articles, 2) but it also refers to the transfer and (re-) alignment of local and international policies and approaches to the spatiality of emergency-daily life transitions.

PLACE

To identify commonalities and potential convergence points, I introduce a concept central to the paired domains of, on the one hand, architecture and urbanism, and on the other, displacement management and contingency planning: place. My first article provides an overview of how place and related terms are applied and understood not only across academic fields but also within the policies and practices of displacement management. In order to situate ideas concerning place in displacement management, I refer to theory from the fields of the humanities and social sciences, as listed in the previous section. The literature was identified based on the following criteria:
1) they are considered key texts written by central scholars in their fields (Augé 1995; Cresswell 2015; Hvattum 2009; Massey 1994; Madanipour 2014; Relph 1976/2008; Seamon and Sowers 2008; Tuan 1977/2011), 2) they include displacement and mobility discussions in relation to place (di Masso et al. 2019; Herscher and Siddiqi 2017; Herz 2013; Urry 2007/2012), or
3) they prominently feature spatiality in conceptualizations by authors from non-design fields (Brun 2016; Brun and Shuayb 2020; Brun and Fabos 2015). I return to the concept of place, and, in particular, placemaking, in my second article, but then primarily examine place from a local spatial planning point of view.

EXCEPTIONAL URBANISM

Exceptional urbanism frameworks constitute the main theoretical foundation of the second article. These frameworks, composed of different tracks of urbanism literature, conceptualize dynamics and phenomena marginal to conventional urban planning practices. These include *epidemic urbanism* (Campbell 2005; Chircop 2018; Gandy 2006; Sample 2005), *emergency urbanism* (Sample 2012), and *deadline urbanism* (Dean 2005). *Epidemic urbanism* outlines a history of power relations and spatial segregation justified by disease control.

Epidemic urbanism outlines the relationship between disease treatment and architectural form—exemplified by the works of early modernist architects, Le Corbusier, Alvar Aalto, and Jan Duiker—a link challenged by developments in medicine in the 1950s (Campbell 2005). Historian John Chircop's work critically examines hygienist theories and the related sanitary instruments and practices and the strong biopolitical restrictions on Arab bodies—not only deterring their movement but elaborating, and continuously reproducing, the stereotyped image of the "dirty" and "contagious" Muslim-Arab as a "threat" to public health, social order and Western civilization. Whereas geographer Matthew Gandy explains the "bacteriological city" as an abstract ideal for the organizational structure of the modern city, it has never fully corresponded with urban realities because of the political and economic tensions that underlie the processes of capitalist urbanization (Gandy 2006, 22). The theories of Campbell, Chircop, and Gandy are included to illustrate linkages between public health crises and the built environment. These frameworks also reveal how architecture and urbanism have been used to discriminate groups.

Architect Hilary Sample contributes to discussions in both epidemic and emergency urbanisms. Sample wrote in her research on architecture, urbanism and public health crises that "epidemics affect the ways in which cities and their buildings perform; having been designed, built, organized, controlled and maintained according to policies, plans and protocols formed before any contemporary epidemic could be predicted" (2012, 231). Written almost eight years before the COVID-19 pandemic broke out, Sample's warning and advice from 2012, is ever more urgent: "As urban health events emerge more frequently, it seems that deliberate acts of planning must increasingly address issues of emergency more as norm than exception." (2012, 231). In her conceptualization of emergency urbanism, Sample outlines a way of planning our cities and built environments composed of spaces that are

"pre-programmed for change during times of traumas [and] have the option of returning to a pre-trauma state or remaining in the new changed condition" (Sample 2005, 47).

Architect Penelope Dean's concept of deadline urbanism does not explicitly refer to emergencies. The way Dean outlines the deadline urbanism concept, however, describes processes outside the regular planning modes that focus solely on singular purpose delivery on short deadlines, which is similar to the rapid spatial response of humanitarian response missions. Dean suggests that deadline urbanism accommodates failure and prioritizes implementation (2005, 47). These exceptional urbanism frameworks helped formulate three different explanatory conceptualizations of the relationship between displacement management and urban planning: 1) mono-functional displacement management, 2) disruptive multi-functionalism, and 3) contingency urbanism. These conceptualizations will be used to explain alterations between everyday and emergency uses.

HUMANITARIAN EXCEPTIONALISM

Theories of resilience humanitarianism and humanitarian space that challenge exceptional approaches to displacement management constitute the broader theoretical foundation for my third article. I specifically explore the exceptionalism relating to the material and time aspects within the displacement management and contingency planning domains. Non-exceptionalism as a framework for outlining ways of rethinking emergency architecture transcends the view of it as a series of single, select moments and instead conceptualize emergency architecture as a continuous and ongoing process of change. The re-emerging need for a range of different and new types of emergency architectures, as exemplified by the COVID-19 pandemic and Russia's invasion of Ukraine, challenges the mono-functional and time-limited displacement management practice, also explained as *humanitarian exceptionalism* and relates to the dichotomy of classical and resilience humanitarianism. This discourse is central in theories advanced by humanitarianism studies scholar Dorothea Hilhorst (2018). Hilhorst explains that classical humanitarianism is rooted in the notion of exceptionalism, whereas resilience humanitarianism starts from the idea of crisis as the new normality and foregrounds building on local response capabilities (2018, 1). As summarized by urbanists Mrudhula Kosh et al., "spatial planning conventionally operates with the aim to reduce uncertainty, which creates a paradoxical relationship between planning and uncertainty. However, humanitarian agencies

tend to focus on short-term uncertainties and have limited capacity to plan for long-term uncertainties" (2022, 703).

HUMANITARIAN SPACE

Within the international humanitarian, development, and peacemaking domain, *humanitarian space* is an evolving concept with different understandings depending on who or what is put at the center of the different definitions. Policy analysts Sarah Collinson and Samir Elhawary have outlined four definitions of humanitarian space: 1) (humanitarian) agency space, 2) affected community space, 3) international humanitarian law, and 4) a complex political, military, and legal arena (2012, 1). Humanitarian space has spatial connotations but is primarily understood as a legal concept (Potvin 2019), as exhibited by the four definitions above. Humanitarianism studies scholar Dorothea Hilhorst and anthropologist Bram J. Jansen wrote: "Like any type of space, humanitarian space has physical and metaphorical dimensions" (2010, 1117). They further explain that humanitarian space is an arena where a multitude of factors, including humanitarians and the disaster-affected recipients of aid, shape the everyday realities of humanitarian action. In studying humanitarian spaces as arenas, Hilhorst and Jansen have argued that humanitarian situations are not blank slates to be occupied by lone agencies but are shaped by social negotiations over inclusion and exclusion (1133); furthermore, the dynamics of aid should focus on the manner in which actors engage with and respond to their surroundings (1137).

Following page. Figure M. Photo: Emergency reception set up for students from India fleeing Ukraine, in the town of Radauti, Romania, approximately 30 km from the border point north in the country.[13] The rest of the reception site is similar to the common camp typology found in most humanitarian contexts, with rows of tents for accommodation and other functions. There are also 60 prefab containers on site allocated for longer stays and for Ukrainian families. The regular capacity of the camp is 240 places. However, with the tents and a sports hall (pictured), the camp can accommodate 600 people, if needed. Photo: Håvard Breivik-Khan (2022) >

13 "More than 7 million people have fled Ukraine since the fighting broke out in February. Among them, nearly 80,000 foreign students, most from developing nations. Indian nationals account for almost a quarter of all foreign students enrolled in Ukraine, with the majority of them studying medicine" as reported by PBS on June 17, 2022. https://www.pbs.org/newshour/show/indian-medical-students-face-an-uncertain-future-after-fleeing-war-in-ukraine Entry date: September 19, 2024.


www.superstarcom.ro

Chapter Three:
Multimethod Qualitative Research Design

The research presented in this thesis is qualitative, and includes document analyses, embedded field research, case studies, teaching and the methods and source material developed as part of my role as educator. Qualitative research pursues the questions of why and how (Denzin and Lincoln 1994/2018), which entails a type of flexibility that has allowed me to gradually expand the scope of my research to retain new meanings when interpreting my findings. A testimony to this is the real-time and constant monitoring of national border control regimes imposed during the COVID-19 pandemic and the blurry lines between disease and migration control manifested through spatial solutions, which contributed to domestic contingency planning becoming a more prominent part of my research than initially planned.

Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world, and consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994/2018, 4). Robert E. Stake explains that knowledge is constructed rather than discovered, and the researcher's role as an interpreter is not to discover a universal reality, which is impossible, he claims, but to construct a clearer and more sophisticated reality (Stake 1995, 101; see also Agius 2022). My research relies on these primary assertions.

Central parts of my work entail forms of embedded field research, and include extensive reflections drawn from observations made in professional situations that precede the doctoral fellowship period, as shown in Figures N and O. As an active participant in situ, I have obtained different types of knowledge, while alternating between different professional roles at different times: the site planning expert, the academic researcher, and the educator. Because of the changing roles and several organizational affiliations, the mutually beneficial relationship between me, the students I teach, my employers and host organizations provided me with greater access to data—a central aspect of embedded research (McGinity and Salokangas 2014, 3). Further-

more, I draw on the concepts of performative knowledge and observant participation (McNeill and St. Clair 2009, Mosse 2013, Geirbo 2017) to discuss the conflicts and transitions between my different roles during the research. This leads up to the section about case studies and the selection criteria for the case studies included in my thesis, which are intimately linked to my field missions as an aid worker. Towards the end of this chapter, I will elaborate on why I decided on a multimethod approach within the qualitative framework as a suitable methodology for my research.

DOCUMENT ANALYSIS: OPERATIONAL-REFLECTIVE DOCUMENTS AND NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

I have conducted document analysis from primarily two types of sources, reflective–operational displacement management documents and historical local newspaper articles from the areas of two of the case studies: Kirkenes and Råde. I have given the first category of documents importance for two main reasons. The first is the prominence of these documents in the global displacement management domain. When deployed to assist in time-sensitive operations, experts rely on these documents to support experience-based decisions. However, time constraints are not the only reason; the duty of abiding by principles to provide safe assistance based on standards within the industry is absolute. Furthermore, these documents convey conceptions about the built environment in general and are thus of interest beyond the practical and operational aspects of displacement management.

Opposite page. Figure N. Table: Overview of fieldwork and different roles through NORCAP deployments and as faculty and a doctoral researcher at the Oslo School of Architecture and Design. NORCAP is part of the Norwegian Refugee Council, and I have been a member of this roster of experts comprising nearly 1,200 experts from around the world. Through this arrangement, I have been deployed to the United Nations Migration Agency / the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Refugee Agency / The High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat), and the governments of Moldova and Romania. Only the research conducted as part of the PhD fellowship period are encircled. Pictured is a visit to the Romanian Ministry of Internal Affairs with the In Transit Studio students of the Fall 2022 semester, included as an example of the convergence of my different roles. The course content and choice of case of studio of 2022 was built around my deployment to the Romanian Ministry of Internal Affairs as part of the Ukraine response during the summer the same year. See also Figure O for more details. Photo: Håvard Breivik-Khan (2022)



2010	PORT-AU-PRINCE	*UNITED NATIONS*	FIELD PRACTITIONER
2012	NEW YORK	*UNITED NATIONS*	POLICY PRACTITIONER
2015	SKOPJE	*UNITED NATIONS*	FIELD PRACTITIONER
2015	BUDAPEST	*UNITED NATIONS*	FIELD / POLICY PRACTITIONER
2015	KATHMANDU	*UNITED NATIONS*	FIELD PRACTITIONER
2016	GREEK ISLANDS	*IN TRANSIT STUDIO*	FIELD EDUCATOR
2016	BERLIN	*IN TRANSIT STUDIO*	FIELD EDUCATOR
2016	CALAIS	*IN TRANSIT STUDIO*	FIELD EDUCATOR
2016	RJDE	*IN TRANSIT STUDIO*	FIELD EDUCATOR
2017	SICILY	*IN TRANSIT STUDIO*	FIELD EDUCATOR
2018	THESSALONIKI	*IN TRANSIT STUDIO*	FIELD EDUCATOR
2018	NEW YORK	*UNITED NATIONS*	POLICY PRACTITIONER
2019	OSLO / NYC	*IN TRANSIT STUDIO*	EDUCATOR (PANDEMIC) RESEARCHER
2022	CHISINAU	*GoV MOLDOVA*	FIELD / POLICY PRACTITIONER
2022	BUCHAREST	*GoV ROMANIA / IN TRANSIT STUDIO*	PRACTITIONER / FIELD EDUCATOR / RESEARCHER

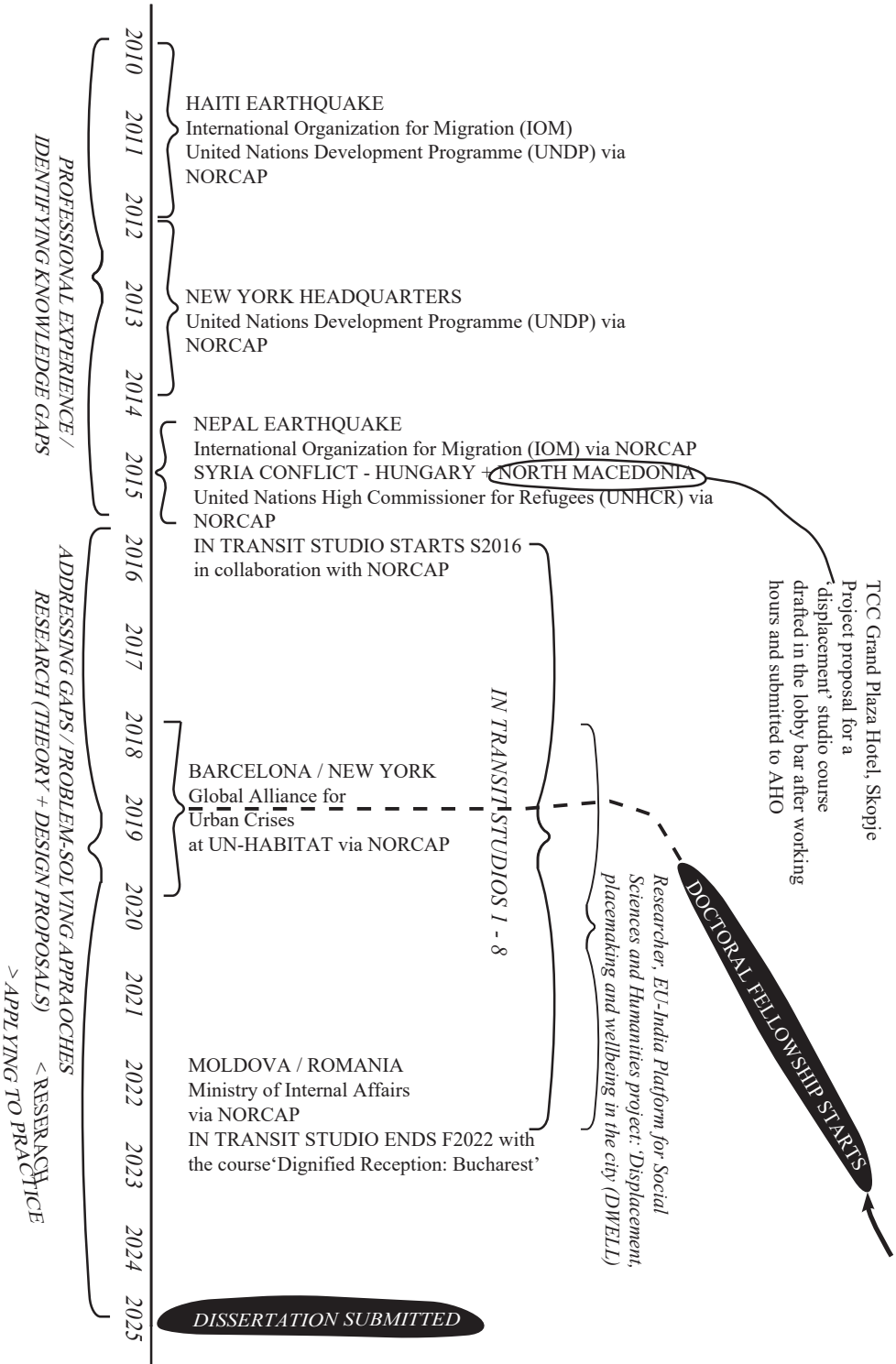


Figure O. Illustration: Overview of fieldwork and transitions between different roles and missions as a site planning expert and as faculty and doctoral researcher at AHO.

The reason for choosing local news reports when presenting the history of how the two cases in the second article came into existence, was to understand the processes behind them, but also how these plans were perceived by the local population—who in these contexts also became host populations of displaced persons. Thus, local reports provide insights into the interaction between the everyday activities in the local communities and the various emergency uses of the facilities over time. These sources of information also indicate how meaningful these places are to their local communities and the local and national controversies surrounding their use in crises; they are therefore valuable sources.

Science and technology historians Asdal and Reinertsen explain that a distinct characteristic of document analysis as a practice-oriented method, is that documents are both "[…] something textual and discursive and, at the same time, something 'thingy' and material" (2022, 4). While documents are material artefacts, they are things being worked upon and with, and by being set in motion, documents can act upon other things, sites and actors beyond themselves (2022, 5). I draw parallels between the built interventions in global displacement management and Asdal and Reinertsen's concept of *document sites*. "[D]ocuments are always parts of sites that can be explored empirically" they state (2022, 16). The operational-reflective documents I have studied, are, in many ways, a documentation of the built interventions that the authors of these documents—humanitarian shelter experts and site planners—have either been part of realizing or observed in the so-called "field". These analyses further feed into new or updated guidance documents meant for future and crisis response situations. The direct relationship between a document and a site, or in the words of Asdal and Reinertsen, document sites, can be found in architect and scholar Manuel Herz's claim that most of the several hundred UNHCR-run camps that currently exist around the world can be traced back to the 20 pages that constitute the chapter entitled "Site Selection, Planning and Shelter" of the camps (Herz, 2013) in the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) *Emergency Handbook* (UNHCR, 1982, 2015, 204-225).

Prevalent throughout these sources are the "before and after" approach found in displacement management based on the exceptionalism of the event itself. In these types of documents, reception begins with the end in sight: "It is extremely important that the closure of a Collective Centre is considered from the time of the Collective Centre set-up throughout its lifecycle. The way in which a Collective Centre is closed will have a significant impact on the future of its former residents" (CCCM 2010, 117). Thus, I problematize

the global advice against this type of emergency reception arrangement found in displacement management documents, from a social and material sustainability perspective in the third article.

I studied these documents in different ways, tailored to the different scopes of the three articles, but overall, I used the same approaches for all three. I first reviewed the site selection criteria and spatial design recommendations in the sections about the set-up and closure of emergency reception facilities—similar to how site planners on deployment use them to ensure that minimum standards are followed. As a way of exploring the extent and content of recommended interventions, I then searched the same documents for other relevant terms. In this process— noting that *place* within architecture and urbanism theory is both material and relational—the label, or code, for identifying meaning in my data, can therefore be summarized as *physical entities with relational prominence*. In the first article, I explored terminologies associated with 'place' and 'place-related' concepts in the context of displacement management. I identified components that would comprise the illusive qualities of place approaches, the more concrete hybridized material-relational components, and searched for terms with descriptions of processes or qualities that, generally speaking, would be included in place- or area-based approaches, such as 'public space', or 'social [spaces]' and 'placemaking'. Based on this, I searched for the terms listed above in the operational-reflective key documents for humanitarian response operations, to document whether they appeared, and if they did, in what ways recommendations for the implementation of built structures were described.

I took on a similar approach while reviewing many of the same operational-reflective documents for my third article. This time, however, with urban site selection for emergency reception as the primary point of departure, I therefore searched for words with different lexical meanings that would indicate interaction between receiving and incoming populations, but also indicating some of the place qualities as defined above: 'neighborhood'; '[host] community [relations]'; 'communal'; 'collective [center]'; city; and 'urban'. I further identified terms that would describe material qualities, and thence indicate duration of use: 'durable'; 'permanent'; and 'temporary', but also key built environment terms: 'building'; 'landscape'; and 'street'.

In addition to the analysis of operational displacement management documents used for the first and third articles, the accounts of the places used as reception sites as well as their local use and importance, treated in the second article, were compiled from systematic searches in a Norwegian national

newspaper archive. For the Kirkenes case study, Hemmersam and I scanned newspaper articles from the early 1980s—the last decade of the Cold War and the years leading up to the construction and completion of the Mountain Hall (1984)—until 2023, by searching for 'tilfluktsrom', 'atomtrussel', 'asylmottak' and other similar Norwegian words for 'air raid shelter', 'nuclear threat' 'asylum / arrival centers'. The term 'Fjellhallen', the common name and the Norwegian word for mountain hall, generated a vast repository of stories about daily life, contingency planning measures, and historical emergency situations in Kirkenes. For the Råde case study, 'asylum / arrival centers' and 'Smart Club' gave similar results as for Kirkenes, ranging from commercial real estate news about the defunct retail chain and abandoned warehouse, to how the 2015-16 and 2022-23 refugee events were managed, including accounts of how this was perceived by both host community members and new arrivals.

Education scholar Hani Morgan argues that document analysis is a useful approach to qualitative research for both practical and, in some cases, ethical reasons and lists the following strengths of this method: it is an unobtrusive form of research, it is cost-effective, it poses fewer ethical concerns, and it provides more opportunities to do research that would otherwise be difficult to do (Morgan 2022, 70). The downside of this approach, however, is that not all relevant source material is captured in writing. In the global displacement management sector, agencies provide additional guidance to their experts through HQ-level cluster meetings, webinars, and similar dynamic formats that are easier to update but will not necessarily be coherent texts that can be analyzed later.

Morgan explains that a reflexive approach is one way of analyzing a selected set of documents. The reflexive approach, he argues, is based on a qualitative paradigm, partly because it emphasizes that researcher subjectivity is a resource rather than a problem. Reflexivity, however, involves considerations about how the researcher's views and feelings have influenced their findings (2022, 73). The overall topic of my thesis and the many examples of the places I discuss are politically charged, and some include situations with people at their most vulnerable and experiencing the worst moments of their lives. Thus, the emotional aspects of recounting some of my experiences sometimes seep through in my writing. The many people I have met, worked with and for, but sometimes also failed, has influenced everything I do as a practitioner, researcher, and educator.

EMBEDDED RESEARCH, PERFORMATIVE KNOWLEDGE AND OBSERVANT PARTICIPATION

As an architect working for the United Nations, I have designed and supervised the implementation of large-scale construction projects in crisis contexts, which have altered vast landscapes with temporary housing for tens of thousands of people. I have also led reconstruction projects for entire neighborhoods destroyed by disasters. I am, in retrospect, highly critical of some of these projects. The transition from being an aid worker involved in site planning to becoming an educator was the starting point for critically investigating displacement management through architecture, landscape architecture and design. In this section, I reflect on how being a humanitarian site planning expert led me to notice gaps in the architecture profession and its training, but also how architects tend to emphasize different things than most aid workers, who typically have no training in spatial design or planning. These "things" mostly relate to the qualitative aspects of built interventions, and the social power that comes with architecture—beyond individual shelters. Furthermore, in this section, I account for and reflect on the transitions and tensions involved in navigating these alternating professional roles.

EMBEDDED RESEARCHER

The embedded researcher approach is central to my thesis and is particularly visible in the third article. This method can be explained as a way of obtaining data as an active participant in a different role than as an academic. Building on this experience, I conducted research through fieldwork with students, used Bucharest as a case study, and engaged with a network of intergovernmental and domestic stakeholders and experts from the built environment. "Embedded research initiatives come in a range of different shapes and sizes," as stated by management scholar Vicky Ward and colleagues (2021, 594). Embedded research, or being an embedded researcher, is often explained as university-based individuals or teams undertaking explicit research roles within host organizations, whether they are public, private, or third sector, as explained by education scholars Ruth McGinity and Maija Salokangas (2014, 3). This also includes non-academic organizations (Ward et al. 2021, 593). The embedded researcher method describes a mutually beneficial relationship between academics and their host organizations, which provides the researchers with greater access to data (McGinity and Salokan-

gas 2014, 3). As part of the embedded research arrangement, the researcher is also, for instance, legitimated by staff status of the host (2014, 3). This, however, may prompt challenges concerning integrity and academic identity, some of which can be attributed to discrepancies in cultures and interests, as well as organization-specific complexities and hidden power dynamics (McGinity and Salokangas 2014; Ward et al. 2021). It also brings up a well-known and rather fundamental subject for discussion within the international displacement management domain: the foreign expert arriving in and exiting the humanitarian space.

In my case, the embedded researcher approach was related to the secondment arrangement in the global displacement management sector of pre-identified experts being deployed to other agencies. As a roster member of NORCAP, I have been sent to function as staff for different UN agencies at different times over a period of fifteen years, and more recently to national authorities. However, these situations are not intended as research assignments, and my role has been as an expert on missions directed to carry out activities in accordance with a Terms of Reference agreed on by the provider, host, and expert beforehand. Unquestionably, and as mentioned in the account of the qualitative research approach in the previous paragraph, the knowledge obtained during these assignments would not have been possible without being an active participant in these situations and absorbed as staff of these organizations. This prompts ethical concerns that should be carefully considered. For instance, the précis of my encounter with the man who asked for a TV in the prologue does not include details that would make it possible to identify him. I have, however, in some instances included information that is not publicly available, mostly due to the fact that this type of information was obtained through dialogue with colleagues and not published. Whenever this is the case, I have made a note of it.

OBSERVANT PARTICIPATION

To expand on and complement the embedded researcher approach, I make use of the concept *observant participation* (McNeill and St. Clair 2009, Mosse 2013, Geirbo 2017) to explain the different transitions between my professional roles. Similar to my experience and relevant to my research, is anthropologist David Mosse's account of being both an aid worker and researcher, and his research on the relationship between development policy and development practice, is captured in what he terms "action-research

roles" (2005, 12). Mosse explained that he acquired a performative knowledge of the discourses and relationships of development from his experiences as a consultant for the British Department for International Development (DFID) (2005, 12). Being an observant participant entails possessing performative knowledge as an insider, at the same time as maintaining an analytical distance to allow for reflection on this performative knowledge as a researcher. The point is both that the observant participant gets access to performative knowledge that those who are "researcher only" do not have firsthand access to and that the observant participant gets the space and means to reflect on and analyze the performative knowledge that the practitioner does not have access to. Technology anthropologist Hanne Cecilie Geirbo (2017) explains that what can be known by being an insider researcher not only depends on the access one gets as an insider but on how one engages this insider position. Thus, I use this concept to show how I have obtained different sets of data in my alternating roles, and I further reflect on how these transitions helped me notice other aspects of the different roles I had. While the observant participant concept is not widely used in either social science or humanities research, it is used by development aid researchers (Geirbo 2017, Mosse 2013).

Note taking is a way of documenting performative knowledge. To account for the particularities of alternating between different roles, I have included notes and sketches from meetings and field observations, both as an aid worker but also as an educator. As an educator I look at site conditions differently than as an aid worker. Sequencing and timing become critical points of division between the two roles. For instance, and perhaps counterintuitively, the temporal aspect of the role as an aid worker seeking spatial solutions for arrival infrastructure and emergency reception is positioned between the immediacy and the more future-oriented approach associated with the educator role and studio teaching method. It is immediate in the sense that students, responding to the semester brief I designed, immediately begin developing their projects based on their discoveries during field studies. It is long-term because the spatial and programmatic solutions proposed by students are not part of the official humanitarian response operations—despite In Transit Studio's close engagement with real displacement management actors and people in crisis situations. The timeframe of the design projects can also conceptually be situated in the future, and further, imagined built interventions would unquestionably take time to build if ever realized.

FIELD NOTES AS REFLECTIONS ON TRANSITIONS, TENSIONS, AND THE ETHICS OF MY ALTERNATING ROLES

The notes included below would not be categorized as a field diary, a method frequently used in anthropology to systematically document impressions during field work.[14] Instead, my habit of drawing and taking notes comes from my training as an architect, and in particular using drawing as a tool for communicating with and guiding students, which is common in the studio teaching model in spatial design and planning education. The observant participant approach helps explain some of the situations, described in the three articles, that occurred before my doctoral fellowship. This includes insights acquired through conversations with displaced persons, host community members, authority representatives, and colleagues—situations that cannot be fully documented beyond being recounted as I experienced them.

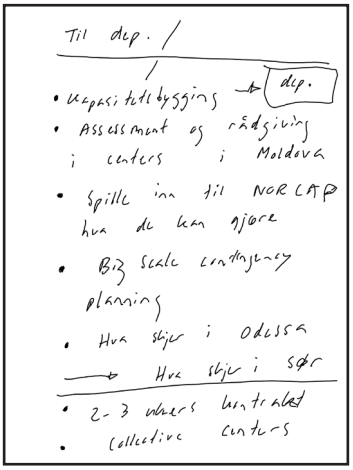
I take notes extensively, and I make drawings. I write and draw when engaging with partner organizations on missions, as a way of documenting site conditions in the field, when meeting with my thesis advisors, or while guiding students. Artist and ethnographer Andrew Causey explains his dependence on drawing as an auxiliary ethnographic method which allows him to see more than he had seen, and more than was recorded as notes or documented in photographs (2007, 7). He wrote, "Sometimes, as an artist, I draw and paint what I *hope* I see in order to see it more deeply. Similarly, as an ethnographer, I sometimes draw, paint or write down what I *think* I see in order to see it more accurately" (2007, 8). For an architect, this is a familiar sentiment and can also be applied quite literally to describe speculative design projects: we make field observations, and already at that moment insert our own aspirations for the project.

From the vast repository of my digital paper tablet notebook, I have in this section included 12 pages (Figure P) to visualize and reflect on the concepts of embedded research, performative knowledge and the observant participant. Beyond gaining access to different sets of information, I explain how my perspective as a humanitarian site planning expert made me notice different aspects than I would as an architectural researcher, and vice versa. I also explore how these roles sometimes conflicted with one another.

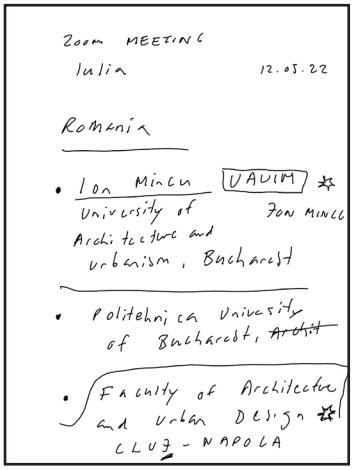
---

14 Ever since Malinowski's groundbreaking but controversial *A Diary in the Strictest Sense of the Term* (Clifford 1988).

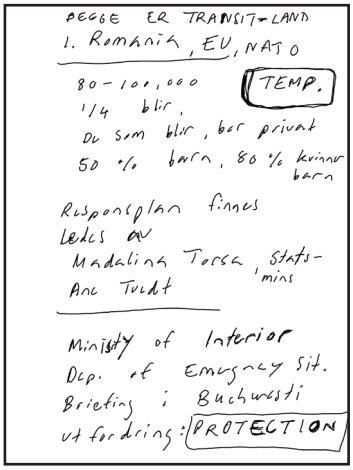
1. Page 435

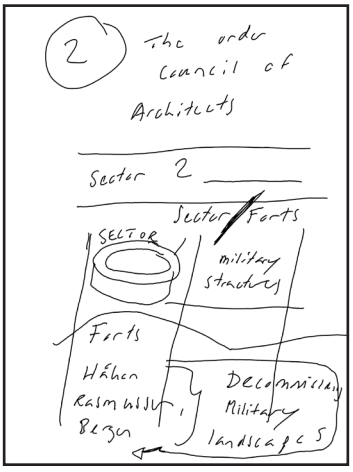


2. Page 438

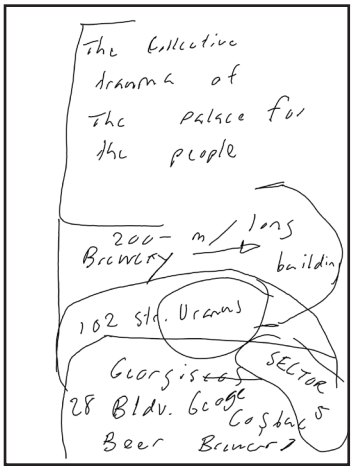


3. Page 443

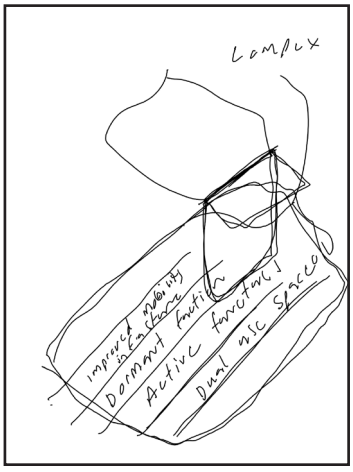




7. Page 548



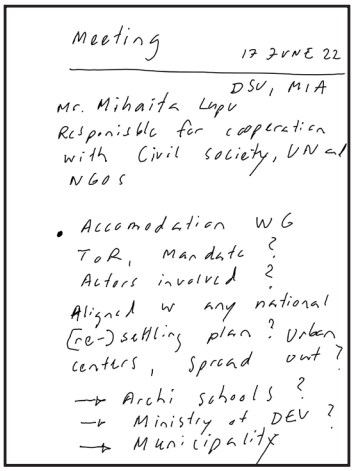
8. Page 550



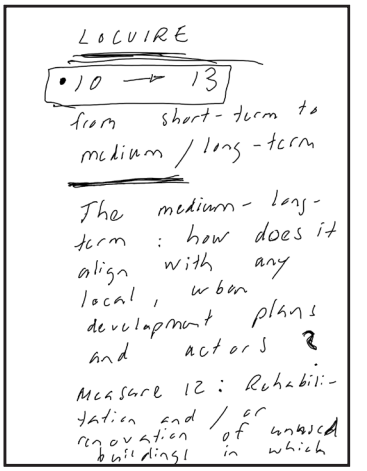
9. Page 871

Above and opposite pages. Figure P. *Transitions, conflicts, and the concept of performative knowledge illustrated through twelve pages from my notebook*. The caption for this illustration is too extensive to fit here and is instead discussed in its entirety in the main text body following this spread.

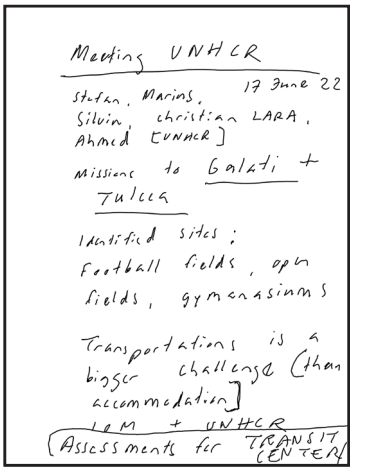
4. Page 492

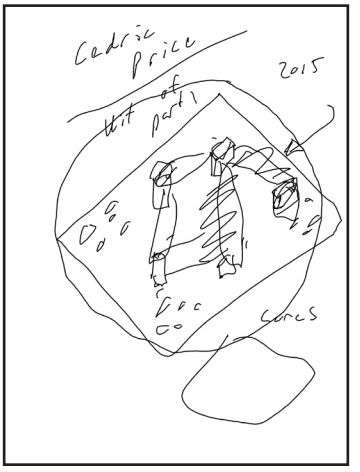


5. Page 500

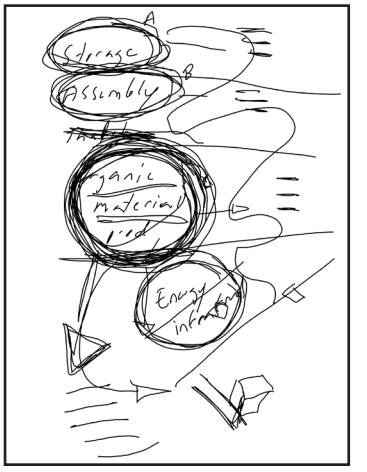


6. Page 501

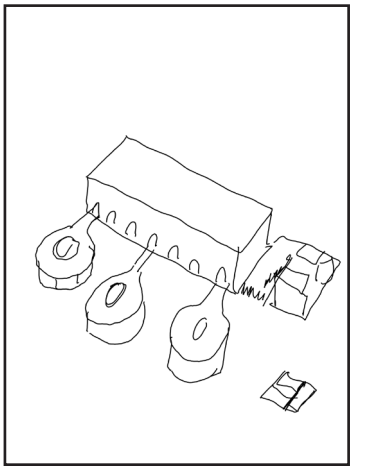




10. Page 872



11. Page 875



12. Page 876

The 12 pages are presented in a linear time sequence in the order they were produced, and visually they appear equal in the way they are pieced together. All 12 pages relate to the Romania case study. While the order of the pages demonstrates how I quite literally moved from one role to another, they highlight the relationship between data obtained and knowledge produced in the different roles, and further explain the different aspects of being an observant participant. I reflect on the challenges, as well as the advantages of these multiple professional roles and in particular the ethics concerning this. In the following paragraphs, I use Figure P to further discuss these transitions and tensions.

The notes demonstrate that my different roles provided access to different information and perspectives, such as being employed by NORCAP provided me with access to data I later analyzed as a researcher; pages 435, 438, 443, 492, 500, 501, 548 and 550. Furthermore, I also show how sketching opens up the possibility of imagining something more than what is in front of me, both while in the field, but also later in the studio as a teacher in dialogue with students; pages 548, 871, 872, 875, 876. Assembled, these 12 pages do all these things, but not every page does all of it. While I discuss the overall limitations of my research in Chapter 5, the Conclusion, I also reflect throughout these sections on the limitations of my work, particularly focusing on role transitions and my identity, both professionally and personally.

Page 435. Notes taken during the first briefing with NORCAP Head of Ukraine Response in May 2022, outlining the scope of my deployment to the Ministries of Internal Affairs in Moldova and Romania. What the sparse notes fail to convey is the deep fear these meetings instill in me—the fear of not being up to the task. After entering academia, my pre-deployment fears took on a new dimension. I anticipated that the decisions I make as a site planning expert in humanitarian contexts may fall short of the very standards I have set through my research in pursuit of improving aid. Because I am a practitioner I know from experience that some of the actors I seek to engage in mediating the fields of displacement management and the built environment, may not wish to engage in this mission. I have found that former humanitarian colleagues often view academic work as detached from their mandates and activities. Mosse expresses a similar view when describing the process of setting aside the demands of problem solving aspects of aid in the role as a researcher, "[…T]his placed me at the margins of the project community—perhaps reincorporated as a means for self-critical learning, but also at risk of being excluded as an irrelevant, not to say disruptive, academic outsider" (2005, 13).

I recognize that all these tensions, whether real or perceived, can create obstacles as I navigate between roles due to ethical concerns. As Geirbo points out, the embedded researcher or observant participant gets access to performative knowledge that others do not, but this has its particular ethical challenges (2017). She wrote, "Subjecting the shared sensemaking that emerges in a team to academic analysis and publishing this analysis in a text requires sensitivity. Informants and colleagues reading the text can easily experience this appropriation and transformation of shared categories as a breach of trust" (2017, 43-44). My primary worry, however, relates more to whether former and current colleagues in both domains will recognize my research as relevant, and further that my research may be seen as an indirect critique of the ones I have worked with in the situations I describe in my thesis. Yet, I argue that being an insider in the situations I have studied has been invaluable for analyzing the relation between policy and practice, and as I outline in the following section, these transitions have also generated new synergies.

Pages 438, 492, and 500. Soon after agreeing to the NORCAP mission in 2022, I sought out a Romanian architect I had previously met through the research project DWELL to inquire about connections with architects in Romania. This approach to mission preparation was new to me at the time and was prompted by my experience of the benefits of insights acquired when moving between different fields. Specifically, I sought out local built environment expertise not only in academia but also in architecture and urbanism practice, aiming to integrate this knowledge into humanitarian response plans—an aspect my research has shown to be largely absent. Similar to my search for local built environment expertise prior to my deployment, I also explored whether the first-phase response systems of Romania's Ministry of Internal Affairs' (MIA) Department for Emergency Situations (DSU) had been aligned with national development plans, local spatial planning priorities, and whether architecture and planning schools were involved at any level.

I initiated meetings with the Ion Mincu University of Architecture and Urbanism (IMUAM), situated only a few blocks away from the MIA. In my report titled "Contingency Planning – Approaches to Increased Reception Capacity in Romania 2022", which I will henceforth refer to as the Contingency Planning report, I wrote that: "Contact has been established between the DSU and deans at the Ion Mincu University of Architecture and Urbanism (IMUAM). IMUAM is committed to explore opportunities for contributions upon request." While I refer to this report—a direct product of my time as an insider (McNeill and St. Clair 2009)—as important in my research, it is also the works of an outsider attempting to influence the inner workings of

a host organization, in my case attempting to link immediate- and long-term response strategies across government agencies.

In their book, *Global poverty, ethics and human rights: the role of multilateral organisations*, political economist Desmond McNeill and sociologist Asunción Lera St. Clair discuss challenges associated with the observant participant approach. As partial insiders, one is not unbiased, but as they argue, "[…] our position [as partial insiders] has allowed us to see what someone further removed could not" (2009, 9). They further state that whether this gave them a more 'correct' or 'true' understanding of events is up to others to judge. This also relates to being able to assess the impact of one's own contribution [to policy] as partial insiders. They write: "[…] we do have reason to believe that we had some minor influence—for example on the process of producing WDR 2006 [the World Development Report]—but it would be foolish to exaggerate our importance.[15] In this case, although our involvement might have marginally modified the final version of the report, it was certainly surely not sufficient to change the conclusions that we have drawn in this book" (McNeill and St. Clair 2009, 9). Similar to this, I am not in a position to conclude whether my report had any impact on the Ukraine response in Romania. Nevertheless, using data obtained as a partial insider during this event has the potential to impact theory through the conceptualizations of *non-exceptional humanitarian spaces* which I introduce in my thesis.

Page 443. Similar to explaining *displacement* as disruptions between people and places (Elliott-Cooper et al. 2020), the temporary insider condition that comes with secondment arrangements may also be explained as disrupted time sequences due to the duration of the assignments. Being a NORCAP expert can sometimes limit access to the inner workings of host organizations, particularly when working with national governments where workplace politics are inherently political and difficult for outsiders to navigate. I chose to focus on the Romania part of my mission in this thesis—primarily for practical reasons, but also because I spent more time there and was able to engage with a larger variety of actors compared to Moldova. However, to illustrate the complexity of engaging with politics as an outsider, it is worth noting that shortly after arriving in Chișinău, Moldova, I realized that, given the scope of my mission I should have been placed in the Ministry of Labor and Social Protection instead of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. This mis-

15 The acronym 'WDR' has been expanded by the author. The report referred to by McNeill and St. Clair is the report from 2006. "World Bank. 2005. World Development Report 2006: Equity and Development. © Washington, DC. http://hdl.handle.net/10986/5988 Entry date: April 27, 2025.

alignment led to my role shifting toward a broader focus.

During my deployment, another NORCAP colleague was seconded to the Romanian government as an advisor to the Humanitarian Assistance Strategic Coordination Group under the Prime Minister's Chancellery. This connection significantly expanded the scope of my mission, which was initially limited to the DSU [Department for Emergency Situations], whose mandate in the context of the Ukraine response focused only on arrival infrastructure and accommodation for the first 72 hours. I advocated for DSU involvement in the planning of medium- and long-term solutions, arguing that first-phase response systems rely on second-phase planning for better resource utilization. I also argued that joint planning across phases could also unlock external emergency funding, such as through UN agencies. As noted in my third article, these documents are not publicly available. However, the Humanitarian Assistance Strategic Coordination Group at the level of the Prime Minister's Chancellery's National Action Plan, and in particular the Measures outlined by the Working Group on the Housing sector, became a key point in the syllabus of the eighth In Transit Studio entitled "Dignified Reception: Bucharest" later that same year.

Furthermore, in the aforementioned Contingency Planning Report to the MIA, I suggested using urbanism mapping approaches to link first-phase response systems with second-phase planning and made a reference to the Urban Profiling Analysis that has been developed for the In Transit Studio the previous year—which again had been based on area analysis tools frequently used in urban planning and urbanism studies, with elements from collaborative profiling exercises used in displacement situations by humanitarian and development actors. This suggestion can be seen as an illustration of all of my alternating roles converging in one specific place, Bucharest, where my diverse experiences and expertise intersected in a meaningful way. Yet, as outlined in the section preceding, the outcome of this is difficult to measure beyond becoming the empirical foundation of my research.

Page 501. This page does not disclose any sensitive details but indirectly references a conversation that exposed an unexpected situation, calling my new role and mandate into question by meeting participants. NORCAP's secondment arrangements are widely recognized and valued by United Nations partner organizations. However, sitting at the other end of the table, now with government colleagues, was a new situation for both UNHCR colleagues and myself and raised questions about data access and confidentiality. This was resolved, but on a personal level I was surprised by how readily I had

embraced my new role representing Romania and by the strong sense of responsibility I felt to ensure that UN counterparts served Ukrainian refugees in a way that was firmly rooted in the conditions and needs of host communities in Romania. At the same time, in my different professional position I missed the collegial bond that often forms quickly among UN staff in such situations due to the shared experience of working under difficult circumstances.

Pages 548 and 550. These pages are from a meeting with the Order of Architects of Romania, Bucharest Territorial Branch. I initiated the meeting during my NORCAP mission to determine whether the built environment interests and member organizations were involved in the Ukraine response and to inquire about potential sites that aligned with the hybrid first- and second-phase approach to accommodation, as outlined above. Without disclosing the specific meeting, organization, or particular colleague, I am nonetheless able to reflect that it is quite possible that in my capacity as a NORCAP secondee to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, many doors were opened for me. One personal observation relating to this is that I found Romanian counterparts to be open, generous with their time, and they all provided me with access to their own personal and professional networks. It is difficult for me to distinguish between whether this is a general cultural trait—yes, a sweeping generalization, indeed—or attributed to my particular role at this time. McNeill and St. Clair make a similar observation when describing the meetings they attended as researchers provided clear advantages because of their association with the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2009, 8). Even when presenting themselves as researchers, they found that UN agencies were more forthcoming with information, potentially sharing more than they would have otherwise, because they were perceived as insiders. This raised a dilemma about how to use this material and reference these conversations in broad terms (2009, 8).

I faced similar judgment calls when deciding how to refer to information obtained from UN colleagues in Romania that was shared informally. Unlike the earlier example of skepticism about my role as a secondee to the government, other UN colleagues still considered me a "humanitarian insider" due to my NORCAP affiliation and treated me as their colleague, something I also considered myself to be to some extent. This is why I refer to some of this information without providing too many details, and the footnote in the third article is one example of this:

> In personal email correspondence with UNHCR site planning staff in April 2022, documents describing contingency planning and site

> assessment and corresponding layouts were still classified as confidential and could thus not be provided. However, on social media platforms UNHCR staff has shared—without providing any further details—that site selection, site planning, and site layout design for temporary transit accommodation and design for collective accommodation had been carried out and informally reviewed by an external international architecture firm. (Breivik-Khan 2025)

The notes presented above also indicate that at this moment, I understood that the next In Transit Studio could be built around the case study of Romania's emergency response to the war in Ukraine and started planning this course. The urgency of the situation was the main motivation to shift the course focus, but also the complexity, which I felt necessary to challenge the students, with as part of the initial ambition of establishing the course some seven years earlier, and lastly also because of the opportunities for engaging with the many contacts I had established during my mission. Similar to how the In Transit Studio was conceived in 2015, while on mission in the Balkans, I re-wrote the syllabus for the eighth studio course at my hotel after working hours. This meant that I had to reach out to the 17 students who had already signed up for the course before the summer, asking whether they would still want to take the course after the decision to work in the Romanian context instead of the Norwegian had been made, and instead of going to Marseilles on a study trip, make two trips to Bucharest. They all accepted. It is possible that planning the course while being on mission could be in conflict with my role as an aid worker, for example, divulging information not in the public domain to students. I was mindful of this and interpreted the situation as follows: given the relatively short time remaining of my mission and the limited resources available—being the sole site planner—I felt my most meaningful contribution would be to offer to return in a different capacity with more resources. The students were well informed about this situation before the start of the semester and were given the option to opt out.

The situation in Romania and the network I had established there, provided the student group with the opportunity to engage with governmental counterparts and, in a safe context, participate in an ongoing humanitarian operation—one of the initial ambitions behind establishing the studio and the "real life" exposure to the students as one of the drivers. A testament to how this was received, when returning to Bucharest with the group of students, was the warm welcome from my former MIA colleagues, who invited us to visit the Ministry, and the time provided by State Secretary Dr. Raed Arafat who hosted the meeting. My former MIA colleagues also initiated and facilitated

meetings with Bucharest city officials and other local government representatives at City Hall. During these engagements, I presented the studio, the students shared their preliminary findings, and my NORCAP successor to the MIA, also an architect, had the opportunity to present herself and the scope of her mission, as well as connect with a diverse network of potential stakeholders.

Pages 871, 872, 875, 876. These four pages are from the semester with the course title *Dignified Reception: Bucharest* that followed my Romania mission. The sketches were made during desk crits, a common practice in architecture education where the instructor guides students at their desks, often drawing over their sketches on tracing paper. As these pages illustrate, I complement this by making my own sketches and providing visual and written references for students to explore. These references span a wide range of sources, including technological interventions, construction techniques, and built and speculative architecture projects—such as Cedric Price's *Fun Palace* and his kit-of-parts approach, developed in an attempt to look for answers to some of the pressing problems he saw in society in the tenets of architecture and design which also led him to other disciplines, such as social and natural sciences (Herdt 2017). In my case, this also involves examining and questioning global displacement management policy and operational-reflective sources. What the last page also illustrates is that the synergy between students and instructors allows me to also spatially speculate on possible ways of improving reception architecture, in a very different way than I can when deployed as a site planner, even if the outputs are ultimately the students' projects. However, implicit in this process is that I mentally place myself in the same situation as the student to be able to provide meaningful feedback from a designer's perspective. I benefit greatly from occupying this space, applying my spatial expertise beyond text and speech. This particular teaching method also enriches my other roles, as it expands my repertoire of possible solutions to displacement. On a personal level, it fosters creative cognition and encourages divergent thinking—and in all honesty, maintains my motivation to keep working on displacement and contingency planning issues.

While reflecting on roles and access to different sets of data in different roles, the moments accounted for above also highlight my privilege and made me profoundly mindful of the uneven power balance that comes with my managerial and teaching roles, my gender and my ethnicity. Working in crisis contexts shaped my career but also changed my worldview. In addition to some of the conflicts I described above, I highlight two additional examples

here: the earthquakes in Haiti in 2010 and in Nepal in 2015. The destruction caused by both events, however, started long before the ground shook. First, my experiences in Haiti showed me the injustice imposed on the Haitian population by their colonizers and was a watershed moment for me in understanding the effects of colonialism and racism ongoing today. The occupation and economic retributions, including financial reparations, imposed after the country's revolution and liberation struggle, were so consequential they cannot be overstated, and are still strikingly visible in Haiti's built environment, razed landscapes, and altered ecosystems. This also made me realize that the types of information shared with me, a white European man, may have been influenced by the country's collective history. I am also aware that my own Site Planning colleagues—highly educated engineers and lawyers—refrained from translating some of the most colorful stories, particularly those related to Voodoo practices shared by the camp inhabitants, out of embarrassment about what I might think. While we discussed this internally many times and agreed to approach these situations in a neutral way, I cannot exclude the possibility that I missed crucial information in many settings and furthermore made decisions based on assumptions that are not my lived experience.

The second insight is the ongoing prevalence of discrimination on the basis of caste, and the spatial segregation as a consequence, that I saw when I worked in the emergency response in Nepal. While other international colleagues did not want to address this—referring to Nepal's 1990 constitution that prohibits discrimination on the basis of caste—these issues had to be dealt with in a practical manner. As a site planner, I had to design and implement a double set of water points and sanitation facilities in a temporary relocation site hosting displaced persons, because of the ongoing reality of caste segregation in daily life. Whether I personally thought this material excess was difficult to justify in a situation with acute and dire needs and in a context with scarce resources, is not relevant. Awareness of the relationship between built and social structures as one means of avoiding conflicts between groups was as equally my responsibility as was the prudent deployment of scarce resources.

More recently, my teaching has thus been centered around spatial injustice, which has been consistently reflected in the course syllabi, both as a topic and also by the professionals I have brought into the studios. This would certainly not have been the case had I not been exposed to such experiences as an aid worker and humanitarian site planner. Life is indeed multifaceted. The cultural conditions or traditions in many of the contexts where I worked also meant that I often saw the need for discretion about my own identity and to withhold personal information out of safety concerns for myself. Sometimes this

was also motivated by a need to maintain authority in leadership positions in heteronormative work environments. This may have impacted the potential for developing closer relationships with some of my local colleagues, which may have also meant missing out on informally shared information.

My findings would have been different had I not been situated in the contexts I describe or had I occupied roles other than that of a researcher. I have explained earlier in this thesis that I gradually came to discover the discrepancies between the architecture profession and the general site planning mandate during the early years of my international career. This incremental awakening, however, relates to how I understood my own role. My methodology contains elements that resemble an autoethnographic approach, which is common in qualitative research. Sociologist Carolyn Ellis and colleagues explain that "autoethnography acknowledges and accommodates subjectivity, emotionality, and the researcher's influence on research, rather than hiding from these matters or assuming they don't exist" (Ellis et al. 2010, 3). However, the autoethnographic approach seeks to describe and systematically analyze personal experience in order to understand cultural experience (2010, 3); this is not something I set out to do, nor does my experience constitute a central point in my findings—however colored my research and motivation might be by my lived experience.

CASE STUDIES

"At a minimum, a case is a phenomenon specific to time and space," architect and scholar Rolf Johansson wrote (2003, 5). In Johansson's summarization of the common denominator of case studies, he lists the following three points: a case study should be a complex functioning unit, be investigated in its natural context with a multitude of methods, and be contemporary (Johansson 2003, 2). In my research, these three points can be outlined as follows: Overall, I look at three entities—let us call them units—within the displacement management and contingency planning domain. The first can be described as a global unit; it is the built environment part within the international humanitarian response regime that adjusts—or fails to adjust—to the specificities of the local context and situation to which the experts are deployed. The second is the national governance entities, which include the asylum system and the domestic contingency planning domain. The third are imaginative design proposals challenging the spatial recommendations, programming, and architectural typologies found in these guidance documents. The spaces covered

in the second article are a Cold War multipurpose mountain hall close to the Norway–Russia border and a transformed 1970s warehouse near Oslo that currently houses the Norwegian national arrival facility for asylum-seekers; in the third article, Romania, with the current fragile condition of Bucharest's built environment, is the center of attention. While the second article provides an overview of the historic uses of the two cases and the local communities in which they are placed, the current uses and the questions concerning the future of displacement management contingency planning in Norway make these cases contemporary. The third article is a complex case unfolding in real-time, with serious consequences for the affected populations, which indeed makes it contemporary but also challenging to study and describe.

The case studies were not part of a clear research design strategy at the start of my doctoral fellowship period. What was clear to me from the beginning, however, was that my professional experience and access to actors and exceptional places—a term I later challenge in my thesis—would be central to my research. Thus, an important selection criterion for the case studies I chose are tied to the embedded researcher approach, as accounted for in the sections preceding this. By drawing on what Eisenhardt and Graebner (2007) refer to as "opportunities for unusual research access", I explain in the section that follows how I chose my case studies.

With the exception of the Kirkenes case, which my co-author Hemmersam of the second article visited as part of the aforementioned DWELL research project, I have studied the other cases in their "natural context" (Johansson 2003, 2). To explain how to build a research strategy of theory from cases, management scholars Kathleen Eisenhardt and Melissa Graebner write: "[…] case studies emphasize the rich, real-world context in which the phenomena occur. The theory-building process occurs via recursive cycling among the case data, emerging theory, and later, extant literature" (2007, 25). Eisenhardt and Graebner explain case research typically exploits opportunities to explore a significant phenomenon under rare or extreme circumstances (2007, 27). Access to rare and extreme circumstances through my NORCAP deployments as an aid worker, but also the COVID-19 pandemic, influenced my choice of case studies.

While my first-hand professional experience had been the predominant selection criteria of case studies, the movement restrictions of the pandemic disrupted my work travel routine and kept me stranded in New York for a long time. A new reality dawned on my multi-national family as we navigated different border regimes due to our varying citizenships and reminded us that

we will have to plan for a future in which similar events could separate us again. Moreover, living in New York while the city was the United States' epicenter of the COVID-19 pandemic for a long time (Li and Huang 2023) demonstrated, also to me, that displacement happens everywhere and not only "elsewhere". In New York, some of the semi-official built interventions of the immediate response were based on spatial solutions from former crisis responses in the Global South.[16] A so-called "hot zone" in Central Park was a 68-bed field hospital set up on April 1, 2020, because the nearby hospitals were overwhelmed. It was initiated by Mount Sinai Hospital System, operated by the Christian relief group Samaritan's Purse, and had a similar layout to an Ebola treatment unit in the Democratic Republic of Congo where some of its staff have previously been deployed (Fink 2020). During a Foreign Press Centers briefing, Ken Isaacs of Samaritan's Purse said:

> […] my role in international disaster relief is really a lot about humanitarian access, negotiating a way in. And the truth is, even in the United States, which is not a place that we ever imagine that we would set up an emergency field hospital, there are still access issues. You can imagine the kind of permits that would have been needed to put a hospital in Central Park, to dig across the asphalt road, to put in the electricity, the water, and the licensing with Mount Sinai. But I can just say that we have been warmly welcomed by New Yorkers, by the state, by the city governments (U.S. Department of State's Foreign Press Center 2020).[17]

This field hospital in Central Park tells a story of a major private actor tak-

16 In this context I use the term semi-official, as the private hospital network in New York city plays a crucial role in the healthcare system due to market dominance and geographic coverage. Mount Sinai Hospital on the Upper East Side of Manhattan was founded in 1852, and is one of the oldest and one of the largest teaching hospitals in the U.S. Through a series of mergers and acquisitions over the years, the hospital became the Mount Sinai Health System and is now an eight-hospital system with hundreds of outpatient practices and employing about 40,000 people across the greater New York area. As the statements made by hospital officials on the press conference on April 9, 2020, the field hospital in Central Park was initiated by the hospital in partnership with the INGO Samaritan's Purse. https://2017-2021.state.gov/samaritans-purse-and-mount-sinai-hospitals-emergency-field-hospital-operations-in-new-yorks-central-park/ Entry date: March 21, 2025.

17 Every year, the U.S. Department of State's Foreign Press Center hosts experts from the private, public, and academic sector for on-the-record briefings on a variety of relevant topics. https://2017-2021.state.gov/briefings-foreign-press-centers/ Transcripts of 'Samaritan's Purse and Mount Sinai Hospital's Emergency Field Hospital Operations in New York's Central Park' FPC briefing, https://2017-2021.state.gov/samaritans-purse-and-mount-sinai-hospitals-emergency-field-hospital-operations-in-new-yorks-central-park/ Entry date: March 21, 2025.

ing the lead in parts of the city's emergency response that still required the negotiation of access to land. Furthermore, the standardized spatiality of emergency reception primarily developed for the so-called Global South, also have performance issues in western urban contexts, and particularly in climates with harsh winters, like New York. "Pray for the tents," Dr. David L. Reich, the president of Mount Sinai Hospital, was quoted in *The New York Times* as saying when discussing the weather forecast and plans for potential evacuation; "We have stretchers ready to cross Fifth Avenue if necessary" (Fink 2020). Planning for second and third waves of displacement is a common necessity in global displacement management due to the materiality of these types of structures.

The improvised spatiality of medical functions also materialized in the streets of New York to accommodate non-emergency activities during the pandemic. While these adaptations produced opportunities for minoritized groups to use public spaces in new ways, they also created contested spaces. Anthropologist Steven Gregory conducted a study of the multitude of new social conflicts in the city because of these new structures, which he described as "[…] a hodgepodge of improvised, wood, and plexiglass structures, decorated with holiday lights" (2022, 163). He further wrote, "[…] the pandemic disarticulated settled spatial meanings and relationships, blurring the boundary between public and private spaces, rearticulating and diversifying the uses of public space, and, in some cases, challenging the racial-cum-class geographies of exclusion associated with gentrification" (2022, 166).

Experiencing North America's coronavirus epicenter while stuck in limbo between the two places I consider home, New York and Oslo, made me better understand that in the Global North improvised spatial solutions during emergencies are equally deficient for new arrivals as they are for their own citizens. The spaces that emerged out of necessity had the potential to become long-term fixtures, but due to the retrofitting approach—resulting from a lack of prior planning—in combination with the subsequent licensing costs imposed by the city, most of them disappeared as the pandemic waned. These observations contributed to domestic contingency planning becoming a more prominent part of my research than initially envisioned. Bringing displacement home, conceptually and geographically, in my research was further motivated by future predictions that large populations will be forced to move north because of extreme conditions due to climate change (Vince 2023, xii).

While New York could have served as an intriguing case study in my research, I chose to draw from my pre-pandemic experiences in Europe in

2015, where I traveled figuratively—but also geographically as an aid worker—along the same routes as many displaced persons, moving north through Greece, the Balkans, and Hungary to Norway. I first explored Norway's arrival infrastructure and reception solutions as an educator with students of the In Transit Studio, including a visit to the Smart Club in Råde, and then later as a researcher. The pandemic, however, added a new perspective to this case. As I have accounted for in the second article, the spatial layout of the Smart Club interior is not suitable for handling two ongoing crises in parallel: war displacement and a pandemic. In order to compare a place that sprang up out of perceived necessity, like the Smart Club, I chose the case study of Kirkenes as one of many examples of Cold War architectural typologies specifically designed for crises. The Mountain Hall in Kirkenes was also part of the same 2015 events of global mass displacement and the high number of new arrivals entering Europe and therefore served as a thematically relevant contrast to Råde. As accounted for earlier in this section, my selection of case studies was initially motivated by exploring a significant phenomenon under rare circumstances (Eisenhardt and Graebner 2007, 27). The situation in Norway in 2015-2016 was rare at the time, however, with future global displacement predictions it has the potential of becoming the 'new normal'. As Eisenhardt and Graebner wrote, "[…] the purpose of the research is to develop theory, not to test it, and so theoretical (not random or stratified) sampling is appropriate. Theoretical sampling simply means that cases are selected because they are particularly suitable for illuminating and extending relationships and logic among constructs" (2007, 27).

The choice of Romania as a case study follows the same rationale as described above. In the Romania case, however, the rare or extreme situation is not only the event itself, the war in Ukraine, but my access to significant information through the observant participant method, afforded by being part of the humanitarian response operation. Also, the concept of contingency urbanism, introduced in the second article, pointed me in the direction of focusing on the duality of an ongoing event, the response to the war, but also an existing and constant condition of Romania, the ongoing earthquake risk and internal mass displacement. These two conditions can also be inserted in the 'displacement coming home' notion, with two or more crisis events happening simultaneously which I had experienced as an expert on mission—a term used by the international humanitarian, development, and peacebuilding community. As stated by economic geographer, Bent Flyvbjerg, "Context-dependent knowledge and experience are at the very heart of expert activity" (2006, 222). He continues, "Such knowledge and expertise also lie at the center of the case study as a research and teaching method or to put it more

generally still, as a method of learning" (222). For this reason, Romania was made a case study not only in my research, but also in my teaching.
The cross-cutting issues described in my thesis are seen through a built environment lens and from my subjective experience adopting a reflexive approach (Morgan 2022). There are obvious challenges related to working in contexts where one does not fully understand the socio-cultural idiosyncrasies, which can be exacerbated by reduced access to written and oral sources due to linguistic shortcomings. This applies to using Romania as a location for my case study. While not referencing this issue specifically, Flyvbjerg sees that a hard-to-summarize case study narrative is not a problem, especially when trying "to capture the rich ambiguity of politics and planning in a modern democracy" (2006, 237). Instead Flyvbjerg argues that a story should be told in its diversity, allowing it to unfold from the many-sided, complex, and sometimes conflicting stories of the different actors, and not linked to theories of any one academic specialization (2006, 238). This approach is especially relevant for the contexts I have worked in and included in my research. Furthermore, as Stake explains, the case researcher plays different roles and has options as to how these roles will be played (1995, 91). Stakes's descriptions of the different roles are also connected to different research methods. Within case study research the researcher can take on the roles as teacher, advocate, evaluator, biographer, theorist, and interpreter, but also alternate between these.

TEACHING AS PRODUCTION OF SOURCE MATERIAL FOR FURTHER INVESTIGATIONS

Teaching, prior to and during the doctoral fellowship, has implicitly and directly produced source material for all three articles, and in particular for the third article. This material is primarily composed of speculative design projects based on data obtained during fieldwork and desk studies and translated into three-dimensional form by architecture, landscape architecture, and urbanism students. In studio teaching with project-based learning, which is common in architecture education and akin to an academic semester project in other fields, the focus is on problem solving, experimentation, and design in a hands-on environment. Thus, the semester briefs were designed to explore different spatial and programmatic aspects of displacement management and contingency planning.

Teaching as a collaborative effort between students and teachers to produce new knowledge through imagined design projects, constitutes a large part of my methodology. Education scholar Amna Saleem argues that learning occurs when learners actively construct or create basic information by themselves, as they do through inquiry and discovery (Saleem et al. 2021, 404). I expose students to the gaps between the two domains of architecture and urbanism, and displacement management and contingency planning, and ask them to come up with viable alternatives.

THE STORY OF THE IN TRANSIT STUDIO

My quest for re-actualizing the relationship between architecture and urbanism with displacement management and contingency planning began in Haiti, accumulated in the Balkans, led to the creation of the In Transit Studio in 2016, and constitutes a central part of my research. I have used the studio as a way of connecting research and practice.

The city of Skopje and the so-called Balkan Route are central elements in the story about the In Transit Studio. During the summer of 2015, my friend, former classmate from AHO, and then-NORCAP colleague, Tone Selmer-Olsen and I were deployed to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) as site planners. The two of us had roving roles in two countries on the Balkan Route, North Macedonia and Hungary. In June 2015, the North Macedonian authorities allowed asylum seekers, refugees, and other migrants to enter the country at the Greek–Macedonian border, but they had to register to obtain 72-hour transit visas issued by North Macedonian Police at the Gevgelija train station before they could continue their journey towards Serbia through Hungary and then northern and western Europe. Almost 400,000 people transited through North Macedonia between June and December 2015 (ACAPS 2016).

Because of the rapidly evolving situation, the terms of reference for our deployments were developed incrementally from pre-departure towards the end of the mission. However, the main objectives of our missions were to identify interventions at transit points that would provide relief and establish temporary shelter arrangements for refugees entering and leaving North Macedonia. In Hungary, I co-led an advisory mission in support of the UNHCR Regional Office for Central Europe in Hungary and the Office of Immigration and Nationality of the Government of Hungary. Based on site assessments

of registration centers and open reception centers in five cities in Hungary, my primary task was to provide advice on shelter, site conditions, and camp management. As part of a team of UNHCR colleagues, we reviewed the work-flows and observed the assistance to asylum-seekers, operating procedures related to registration, protection, security, safety, and other services. Our team flagged several protection issues in many of these centers, which we attributed to a combination of overcrowding, sub-standard living arrangements and sanitary facilities, lack of recreational space, and the presence—and, in some cases, hostility—of security personnel toward the populations in transit. This conclusion was based on staff interviews, visual observations of compliance with international minimum standards, and comparisons between centers, two in particular: one with few security guards but accessible gathering and activity spaces for new arrivals, and another with the opposite ratio—resulting in visible distress and a tense atmosphere. Thus, one of my unconventional recommendations in the mission report can be summarized as suggesting that funds be spent on a new basketball hoop rather than on the salary of yet another security guard.[18]



Figure Q. Photo: Chain-link fence with barbed wire, constructed on the Hungarian side of the Serbian border during the summer of 2015 to stop people from entering the country. Photo: Håvard Breivik-Khan (2015)

18 This report, *Camp Management and Site Planning Advisory Mission – Hungary*, authored by the two mission leads, another UNHCR colleague, and myself, is not publicly available. While the report is critical of the official Hungarian response, I have refrained from referencing staff, locations, or other identifying information due to privacy concerns.



Figure R. Photo (top): People waiting at the Gevgelija train station to register with the police, North Macedonia, 2015. Photo (bottom): Six daily departures from the Gevgelija train station to Skopje. Photos: Håvard Breivik-Khan (2015)

In North Macedonia, Selmer-Olsen and I were presented for the first time in our humanitarian careers, with the Better Shelter, associated with IKEA and UNHCR, as described earlier. Monk and Herscher's criticism of a complex intergovernmental system through this specific object (2021, 8) formulates in words our experiences on the ground and the feeling of being inadequate, amplified by the harrowing scenes playing out in front of us of with people fighting for their lives to get on the last train of the day towards perceived sanctuary.

The city of Skopje, our official duty station where we returned every evening from the borderlands, suffered a devastating earthquake in 1963 that destroyed 75 percent of the capital (Lozanovksa 2012). In 1965, the United Nations held a competition for the reconstruction of Skopje, and the city was rebuilt largely according to a master plan by Japanese architect Kenzo Tange (van Iersel 2011; Lozanovksa 2012). Urbanist Michiel van Iersel wrote that Tange's master plan reflected the confidence of the postwar architect-planners, who tended to work with the state rather than with the people (van Iersel 2011). However, the recent urban-renewal project *Skopje 2014*, Iersel wrote, aimed to "remove all traces of this plan and rewrite the Macedonian capital as a historic city with its roots in antiquity and in the period of Alexander the Great" (2011). The result of the urban-renewal project and government-directed construction in Skopje's downtown can be summed up by the following headlines from news articles: "How Skopje became Europe's new capital of kitsch" (The Guardian 2015), "Skopje's Strange Quest to Rewrite Its History … Through Public Sculpture" (Bloomberg 2013), and "Is Macedonia's capital being turned into a theme park?" (CNN 2011). The contrasts between the grandiose architectural and urban ambitions of Skopje in 2014 and the United Nations-led reconstruction process in 1965, compared to the Better Shelters at the train station in Gevgelija and the border fences being constructed along the Hungarian border, were nothing less than overwhelming—both as an architect and as an aid worker.

All this accumulated in a frustration that motivated me to engage students, a group that has been given the privilege of time to think, reflect, and create innovative solutions freed from the limitations of conventions of current displacement management policies. At the TCC Grand Plaza Hotel bar in Skopje, after working hours, Selmer-Olsen and I wrote a pitch to the AHO, which included the following text:

> Both the international community and the professions constituting the built environment urgently need to adapt their capacity and response to the shifting nature of current global crisis. Merging architecture with the particularities of the United Nations and the international community's crisis response mechanisms will be the main objective of the course. The course will provide a unique opportunity for students to gain insight in crisis response and to become a generation of architects equipped to support the international community in finding solutions to future crises.

Shortly thereafter, the studio was established as a master-level course at the AHO in collaboration with NORCAP.[19] After the first semester, NORCAP director Benedicte Giæver wrote in the foreword of the studio publication *In Transit: Architectural Solutions to Emergencies*:

> They [Breivik-Khan and Selmer-Olsen] have seen first hand what crisis-affected people and communities need and felt the frustrations and limitations of what can be provided against what should be provided. It isn't necessarily complicated. We need buildings which can be used for other purposes later. We need safe places for children to play and relax, close to where they live. Meeting places and common spaces where people can socialise, participate in activities and connect with others. These aspects often do not figure at the top of aid workers' priority lists. Still, they are hugely important to people in a situation where uncertainty and temporality gradually becomes permanent. (Breivik and Selmer-Olsen 2016)



Figure S. Photo: The brutalist heritage of the 1963 post-earthquake reconstruction of Skopje, North Macedonia. Photo: Håvard Breivik-Khan (2015)

19 The teachers in the first semester, along with Selmer-Olsen and myself, were architects Mattias Josefsson, who had been instrumental in facilitating dialog between the AHO and us, and Tommy Sandløkk, also a NORCAP site planner whom Selmer-Olsen and I had worked with in Nepal earthquake response earlier the same year.

TEACHING AS CAPACITY BUILDING

Between 2016 and 2022, the In Transit Studio was run as a series of master's-level courses, with more than 100 participating students of design, architecture, and landscape architecture from 28 countries. A Memorandum of Understanding, penned by me, was signed by NORCAP and The Oslo School of Architecture and Design (AHO) in December 2017 and states that:

> the ambition of the cooperation is to provide academia, humanitarian organizations, and other relevant partners with new thinking and fresh approaches around the subject of urbanization, design and architecture in emergencies and contexts with scarce resources. The cooperation aims to conduct research, and propose new solutions for creating safe, sustainable and dignified living conditions, including, but not limited to the urban poor, refugees, internally displaced people, and their partner communities. The cooperation aims to build capacity and educate future humanitarian designers, architects and planners. (2017)[20]

The students who have undergone the In Transit Studio training, however, have not yet been absorbed by NORCAP. The eight different studios—and academic semesters—have emphasized different aspects of being displaced. All studios have included dialogue with displacement management partner organizations and have been linked to real-time displacement situations. Naturally, the discourse around the situation in Europe in 2015 and the years to come dominated the first few courses. We traveled to and used locations in Greece, Germany, and Italy as cases for the studio briefs and engaged with the UNHCR, Amnesty International, local governments, immigration authorities, reception center operators, and local NGOs.

The term *displacement* used here is applied in a broad sense and corresponds with the definition used in my thesis and as phrased in my first article: it can "describe either indirect or direct forced mobility which produces a spatial output in a new location, including but not limited to migrants, refugees, internally displaced persons (IDPs), host communities, and displacement managers" (2022, 121). Thus, the term may also include immigrants, as some of these groups were displaced at least once and possibly still consider

20 The MoU is not publicly available.



Figure T. Illustration: The term *displacement* has been used in the broadest sense in the In Transit Studios. In the Fall 2021 studio, we explored the spatiality of pandemic-related displacement (*see also Chapter Six: Critical reflections and conclusion*). The pandemic contributed to a new appreciation for the neighborhood, as many spent most of their time in their immediate surroundings. The reality for the many who did not have access to safe and inclusive environments, however, was the opposite. The semester brief was to design "a future forward *Samfunnshus*—a community center in English—in one of the following six satellite towns of Oslo: Romsås, Grorud, Ammerud, Lindeberg, Trosterud, and Tveita." These districts were primarily built in the 1950s and 1960s and have in recent decades experienced physical, social, and structural challenges. A relatively large proportion of the population has low levels of education, income, and employment. Many residents are immigrants. Overcrowding is a pervasive phenomenon in Outer-East Oslo dwellings. Many of these districts experience urban environmental challenges including noise and air pollution, poorly maintained outdoor areas, and a lack of meeting places and areas for recreation (Hemmersam and Ip 2021, 10-11). Pictured is Huanlingzi (Ling) Lei's project *Lindeberg Garden*. Lei designed a community center "for both plants and people, where one can enjoy nature and forget about everything else." llustration: Huanlingzi (Ling) Lei / In Transit Studio (2021)

themselves displaced. The immigration statuses of the imagined clients for the In Transit projects, however, have not, in general, guided the spatial and programmatic solutions developed during the eight independent courses. Mediating spaces between new arrivals and hosts have instead been the focus. projects, however, have not, in general, guided the spatial and programmatic solutions developed during the eight independent courses. Mediating spaces between new arrivals and hosts have instead been the focus.

A PEDAGOGY THAT EMULATES PRACTICE

The approach of the studio can be described as an inquiry-based learning that reflects a studio culture centered around peer learning, with studio teachers acting as co-investigators; to some extent, this pedagogy emulates architectural practice (Hemmersam et al. 2022). The ethics of actively involving students in this type of research deserves attention and encompasses an awareness of both what the students are exposed to and the people we meet. Prior to study trips and contact with people in challenging life situations, the studio teachers provide guidance on how to conduct research, manage expectations, and behave in accordance with the general humanitarian principles similar to the codes of conduct that displacement management experts on mission have to sign before each deployment. I have experienced students feeling the pressure to come up with appropriate solutions to real-time events unfolding as the academic semester progresses but without the background, mandate, or power to deliver immediate and implementable solutions. I have also experienced students feeling proud of contributing to the knowledge production of this emerging field—students who pursued work in displacement management after graduation. During the course of the six years the In Transit Studio has been running, the eight independent semesters exposed different students to different situations with varying degrees of visible distress and human suffering.

My research, however, does not include an investigation of the students' experiences as participants apart from the personal accounts shared by former students and as outlined above. Yet, before each study trip, we asked the students to document their impression through drawings and photos with corresponding short captions. We collected these and presented these as Field files as part of public end of year exhibitions. Four of these stories are presented in this chapter. The captions can be read as fine-tuned reflections of a professional and personal character.



Figure U. Calais, France, 2016

Field file by Alexander Tunby Rosseland:

"It felt good to be raggedy and cold. To have forgotten to bring a raincoat, to wear six layers and borrow a scarf. It felt good to walk and walk. It felt good to be in groups and to walk together and experience this together. This is from the desolated ex-jungle. Pieces, debris, evidence of the city that once was here is scattered around. Here and there people were standing. Some on the phone, some two and two together, some in groups. It is now an open space, separate from the existing jungle. An undefined space that some people come to stand in or walk around in." Alexander Tunby Rosseland / In Transit Studio (2016)



Figure V. Calais, France, 2016

Field file by Petros Antoniou:

"IN SEARCH FOR NORMALITY - Architecture's role in facilitating for social resilience is crucial. An impromptu Hamam at the informal settlement of The Jungle in Calais, is exemplary in showcasing the strong need for people to react, when it comes to such socially shocking and hostile changes."
Petros Antoniou / In Transit Studio (2016)



Figure W. Calais, France, 2016

Field file by Astrid Fadnes:

"Entering the jungle. Divide into smaller groups. No pictures. First stop: camp restaurant. Lunch for sixteen. Daal and pita and black tea and beans and rice. There is one man cooking for everyone. ("there is a restaurant in there?" the police on the outside are missing out on what must be the best food in Calais)."
Astrid Fadnes / In Transit Studio (2016)

Each and every one of the more than 100 In Transit students deserves to be credited for their invaluable contributions to developing knowledge on this topic. However, only certain components of some of their projects are directly featured in my research. Furthermore, the students' assignments and presentations have already been evaluated by external jurors and responsible teachers as per common academic assessment procedures at the AHO after each academic semester. Thus, the quality of individual projects are not discussed in this thesis, as the In Transit Studio alumni should not have to be subjected to additional evaluations in this format as well. Nevertheless, it is fair to presume that each one of the In Transit students would have been better prepared to go on an emergency mission than I was when deployed to Haiti immediately after graduating as an architect from AHO in 2010.

THE CHALLENGES OF ENGAGING STUDENTS IN POLITICALLY CHARGED SITUATIONS



Figure X. Photo: Leros Hotspot, Greece, 2016. Photo: Mattias Josefsson (2016)

In an informal conversation I recently had with a prominent US-based scholar of architecture about the In Transit Studio project, they asked whether engaging in these matters would legitimize problematic spaces and therefore policies. In retrospect, it is possible that some of the tasks we asked the

students to solve can be seen as problematic. Projects focused on alleviating the inhumane physical conditions of the Greek Hotspots with spatial interventions is one such example. From 2015, Hotspots were European Union-supervised registration centers where boat arrivals from the coast of Turkey to the Greek Islands and Italy would be held while their identities were verified and entered into a database. The In Transit Studio visited the Hotspot on the Greek island of Leros in early 2016 just days before it was planned to open. Within the perimeter chain-link fences with razor wire, the ground was covered entirely by impervious asphalt and concrete surfaces, contributing to temperatures reaching high 40 degrees Celsius. Prefabricated sleeping units were arranged in a military grid with one open space—created by the absence of pre-fabs—at the center of the site. Shortly after our visit, UNHCR, Norwegian Refugee Council, Doctors Without Borders, and other relief groups suspended their activities in the Hotspots due to what they considered to be "an unfair and inhumane system" (Al Jazeera 2016). While the Hotspot system and the physical site conditions were rightfully criticized, people were still brought there and people still had to stay there, often for longer than the site conditions were built for. The absence of social and recreational activities in the Leros hotspot led the In Transit team at the time to focus on a new, shaded common space for the site. It is questionable whether this legitimizes the problematic Hotspots, but it does raise the question of how and in which situations architects should engage.

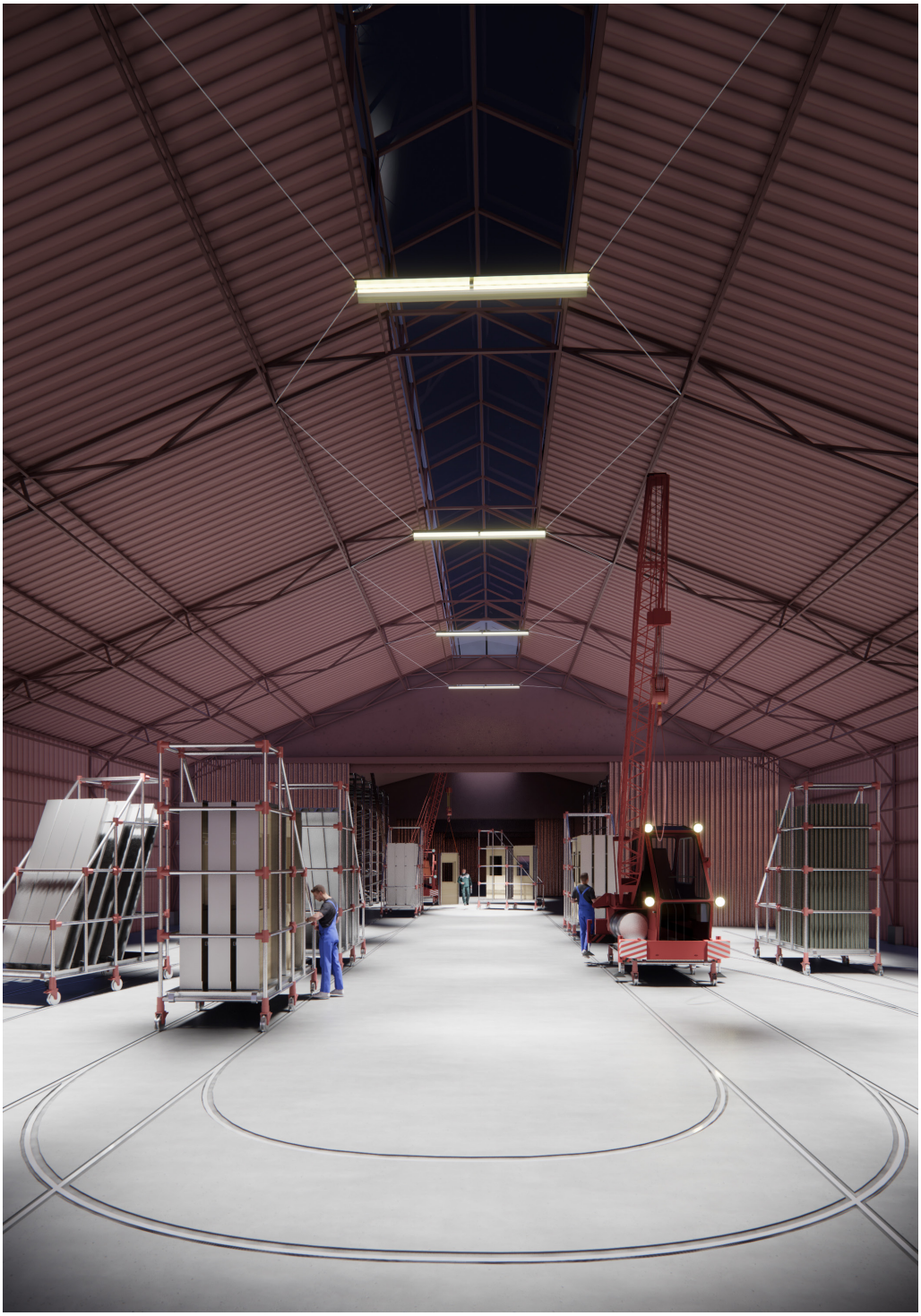
In my teaching, as in my research, I have zoomed in and out between global events, urban strategies, and detailed architectural design. The investigations undertaken before writing the eight different course syllabi have in many cases corresponded with the research for this thesis. The first In Transit Studio courses focused on acute spatial interventions, which aligned with the general topic of my first article. The studio has since critically engaged in urban renewal projects in different neighborhoods with high numbers of immigrants in outer-east Oslo and questioned whether Oslo is an inclusive city. Further, domestic contingency planning has also been a topic for exploration and is reflected in the second article. Finally, the war in Ukraine and the responses of neighboring countries somehow present all these challenges at once; the war in Ukraine was used as a case in the eighth studio course during the fall of 2022 and is an important part of the research for my third article.

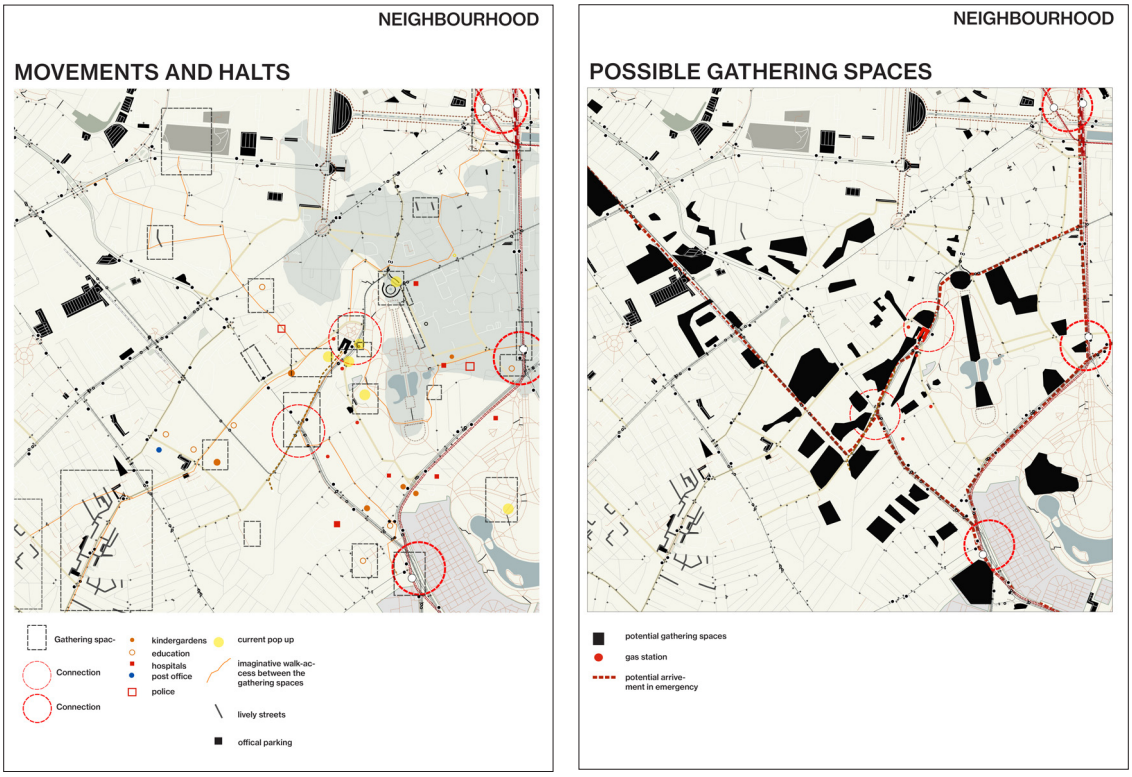
TEACHING AS RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DRIVER OF KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION

In this part, I outline why the In Transit Studio is part of my research methodology and a driver of knowledge production—not only through the ideas presented in the hundreds of projects developed over the course of the last seven years, but as long-term capacity building project of drawing more architects and landscape architects to displacement management and contingency planning—even if the initial ambition of the studio as a generator of NORCAP experts did not materialize due to institutional constraints.

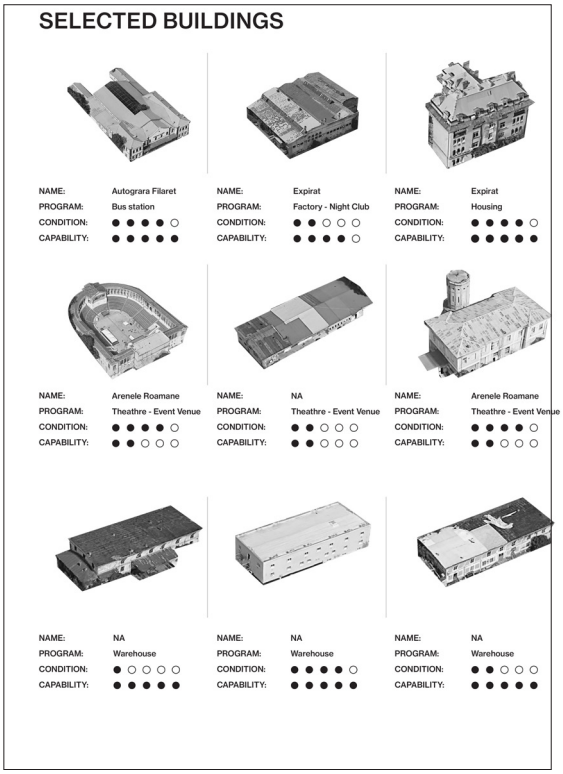
While not counted as one of the three articles that constitute the magnitude of my thesis, I refer to an article of which I was one of the co-authors during my doctoral fellowship; *Displacement and placemaking in design studios*, published as a contribution to the aforementioned EU–India Platform for Social Sciences and Humanities research project: *Displacement, placemaking and wellbeing in the city* (DWELL). In this article, together with my co-authors from five different research and education institutions, I argue that what separates the In Transit Studio from other displacement-themed architecture courses, is that it seeks to engage with national and international NGOs and government displacement management and contingency planning agencies, using architectural approaches to explore and illustrate urban development challenges and potentials (Hemmersam et al. 2022, 7). Thus, it is not the typical "shelter course". Instead, the In Transit series of studios interacts with and proposes policy guidance for displacement management actors and local urban planning stakeholders, by designing urban common spaces with the ambition of improving local communities, put more simply, to facilitate life between and beyond shelter.

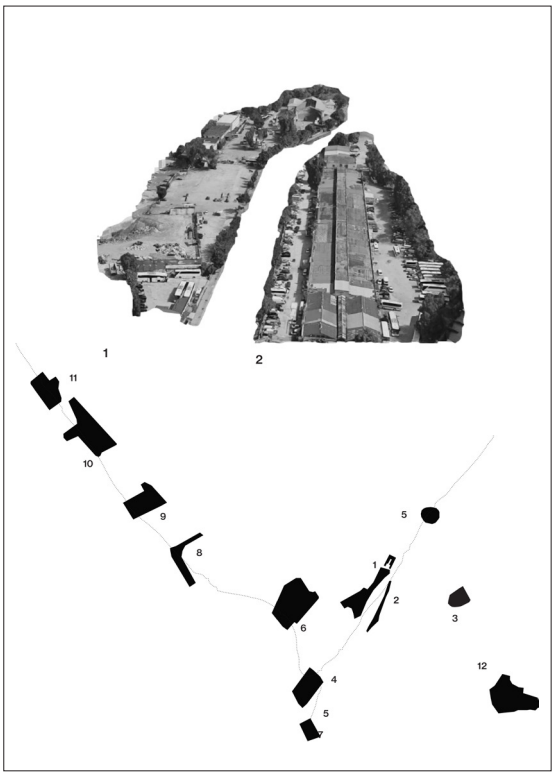
In Transit students, who were all designers accultured through previous architectural education, have benefitted from venturing beyond the classroom or traditional closed studio format, engaging in fieldwork, and being exposed to social science perspectives (2022, 8). The studio's hybridized social science and architectural mapping methods explicitly or implicitly reference social science-related urban theoretical frameworks in their design work. Mapping in this context refers to investigative strategies that study the daily uses and rituals accommodated by urban conditions to further inform the prospective architectural constructs (Schoonderbeek 2021). However, in the *place* and *placemaking* discourse—central concepts in my thesis—the difference between the two scientific fields was exposed through our interdisciplinary collaboration in the DWELL project. While the In Transit students mapped and analyzed place, but also "made places" with their proposed interventions,





< Previous page. Figure Y. Illustration: From the In Transit Studio project *The Burete. Flows and Forces at Autogara Filaret* authored by Stanisław Daniel Rudzki. The Filaret bus station is part of a larger industrial site in transformation, and at the time of our visit in August 2022, it was the main arrival point for Ukrainian refugees travelling by bus to Bucharest, Romania. The project proposed a complex reception system that can be activated in case of emergency and scaled up or down due to shifting needs through a distribution system based on the former railway tracks. Some of the architecture, urban design, and landscape structures would remain in the host community between and after disasters. Pictured is a proposed on-site logistics hub with workshops for building and assembling structures for accommodation and social functions, and the main the arrival hall with functions for emergency situations and for daily regional bus departures and arrivals. Illustrations: Stanisław Daniel Rudzki / In Transit Studio (2022)





Opposite and current pages. Figure Z. This compilation of qualitative and quantitative on-site registrations was conducted and visualized by In Transit Studio students Daniel Clearwater, Maria Charlotte Thonet, and Stanisław Daniel Rudzki as part of the 2022 mapping exercise to identify suitable locations for emergency reception in Bucharest. These illustrations constituted one part of the studio's collective Urban Analysis of Bucharest. The documentation and interpretation of local social infrastructure, spatial and material conditions, and flows of people, including movement of Ukrainian refugees, created the foundation for the design project *The Burete, Flows and Forces at Autogara Filaret*, authored by Rudzki later in the same academic semester. One of the illustrations featured on page 73. The visualizations above illustrate how data on cross-border and regional human movement can be paired with on-site conditions, in order to capture relevant information on daily life and emergency needs, followed by suggested spatial and programmatic interventions that benefit both host community residents and new arrivals. The illustrations further point out potential gathering points for both emergencies and daily life, with imagined and improved mobility and connections. The mapping conducted by the three students also included a detailed overview with on-site buildings and other structures with transformations potentials for combining contingency and urban planning. Daniel Clearwater, Maria Charlotte Thonet, and Stanisław Daniel Rudzki / In Transit Studio (2022)

our social science colleagues primarily considered placemaking as a bottom-up process carried out by displaced populations themselves. Thus, In Transit Studio is not a participatory-approach course with bottom-up processes, as the clients are imagined and not necessarily identified—a complicating factor in the attempt to create social cohesion in most displacement management and contingency planning architecture.

Instead, projects from the collective and vast portfolio of the In Transit Studio have been used to illustrate the potentials of spatial and programmatic overlaps between local and international displacement management and contingency planning. One reason for this is to showcase potentials; another reason is that good built examples are challenging to find. Thus, these projects presume new collaborations between disparate governance entities and levels as a way of exposing possibilities. The designs and topics of the semester briefs, the guidance during the academic semesters, and the contextualization of the projects later can be seen as the part of my research that is normative and is a comprehensive model for further exploration.

As I noted at the beginning of this chapter, my experience as a humanitarian site planning expert led me to identify gaps in the architecture profession and training—particularly in relation to the protection of civilians and the interdependence between international law and physical safety. Civilian protection is founded on government and non-state actor engagement and the involvement of civil society in upholding basic human rights (Global Protection Cluster 2025).[21] The direct linkages between the built environment and the protection of people in vulnerable situations due to displacement, is not emphasized in architecture education. In the shelter and settlements sector within global displacement, however, this is a key planning principle, and emergency response programming that does not consider gender-specific vulnerabilities and capacities can expose individuals to gender-based violence (GBV) (Global Shelter Cluster 2018). In 2018, the Global Shelter Cluster (GSC), published the booklet *Site Planning: Guidance to Reduce the Risk of Gender-Based Violence* which is described as a practical guidance for measures which can be taken to reduce risks to affected populations around camps and sites (GSC 2018). Design options beyond relative placement of functions, nevertheless, are not explored in these types of documents.

21 The Global Protection Cluster (GPC) is a network of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), international organizations and United Nations (UN) agencies, engaged in protection work in humanitarian crises including armed conflict and disasters. Description taken from GPC website. Gender Based Violence | Global Protection Cluster. Entry date: March 17, 2025.

In 2016, *gender-based-violence* was made the focus for one of the semester briefs in the first In Transit Studio. In preparation for a study trip to the Greek islands of Kalymnos, Kos and Leros and scheduled meetings with UN agencies, one of the teams based their designs on the privacy issues and stigma of seeking psychosocial support after experiencing GBV. As described on the In Transit Studio website, the site plan and layout of the project Building Common is "[…] based on the wish to create a circular movement throughout the site, which will contribute to diffusing the visual markers of the more sensitive programs, such as psychosocial support—and allow vulnerable groups to access these services without being monitored by others."[22] This project was presented to Protection experts from UNHCR in Leros, who provided input and praised the students for their sensitivity to a complex issue through design.

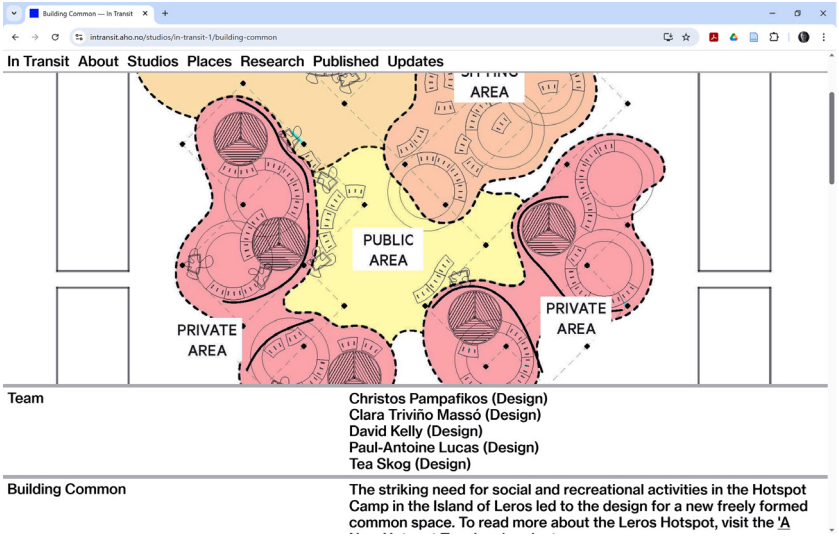


Figure Æ. Facsimile screenshot. Front-page image of the In Transit Studio project 'Building Common', designed to diffuse the stigma of seeking phyco-social support for victims of gender-based-violence in displacement contexts, in this case Leros in Greece. 'Building Common' is one of nine projects tagged 'Greece' on the In Transit Studio website. Greece served as a case for two separate In Transit Studio courses (1, 4) due to its place as an arrival destination in 2015, which was the deadliest year on record for migrants and refugees crossing the Mediterranean trying to reach Europe (IOM 2016). The Greek context offered an opportunity to study, in real-time, the UN-led humanitarian emergency response, the EU refugee registration and reception system, and to document the spatial conditions of emergency accommodation and spontaneous self-settlements in urban public spaces in cities like Athens.

22 https://intransit.aho.no/studios/in-transit-1/building-common
Entry date: March 17, 2025.

As the example above illustrates, the In Transit Studio is a way of connecting research and practice. The studio can be seen as an experimental place, with limited risks—in the sense that studio participants get to engage with crises in an imaginative way without the constraints of having to concretize proposed interventions. Mostly, however, the linkages between research and practice through the new expertise constructed in the studio can reverberate through the new and upcoming professionals the studio has educated. The approaches of the studio—and by extension my research—are integrative, elastic and flexible, multi-functional, multi-sited, institutionally hybrid, and cyclical, and relevant to twenty-first-century architectural and planning theory and practice more broadly.

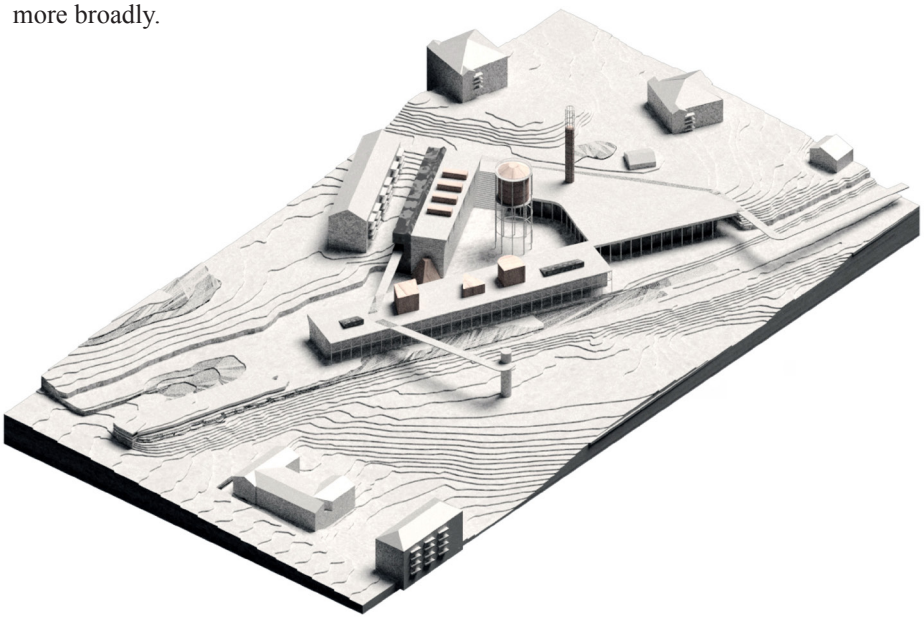


Figure Ø. Illustration: Contingency urbanism: *The Keyserløkka Food Loop* by Tu-Uyen Phan-Nguyen & Helle Brænd Rabbås. Numbers from the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations show that Norway has one of the lowest food self-sufficiency rates among all countries in the world. According to the Norwegian Institute of Bioeconomy Research, the self-sufficiency rate of Norway, excluding the export of fish and import of animal feed, is currently at 36% (2019). Since 1979, the production of vegetables in Norway has been reduced by almost 50% (NIBIO). This shows that Norway is becoming increasingly dependent on imported food. At the same time, food storages are becoming larger and fewer, increasing the distance between production and storage and from storage to consumer. If this trend continues, food security in Norway could become vulnerable and dependent upon uninterrupted infrastructure, including during an emergency. The Keyserløkka Food Loop project proposes a preparedness strategy to prevent and respond to potential food shortages in the event of a major disaster in Oslo. The strategy is based on a decentralized model with local hubs for production, storage, and distribution and is meant to contribute to the discussion of whether Oslo's contingency plans have adequately accounted for food security and how it fits into the everyday lives of Oslo's inhabitants. Illustrations: Tu-Uyen Phan-Nguyen & Helle Brænd Rabbås / In Transit Studio (2020)

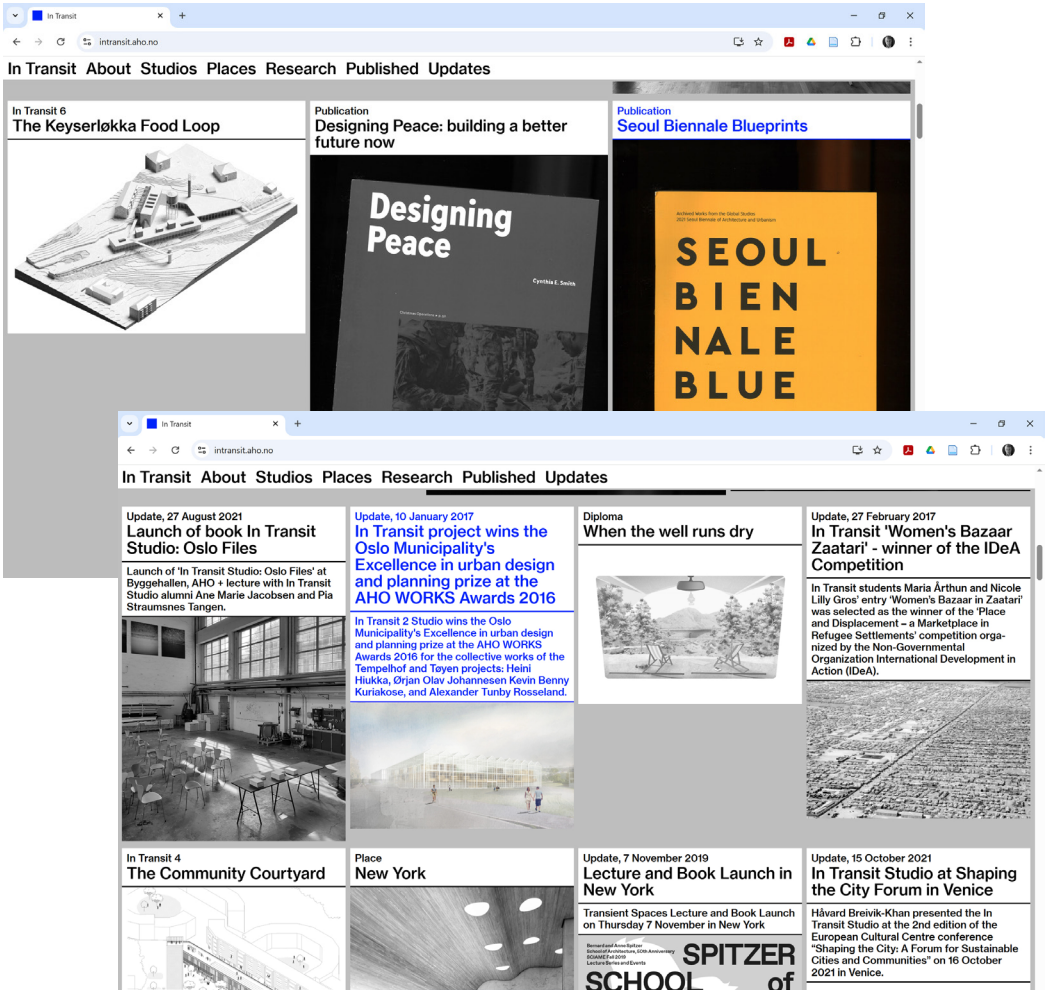


Figure Å. Facsimile screenshots. The website was initiated and edited by Selmer-Olsen and myself, with financial support from the Oslo School of Architecture and Design (AHO), and the design and web development was carried out by Oslo-based designer Alejandro V. Rojas. The website became a dynamic digital archive successively documenting knowledge production and the history of the studio—including awards, events, collaborations, and publications related to the eight different studios. It is still used as a reference, including by my current students at other institutions. The design of the website also reflects the history and ambition of the studio. As with my alternating roles, any event leading up to the creation of the studio or occurring during its existence is presented as visually equal posts on the homepage of the website. These posts, whether student projects, news items, or other content, can be sorted using geographic or thematic tags. It was a deliberate choice by us, the creators, to elevate students' contributions to the field of global displacement management by presenting their projects with an equal prominence on the website as official humanitarian missions, and furthermore present students and teachers as co-creators of knowledge.

MULTIMETHOD RESEARCH APPROACH

As accounted for in the sections preceding this, the empirical data in my research reflect various approaches, including my alternating professional roles: the site planning expert, the academic researcher, and the educator. In 2019, I had no plans of going on another mission before completing my doctoral thesis. The invasion of Ukraine in 2022, however, made me feel the urgency to report for duty to NORCAP and led to my deployments to the Government Ministries of Moldova and Romania. Thus, I did not initially plan this trajectory; it changed over time and in response to live events which emerged as I conducted my research, and I built my research design around this.

Robert E. Stake explains that there is no particular moment when data analysis begins, but that analysis is a matter of giving meaning to first impressions as well as final compilations (1995, 71). This statement, in many ways, captures my experience of observing a problem in the field in a professional setting prior to my doctoral fellowship period at a time when I too, in some ways, treated built interventions in displacement management as exceptional events—but soon realized that was not the case. This was followed by my ambition to address a gap in spatial design and planning education. Thus, the question of when one role starts, and the other role ends is, at times, difficult to differentiate in my thesis. The different responsibilities, however, that come with each of the roles are clear and distinct to me, which I have accounted for in this chapter.

My research is thematically situated at the intersection of multiple fields. While it is anchored in architecture and urbanism, and informed by the social sciences, the study of displacement management and the built environment from a spatial practice perspective is not yet an established academic field. Likewise, it is not the standard in spatial design and planning education. As a result, the students I teach engage with concepts that extend beyond traditional disciplinary boundaries. I chose a multimethod research design for my thesis as no one method could be used to answer my research questions. Furthermore, selecting multiple methods contributed to bringing into closer proximity the often disparate academic fields of architecture and urbanism on the one hand, and displacement management and contingency planning; testing existing academic discourse against my professional experience in the field; understanding what aspects of these forms of knowledge can usefully be brought into architectural education.

The significance of combining data gleaned through different methods offers the potential to create a fuller picture of the validity of the research, including its limitations. Different types of evidence can expose *complementarity* across data sets "by combining information from different methods or different observers" (Nightingale 2020, 490). It is equally possible combining information reveal *divergence* which can be understood as evidence of weakness in the data but may show that "inconsistencies do not signal problems with the data collection but rather problems with the theoretical assumptions behind the object of research" (490). A phased methodology—to use one method to have a background understanding for a different kind of data collection (478)—was not crafted at the outset of the research period. I do understand in hindsight, however, that I have been conducting a form of phased methodology by taking professional experience from the field gathered before the academic research period into my examination of case studies and policy document analysis insights gathered with students in my third identity as an educator.

Additionally, many findings emerge through design, which in some cases could not have been revealed or understood without three-dimensional explorations and visualizations with imaginative design proposals challenging the spatial recommendations, programming, and architectural typologies found in guidance documents, but made local to the many places used as case studies during the eight different In Transit Studio courses. Thus, the specific composition of data sources as my empirical foundation is linked to my alternating roles during the course of this study as a humanitarian site planning expert, academic researcher, and educator. The projects from the collective portfolio of the In Transit Studio have been used to illustrate the potentials of spatial and programmatic overlaps between local and international displacement management and contingency planning. While I am not the author of these projects, the indirect design processes of guiding my students is one way of bringing together the knowledge I have obtained in different roles.

Teaching as a method, and in particular the studio model approach, is central in my research. Since the creation of the In Transit Studio, it has been clear that engaging students in knowledge production is a key objective. This has been explicitly stated in all studio syllabi, which are presented to students before they select courses each semester. However, these courses are not condensed crisis missions. The benefits to my research, at times, being in a lower-pressure, higher-energy environment are precisely that the output differs in this setting compared to deployment in an ongoing crisis response. Thus, teaching has broadened my perspective on solutions for hybrid emergency reception and daily life functions.

Chapter Four:
The three articles

In this chapter, I present the three articles that constitute the magnitude of my thesis. The three articles are listed with publishing details below and, following this, presented in their entirety one by one. The three articles are included as facsimiles of the published versions, thus diverging from the layout and style of the rest of the chapters that constitute my thesis.

ARTICLE ONE

Breivik-Khan, Håvard. "The Concept of Place in Displacement Management." *NORDIC JOURNAL OF ARCHITECTURAL RESEARCH* 34, no. 1 (2022): 119–45. http://arkitekturforskning.net/na/article/view/1267

Double-blind peer-reviewed / Journal: *Nordic Journal of Architectural Research* / Publisher: SINTEF akademisk forlag, Norway / Level 2 in the Norwegian Publication Indicator (NPI)

ARTICLE TWO

Breivik-Khan, Håvard, and Peter Hemmersam. “The Mountain Hall and the Smart Club: The Architecture of Emergency Reception in Norwegian Cities.” *Wellbeing, Space and Society* 6 (2024): 100189. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wss.2024.100189.

Double-blind peer-reviewed / Journal: *Wellbeing, Space and Society* / Publisher: Elsevier, UK / Level 1 (NPI)

ARTICLE THREE

Breivik-Khan, Håvard. “Non-Exceptional Humanitarian Spaces: The Emergency Reception of Ukrainian Refugees as Contingency Planning for Domestic Mass Displacement in Romania.” *City, Territory and Architecture* 12, no. 1 (2025): 16. https://doi.org/10.1186/s40410-025-00265-9.

Quadruple-blind peer-reviewed / Journal: *City, Territory and Architecture* / Publisher: Springer, Germany / Level 1 (NPI)

NORDISK ARKITEKTURFORSKNING
NORDIC JOURNAL OF ARCHITECTURAL RESEARCH

THE CONCEPT OF PLACE IN DISPLACEMENT MANAGEMENT

HÅVARD BREIVIK-KHAN

Abstract

The concept of "place" increasingly appears in literature produced by and for actors of global displacement management relating to interventions concerning the built environment. "Place", in this context, is presented as a concept appropriate for interventions in especially urban, non-camp settings. The introduction of so-called "place-based" approaches indicates that displacement management literature builds on existing conceptualizations of place found in the practice and theory of architecture and urbanism, as well as in other social science literature. A study of operational displacement management literature reveals that the varying conceptions of place apply place thinking to displacement management in particular ways. This analysis finds that diverse uses of place-related terminology and contested ideas of placemaking, contributes to a "de-professionalization" of design matters in displacement management. Nonetheless, it suggests that place can be a useful concept when combining technical site analyses with urbanism mapping methods in displacement management practice. The perspectives identified in this article seek to strengthen the existing yet tenuous links between competences within displacement management and architecture and urbanism. It is also meant to call attention to the social agency of displaced populations concerning built environment interventions.

Keywords:
Architecture, Contingency, Displacement, Mapping, Place, Urbanism

Introduction

In this article, I discuss the emerging use of the term *place* in displacement management literature relating to the built environment. *Place* as a concept is well-established in the practice of architecture and urbanism, is commonly featured in academic literature of the social sciences and has been examined by scholars in re-occurring cycles since the 1970s, in part prompted by geographers who were dissatisfied with the taken-for-granted nature of *place* in scholarly literature (Relph, 1976/2008; Seamon & Sowers, 2008; Tuan, 1977/2011). The concept of place is complex, and the term is commonly used in everyday speech – or as summarised by geographer Tim Cresswell: "Given the ubiquity of place, it is a problem that no one quite knows what they are talking about when they are talking about place" (Cresswell, 2015, p. 6). Some forty years after the above-mentioned conceptualisations of the term, *place* or *place-based* started appearing in literature produced by and for actors of global displacement management. Place is increasingly presented as a concept that should be included in appropriate interventions in especially urban, non-camp contexts. With the introduction of the term *place-based* in policy and in the practice of displacement management, the question which presents itself then is: On what grounds is the concept of *place* a decision-making factor for displaced populations? Furthermore, how does the lexical and conceptual borrowing of these terms improve interdisciplinary knowledge at the intersection of displacement management and architecture and urbanism? To explore these questions, I have studied operational displacement management literature, and I discuss these in lieu of key conceptualisations of place found in scholarly literature. This investigation was prompted by my ambition to strengthen the existing but tenuous links between competences within displacement management and architecture and urbanism. Nonetheless, this article will not conclude with an overview of either correct or incorrect approaches to displacement management; instead, this analysis investigates how approaches deemed critical for improved competences by actors of the sector itself are followed by relevant literature meant to guide such interventions.

Methodology and structure

Two overall categories of written sources are studied in this article. The first category comprises renderings of key texts from scholarly literature on place and displacement with sources from the humanities, architecture and urbanism and the social sciences, but mainly from anthropology, geography and sociology. These conceptualisations have been included in this analysis to situate ideas concerning *place* in the displacement management literature in relation to the built environment. The texts were selected based on the following criteria and either (i) are considered key texts written by central scholars in their fields, (ii) discuss displacement or mobility, or (iii) prominently feature spatiality in

NORDISK ARKITEKTURFORSKNING
NORDIC JOURNAL OF ARCHITECTURAL RESEARCH

conceptualisations of authors from non-design fields. Thus, some of the scholarly literature addresses topics on the level of political critique and discusses aspects of national and international migration policy concerning the spatiality and location of displacement management facilities. Others are more literal about how places are experienced and about social behaviour in relation to spatial conditions. The second category refers to the concepts of *place*, *place-based*, or other interchangeable terms, and can be found in the so-called operational part of literature on displacement management, sometimes called "grey literature".[1] *Operational* is here defined as the part of displacement management literature produced to support the implementation of interventions and programmes such as manuals, toolkits, guidelines, handbooks and documents with similar labels indicating actionability. Some support literature, such as one-pagers and reflection papers produced by organisations as background for their own policy documents, have also been studied in this analysis. This article, however, is neither a comprehensive literature review nor a comparative analysis of two equal parts; furthermore, the two categories described above are not presented chronologically as theory and empiric data.

I am using the term *displacement* to describe either indirect or direct forced mobility that produces a spatial output in a new location including, but not limited to, migrants, refugees, internally displaced persons (IDPs), host communities and displacement managers. Displacement management is a rather broad term and was chosen to include literature describing a vast range of displacement contexts. However, in this analysis I have primarily looked at sources produced by, or meant for, a responding entity with a degree of managing authority: United Nations agencies, international non-governmental organisations (INGOs), national immigration agencies or local municipal authorities. One example of displacement management could be the act of an INGO identifying, planning, implementing, monitoring, maintaining and managing a collective centre, which is often situated in a pre-existing building for temporary accommodation, while providing assistance and protection for displaced persons (UNHCR & IOM, 2010). Another example is national authorities planning and implementing the physical infrastructure needed for screening and providing shelter for asylum-seekers while their claims are being processed, which then also – sometimes indirectly – include questions and decisions about the level of inclusion of the host community.

1 Grey literature comprises publications produced by the organisation conducting the research rather than by a conventional publisher. They are distributed on a limited basis by the producer of the research or by its funding agency. Definition taken from Harvard University's Library webpage: https://guides.library.harvard.edu/history/gray

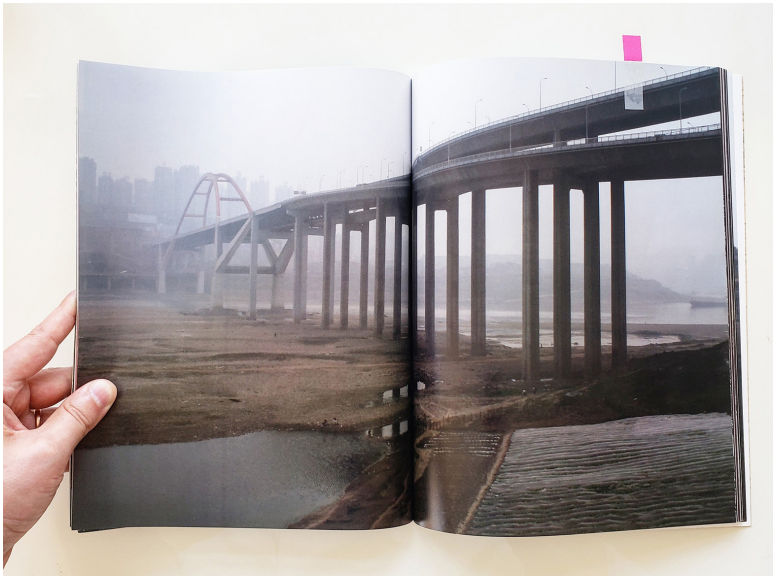


Figure 1
Non-place or place? Chongqing, China (2009).
© TANJA BERGQVIST & HÅVARD BREIVIK-KHAN

Non-Place as site selection criterion?

Many locations used for displacement management purposes could be classified as *non-places*, a term introduced by French anthropologist Marc Augé in the 1990s. Augé described new types of places, which lacked the essential characteristics that would have made it possible to call them *places*. The hypothesis advanced by Augé is that supermodernity produces non-places, spaces which are not themselves anthropological places, which are – as I will discuss in more detail later in this analysis – relational, historical and concerned with identity (Augé, 2008, p. 63). Linguist Emer O'Beirne questioned Augé's distinction between objective and subjective non-places as an attempt to distinguish between concrete spaces and human experiences of them. This leaves open the question of who decides what is "objectively" a non-place – an entity after all defined by the individual's relation, or rather non-relation, to it (O'Beirne, 2010, p. 447). Political scientist Maarten Hajer and sociologist Arnold Reijndorp have pointed out that Augé's work has been extremely influential in the study of transit spaces. However, it is highly questionable whether his analysis of non-places does justice to the ways in which these spaces are actually used. Augé noted that the possibility of becoming a non-place threatens each and every place. Hajer and Reijndorp asked, "But can it work the other way round, and can non-places become places?" (2001, p. 45).

NORDISK ARKITEKTURFORSKNING
NORDIC JOURNAL OF ARCHITECTURAL RESEARCH

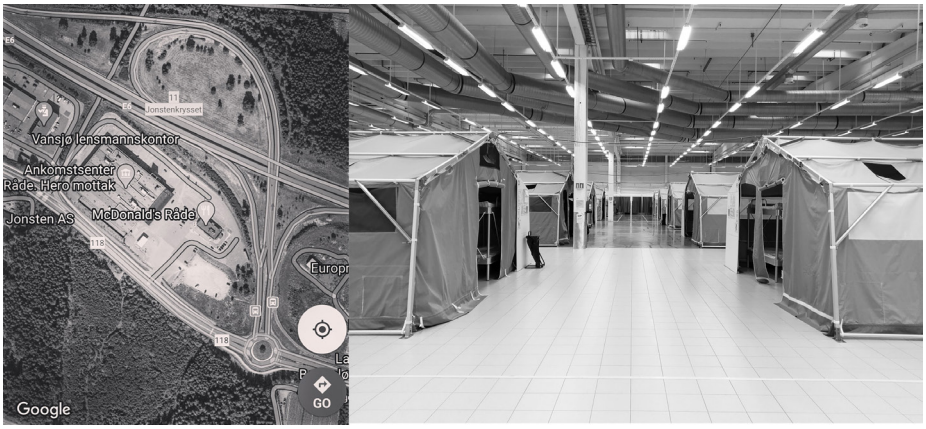


Figure 2
Non-place and the Smart Club Model.
Råde, Norway (2016).
© GOOGLE MAPS (LEFT) / HÅVARD BREIVIK-KHAN (RIGHT).

I have included two supplementing terms to support my claim that *non-place* is a parameter in the choice of locations used as arrival infrastructure. "Arrival infrastructure" in this context refers to facilities used for registering and accommodating displaced persons seeking protection. Anthropologist Anne Hege Simonsen and architect and urban theorist Marianne Skjulhaug use the term "othering processes", which describes the use of peripherical locations for accommodating asylum-seekers. Othering has obvious spatial implications on several levels; they write: "It reflects popular and often toxic notions of who belongs where, but also physical power structures built into the urban landscape. However, location is in itself not articulated in the negotiation of the power aspects related to Norwegian migration politics" (Simonsen & Skjulhaug, 2019, p. 199). This view – the choice of remote locations of arrival infrastructure for displaced persons – is in part echoed by urban researcher René Kreichauf. He introduced the concept of "campization" to illustrate two tendencies of accommodating refugees in the context of increasing numbers arriving in EU member states and the tightening of laws of asylum, explicitly upon reception. The first describes the legal stabilisation of permanent, enlarged, remotely located and spatially isolated camps with lowered living standards, increased capacities and a closed character. The second comprises the changing notions and forms of containment, exclusion and temporality of these infrastructures (Kreichauf, 2018, p. 250–254). Depending on what one considers a non-place – in reference to O'Beirne's note on subjectivity – "campization" (and the general meaning of the concept of non-place), while never pronounced, *is* used as a site selection criterion for arrival infrastructure in the global north.

"Place" in displacement management literature

Displacement management literature comprises many types of sources. The staggering number of different resources is presented as a strength by knowledge providers in the sector. One of them, the Active Learning Network for Accountability and Performance (ALNAP), a UK-based non-governmental organisation (NGO), boasts of hosting the biggest repository of humanitarian lessons and evaluations in the sector in an online library, which contains 20,210 resources.[2] This body of displacement management literature – which contains operational but also reflective sources – alternates between the usage of the terms *place*, *place-based* and *area-based* approaches. *Area-based* is sometimes described as a synonym for *place-based* in this type of literature; at other times, they may be sub-categories of each other (Sanderson & Sitko, 2018; Setchell, 2018). The term *area-based* is more common than *place-based and* is generally described as a way of transitioning from post-disaster relief to recovery. In the document *Urban humanitarian response* from 2019, one can read that area-based approaches (ABAs) "have become popular in recent years as an urban-derived approach to post-crisis recovery. They are first and foremost about supporting neighbourhoods to recover. In practice, they resemble more a developmental approach than perhaps a traditional humanitarian one" (Sanderson, 2019, p. 83). Area-based approaches are described, in the same compendium, as "a wider approach to post-disaster recovery programmes that embodies neighbourhood-based, place-based and settlements-based approaches" (ibid., p. 85). The term *place* is included as something that describes location and, furthermore, identity. *Place* is here understood as a location but is also used as an identity marker in the meaning of belonging, and the intent of focusing on location is to reinforce the importance of people's identities. The author, architect and urban vulnerability scholar David Sanderson wrote that the focus on place has been a long-established approach in recovery. For example, after Typhoon Haiyan, the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) found that one benefit of focusing on location (place) is that it "involves the consideration of other aspects of community life beyond shelter and how these aspects all fit together physically and functionally" (ibid., p. 88).[3] Settlements-based approaches (SA) are explained by Charles Setchell, the Team Lead for Shelter and Settlements of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) in the report *The State of the Humanitarian Shelter and Settlements* from 2018, as follows: "it encompasses the full range of settlements beyond the urban focus of the ABA, the area and operational coordination focus of the ABA in urban areas appears to complement the strategic and conceptual focus of the SA" (Setchell, 2018, p. 117). A few years prior to these two reports, architects, urban-crises scholars and practitioners Elisabeth Parker and Victoria Maynard conducted a literature review of area-based approaches in a study for the International Institute for Environment and Development (IEED), a UK-based policy and action research organisation. In their report, which is an analysis of

2 The ALNAP website (https://www.alnap.org/) as of 7 May 2021.

3 Location and place are used interchangeably in this section.

both case studies and available policy literature, they write that "on-going humanitarian policy and operational discussions are not informed by a shared understanding of what "area-based programming" means in practice, why, when or how to adopt the approach, nor the institutional implications, such as funding and administrative mechanisms" (Parker & Maynard, 2015, p. 4). They conclude that "area-based approaches are neither "good" nor "bad"; their positive and negative effects depending entirely on the context in which they are conceived, their programme design, the manner of their delivery and the appropriateness of adopting such a strategy" (Parker & Maynard, 2015, p. 3). While the authors go through the rich variety of interchangeable names of the same approach – area, neighbourhood, settlement, integrated and multisectoral-based approaches – "place-based" never appears.

Three dimensions of a cross-disciplinary place framework

Based on a cross-section of the written sources included in this analysis, three dimensions have emerged. I call them *(i) Site as Location as Place*, *(ii) Constructing the Social* and *(iii) Mobility, Longevity and Permanence*. The three dimensions are used to further unpack what I referred to in the introduction as the tenuous links between displacement management and architecture and urbanism, and to establish a framework for discussing how the two domains understand place.

(i) Site as location as place

"What is a site?" ask scholars and design practitioners Carol J. Burns and Andrea Kahn in the introduction to their book *Site Matters* (2005) and point out that a variety of closely associated terms address different aspects of physical location: place, property, ground, setting, context, situation, landscape (Burns & Kahn, 2005, p. xiii). Though often used interchangeably, none of them are exactly equivalent. In design discourse, a site is an entity contained by boundaries that delimit it from the surroundings (ibid., 2005, p. x). Burns and Kahn problematise the general notion that designers have no role to play in determining sites and often receive a site from a client, which minimises the consequentiality of factors that inform site choice (ibid., 2005, p. x). In the same book, urban planning theorist Robert Beauregard writes about places becoming sites and claims that even a cleared site has meaning attached to it. In Beauregard's view, to be cleared is to be prepared for, or receptive to, a particular intervention, which is what it means for a place to become a site (Beauregard, 2005, p. 54). Urban designers, planners, developers, engineers, government administrators and architects have developed a variety of methodologies for making sense of (ibid., 2005, p. 41). Beauregard describes this process as moving a specific place – with its connotations of richness, diversity and complexity – onto "muted ground".



Figure 3
Turning places into sites. Kalymnos island, Greece (2016).
© MATTIAS JOSEFSSON.

To accomplish this, the untamed, overlapping and contradictory histories, remembrances and engagements which cling to the place must be removed and subsequently replaced – or not – with simplified, coherent and transparent representations (Beauregard, 2005, p. 41). Beauregard claims that in the deconstruction of a place and the narrative construction of a site, prior narratives are reduced in number or, in some instances, eliminated altogether (ibid., 2005, p. 41).

While Burns and Kahn's claim that designers have no role to play in determining sites may also be true in displacement contexts, planned camps, reception centres, or collective centres are in fact often identified by site planners of displacement management organisations.[4] As in the field of architecture, a site analysis is an established practice in displacement management. This is contrary to mapping, which is a method used to reveal the particularity of places, often in urban environments (Hemmersam & Morrison, 2016, p. 24). Mapping, or visualising spatial data, is often exemplified by Italian architect Giovanni Battista Nolli's famous *Nuova topografia di Roma* from 1748 in which he graphically highlights enclosed public spaces through figure-ground representations of built space (Boeing, 2021). Nolli's maps changed the conception of what constitutes and who has access to public space. Another mapping pioneer is urban theorist Kevin Lynch, who contributed to the introduction of the field of psychology into urban studies in the 1960s through his

4 Based on a search for appropriate sites in several different missions involving displacement management (2010–2015). The title "Site Planner" is used by the United Nations and the broader international humanitarian community to refer to expert personnel with a background in the built environment sector, in the broader sense, and who are engaged in crisis response. A Site Planner's main objective is to respond to urban and rural displacement through spatial solutions and upgrading the physical environment. Within emergency response, the Site Planner's role is to identify and coordinate all physical interventions needed to create safe living conditions for displaced populations (Breivik & Selmer-Olsen, 2015) http://shelterprojects.org/other/siteplanning/index.html.

mental mapping methods (Eamonn, 2012). Lynch asked participants of his study areas to sketch maps based on their memory of a place as opposed to copying existing maps or images. The purpose of this method was to reveal the social conditions of a particular space or area (Lynch, 1960). Building the agency of displaced populations through mapping or map making is promoted by architect and researcher Claudia Martinez Mansell who wrote, "to live without a map is to exist without a future, in a space forever uncharted" (2016, p. 3). Lebanese refugee camps are often shown as grey blobs on maps, with no detailed view of the street plan, she wrote. Some maps exist, but they are not made public by international organisations, who regard the circulation of such knowledge as a security risk – which partly explains the unplanned growth of these spaces (Martinez Mansell, 2016, p. 3). Architect and scholar Tim Rieniets wrote that "conventional maps lack the means to represent the social, psychological and other non-visual features that are essential to understand this space" in his description of the performative capacity of map-making to bring together people and places (2015, p. 60). Methods similar to urbanism mapping can be found in ethnography. Spatial ethnographer Setha Low described her method of studying the everyday lives of public spaces and people's experiences of place through in-depth field observation as a complement to quantitative surveys and demographic methods (Low, Simpson, & Scheld, 2019). Site analyses in displacement management, derived from engineering practice, are first and foremost conducted to immediately follow up with interventions. The search for appropriate sites for displacement management purposes is challenging and often time-sensitive, which generally excludes searching for non-visual social infrastructure. In accordance with Beauregard's claim that the process mutes ground, displacement managers are part of the practice of turning places into sites, as this is the most efficient way to accommodate sudden needs. While the site analysis or site assessment of these "spatially finite places" has indeed previously been conducted primarily to identify topographic features, safety and security conditions, it also intended to capture cultural and social conditions. This has become more pronounced in recent operational displacement management literature (Breivik & Selmer-Olsen, 2015), thus moving towards an analysis more similar to urbanism mapping methods. The sections that follow outline whether the operational displacement management literature provides adequate guidance on this for practitioners.

Place missing in manual literature – but briefly appearing in the periphery of similar sources

For an architect, the manual format is a well-known source of knowledge for direct implementation; perhaps the best-known is one by German architect Ernst Neufert from 1936, commonly known as just "The Neufert", which is a collection of standardised solutions for architectural programmes. This article will not include a comparative analysis of The Neufert and its equivalents in displacement management literature,

although they do appear to be similar in many ways. However, I point to architectural theorist Anna-Maria Meister, who problematised the perceived political neutrality of standardised technical norms by reviewing the work of "norm experts" such as Neufert. Neufert aimed to order not just the built environment but also the people living in it, according to Meister (Meister, 2020, p. 169). The manual is a typical format for operational literature on displacement management, especially concerning camp management. *Camp* as a concept and typology is considered a last resort to be employed once all other alternatives have been exhausted (UNHCR, 2015), and it is perhaps somehow of less interest to the increasing number of displacement managers who have turned their attention to the phenomenon of urban displacement.[5] Nevertheless, toolkits and handbooks concerning camps are still key resources for practitioners working with displaced populations. One of the guiding documents in humanitarian response operations is the *Camp Management Toolkit* (IOM, NRC, & UNHCR, 2015, English version), first published in 2008 by the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), later adopted as a product of the Camp Coordination and Camp Management (CCCM) Cluster in Geneva and revised many times since. However, neither *place* nor *place-based* nor *area-based* occurs in the 248-page document. Another significant and similar source is the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) *Emergency Handbook*, first published in 1982, with the current 2015 version replacing all previous printed editions and available as an online tool (UNHCR, 2015). This handbook is, as stated by the UNHCR, primarily meant as a tool for UNHCR operations and its workforce. However, the handbook is well-known amongst humanitarian actors across organisations, and for many years it was the main guidance for built environment professionals in displacement management. The chapter entitled *Site Selection, Planning and Shelter* describes the method and requirements for the planning and construction of displacement camps. Architect and scholar Manuel Herz has claimed that most of the several hundred UNHCR-run camps that currently exist around the world can be traced back to these 20 pages (Herz, 2013). The terms *place-based* or *area-based*, however, are not mentioned in the UNHCR handbook. Because of this, two additional resources were studied for this analysis: *The UNHCR's Global Strategy for settlement and shelter (2014-2018)* (UNHCR, 2014a) and *The UNHCR Policy on alternatives to camps* (UNHCR, 2014b), both issued in 2014. Neither place-based nor area-based approaches occur in the first document; only the policy document on alternatives to camps references that area-based approaches are relevant when populations are not consolidated in camps (2014b, p. 10); however, it does not further explain area-based approaches as a concept. A third and similar product is the *Sphere Handbook*, initiated in 1997 by a consortium of humanitarian practitioners called the Sphere Project. The Sphere Project described the handbook as a primary reference tool aiming to improve the quality of humanitarian work during disaster response (Sphere, 2018). For built environment practitioners in displacement management, the

5 Camps are defined by UNHCR as "locations where refugees reside and where, in most cases, host governments and humanitarian actors provide assistance and services in a centralised manner." UNHCR's policy is to avoid the establishment of refugee camps, wherever possible, while pursuing alternatives to camps that ensure refugees are protected and assisted effectively and enabled to achieve solutions. Although many governments require that refugees reside in camps and, at the onset of an emergency, UNHCR may also find it necessary to set up camps to ensure protection and save lives, camps should be the exception and, to the extent possible, a temporary measure.

quantifiable parts of crisis response, such as the minimum number of square meters per person in a temporary settlement, are meant to guide spatial interventions, similar to The Neufert. Size descriptions, however, only appear as volumes and surface coverage, not as design guidance based on a cross section of human interaction and movement. As in the reflective-operational literature presented above, which alternates between emergency response and recovery, this document also associates area-based with location: "in urban contexts, work through a geographically defined, area-based approach to better understand community dynamics" (Sphere, 2018, online version). However, there is no further explanation of what this entails. Compared with the urbanism mapping practice – which includes representations of non-visual features of the built environment – operational displacement management literature does not describe how to identify or treat qualitative aspects of site analyses.

A synthesis of displacement management literature presented above – meant for different phases of displacement situations – indicates that location and geographic delimitation are primarily tools for determining the types of interventions needed in each situation and for linking these activities with implementing organisations. An interesting phenomenon occurs here: through the geographic delimitation of the area-based approach and location as the central ideas of the concept of place, the logic of a camp mindset is maintained and brought into dispersed urban displacement situations. Human geographer Cathrine Brun wrote that the international refugee regime has not come up with an alternative to camps that include social and legal protection, and even migrants forced into a non-camp solution cannot escape the camp-logic of care and control, temporary lives and exclusion (Brun, 2020, p. 465). Geographer Doreen Massey pointed out that the problem of the conception of place, or "a sense of place" as a notion of geographical difference, uniqueness, rootedness, is that it requires boundaries. She explained this by recounting what she referred to as her "most painful times as a geographer", struggling to think how one could draw a boundary around a place. Massey wrote that defining regions has almost always been reduced to the issue of drawing lines around a place and explained that this is problematic because "that kind of boundary around an area precisely distinguishes between an inside and an outside. It can easily be yet another way of constructing a counter position between 'us' and 'them'" (Massey, 1994, p. 151–152). Geographic delimitation as a tool for determining interventions in operational displacement management literature may have derived from the practical necessity of dividing roles and responsibilities among multiple actors involved in displacement management. However, tools meant to (re-)educate practitioners by applying place thinking limited to location could contribute to a perceived, instead of a common, understanding of the concepts and methods that this type of literature advocates. This happens not only due to the interchangeable usage of

terms and concepts that are most often not accompanied by further explanations, but also in part because of the widespread use of these terms in everyday speech (Cresswell, 2015). In the literature on displacement management, which provides guidance on camp set-up and operations, there seems to be an understanding of the emerging expectation that attention should be brought to these concepts – yet place-related terms are only mentioned and not treated. While humanitarian and development actors alike repeat a common ambition of bringing these two sectors together on a policy level, operational displacement management sources do not reflect the recommendations of place-based and area-based approaches found in the more reflective, yet normative, part of this type of literature.[6]

6 One example is the Humanitarian Development Nexus, or the New Way of Working, a reference frame for humanitarian and development actors to contribute to the common vision for better connectivity between humanitarian and development efforts, adopted at the United Nations World Humanitarian Summit in Istanbul in 2016. Source: The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) https://www.unocha.org/fr/themes/humanitarian-development-nexus.

ii) Constructing the social

The concept of *place* as a topic is featured predominantly in scholarly literature from the fields of anthropology, geography and sociology, but often the focus is on the built environment, and as such it is associated with architecture and urban design; thus, I return to geographer Tim Cresswell, who argued that places are spaces which people have made meaningful: "they are all spaces people are attached to in one way or another. This is the most straightforward and common definition of a place – a meaningful location" (Cresswell, 2015, p. 12). As well as being located and having a material visual form, places must have some relationship to humans and the human capacity to produce and consume meaning, Cresswell wrote. What does *place* mean in the field of urban design? asked architect and urban design scholar Ali Madanipour, who claimed that the notion of place "became the focus of developing visions, around which new forms of governance could take place, a construct that could be introduced in relation to problematic parts of the city, showing how they could become the target of area-based regeneration and renewal" (Madanipour, 2014, p. 239–241). Madanipour discussed place and the impact of this concept on two different levels: one in relation to the field of urban design with *place* representing a paradigm shift in politics, used as a softener for area-based regeneration and renewal processes, and the other in relation to the significance of meaning that place represents, as something personal, to explore whether built-environment professionals can recreate this sense of place. Discussions around whether a place can be created or whether it occurs spontaneously do not exclude the notion that displaced persons seek to spatially recreate the comforts of home. A person's experience of place is constituted by many factors. The spatial aspect, however, is almost always present, as demonstrated by the theories presented above. This is also highlighted by political scientist Dolf te Lintelo et al., who noted that one of many underexplored areas in the literature on protracted displacement is "the placemaking processes through which people spatially organise, build, make, attach meaning and derive wellbeing – or not – from and in their urban living

NORDISK ARKITEKTURFORSKNING
NORDIC JOURNAL OF ARCHITECTURAL RESEARCH

and working environments" (te Lintelo et al., 2018, p. 67). Sociologist Sarah White presented the notion that

> *Space and place constitute critical dimensions of wellbeing that deserve much greater attention because constructions of wellbeing are intrinsically connected to the places in which they are generated. The auto-construction, architecture and design of urban spaces by displaced communities entail important socio-cultural processes that give shape to and expresses feelings of belonging, identity and place-making.* (te Lintelo et al., 2018, p. 67)



Figure 4
Auto-construction as place recreation.
Calais, France (2016).
© HÅVARD BREIVIK·KHAN.

Auto-construction as an expression of the "loss of place" is featured in political scientist Lionel Beehner's article from 2015, written some five years after the Syrian war broke out, which draws on his qualitative research from the Za'atari refugee camp in Jordan. Beehner highlights parallels between the Za'atari camp and "place-less" modernist architecture and city planning by referring to Robert Moses's political machine which altered New York City in the 20th century. One of Beehner's findings is that refugees – in this case, middle-class Syrians – rebel against uniformity. In this instance, related to the layout of the camp, they sought to recreate their domicile as best they could, using the meagre canvas tents and campers allotted to them. Beehner describes how Syrian refugees modified the layout shortly after the Za'atari camp had opened by combining their tents or trailers with lean-to replicas of the Ottoman merchant houses native to Syria (Beehner, 2015, p. 158, 165–168).

Architecture as generator of place

This criticism of the refugee camp – more specifically, the grid layout and lack of meeting places – can indeed be compared with the criticism of modernistic architecture and urban planning, despite the first occurring a few decades after the latter. This movement also contributed to place thinking in architecture (Hvattum, 2009, p. 40). Architect and architectural historian Mari Hvattum discusses in her article *The Tyranny of Place* from 2009 what she calls *geographic determinism*, resulting from a critique of modernism. Hvattum describes the shift from the abstract "space" to concrete places, which occurred in the 1970s, where place as a qualitatively charged entity replaced the quantitatively defined concept of space of the era of modernism (Hvattum, 2009, p. 40). According to Hvattum, the notion that a place is a collection of qualities to be chosen when designing something new has deep roots in the European tradition of architecture. Hvattum's summary of the scholarly catalogue of architecture and a central post-war architectural theorist on place, Christian Norberg-Schultz, could be summarised as architecture materialising the phenomenological essence of place by the translation of the architect of specific landscapes into form. Or, in Norberg-Schultz' own words, "the task of the architect is to create meaningful places, whereby he helps man to dwell" (Hvattum, 2009, p. 41). Hvattum claimed that architects have an almost predisposed belief in place as key to architectural design and asked whether this notion should set off a warning, not against the spaces of modernism, but against the tyranny of place (Hvattum, 2009, p. 40). Hvattum's criticism, mostly directed at architects' understandings of place as geographic determinism, should not suggest that the alternative is "placelessness". The discourse surrounding place tends to reduce architecture to an illustration of already existing visual conditions, she argued, and further stated that place does not create architecture – quite often, it is the other way around: architecture creates place (ibid., p. 46).

Place as placemaking

Placemaking is often included as a guiding principle in displacement management literature produced by humanitarian INGOs or United Nations development agencies. To understand the impact of place thinking in displacement management and the strong emphasis on public space, I point to the works of American urbanist and writer William Holly Whyte, who is still frequently referenced by scholars writing about public space (Fitzpatrick, 2011; Low & Smith, 2006; Vroman & Lagrange, 2017). Whyte studied human social behaviour in dense urban settings in response to – or as a direct result of – specific urban design interventions and zoning and planning regulations. Whyte's work was influential in the development of the field of urban design and in the establishment of the Project for Public Spaces (PPS), founded in 1975. The PPS has made its mark on operational displacement literature through its many collaborations with United Nations agencies and US-based INGOs. The International Rescue Committee (IRC), as one example, advocates applying place

thinking to crisis contexts (IRC, 2017). While the concept of place in this context is understood as the creation or upgrading of public space through placemaking processes, the anticipated advantages of the application of place thinking, according to the IRC, are multiple: "it will reveal risks and vulnerabilities, reconcile differences, promote social cohesion, allow for local ingenuity and socialization, and lead to a better understanding of community".[7]

A recent key document on displacement and urbanisation that also treats place primarily as public space was produced for the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) and edited by architect and displacement practitioner Jens Aerts called *Shaping Urbanization for Children: A Handbook on Child-Responsive Urban Planning* from 2018. The PPS is referenced throughout the handbook, and to explain the concept of *placemaking*, the PPS's own definition is as follows: "a multi-faceted approach to the planning, design and management of public spaces. It capitalises on a local community's assets, inspiration and potential, with the intention of creating public spaces that promote people's health, happiness and wellbeing" (Aerts, 2018, p. 185). PPS is also linked to the United Nations through their five-year collaboration with the United Nations Human Settlements Program (UN-HABITAT), initiated in 2011, with a cooperative agreement called *Transforming Cities through Placemaking & Public Spaces*. This project cites ten principles for improving cities, mostly focused on policy decisions, while encouraging small, self-initiated change, followed by case studies; however, it never mentions place-based or area-based approaches.[8]

7 Taken from a blogpost entry – found through the earlier-mentioned ALNAP search function – titled 8 Reasons Place Should Matter to Humanitarians authored by IRC staff and featured on the Project for Public Space's website. Accessed 16 March 2021.

8 A draft from 2012 featured on the PPS website is the only publicly available digital output.

Placemaking or Creating Place? – The de-professionalisation of design in displacement management

Academic urbanism literature contains scepticism regarding the probability of successfully creating place (Beauregard, 2005; Madanipour, 2014). Architects and architectural historians, on the other hand, have a strong belief in architecture and urban design as instruments in the creation of place, as opposed to a visual representation of already existing conditions (Hvattum, 2009). Architecture as an active generator of place is similar to the placemaking optimism of authors of reflective-operational displacement management literature, who sometimes are also trained as designers or planners. However, while Hvattum accounted for the professional part of the built environment in the context of the Norberg-Schultz school of architects' attitudes to place, displacement management literature focuses on placemaking primarily to be executed by non-professionals. Placemaking in this type of literature is described as a process in which the implementation of the spatial and material interventions is meant to foster social cohesion, equal to and sometimes more important than the actual built output, and primarily to be carried out by the affected population under the guidance of the initiating INGO or other entities. It is the case, however, in the absence of the architect

– as demonstrated by political scientist Behneer – that members of displaced populations must act as the designers. They implement a process that is generally limited to retrofitting available material components into something that resembles acceptable physic conditions, constituting spaces in which social relations can be maintained. Whether this de-professionalisation of design in displacement management relates to permanence and mobility will be discussed in the following section.

(iii) Mobility, longevity and permanence

Mobility is fundamental to displacement but, in relation to displaced groups, so is "permanent impermanence" (Brun, 2015). This section presents the third and final dimension of the framework for discussing how the disciplines of displacement management and architecture and urbanism understand place, and I primarily present non-sedentarist conceptualisations of place in scholarly literature. What follows are renditions of conceptualisation of place asserted by scholars associated with the *new mobilities paradigm*, which is scarcely featured in the operational displacement management literature. According to sociologist John Urry, place and movement are significantly bound with affect (Urry, 2007/2012, p. 253–254). Places of affect are places that make it appropriate for particular social encounters to occur; they are places of what Urry called "meetingness". Urry argued that places are not fixed but depend on the practices within them, making performance central to place – which means that places can change because of what occurs there (2007/2012, p. 254). "Diverse forms of mobility are reconfiguring how people experience places" claimed political phycology scholar Andrés Di Masso et al., explaining that there is a diversity of mobility relating to "urban redevelopment and gentrification, life-stage residential changes, digital age mobile workspaces, telecommuting and peripatetic work patterns, tourism and amenity-seeking lifestyles, attempts to escape poverty and persecution, the displacement of refugees through war and disease, or human smuggling and trafficking" (Di Masso et al., 2019, p. 125–126). Di Masso et al. cite sociologist Per Gustafson when pointing out that social research has mostly been "a-mobile" and "sedentarism": "Humanistic geographers, environmental psychologists and community sociologists have often regarded place attachment as good … whereas mobility has been associated with uprootedness and social disintegration" (ibid., 2019, p. 126). Examining place attachment through the lens of this fixity-flow framework, as introduced by Di Masso et al., offers a new way of encompassing flexible place attachments. This can include the potentially traumatic loss of bonds due to mobility, as well as people's coping or adaptive value to address rapid change and disruption, e.g., migrants' rehoming and resettlement after disasters. This suggests that place attachments are informed across time and space by a wide spectre of mobility conditions and the relational configurations which underpin them (ibid., 2019, p. 131).

NORDISK ARKITEKTURFORSKNING
NORDIC JOURNAL OF ARCHITECTURAL RESEARCH



Figure 5
Flexible place attachments. Calais, France (2016).
© HÅVARD BREIVIK-KHAN.

The Human geographer Cathrine Brun and anthropologist Anita Fábos also reflected on mobilities when discussing concepts related to "the permanence of temporariness" (Brun & Fábos, 2015, p. 5). Brun and Fábos proposed that the extended temporariness of "home" for forced migrants in protracted displacement situations may be understood not as limbo but as a form of "liminality", which they described as a concept occasionally used in the literature on "refugeeness" to help theorise the place of refugees and forced migrants, both in geopolitical terms and with regard to notions of social roles and cultural belonging (ibid., 2015, p. 10). Brun and Fábos's proposed shift from limbo to liminality indicates a more unsettled relationship between fixity and motion in the experience and practices of protracted displacement: "connecting people "out of place" to the concept of mobility as a way for scholars of forced migration to inquire how homemaking might open up a transformative political space for people in protracted refugee situations" (ibid., 2015, p. 11). While architect and historian Andrew Herscher did not explicitly refer to the concept of place, he stated that in architectural history, just as in global politics, refugees tend to be understood as "people out of place" (Herscher et al., 2017, p. 3). Herscher pointed out that asylum is not only a right, as described in human rights and humanitarian law – it is also a space. "International law locates this space in a "country" different than the one where the refugee possesses citizenship, but this space also has an architectural form about which international law is explicitly silent" (Herscher et al., 2017, p. 31–32). Herscher pointed out the close relationship between spatiality and the legal status of a displaced person, as

asylum and protection at one point became identified with spatial confinement (ibid., 2017, p. 32). During the interwar period between World War I and World War II, in those situations when refugees were recognised as co-nationals, the accommodation of refugees was a housing issue; after World War II, when refugees became a humanitarian problem, permanent housing would be replaced by seemingly temporary camps (Herscher et al., 2017, p. 70–71). The inclusion of refugees in an immigrant neighbourhood, a secure and productive site of settlement, resulted from critiques by refugee organisations, NGOs, architects and planners that camps were an unsustainable and inhumane form of refugee settlement. Herscher's theories reveal that the room for providing meaningful contributions for architects in displacement situations is limited by the establishment and mandate of the intergovernmental organisations in question.

Figure 6
Out-of-Place and permanent temporality. Corail-Cesselesse, Haiti (2010).
© HÅVARD BREIVIK-KHAN.



NORDISK ARKITEKTURFORSKNING
NORDIC JOURNAL OF ARCHITECTURAL RESEARCH

Time as a complicating factor in the architecture-displacement management nexus

Time in displacement studies, and naturally also in real-time situations, is commonly understood as something fluctuating and temporary, which it often is not. A well-known example in the common displacement vocabulary of a term that does not always correspond with the situation on the ground is "camp". This taxonomic digression is quite often exemplified by the infamous spatially delimited settlements of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, still referred to as camps – which gives the impression of spaces with temporary structures and functions, even though they have existed in the same locations for more than seven decades and where most of the buildings are constructed with durable and long-lasting materials (Martinez Mansell, 2016, p. 1). Martinez Mansell referred to Michel Agier's "paradoxical space" to describe Bourj Al Shamali, a Palestinian refugee camp in southern Lebanon: "the politics of humanitarianism enable leaders to treat the refugee situation as forever temporary, and thus perpetuate the camp's informality, even as they invest in infrastructure and housing upgrades that make the camp more permanent in real terms" (Martinez Mansell, 2016, p. 12). In operational displacement literature, such as the aforementioned *Camp Management Toolkit*, the prevailing notion is that camps – also used in this context as an umbrella term for *collective*, *reception*, *transit* and *evacuation centres* – should, from the start, be planned with closure in mind. The spatial implications are that sites used for these purposes should be returned to their previous conditions unless alternative plans have been developed and agreed to by national authorities and surrounding communities (IOM, NRC, & UNHCR, 2015). In accordance with Brun and Fábos' concept of the permanent temporariness of displaced populations, I suggest that this notion should also be applied to displacement management literature meant to guide humanitarian practitioners. The question of permanence – the longevity of built structures and the duration of use – becomes a central aspect and is further discussed in the following section.



Figure 7
The loss and recreation of place. Bourj Al Shamali, Lebanon (2015).
© CLAUDIA MARTINEZ MANSELL.

Building and the terror of time

The above subheading is also the title of a paper written by philosopher Karsten Harries, which describes the human fear of mortality, and architecture as one way of addressing this fear (Franck, 2016, p. 130); this section treats time in a practical rather than a philosophical manner. The limited exchange between displacement management and architecture and urbanism can indeed be attributed to time, specifically, the alternating delay between thinking and implementing. A very practical and incontrovertible aspect of designing, planning and constructing the built environment is that it takes time – usually not a privilege in displacement management. Thus, the literature on placemaking which has been authored by displacement management practitioners, also by the ones with built-environment expertise, demonstrates that both the design and implementation of built interventions are often described as carried out by non-professionals. Further, the focus on temporary structures and the attitude of leaving-no-trace after camp closure found in the operational part of displacement management literature limits the possibilities of planning and designing spatial structures for multi- and after-use that could become assets to host communities later. This aspect has also been problematised by architect and scholar Malkit Shoshan, who studied the legacy of UN Peacekeeping Missions and

concluded that the architecture of their own bases are self-sustaining islands spatially insignificant to the local communities in which they were constructed (Shoshan & Zamore, 2018). Structures used for displacement accommodation are seldom purpose-built, as described in the aforementioned collective centre guidelines, with existing buildings used as temporary living accommodations to host displaced populations. Not intended for permanent living, collective centres nevertheless often become long-term dwellings for displaced people (Brun, 2015). The types of buildings used for these purposes vary, and they include schools, hotels, community centres, hospitals, factories, religious buildings, police posts and even military barracks (UNHCR & IOM, 2010). Despite the common practice of utilising structures designed for other programs, transformation – a well-known concept in architecture and urbanism practice – is not featured as a concept in the operational displacement management literature. Mono-functionality is still the dominating approach to guiding built environment interventions in the displacement management literature. Transforming structures built for programmes that have become obsolete in contemporary urban environments, and physically transforming these spaces for new uses, is becoming increasingly relevant and is being included in discussions concerning climate change. Environmental psychology scholar Karen Franck writes that

> *many buildings have more than one beginning and not necessarily a single or even a definitive end. In these various ways what is static – permanent and unchanging – or assumed to be so is no longer privileged and time is not viewed as a series of single, select moments, but as a continuous and ongoing process of change* (Franck, 2016, p. 10).

Urban sustainability scholars Katharina Hölscher and Niki Frantzeskaki argued that place-based innovation calls for higher-level policies to be entered on the local dimension, which engage with cities in practice (Hölscher & Frantzeskaki, 2021, p. 6). In countries prone to natural disasters, many governments have contingency plans in place, which often include predesignated collective centres such as cyclone, hurricane, storm or flood shelters (UNHCR & IOM, 2010). Guidance on place-based transformations of built environments, however, is not included in the operational displacement management literature.

Concluding reflections

This article challenges the prevailing notion of displacement management predominately as a humanitarian and international development concern, rather than as a spatial, urban and local contingency planning matter handled by built-environment experts. The three dimensions outlined as a framework for discussing the concept of place are summarised below. (*i) Site as Location as Place* unravels the multitude of perceived understandings of place, which are often promoted in the operational-

reflective displacement management literature as an appropriate approach to decision-making for out-of-place populations. Location as the main parameter for place-based or area-based approaches may appear to have been included primarily to divide groups or to accommodate the roles and responsibilities of displacement management entities. This does not mean, however, that *place* is not a useful term when discussing decision-making in displacement management. I suggest that place can be a useful concept in the transition from technical site analysis to urbanism mapping methods in displacement management practice and vice versa; it can be introduced to broaden the scope and participation of built-environment professions. (*ii) Constructing the Social* points out that the introduction of place in displacement management literature unveils a dawning understanding of the need for increased focus on the social dimension of built environment interventions in displacement management. Place contributes to considerations of aspects of community life beyond shelter. This notion is also spreading to operational manuals in displacement management literature but currently appears only briefly, with no adequate treatment. Yet, there is a de-professionalisation of design matters in displacement management literature, possibly for practical reasons, but also because of the strong belief in "bottom-up" placemaking projects. (*iii) Mobility, Longevity and Permanence* incorporates into a discussion of place the complicated relationship between displacement management entities' mandates, the absence of built environment expertise and the so-called terror of time. This analysis also finds that the aspect of time is an inevitable obstacle for the increased exchange of knowledge between displacement management and architectural practices, not only because of the incontrovertible aspect that designing, planning and constructing the built environment takes time, but also due to the prevailing notion that built interventions in displacement management should be temporary and mono-functional. In relation to the question presented in the introduction of this analysis – on what grounds is the concept of *place* a decision-making factor for displaced populations? – the perspectives presented in this article reveal that the understanding of place as it is used and understood in displacement management literature is, in itself, "all over the place". In relation to actual policy and practice, this implies that the concept of place entails the promise of knowledge transfer between displacement managers and designers but is underexplored.

Acknowledgements

The article is written as part of the author's doctoral dissertation research at the Oslo School of Architecture and Design (AHO). The research is funded by the AHO.

The author has obtained rights to publish images included in the article.

References

Aerts, J. (2018). *Shaping urbanization for children: A handbook on child-responsive urban planning*. New York: UNICEF. Retrieved from https://www.unicef.org/reports/shaping-urbanization-children

Augé, M. (2008). *Non-places: Introduction to an anthropology of supermodernity* (2nd English language ed). London; New York: Verso.

Beauregard, R. (2005). From place to site: Negotiating narrative complexity. In C. Burns, & A. Kahn, (Eds.), *Site matters: Design concepts, histories and strategies* (p. 39-58). New York; London: Routledge.

Beehner, L. (2015). Are Syria's do-it-yourself refugees outliers or examples of a new norm? *Journal of International Affairs*, *68*(2), 157-XII. https://search.proquest.com/docview/1679734106?accountid=26310.

Boeing, G. (2021). Spatial information and the legibility of urban form: Big data in urban morphology. *International Journal of Information Management*, *56*, 1-10. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijinfomgt.2019.09.009

Breivik, H., & Selmer-Olsen, T. (2015). *Safe space. Part 1: Pre-camp set up*. The Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) / NORCAP. Retrieved from http://shelterprojects.org/other/siteplanning/site-planning-references/Breivik%20and%20Selmer-Olsen%202015%20Safe%20Space.pdf

Brun, C. (2015). Active waiting and changing hopes: Toward a time perspective on protracted displacement. *Social Analysis*, *59*(1). https://doi.org/10.3167/sa.2015.590102

Brun, C. (2020). The place of the camp in protracted displacement. In T. Edensor, T, A. Kalandides, & U. Kothari, (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of place* (p. 458-467). Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge.

Brun, C., & Fábos A. (2015). Making homes in limbo? A conceptual framework. *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees*, *31*(1), 5–17. https://doi.org/10.25071/1920-7336.40138

Burns, C., & Kahn, A. (2005). *Site matters: Design concepts, histories and strategies*. New York; London: Routledge.

Cresswell, T. (2015). *Place: An introduction* (Second ed.). Chichester, West Sussex, UK; Malden, MA: J. Wiley & Sons.

Collective Centre Guidelines. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and International Organization for Migration. (2010). https://cccmcluster.org/sites/default/files/2018-10/doc18990-contenido.pdf.

Di Masso, A., Williams, D. R., Raymond, C. M., Buchecker, M., Degenhardt, B., Devine-Wright, P., Hertzog, A., Lewicka, M., Manzo, L., Shahrad, A., Stedman, R., Verbrugge, L., & von Wirth, T. (2019). Between fixities and flows: Navigating place attachments in an increasingly mobile world. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, *61*, 125–133. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvp.2019.01.006

Eamonn, C. (2012, December 17). Kevin Lynch: The Image of the City (1960) [Website for the MA Architecture and Urbanism Course at the Manchester School of Architecture]. *Architecture + Urbanism*. Retrieved from http://architectureandurbanism.blogspot.com/2012/12/kevin-lynch-image-of-city-1960.html

Fitzpatrick, X. (2011). Fieldwork in public space assessment William Holly Whyte and the Street Life Project 1970–1975. In S. Ewing, (Ed.), *Architecture and field/work* (p. 71-80). Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon.; New York, NY: Routledge.

Franck, K. A. (2016). Designing with time in mind. In K. A. Franck (Ed.), *Architecture timed: Designing with time in mind*. London: John Wiley & Sons.

Franck, K. A. (2016). Visiting Karsten Harries and revisiting his 'Building and the terror of time'. *Architectural Design*, *86*(1), 128–135. https://doi.org/10.1002/ad.2011

Hajer, M. A. & Reijndorp, A. (2001). *In search of new public domain. Analysis and strategy*. Rotterdam: NAi Publishers.

Harries, K. (1982). Building and the terror of time. *Perspecta*, *19*, 58. https://doi.org/10.2307/1567050

Hemmersam, P., & Morrison, A. (2016). Place mapping – transect walks in Arctic urban landscapes. *SPOOL*, 23-36. https://doi.org/10.7480/SPOOL.2016.1.1392

Herscher, A., Hirsch, N., Miessen, M., & Fast, O. (2017). *Displacements: Architecture and refugee*. Berlin: Sternberg Press.

Herz, M., & Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule Zürich (Eds.). (2013). *From camp to city: Refugee camps*

of the Western Sahara. Zürich: Lars Müller.

Hölscher, K., & Frantzeskaki, N. (2021). Perspectives on urban transformation research: Transformations in, of and by cities. *Urban Transformations*, *3*(1), 2. https://doi.org/10.1186/s42854-021-00019-z

Hvattum, M. (2009). Stedets tyranni. *Arkitektur N*, *04*, 40–51.

International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (2018). *The state of humanitarian shelter and settlements 2018*. Retrieved from https://www.sheltercluster.org/resources/documents/state-humanitarian-shelter-and-settlements-2018pdf

International Organization for Migration (IOM), Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) and UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR). (2015). *Camp management toolkit 2015* (2015th ed.). CCCM Cluster. Retrieved from https://cccmcluster.org/sites/default/files/2018-10/CMT_2015_Portfolio_compressed.pdf

International Rescue Committee (IRC). (2017). 8 reasons place should matter to humanitarians. *Project for Public Spaces*. Retrieved from https://www.pps.org/article/8-reasons-place-should-matter-to-humanitarians

Kreichauf, R. (2018). From forced migration to forced arrival: The campization of refugee accommodation in European cities. In B. Meeus, K. Arnaut, & B. van Heur, (Eds.), *Arrival infrastructures. Migration and urban studies mobilites* (p. 249-279). Cham: Springer Berlin Heidelberg. http://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-319-91167-0_11

Low, S. M., Simpson, T., & Scheld, S. (2019). *The toolkit for the ethnographic study of space, TESS*. Center for Human Environments, The Graduate Center, City University of New York. https://psrg.commons.gc.cuny.edu/the-toolkit-for-the-ethnographic-study-of-space/

Low, S. M., & Smith, N. (Eds.). (2006). *The politics of public space*. New York: Routledge.

Lynch, K. (2005). *The image of the city* (Nachdr.). Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Madanipour, A. (2014). *Urban design, space and society*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Martinez Mansell, C. (2016). Camp code. *Places Journal*, *2016*. https://doi.org/10.22269/160405

Massey, D. B. (1994). *Space, place and gender*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Meister, A.-M. (2020). Ernst Neufert's 'Lebensgestaltungslehre': Formatting life beyond the built. *BJHS Themes*, *5*, 167–185. https://doi.org/10.1017/bjt.2020.13

Nunez-Ferrera, I., Aubrey, D., Earle, L., & Loose, S. (2020). *IDPs in towns and cities – working with the realities of internal displacement in an urban world*. International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), the Joint IDP Profiling Service (JIPS) and UN-Habitat.

O'Beirne, E. (2010). Marc Auge's theoretical fictions. *Romanic Review*, *101*(3), 445-466. Retrieved from https://search.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/marc-auges-theoretical-fictions/docview/911979148/se-2?accountid=26310

Parker, E., & Maynard, V. (2015). *Humanitarian response to urban crises: A review of area-based approaches* [Working Paper]. The International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED). Retrieved from https://pubs.iied.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/migrate/10742IIED.pdf

Relph, E. (2008). *Place and placelessness* (Reprinted). London: Pion Limited.

Rieniets, T. (2015). Unmapping space – Some thoughts on maps and performative spaces. In S. Wolfrum., & N. F. von Brandis, (Eds.), *Performative urbanism—Generating and designing urban space*. Berlin: Jovis.

Sanderson, D. (2019). *Urban humanitarian response* (Good Practice Review 12). Overseas Development Institute. Retrieved from https://odihpn.org/resources/humanitarian-response-urban-crises/

Sanderson, D., & Sitko, P. (2018). Ten principles for area-based approaches in urban post-disaster recovery, in Humanitarian Exchange Special Feature Humanitarian response in urban areas. *The Humanitarian Practice Network at ODI*, *71*. Retrieved from (PDF) Ten principles for area-based approaches in urban post-disaster recovery, in Humanitarian Exchange Special feature Humanitarian response in urban areas (researchgate.net)

Seamon, D., & Sowers, J. (2008) Place and placelessness (1976): Edward Relph. In P. Hubbard, R. Kitchin, & G. Valentine, (Eds.), *Key texts in human geography* (p. 43-51). Los Angeles: SAGE.

Setchell, C. A. (2018). The emerging importance of the settlements approach. In Global Shelter Cluster, *The*

State of Humanitarian Shelter and Settlements 2018 (p. 114-119). Global Shelter Cluster. https://www.sheltercluster.org/resources/documents/state-humanitarian-shelter-and-settlements-2018pdf.

Simonsen, A. H., & Skjulhaug, M. (2019). Living on the threshold: The missing debate on peri-urban asylum reception centres in Norway, 2015–16. In A. E. Toft, M. Rönn & H. Smith Wergeland (Eds.), *Reflecting histories and directing futures* (p. 181-202). Nordic Association of Architectural Research. Retrieved from https://oda.oslomet.no/oda-xmlui/handle/10642/8348

Shoshan, M., & Zamore L. (ed.), (2018). *Un peacekeeping missions in urban environments: The legacy of UNMIL*. New York: FAST: Foundation for Achieving Seamless Territory.

Sphere. (2018). *The Sphere handbook 2018: Humanitarian charter and minimum standards in humanitarian response*. Retrieved from (online version) https://handbook.spherestandards.org/en/sphere/#ch001

te Lintelo, D., Lakshman, R., Mansour, W., Soye, E., Ficcarelli, T., & Woodward, W. (2018). *Wellbeing and protracted urban displacement: Refugees and hosts in Jordan and Lebanon*. Retrieved from https://www.ids.ac.uk/publications/wellbeing-and-protracted-urban-displacement-refugees-and-hosts-in-jordan-and-lebanon/

Tuan, Y.-F. (2011). *Space and place: The perspective of experience* (7. print). Minneapolis, Minn.: Univ. of Minnesota Press.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2014a). *The UNHCR's global strategy for settlement and shelter (2014-2018).* Retrieved from *https://cms.emergency.unhcr.org/documents/11982/36565/UNHCR%2C+Global+Strategy+for+Settlement+and+Shelter+2014-2018/aa17bac2-b4ed-49ca-8622-b2eee8c6273b*

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2014b). *UNHCR policy on alternatives to camps*. Retrieved from https://cms.emergency.unhcr.org/documents/11982/45535/UNHCR+-+Policy+on+alternatives+to+camps/005c0217-7d1e-47c9-865a-c0098cfdda62#:~:text=UnHcr's%20policy%20is%20to%20avoid,and%20enabled%20to%20achieve%20solutions

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (2015). *UNHCR emergency handbook*. Retrieved from https://emergency.unhcr.org/about

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and International Organization for Migration (IOM). (2010). *Collective centre guidelines*. Retrieved from https://cccmcluster.org/sites/default/files/2018-10/doc18990-contenido.pdf

Urry, J. (2012). *Mobilities* (reprint). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Vroman, L., & Lagrange, T. (2017). Human movement in public spaces: The use and development of motion-oriented design strategies. *The Design Journal, 20* (sup1), S3252–S3261. https://doi.org/10.1080/14606925.2017.1352830

List of illustrations with captions

Figure 1. *Non-place or place*? Chongqing, China (2009).
Who decides what a non-place is, and can a non-place become a place? Pictured is an example of Auge's description of a non-place, a by-product of urban development. These so-called left-over spaces are produced by the scale distortions in the meeting of elevated highways and the fine masked street network of the city, along with annual water-level fluctuations of 20 metres in the upper reaches of the Yangtze River and riverside erosion protection grids in concrete. The river floor reveals itself and disappears alternately due to tidal water, seasonal flooding and drought. Amidst these changes of condition, pop-up public spaces are created by people who bring plastic chairs and gather under the bridges © Tanja Bergqvist & Håvard Breivik-Khan

Figure 2. *Non-place and the Smart Club Model*. Råde, Norway (2016). Juxtaposition of the location and interior view of the Råde Ankomstsenter (Arrival Centre) in a former Smart Club location. Smart Club was a Norwegian retail chain that sold discount household goods from the 1990s until it went bankrupt in 2013. Two years later one of its abandoned warehouses, situated at the intersection of two highways close to Råde, a peri-urban location 75 kilometres from Oslo, was hastily converted into an arrival centre for asylum-seekers. The centre's immediate neighbour is a McDonald's restaurant with a drive-thru section. A roundtrip bus ticket between Oslo and Råde costed NOK 186 (approximately USD 24) in 2016. © Google Maps (left) / Håvard Breivik-Khan (right).

Figure 3. T*urning places into sites*. Kalymnos island, Greece (2016). Known to the local inhabitants as the "Slaughterhouse", this abandoned building was converted into a makeshift arrival centre for vulnerable families rescued at sea when crossing by boat from Turkey and seeking sanctuary in Europe. Due to the building's evocative history, this is perhaps a rare but welcome attempt of "muting ground", a process described by Beauregard as removing the history of place by turning it into a site. © Mattias Josefsson.

Figure 4. *Auto-construction as place recreation*. Calais, France (2016). "Known as the "Jungle" the camp is a sprawling migrant settlement situated in the port town of Calais. The controversial camp serves as base for migrants hoping to cross into England." as reported by CNN in 2016. Pictured is a restaurant in the heart of the camp. The interior is covered with different patches and swathes of fabric, resembling the Khayma (tent) in widespread use in Central and South Asia by nomads, itinerant tribes, refugees and those living in semi-urban and rural settings. A variety of spellings and pronunciations of Khayma can be found in e.g., Arabic, Pashto and Urdu. © Håvard Breivik-Khan.

Figure 5. *Flexible place attachments*. Calais, France (2016). The contours of the arch type of a church with a minimum of details confirming its function, erected by inhabitants of Calais' "the Jungle" camp. When examining place attachment through the lens of the "asedentaristic" theories of place scholars, is this spatially sufficient as a sacred place reminiscent of "back home"? © Håvard Breivik-Khan.

Figure 6. *Out-of-Place and permanent temporality*. Corail-Cesselesse, Haiti (2010). A displaced and non-nomadic population moving salvaged furniture from their crushed homes into the tents in the new relocation site of Corail-Cesselesse, a 7,500-hectare plot of land twenty kilometres north of Haiti's capital, Port-au-Prince. The site was constructed by the UN and NGOs to accommodate internally displaced persons (IDPs) as part of the humanitarian response in Haiti after the 2010 Earthquake. The tents were arranged a grid structure, which would eventually become internal site boundaries as the shelters became increasingly permanent. © Håvard Breivik-Khan.

Figure 7. *The loss and recreation of place*. Bourj Al Shamali, Lebanon (2015). The act of physically recreating place and the reluctance to accept being displaced through material manifestations represents a paradox. Martinez Mansell writes that people in Bourj Al Shamali, a Palestinian refugee camp in southern Lebanon, give directions that incorporate landmarks from their old villages. This way of navigating depends on a collective memory of place that is shared even by younger generations who have never visited the referents for the local toponyms (Mansell, 2016). However, the feeling in Bourj Al Shamali has long been that the planting of crops or trees, which literally involve the act of putting down roots, would seem to imply an acceptance of the camp's permanence. © Claudia Martinez Mansell.

NORDISK ARKITEKTURFORSKNING
NORDIC JOURNAL OF ARCHITECTURAL RESEARCH



PHOTO: MARIAN JADE

Biographical information

Håvard Breivik-Khan
Oslo School of Architecture and Design (AHO)
Address: Maridalsveien 29, 0175 Oslo, NORWAY
Phone: +4740221253 (NO) / +1 9176353195 (USA)
E-mail: havard.breivik-khan@aho.no

Håvard Breivik-Khan is an architect, researcher and educator with a decade of experience from crisis response and displacement management. Håvard has been deployed to United Nations agencies in Haiti, Nepal, North Macedonia, Hungary and the UN HQ in New York through the Norwegian Refugee Council's emergency standby roster, NORCAP. Håvard is responsible for the master's course In Transit Studio at the Oslo School of Architecture and Design (AHO) and a PhD fellow at AHO's Institute of Urbanism and Landscape. He holds a master's degree in Architecture from the same institute, with residencies in Paris (ENSAPLV), Shanghai and Chongqing, China.

Wellbeing, Space and Society 6 (2024) 100189

Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

Wellbeing, Space and Society

journal homepage: www.sciencedirect.com/journal/wellbeing-space-and-society

The Mountain Hall and the Smart Club: The Architecture of Emergency Reception in Norwegian Cities

Håvard Breivik-Khan *, Peter Hemmersam

The Oslo School of Architecture and Design (AHO), Norway

ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:
Architecture
Contingency planning
Displacement, Emergency
Placemaking
Urbanism

ABSTRACT

Contemporary contingency planning is largely delinked from urban planning. However, the two domains intersect in critical ways. Contingency planning frames conditions for displaced persons in emergency situations but also affects the design of everyday urban spaces. Thus, the spatial output of emergency preparedness can encourage wellbeing and placemaking in both emergency and non-emergency situations. This article explores the built environments of contingency planning in Norwegian cities, paying particular attention to emergency reception.

Furthermore, this article outlines the relationship between the policies of reception in displacement management and the spatial policies of placemaking. A study of Norwegian contingency planning history shows that the former evacuation shelter typology is being replaced by the more loosely defined concept of *places of protection*, similar to the retrofitted spaces commonly used as asylum centres. Newspaper clippings and document reviews are used to study two emergency reception structures: a Cold War multipurpose mountain hall close to the Norway–Russia border and a transformed 1970s warehouse near Oslo that currently houses the Norwegian national arrival facility for asylum-seekers. Comparing these two cases outlines the interaction between displacement management, contingency planning, and urban planning and contributes to conceptualising what we call *contingency urbanism*. We suggest that contingency urbanism can be useful in re-spatialising emergency architecture, re-linking contingency and urban planning, and pointing to placemaking opportunities in the duality of everyday life and a state of emergency.

Introduction

In Norway, contemporary contingency planning is scenario-focused and outlines anticipated outcomes for specific threats to society (DSB 2019). The Directorate for Civil Protection (DSB) is responsible for contingency planning, and the municipalities are responsible for the local implementation of national policies as well as urban planning in general. The two domains intersect in ways that deserve attention. For instance, structures planned for domestic emergency accommodation also provide spaces for other groups of displaced persons, e.g. asylum-seekers, to be temporarily housed. On at least three occasions, this has been the case for the mountain hall built in Kirkenes in 1984, one example of a distinct architectural contingency typology developed during the Cold War. The overlapping uses of these places highlight the heterogeneity of crises, reveal the different needs they create, and pose significant challenges for multi-purpose use of evacuation and protection sites. Furthermore, the COVID-19 pandemic of 2020 and the Russian invasion of Ukraine on 24 February 2022 intersected also locally in Norway, and further exposed the conflicting spatial solutions to different types of emergency reception. These two events have impacted the country's contingency planning and emergency reception continuum.

Contingency planning is by crisis management scholars Kerstin Eriksson and Allan McConnell defined as: "a process leading towards the prior allocation of resources, personnel, equipment, crisis control rooms, tasks, responsibilities and decision guidance/rules, coupled with training and scenario planning and an array or simulation exercises in a 'safe' environment, ensures that the operational and political-strategic layers within public authorities are best placed to manage any crisis that emerges." (Eriksson and McConnell, 2011, 90).

The political-strategic aspects of contingency planning are also tied to various societal development and commercial interests. Architecture and urban planning, as one example, were integrated parts of contingency planning in Norway during the Cold War. Contingency planning influenced the urban development of communities in several ways and adhered to changing national security policies. When the need for air

* Corresponding author.
E-mail address: havard.breivik-khan@aho.no (H. Breivik-Khan).

https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wss.2024.100189
Received 19 April 2023; Received in revised form 10 January 2024; Accepted 17 February 2024
Available online 13 March 2024
2666-5581/© 2024 The Author(s). Published by Elsevier Ltd. This is an open access article under the CC BY-NC-ND license (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/).

raid shelters disappeared at the end of the Cold War, the formal dependency between contingency and urban planning was discontinued. By the early 2000s, however, a new interaction between architecture, contingency planning, and urban planning reemerged in the securitisation of urban public space, in part due to catastrophic terror events such as the terrorist attacks on 11 September 2001 in New York City and on 22 July 2011 in Oslo (Sorkin 2008; Simpson et al., 2017). Following these events, planners and government officials paid little attention to displacement reception and the construction of permanent shelters for short-term use. Instead, they focused on perceived threats in everyday urban life – such as terrorism, accompanied by debates about surveillance and the fortification of urban spaces (Sorkin 2008). In recent years, a vague concept of 'places of protection' has emerged in Norwegian contingency planning, but largely without considering the design and planning implications of the previous generations of Cold War emergency architecture. While the two cases in this article illustrate spatial overlaps between the Norwegian asylum regime and domestic contingency planning, they are also exceptional in the history of the architecture of Norway's asylum reception. Based on the case studies and a theoretical framework of exceptional urbanism, three explanatory conceptualisations of the relationship between displacement management and urban planning emerged: mono-functional displacement management, disruptive multi-functionalism, and contingency urbanism (or parallel co-use). The main three implications of identifying these different relationships relate to policy decisions and guidance in preparation for contingencies and reception, potentials for community engagement and enhancement, and a theoretical distinction of contingency for future analysis of integrated planning and displacement management.

Methodology and structure

This article explores how emergency reception, which also relates to forced migration and other forms of displacement, intersects with both contingency and urban planning. Furthermore, this article outlines the relationship between the spatial policies of placemaking and the reception policies of displacement management. To explore these issues, we compare two examples of emergency architecture in the Norwegian context influenced by historical events and geopolitical tensions. One was purpose-built, the mountain hall, and the other is a repurposed industrial warehouse, The Smart Club. The mountain hall illustrates the historical relationship between Norwegian contingency and urban planning, whereas the Smart Club is one of many examples of global displacement reception typologies referred to as "warehousing of people" (Merrill Smith 2004). Warehousing, also referred to as "the logistification of reception" is explained by migration scholar Lorenzo Vianelli as "an art of government that seeks to objectify asylum seekers through their depersonalisation, victimisation and (im)mobilization" (Vianelli, 2022, 41). The historical scope of this research envelops the Cold War and a series of international refugee crisis events in the 1990s, 2015, and 2022. Leading up to the case-by-case accounts of both places, we discuss key concepts in the recent history of global contingency planning and current urbanism theory. The historical development of the contingency planning of Norwegian emergency architecture and the relationship between displacement management and urban space is explained through three theoretical conceptualisations. The third of these conceptualisations, contingency urbanism, demonstrates one way of including placemaking opportunities in future contingency planning, and we use design proposals by architecture students to illustrate this interaction.

Fear: the evolution of contingency planning and its material footprints

Modern contingency planning is rooted in Second World War civil defence and later expanded to include various environmental, health, and industrial hazards (Alexander 2015). Contingency planning attempts to provide capacity for both predicted and unknown events and futures. While future crises cannot be predicted with certainty, the potential consequences of a risk event can, to some extent, be planned for – displacement being one of these. Increasingly, however, urban resilience thinking rejects pre-determined risk as tied to deterministic thinking and proposes that unknown unknowns must be addressed as they emerge (Chandler 2014,50).

Emergency planning steadily produces strategies to cope with new perceived risks. Many such strategies result in residual architectural and urban forms that affect the everyday lives of local communities. Previous generations of contingency planning policies are still evident in cities' physical forms today. Decisions based on risk assessments typically relate to social issues such as crime and further reduce fear by installing spatial barriers that result in the privatisation of place (Ellin 1997, 21–6) or the controlling of geo-hazards such as flooding and landslides. And while contingency planning, like urban planning, presents itself as a positivist problem-solving discourse, it also has its dark sides, such as surveillance and the marginalisation of groups in society through the securitisation or militarisation of space by quarantining the 'other' or 'exiling' new arrivals to peripheral locations (Alexander 2015; Chircop 2018; Graham 2004, 2010; Ellin 1997; Sorkin 2008; Skjulhaug and Simonsen 2019).

Echoing sociologist Ulrich Beck (1992), who suggests that modernisation results in the social manufacturing of risk in society, contemporary contingency planning represents a reconfiguring of power and discourse in urban planning to focus on risk. These risks relate to global hegemonic security discourses of war, terrorism, migration, and climate change. However, as Beck points out, such totalising discourses risk being wholly detached from human consequences, as they deal with general statistical conditions – maps of 'invisible' data – rather than individual experiences (Beck 1992, 22–8). The social manufacturing of risk, as outlined by Beck, materialises as physical design and the making of the urban securitisation era, which has dominated the urban design discourse in recent decades, expressed through blast-proof planters, bollard phalanxes, and beefed-up street lamps (Sorkin 2008, xiii). In Norway, the commission that reviewed the response to the 2011 Oslo terror attack stated that the country did not have a tradition of installing visible protection measures (Gjørv et al. 2012, 442).[1] After the 22 July attack, however, physical security measures became indisputable but challenging to discuss in public as risk assessments for the planned reconstruction of the government quarter remained classified (Danbolt 2020). As part of this project, the urban securitisation argument led to the controversial demolition of noted Norwegian architect Erling Viksjø's prominent brutalist 1969 Y-block, with integral art by Pablo Picasso.

Reception in displacement and reception as placemaking

Planning for reception, i.e. providing shelter, in case of displacement was central to Norwegian contingency policy during the Cold War. Today, responsibility for internally displaced persons and new arrivals – refugees, asylum-seekers, and migrants – is handled by different government agencies and under different legal and organisational regimes. However, the various groups have appropriated the same spaces at different times. Thus, in our research, we apply the term *displacement* broadly. The term may also include immigrants, as some of these groups were displaced at least once and possibly still consider themselves

[1] On 22 July 2011, Norway was struck by an act of terror described by many as the most horrible event that had ever happened to the country since the Second World War. The terrorist, a Norwegian citizen, detonated a bomb outside the prime minister's office in Oslo, killing eight people, and then proceeded to the Labor party's youth camp at the island of Utøya, killing sixty-nine more, most of them teenagers (Gjørv et al., 2012; Seierstad, 2015).

displaced.

Displacement refers not only to the departure and arrival of people but also to short- or long-term residents in urban communities. Collective centres for temporary accommodation are central components of contingency plans in places prone to natural hazards and are often situated in existing buildings (NORCAP 2016). Urban spaces used for the emergency reception of displaced groups are likely to be everyday spaces for the host population. Thus, displacement also interrupts the daily functioning of host communities when, for instance, local schools and sports halls function as reception or collective centres in certain types of emergencies. *Displacement* can be defined as the result of the disruption of the relationship between people and place (Elliott-Cooper et al., 2020). This disruption is evident in emergencies but also in, for instance, gentrification-induced out-pricing of residents in poor urban neighbourhoods due to place- or area-based integrated urban renewal programs that have become part of urban planning in many cities.

Beyond urban planning, place-based approaches, place-thinking, and placemaking increasingly feature in humanitarian guidance literature on global displacement management (Sanderson and Sitko 2018; Parker and Maynard 2015). The benefit of applying place-thinking in displacement contexts is that it 'involves the consideration of other aspects of community life beyond shelter and how these aspects all fit together physically and functionally' (Sanderson 2019, 88). Current reflective-operational guidance literature tends to narrowly consider placemaking in urban public spaces to be a spontaneous bottom-up process (IRC 2017; Aerts, 2018, 185).[2] However, the designs of public spaces and amenities in cities that allow for social interaction facilitate individual everyday placemaking in ways that benefit public health and wellbeing (Tuhkanen et al., 2022). Therefore, architecture and urban planning are central to the wellbeing of not only the permanent residents in the targeted urban districts but also new arrivals and temporarily displaced people. Planners and urban policy-makers use the term *liveability* when referring to urban wellbeing (Shirazi and Keivani, 2020) and refer to policies aimed at urban liveability as *placemaking*. Urban planning theorist Ali Madanipour suggests that placemaking is an alternative to modernist urban planning practices and that in the neoliberal shift from urban government to governance, 'place became the focus of developing visions… where problem parts of the city could become the target of area-based regeneration and renewal, [and] where resources could be mobilized to focus on strategic projects' (Madanipour, 2014, 240). In this way, placemaking is also a public policy that influences reception in neighbourhoods with high numbers of settled or recently arrived migrants.

Exceptional urbanism frameworks and placemaking opportunities

Different tracks of urbanism literature that conceptualise dynamics and phenomena marginal to conventional urban planning practices frame the relationship between contingency thinking and placemaking. These include epidemic urbanism (Campbell 2005; Chircop 2018; Gandy 2006; Sample 2005), emergency urbanism (Sample 2012), and deadline urbanism (Dean 2005). Introducing a historical example of the spatial instruments of contingency planning, epidemic urbanism outlines a history of power relations and spatial segregation justified by disease control. One example is the segregation of the nineteenth-century quarantine lazaretto system and its related sanitary instruments in North-African and Mediterranean ports that arose from hygienist theories and resulted in discriminatory treatment of the 'contagious' Muslim-Arab (Chircop 2018). Epidemic urbanism also outlines how public health emergencies and regimes in the 19th and 20th centuries affected urban planning and the design of health institutions, which contributed to a new architectural style: modernism. Designer and historian Margaret Campbell highlights the works of architects Le Corbusier, Alvar Aalto, and Jan Duiker as influential for the relationship between disease treatment and architectural form, a link that was challenged by scientific developments in medicine in the 1950s (Chircop 2018).

To introduce emergency urbanism, architect Hilary Sample writes that 'trauma is the new urban phenomenon' and suggests that trauma spaces are episodic and do not yield to any perceived rules about the city (2005, 46). A new urbanism could compensate for this limitation by including spaces that are 'pre-programmed for change during times of traumas, [and] have the option of returning to a pre-trauma state or remaining in the new changed condition' (Sample, 47). While it does not explicitly address emergencies, Penelope Dean's concept of deadline urbanism (2005) complements emergency urbanism by describing processes outside the regular planning modes that focus solely on singular purpose delivery on short deadlines. This is similar to the rapid spatial response of humanitarian response missions. Dean suggests that deadline urbanism is elastic and precise: It accommodates failure and prioritises implementation (2005, 47). The two scholars use the concept of elasticity in slightly different ways. Sample refers to spaces that alternate between pre- and post-trauma programs, while Dean describes the short-term elasticity of mono-purpose plans produced as an alternative to long-term holistic spatial planning practices. Plans, such as those for emergency accommodation, are delivered quickly, have a limited use period, and often do not consider future uses. Combined, and in the context of contingency planning, the two conceptualisations of elasticity are critiques of the current practices of handling exceptional urban events that often lead to rapidly produced but permanent and hard-to-change structures. Conversely, emergency and deadline urbanism may also point to opportunities to carefully consider the location, the design, and the co- or after-use of emergency architectures in cities.

The history of contingency planning architecture in Norway

After the Second World War, the 'total defence' concept focused primarily on civilian support for the Armed Forces in crises and war (Forsvarsdepartementet og Justis- og beredskapsdepartementet, 2018, 9). One product of this policy was the construction of evacuation shelters for the general population. In 1948, the Norwegian Civil Defence Agency published regulations for evacuation shelters that outlined the spatial and technical requirements for 'sites for permanent splintering, landslide, and gas explosion secure evacuation shelters in new, and old buildings – if altered' (Justisdepartementet, 1948, 5). Later versions from 1966, 1982, and 1995 updated the technical requirements, reflecting the shifting conflict scenarios. The 1966 edition included protection against nuclear weapons – shockwaves in the ground and the air, heat and radioactive radiation, biological weaponry, and chemical attacks. The construction of evacuation shelters in new residential and public buildings was made mandatory in 1948, but the 1995 version, four years after the collapse of the USSR, allowed for exemptions from this mandate and allowed builders to finance protection elsewhere instead. In 1998, the Norwegian Parliament decided to temporarily halt the construction of new shelters with the expectation of a new post-Cold War protection concept.[3] Today, Norway has about 20,000 evacuation

[2] Reflective-operational displacement management literature could be defined as hybrid sources from the vast repository of humanitarian lessons and evaluations – policy papers, opinion pieces, manuals, and guidelines – that do not necessarily qualify as academic papers or gray literature (Breivik-Khan, 2022).

[3] Det Kongelige Justis- og Beredskapsdepartementet. "St.meld. nr. 25 (1997-98) Hovedretningslinjer for det sivile beredskaps virksomhet og utvikling i tiden 1999-2002," 4 March 1998, https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/stmeld-nr-25-1997-98-/id191572/?ch=1.

shelters, with a combined capacity of 2600,000 people (Olsen 2013, 33). The population of Norway was 5, 5455,582 in 2022.[4] A 2018 report confirmed that there were no emergency shelters built after 1998 (DSB). In 2020, the government proposed replacing emergency shelters *(tilfluktsrom)* with 'a new arrangement of places of protection' (*trygge oppholdssteder* in Norwegian), tasking the Directorate for Civil Protection (DSB) with developing the criteria for what would qualify as such places of protection (Det Kongelige Justis- og Beredskapsdepartementet, 2020, 17) (Fig. 1).

Many shelters built during the Cold War had dual uses, such as architects Sven Nicolaysen's and Helge B Thams' 1950 Polar Bar in the basement of The Grand Hotel Hammerfest on the Norway–Russia border (DSB 1971). The dual use was expressed in the naming of the different rooms: The entrance was listed as 'The Lobby' during peacetime use and as an 'air pollution sluice' during emergencies. In 1966, alternative everyday uses of emergency architectures for times of peace were introduced in regulations. These included using emergency spaces as meeting rooms, club rooms, movie or TV rooms, hobby rooms, bowling alleys, wardrobes, storage areas, small shooting ranges, garages, and storage for lightweight freezers (DSB 1966, 40). The 1982 edition maintained that evacuation sites must be made available within 24 h and provided examples of how to include peacetime use as a premise from the onset of the planning, such as a youth club with a 'Coca-Cola bar'. The 1995 edition further encouraged peacetime use of evacuation sites that would otherwise be 'idle capital' (DSB, 1995, 122). This document also suggested that blasted rock cavern (i.e. the mountain hall) evacuation sites were suitable for large social functions, such as sports halls and swimming pools. Around the release of this edition, a part of the national construction industry that had previously been busy blasting rock tunnels for industrial, infrastructural, and military uses started constructing quotidian recreational functions in neighbourhoods in addition to structures for contingency planning. Proclaiming the proud history of underground construction in Norway, Fortifikasjon AS, convinced Norwegian authorities to go ahead with hybrid projects that were partly financed by the Norwegian Civil Defence (Wergeland, 2019). The company built a series of combined sports halls and evacuation shelters during the Cold War, including the Holmlia Pool in 1983. In 1989, 35 municipalities applied to build hybrid mountain halls with civil defence agency support (Aftenposten). The public celebrated these monumental new structures as architectural landmarks. One news headline read 'The eighth wonder of the world?' regarding the Olympic ice hockey hall in Gjøvik (NTB, 1991) built to offer entertainment but also to protect the local population in an emergency, though not at the same time (Fig. 2).

Contemporary contingency planning in Norway

Contemporary contingency planning in Norway is largely based on the risk of 'loss of societal values' (DSB 2019). The results of the analyses of potential threats to Norway that can be found in the Norwegian Civil Protection Agency's (DSB) annual report are evaluations based on existing knowledge of key actors (DSB 2019).[5] A recent municipal risk assessment report from Oslo categorises scenarios as natural events, major accidents, critical infrastructure, health, and intentional actions such as terrorism (City of Oslo 2021). The latter category emphasises the shift in Norwegian contingency planning away from evacuation shelters and towards urban space securitisation.

According to Oslo's Emergency Administration, what should replace the mountain halls and other evacuation shelters constructed during the Cold War have not yet been fully defined.[6] Nevertheless, an evacuation plan identifies shelters such as sports halls and multi-purpose arenas in each borough for 1600–2000 persons that must be available at six hours' notice (Oslo Kommune, 2021, 22). Provisions should be made for food preparation, universal accessibility, sanitary facilities, and accommodation for up to seven nights. While responsible for emergency evacuation and displacement, the mandate of the Emergency Administration in Oslo does not extend to emergency housing to deal with surges in the number of asylum-seekers. Separate governance domains manage the reception of new arrivals and internal displacement in the event of an emergency. However, as we will see in the cases, these two emergency reception functions do occasionally spatially overlap.

The spatiality of the Norwegian asylum reception regime

The mass displacement typology, as illustrated by the mountain halls in the section preceding this, has with the opening of the National Arrival Centre in Råde *(Nasjonalt ankomstsenter i Råde* in Norwegian) also known as the Smart Club in 2015, become part of Norwegian asylum architecture. Historically, accommodating asylum-seekers in smaller reception centers spread around the country was common practice, also during and after 2015. However – as is also the case of the Smart Club – reception centers are located on the outskirts of towns or in less inhabited areas with few opportunities for interaction with the local population in public meeting places (Grønseth and Thorshaug 2022). These centres are often accommodated in sub-standard buildings not meant for long-term living (Thorshaug and Brun 2019). As described by geographers Ragne Øwre Thorshaug and Cathrine Brun, multiple and precarious temporalities meet in these buildings and materialise as experiences of clashing time in the asylum seekers' lives, exemplified by "the juxtaposition of the durability of the institution and the aim of temporariness that it operates" (2019 236) – contrary to the mass reception typology appearing as temporary with non-durable materials inserted in a permanent structure, as in the Smart Club case. The low housing standards of the Norwegian asylum institute can in part be attributed the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration's (UDI) tendering system introduced in 2001 of giving contracts for operating reception centres for three years at a time, to private, humanitarian, or local government actors. These contracts may be terminated at any time with three months' notice, which limits the operators' interests and abilities to invest in material upgrading of the centre (Grønseth and Thorshaug 2022; Thorshaug and Brun 2019). As Grønseth and Thorshaug conclude in their study on the quality of life of asylum seekers in Norway, the surroundings and standards of reception centers represent significant challenges to asylum seekers' wellbeing and mental health (2022).

Living in reception centres is voluntary but a requirement for receiving free housing and allowances, leaving most people with little choice but to stay. The war in Ukraine, however, triggered many changes in Norwegian asylum policies concerning reception. In March 2022, the Ministry of Justice and Public Security allowed Ukrainian refugees to find other types of accommodation than in reception centres through a temporary alternative reception placement (given the acronym AMOT referring to the Norwegian term 'Alternativ mottaksplass') (Hernes et al., 2022). Because of this policy change, only 50–60 % of Ukrainian refugees lived at either Råde or in other receptions centres during the registration and application process in 2022 (Hernes et al., 2022 70).

[4] End of 2nd quarter of 2022. Statistics Norway (SSB) https://www.ssb.no/befolkning/folketall/statistikk/befolkning; 17 October 2022.

[5] The report 'Analyses of Crisis Scenarios' (DSBs Analyser av krisescenarioer (AKS)1) is one of four threat and risk evaluation reports published annually in Norway. The other three reports are published by the Norwegian Police Security Service (Politiets sikkerhetstjeneste, PST), the Norwegian Intelligence Service (Etterretningstjenesten), and the National Security Authority (Nasjonal sikkerhetsmyndighet, NSM).

[6] Information from a lecture by senior officials from the Oslo Municipality Emergency Administration at the Oslo School of Architecture and Design (AHO) in August 2020 and per further email correspondence in March 2022.

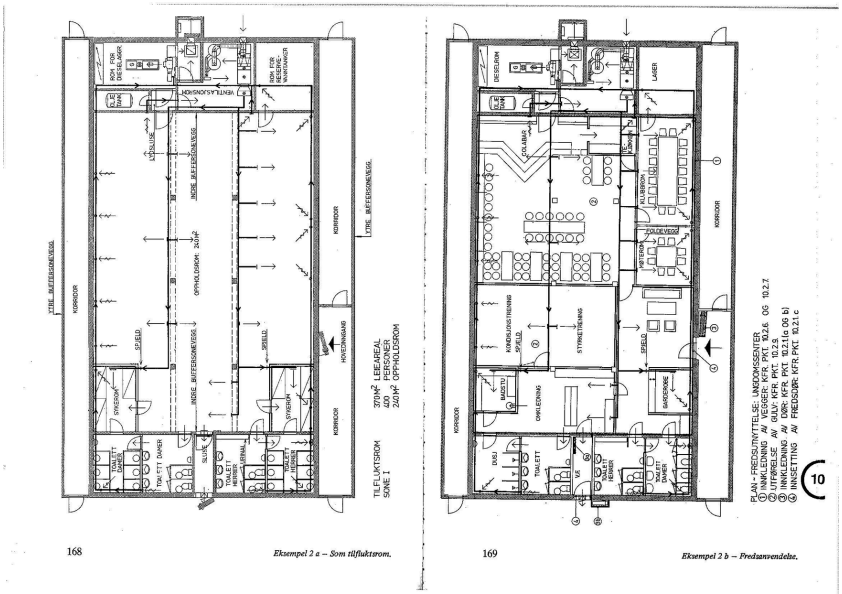


Fig. 1. Facsimile of pages 168–169 from the 1982 version of 'The Norwegian Civil Defense Agency Regulations for evacuation shelters'. Illustration: plan drawings with comparative layouts, one for emergencies and the other for peace-time use, shown side by side on a double-spread, with spatial and technical specifications. The peacetime layout mostly has the same room divisions, however, furnished with an abundance of imagined stools and tables – so that if the drawings had been to scale, perhaps not aligned with the common standards of distances and measurements. Judging by the drawing material of this example, the transformation from emergency to peace uses appears to be more of a "before and after" condition rather than seamless back-and-forth transitions (A/S Fagbokservice, 1982).

Cases

In this section, we explore two examples of reception architecture that have resulted from contingency planning decisions. The two cases in two similar-sized communities are currently in operation in Kirkenes and Råde. While these communities have comparable population sizes, the reception facilities' typologies and locations relative to local community centres represent different opportunities for engagement between new arrivals and the host communities. The first case, from 1984, is architecturally monumental, although underground, while the other is a repurposed industrial building from 1977.

The accounts of these places as sites of reception, as well as their local use and importance, are compiled from systematic searches in a national newspaper archive. While this limits our empirical scope to newsworthy events, newspaper stories nevertheless recount how these places came into existence. Further, local reports reveal the interaction between the everyday activities in the local communities and the various emergency uses of the facilities over time. These sources of information indicate how meaningful these places are to their local communities and the local and national controversies surrounding their use in crises. Various non-governmental organisations and government documents supplement the news stories, and we have conducted site visits to both facilities, which – as outlined in the sections that follows – resulted in qualitative descriptions of the spatial and material conditions at the time, analyses of the centres' respective (peri-) urban environments, and information provided by operators and other actors involved in the responses. As the scope of our research is to document the spatiality of displacement management and contingency planning, further interviewing people at their most vulnerable, experiencing the worst moments of their lives, would add little in terms of integrated planning potential. However, as our research also concerns the wellbeing of the users of these places, perspectives from these groups are crucial and have instead been included in this article through secondary sources focused on documenting user experiences through interviews and participatory observations by other researchers after both the 2015 and 2022 migration events (Hernes et al., 2022; Skjulhaug and Simonsen 2019) (Fig. 3).

The mountain hall, kirkenes

The mountain hall sports centre, or *Fjellhallen* in Norwegian, was completed in 1984. News reports describe years of despondency in Kirkenes attributed to the closing of the town's largest employer, the iron mine (Aftenposten, 1984). The mountain hall marked a new beginning and highlighted the importance of the mountains in the area as the raison d'être for the town. Reflecting the town's mining history and providing a place for both sports and civil defence, the mountain hall became a symbol of a local population fighting for its existence (Aftenposten, 1984). Across the road from the entrance are the Kirkenes primary schools, the culture school, and the Samovar Theater. The nearby Barentsbadet public bath opened in 2007. The mountain hall has been the centre of cross-border exchanges since its completion. When not disrupted by dramatic global events, it functions as a place for exercise and friendly rivalries and international competitions in wrestling,



Fig. 2. Facsimile of pages 26–27 from the 1971 publication 'Peacetime use of evacuation shelter'. Direktoratet for Sivilt Beredskap. The conclusion of this publication reads: "We have in this brochure limited the examples of peace utilization of evacuation shelters to the ones one can see in structures already built or being under construction. This is because we want to be certain that we are only presenting ideas we *know* are feasible – and for those interested can feel inspired to visit the sites or look at the plans […]".

handball, badminton, and other sports between countries in the Barents region. Visa-free travel for border zone inhabitants enables Russian participation.[7] Cross-border cultural events, such as the *Barents Spektakel*, an annual festival first arranged in 2003 that focuses on 'current issues related to the Barents Region and the High North in general,' uses the mountain hall as a venue.[8]

In the mid-1990s, news reporting on the mountain hall changed from stories about leisure activities to emphasising its role in the event of post-Soviet nuclear reactor accidents. Ten years after Chernobyl, a Kirkenes civil defence official suggested that 'the [mountain] hall would never have been built had it not been for the nuclear threat' (Dagbladet, 1996). Reports also revealed that 100,000 emergency food provisions had been stored in the local primary school and that the swimming pool could easily be converted into a decontamination station in case of toxic exposure (Dagbladet, 1996). In 1998, the national newspaper Verdens Gang (VG) ran a story with the headline 'Prepared for mass flight' based on a contingency plan prepared by the Directorate for Immigration (UDI) which outlined a scenario where 50,000 Russian citizens would arrive in Norway, fleeing famine and civil unrest. According to the story, the Norwegian response would be to establish a large arrival centre in the mountain hall, to be operational with 48 hours' notice and handle 3000 refugees crossing the border every week.

Norwegian authorities have activated the mountain hall's function as a reception centre on several occasions. After a Russian tourist bus accident in February 1993, unharmed passengers were given shelter in the mountain hall for the night (Nordlys, 1993). In 1999, one year after the 50,000-refugee scenario, the mountain hall hosted 820 of the 6000 Kosovo-Albanian refugees granted collective protection in Norway following the NATO intervention in Kosovo.[9,10] Six of the evacuation flights landed in Kirkenes, and the mountain hall functioned as a reception centre, with an average length of stay of four days (Aftenposten, 1999). Everything was ready when the refugees arrived – the

[7] Retriever (ATEKST) is Norway's most comprehensive text news archive with approximately 100 newspapers and periodicals as well as agency news reports. Accessed via an AHO subscription. https://app.retriever-info.com/.

[8] A few additional conditions must be met to qualify for a frontier zone pass, as per The Directorate of Immigration (UDI) website; 23 March 2022, https://www.udi.no/skal-soke/besok-og-visum/grenseboerbevis/.

[9] Description found on the Barents Spektakel website. The name *Spektakel* is a wordplay of the English word *spectacle* and the Norwegian word *spetakkel*, meaning *racket* or *commotion*. 23 March 2022, https://www.barentsspektakel.no/about-the-festival/.

[10] On 24 March 1999, the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) began their airstrike campaign against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia during the Kosovo War. The air strikes lasted from 24 March 1999 to 10 June 1999. They were followed by the adoption of Resolution 1244 by the Security Council and the establishment of the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), a UN peacekeeping mission in Kosovo empowered to assume full interim administrative responsibility over the territory of Kosovo (Yannis, 2004, p. 67; Vöckler, 2008, p. 35; United Nations, 1999). 'Resolution 1244 (1999) / Adopted by the Security Council at its 4011th meeting, on 10 June 1999.'



Fig. 3. Despite the remarkable engineering of the Mountain Hall, the entrance – attached to a shaved-off part of the mountain – is a modest two-floor gable-roofed structure that looks like a typical 1980s municipal building in any Norwegian town. Photo: Kristian Sønvisen Bye / NRK.

beds were made, with packages of clothes placed on top, staff was on hand, and both food and interpreters were ready. 'It is the sixth plane we receive, so we are starting to get a routine on this', the head of the reception centre, Solbjørg Mikkola, said in a news report (NTB, 1999).

Sixteen years later, Mikkola is quoted again in the local newspaper: '1999 was a rehearsal, now it is serious' (Finnmarken, 2015). In 2015, Kirkenes became the scene of a refugee event that received international attention, partly fuelled by the circulated images of piles of abandoned bicycles that accumulated at the Arctic Storskog border station (The Guardian, 2015; Nordlys, 2015). Within one year, 5500 people crossed the Norway–Russia border seeking protection. Russian law forbade border crossings by foot, and Norwegian legislation prohibited drivers from bringing over people without documentation. The bikes used for crossing the border did not adhere to Norwegian safety standards and were discarded immediately after arrival (Moe and Rowe 2016). Paying 1600 USD for a trip from Damascus to Moscow, and travelling further by plane, train, and bus to Murmansk and Nikel before traversing the final kilometres on bicycle, was cheaper and safer than crossing the Mediterranean (NTB, 2015). After 20 November, the Norwegian government denied arrivals from Iraq and Afghanistan and anyone with a Russian residence permit asylum, causing the number of arrivals to drop dramatically (UDI 2015).[11] During these dramatic events, the UDI turned the mountain hall into a reception and transit arrival centre (Finnmarken, 2015). On this occasion, local authorities did not know who would come and which languages they would speak. Yet, the mountain hall would be a safe place, Mikkola told the Finnmarken newspaper, wishing the refugees a warm welcome; this sentiment was echoed by the mayor, Cecilie Hansen, and reflected the general attitude of the host population, as reported by local newspapers (Finnmarken, 2015; Sør-Varanger Avis, 2015). However, the 2015 event disrupted the everyday function of this well-used space, and local newspapers reported that people wanted their gym back (Finnmarken, 2015) (Figs. 4 and 5).

The mountain hall is an important place in the local community, which is pointed out in a feature story in the national newspaper Aftenposten's weekend supplement: 'There is a strong symbolism of asylum-seekers given refuge in Kirkenes, one of the most bombed places in all of Europe during the Second World War. In the last part of the war, more than 3000 people hid in the Bjørnevatn mines' (A-magasinet 2015, 54).

Soon after being activated as a transit arrival centre, Fjellhallen was at capacity. The UDI found alternative accommodations in local hotels and tents (Finnmarken, 2015). Some asylum-seekers also had to stay in the mountain hall for longer than the anticipated four days, as the national reception system struggled to process the arrivals. In November 2015, a UDI contracted operator opened a former military camp in nearby Høybuktmoen with 600 places (NTB, 2015). With the number of border crossings diminishing and the new camp up and running, the mountain hall closed as a transit centre in January 2016 (Finnmarken, 2016). However, media coverage of a protracted dispute between the Sør-Varanger municipality and the UDI over government compensation for the community's and private operators' costs of facilitating the reception continued for some time (Finnmarken, 2016; VG, 2016) (Fig. 6).

Smart club, råde

When a person applies for asylum, the host country is responsible for providing a standard of living that is 'adequate' for health and wellbeing

[11] *Collective protection* means that the Norwegian Directorate for Immigration (UDI) does not assess the need for protection individually but gives all nationals fleeing the same war and their family members collective protection. This ensures that they will get the help they need faster. https://www.udi.no/en/want-to-apply/protection-asylum/collective-protection-for-ukrainians-in-norway/#undefined. Definition modified by authors to generalise it beyond Ukrainian refugees, as this information was not available in English on the UDI website; 25 March 2022. Resettlement refugees are usually people who are registered as refugees by the UNHCR but who cannot be offered a permanent solution in the country they are currently in and who are therefore offered resettlement in a third country; 25 March 2022, https://www.udi.no/en/word-definitions/resettlement-refugees/.



Fig. 4. Inside the Mountain Hall. "Untethered to any culture, disconnected from an Ur-design or single designer–the ubiquity of the white Monobloc polypropylene chair spans the Global South to the North's uppermost spaces of inhabitation" (Robin Schuldenfrei 2023). Here the chair is distributed around foldable tables inside the Mountain Hall, transforming the indoor sports arena into a makeshift cafeteria for asylum-seekers crossing the Norway-Russia border in 2015. Photo: Sidsel Vik / NRK.

(UNHCR, 2000, 4). 'Adequate' is also the guiding principle for living standards in reception centres in Norway, which prompted a debate in the 1980s and '90 s of whether old military barracks used to accommodate asylum-seekers could be considered adequate. The term 'adequate', however, has been translated by some into 'simple' (from the Norwegian *nøktern*) and later accompanied by the term 'reasonable' (Hauge et al., 2017,13),[12] which are now Norway's guiding adjectives for asylum reception accommodation standards. As reported by informants of studies on reception standards in Norway, the phrase 'simple but reasonable' when used in policy documents is in practice understood as 'lower than average standard' (Hauge et al., 2017,13). In a peculiar echo of this policy, but with no direct reference to the situation that would later unfold, a 2013 news update in the real estate news magazine Estate Nyheter asked: 'Will it become a storage space?'[13] The building in question, a 10,000-square-metre former Smart Club supermarket, was transformed into The National Arrival Centre in Råde (*Nasjonalt ankomstsenter i Råde* in Norwegian) in 2015 to become Norway's southern counterpart to the mountain hall – and later the model for the new Finnmark arrival centre at Høybuktmoen. The building sits on a four-hectare plot between the European route E6 motorway that connects Oslo to the Swedish border and a parallel county road. The location of the repurposed building is, per anthropologist Anne Hege Simonsen and architect and urban theorist Marianne Skjulhaug's definition, a peri-urban area, characterised by a multilayered coexistence of urban and rural land uses without an urban morphology (2019). Such areas have a non-urban character and are often disconnected from local facilities, services, and public transportation (Fig. 7).

The Smart Club site includes a Shell gas station and a separate building housing a McDonald's restaurant with a drive-thru section and was put up for sale for 79 million NOK in 2013 despite its modest rent income of only 1.5 million NOK in 2012 (Estate Nyheter 2013).[14] A news report in October 2015 confirmed that Jonsten Råde AS signed an agreement with the UDI to establish a transit reception centre in the building for up to 1000 people. In April 2016, the national newspaper VG published a story headlined 'Built for 1000, now they are eight'. Closed borders in Europe plus stricter asylum policies introduced by then-Minister of Justice and Public Security Sylvi Listhaug left the Råde transit centre almost empty one year after its opening (VG, 2016). Dagsavisen reported that UDI had invested 90 million NOK in upgrading the building, including purchasing medical equipment for the centre's new clinic, prompting a debate about the need to utilise the facility's resources for other purposes than asylum reception. The clinic's chief medical officer suggested making the arrival centre (The Smart Club) into a national trauma centre (Dagsavisen, 2016). This reflects a way of thinking not dissimilar to the 'avoiding idle capital' goal of the dual-purpose evacuation shelters from the Cold War.

Because of the 30,100 asylum-seekers in Norway in 2015, the Norwegian parliament temporarily changed the National Planning and Building Act.[15,16] This change meant that authorities could waive several national building codes when establishing reception centres. The sleeping compartments at Ankomstsenter Østfold consist of rows of green military tents with bunk beds. The main sources of daylight are the

[12] UDI, 25 March 2022, https://www.udi.no/en/statistics-and-analysis/facts-and-figures/tall-og-fakta-2015/faktaskriv-2015/hvor-mange-sokte-om-beskyttelse/.

[13] In their article 'Framing Outsidedness – Aspects of Housing Quality in Decentralized Reception Centres for Asylum Seekers in Norway' the authors add the following explanation: 'In Norwegian the term "Nøkternt men forsvarlig" is used. We have chosen to translate "forsvarlig" with "reasonable" although this is not a fully adequate term. Forsvarlig means not only reasonable, understood as proper, sound and safe but has also connotations to dignity and decency.'

[14] 79 million NOK in 2013 would be about 97,4 million NOK in 2022, in USD: 12,9 million (2013) / 15,7 million (2022),' 29 March 2022 https://www.estatenyheter.no/aktuelt/selges-for-79-mill/185700.

[15] The In Transit Studio has been working in highly charged urban refugee settings and in residential districts in Oslo, where migration and multiculturalism are central features, since 2016, and through hybridized social science and architectural mapping methods and explicitly or implicitly reference social science-related urban theoretical frameworks in their design work. (Hemmersam et al., 2022, p. 6-7/10). All three projects feature in this section are taken from the 'Alternative futures' section of the publication 'In Transit Studio: Oslo Files' https://intransit.aho.no/published/in-transit-studio-oslo-files

[16] Estate Nyheter describes itself as 'The real estate business's own website. With daily updates and overviews about the profession's most important real estate news.' 29 March 2022, Blir lagerbygg? (estatenyheter.no).

sliding doors that mark the main entrance of the building and the partially obstructed skylights in the main hall. The Smart Club building still looks like a warehouse, despite the exterior upgrade with a continuous blue metal plating façade with white trim, visually interrupted by open rib-cladding screens in wood. Fences run along three façades, and a belt of low vegetation slopes down to the motorway. New temporary tent structures have been placed outside the main entrance and the parking lot, facing the McDonald's restaurant and the gas station. Most outdoor ground surfaces are impermeable and built for parking, loading, and unloading goods.

As part of a municipal regulation plan process, a risk and vulnerability analysis of the site concluded that it was suitable for its new function as a permanent arrival centre and that there was a low risk of sabotage or terrorism (T-2 Prosjekt, 2019). The analysis does not mention threats against asylum-seekers and staff. Still, a local news story from October 2015 reported that security at the Råde transit centre had to be strengthened due to growing numbers of online threats (Moss Avis, 2015). In nearby Sweden, there had been at least nine recent fires at reception centres, and social media platforms were filled with hateful comments about asylum-seekers in Norway, which prompted the Police Security Service to monitor the situation in collaboration with the local police (Moss Avis, 2015).

A 2020 regulation plan transformed the function of the building into a permanent arrival centre that was excepted from regulations for public service institutions. Still, it was specified that long-term stays exceeding several months were not permitted. Accompanying documentation described the large freezers, where the belongings of asylum-seekers would be 'decontaminated', as an 'aesthetic challenge' (Råde Municipality, 2020). The mandated improvements all concerned the centre's surroundings and architectural appearance. For instance, the centre is located in a 'red' noise zone between two roads, which usually prohibits the construction of care and educational facilities. The detailed regulation also set occupation limits to a maximum of 630 asylum-seekers in contrast to the 1000 places offered before the renovations. However, the centre may accommodate 1000 persons under extraordinary circumstances. In a news report, a UDI representative suggests that 'the center should primarily be a transit center for asylum-seekers, but [could] also accommodate other groups in need – Norwegian citizens in need of emergency accommodation due to large accidents, natural disasters or the like' (Dagsavisen, 2016). This, however, has not yet happened.

The other event that led to changes in Norwegian asylum policies, with material and spatial conditions of the Smart Club and other reception centres' playing a part, was the arrival of Ukrainian refugees in 2022. Thus, one of the most striking differences between the reception of Ukrainians and other asylum seekers and refugees is that Ukrainians have been granted much more freedom to make independent choices and the possibility to decide whether or not to live within the reception system (Hernes et al., 2022 111–112).

Outlining contingency urbanism

These two cases of displacement architecture demonstrate the challenges for local communities brought about by the uncertainties of displacement. The urbanism frameworks described above help us formulate three different explanatory conceptualisations of the relationship between displacement management and urban planning. We call them mono-functional displacement management, disruptive multi-functionalism, and contingency urbanism (or parallel co-use). The first two are descriptive and relate to one of the two cases while the third is a normative, comprehensive, and imaginative model for further exploration.

Mono-Functional displacement management

The Smart Club building required retrofitting to serve as an arrival centre. Turning the structure into a transit centre involved changing the planning regulation of the site and changing the temporary status of the transit centre into a permanent location for temporary uses. The case also demonstrates how subsequent programs replace one another. Råde was assigned its reception function in 2015 as part of a response to the high number of new arrivals entering Europe but only later obtained its status as the national arrival centre of Norway. The arrival centre development is an example of Penelope Dean's deadline urbanism: It prioritised expedient implementation over residents' welfare and benefits for the local community. The centre provides poor psycho-social conditions for the wellbeing of staff and occupants. The site's zoning had to be retroactively adjusted to fit an acute situation and was not based on qualitative urban planning priorities and procedures. Despite recent improvements, the operational challenges that (re)appeared with the arrival of Ukrainian refugees in 2022 demonstrated the facility's poor quality. In 2022, Ukrainian citizens fleeing the country after Russia's invasion were granted collective protection in Norway. However,



Fig. 5. Home-Guests 0–0. When the clocks were stopped. A timeout for daily exercise and friendly rivalries in wrestling, handball, and badminton between countries in the Barents region. Interior shot of the Mountain Hall with tarpaulin room dividers and bunkbeds, set up to accommodate asylum-seekers crossing the Norway-Russia border in 2015. Photo: Sidsel Vik / NRK.



Fig. 6. The Smart Club. Exterior shot of the retrofitted Smart Club after being assigned the National Arrival Centre function. Photo: Jon Gran / Moss Avis.



Fig. 7. Bunkbeds replacing wholesale shelves. Interior view of the retrofitted Smart Club ready to accommodate asylum-seekers instead of home goods in 2016. Photo: Håvard Breivik-Khan.

after many news outlets reported on poor conditions at the Råde transit centre – long waiting times, low temperatures, overcrowding, mouldy mattresses, noise, and poor-quality food – the UDI opened up additional temporary transit centers at other locations to relieve the situation (Dagen, 2022; Moss Avis, 2022; Fredrikstad Blad, 2022). A 2022 study conducted by researchers at the Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research (NIBR), however, found that overall the interviewees were generally satisfied with how they were received at the National Arrival Centre. Yet, as one of the respondents recounted: "(…) 11 days we were there at Råde – in the huge hangar in tents. Two floor beds. There was noise. Many children and adults got Rota-virus and many got COVID-19 or other illnesses. I am grateful for the help we got, but there were some difficult moments" (Hernes et al., 2022 72). This statement points to the heterogeneity of crises and how the spatial layout of the Smart Club was not suitable for handling two ongoing crises in parallel: a pandemic and a neighbouring war. Reflecting epidemic urbanism, the reception facility is physically isolated, logistically optimised, yet locally inaccessible. The separation of the facility by infrastructure and fences is indicative of the out of sight, out of mind perspective of the peri-urban location rationale strategically used in the Norwegian asylum system (Skjulhaug and Simonsen 2019). However, it is highly visible from nearby roads, signalling Norway's less-than-welcoming asylum policy.

Disruptive multi-functionalism

The underground mountain hall in Kirkenes is literally out of sight. It is, however, a central place – in terms of both its location relative to other urban functions and as an everyday social space for the local community. Still, it was also designed for emergencies, and its uses reflect the elasticity of Sample's emergency urbanism. At the tail-end of the Cold War, emergency shelter designers avoided 'idle capital' through double-use programming. The mountain hall accommodates both quotidian life and extreme events in times of emergency, yet at different times in cycles of alternating uses. Thus, the site provides a more complex interaction between everyday and emergency uses than the Smart Club. However, the model is not without its issues. The mountain hall lacks adequate daylight, making it ill-suited for long-term residence, and its spaces are not well-designed for sleeping or socialising. The abrupt



Fig. 8. Parallel co-use I: 'The Growing Tøyen' project, in which Kevin Benny Kuriakose, Víctor Carpintero Ferran, and Heini Hiukka. The main structure is a large greenhouse with public functions and temporary accommodation units equipped with integrated infrastructure and furniture. The greenhouse provides a physical framework in which the living units can be installed according to the fluctuating number of arrivals. The greenhouse was chosen as a program for the shared facilities due to the popularity of urban allotment gardens in Oslo and the diversity of their users. Illustration: Kuriakose, Ferran, Hiukka / In Transit Studio 2016.

oscillation between uses with the sudden arrival of displaced people results in disruption through a secondary form of displacement, where host community inhabitants are prevented from accessing one of their everyday places. Paradoxically, the displaced persons would also benefit psychosocially from having access to the same leisure options they displace by being there. Furthermore, the subterranean building typology is not structurally flexible, and the architecture offers few opportunities for future spatial and programmatic alternations beyond its intended double uses.

Parallel co-use: contingency urbanism

As outlined by Hilary Sample, the alternation between pre- and post-trauma programs is made possible by spaces that are pre-programmed for change. However, the Cold War emergency architecture in Norway is limited in terms of functional and spatial elasticity, which results in local disruptions to the everyday use of the spaces. Through the concept of contingency urbanism, we point to the spaces within existing communities that can accommodate reception while promoting placemaking opportunities for the local community and avoiding secondary displacement that disrupts the everyday use of spaces. Instead, parallel and evolving co-use can grow within a network of contingency-based architecture and urban public spaces scaled for neighbourhoods (Fig. 8).[17],

This type of emergency architecture would be spatially more attuned to coexistence between arrivals and host communities than the evacuation shelter and the sports hall pairing. In a Norwegian context, contingency urbanism speaks directly to the idea of 'spaces of protection', and a policy change could potentially enable these ideas to be more present in contingency planning. Challenges include avoiding secondary displacement and idle capital, encouraging placemaking for displaced persons, and ensuring benefits to the host community. We have labelled the third conceptualisation, contingency urbanism, imaginative as we point out a possible way forward. We cannot, however, list existing or planned examples that illustrate the potential for parallel co-use in urban and contingency planning through placemaking interventions beyond the illustrations included in this section (Figs. 9 and 10).

[17] https://www.stortinget.no/no/Saker-og-publikasjoner/Publikasjoner/Innstillinger/Stortinget/2015-2016/inns-201516-229/?lvl=0

Concluding reflections

The architecture and material conditions of displaced persons' accommodation have a significant impact on their wellbeing (Grønseth and Thorshaug 2022), whether in warehouses, mountain halls or other available buildings. Further, the location of the reception centre and access to daily activities are important parameters, as demonstrated by the Ukrainian refugee's experience of the first phase in Norway (Hernes et al., 2022). Reception in more remote areas provided fewer opportunities for interaction with the local community, NGOs or other actors, limiting participation in activities (2022 76).

Contemporary contingency planning in Norway involves planners,



Fig. 9. Parallel co-use II: Photo of 'Briskeby Brannstasjon'. Due to the nature of the shift system, the station functions both as a place to work and as a place to live. This condition is reflected in the architecture. Spaces for hobbies, exercise, and study merge with an always-operative emergency response system; however, the space is not optimized in the present state of the building. The duality of living–working spaces could be improved by creating an architecture that blends the public realm and emergency services, and that maintains the privacy of firefighters without compromising emergency functions. Text / photo: Tord Mardoff Nielsen / In Transit Studio 2021.

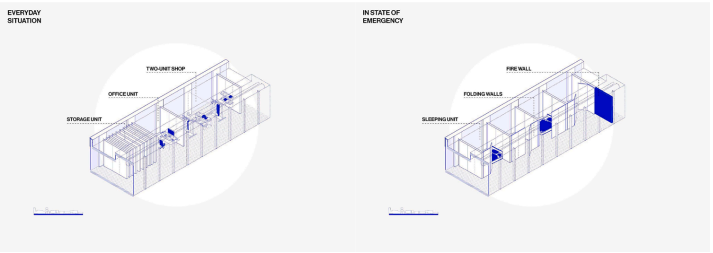


Fig. 10. Parallel co-use III: 'The Resourceful Community' by Julie Christine Krogstad. The main structure of the project is a 300-meter-long building that connects neighbourhood resources to spaces that can accommodate 250 people at any time in case of emergency. The project proposes a city-level strategy by presenting the strip of St. Halvard's Gate in Oslo as a case for developing a neighbourhood-level contingency plan. Illustration: Julie Christine Krogstad / In Transit Studio 2021.

architects, and designers to a minimal extent but has featured architecture more prominently at other times. In this article, however, we have revealed various models of the relationship between displacement management, contingency planning, and local communities. Combined, the three conceptualisations expose the historical dynamics of emergency architecture and point to the concept of *contingency urbanism* as a framework that requires further exploration. Thus, the main three implications of our findings target policy, community, and theory.

POLICY: This article speaks to policies that accommodate mutually integrated contingency and urban planning processes. Currently, there is limited guidance and established practice regarding the location and spatial qualities of emergency architecture. Contingency urbanism suggests that liveability, in the context of placemaking, should be considered in emergency architecture. In this way, placemaking is public policy and a modality of reception that targets neighbourhoods with high numbers of settled or recently arrived migrants. Such a shift is pertinent when Norwegian contingency planning is shifting from evacuation shelters to places of protection resembling the arrival infrastructure in the asylum system; appropriated spaces are set up ad hoc and adjusted to their function later. Replacing emergency shelters with 'a new arrangement of places of protection' calls for new guidelines that contribute to better decisions about location that have the welfare of displaced persons and host communities in mind.

COMMUNITY: Displacement management guidance literature suggests that placemaking is a bottom-up process, often organised as retrofitting processes and cosmetic upgrades of so-called temporary structures, such as transitional or prefab shelters and the spaces between them. At the same time, design- and planning-based placemaking processes for non-emergency contexts in socio-culturally challenged and deprived urban areas – locations often associated with displacement – involve built environment professionals and consultation processes that result in urban public space interventions. While concerned with displacement in the broadest sense, these government-initiated area-based placemaking and development initiatives typically do not consider contingency. Due to the uncertainties of contingency planning, it is crucial that the planning, design, and implementation aspects of emergency architecture are based on potential pre-uses, co-uses, and post-uses for the host communities. For example, small businesses could be provided with access to additional spaces, but with the responsibility of converting them into communal functions during an emergency. For example, a neighbourhood restaurant could be granted access to more space to have the opportunity to scale up their capacity without compromising its core function during an emergency, while also providing food on-site for displaced persons during an emergency period. Rethinking such arrangements requires rethinking corresponding spatial solutions.

THEORY: Contingency urbanism prompts the need to rethink the reception structures of displacement management and contingency planning, mainly concerning the location and multi-use potential of spaces to avoid idle capital, allow for placemaking, and avoid disrupting the local community. It reveals the problems with rushed planning based on risk assessment and reveals the need to carefully consider the location and the co- and after-uses of emergency architecture. Furthermore, we argue that the hegemonic urban securitisation discourse excludes local communities from participating in shaping their built environments. Contingency urbanism can supplement, overlay, or even replace securitisation in the architecture or planning discourse for the uncertainties and disruptions that face urban spaces. Contingency urbanism allows the consideration of the spatial 'elasticity' of built reception structures and their ability to accommodate both emergency and everyday use. Such multi-purpose thinking is also vital in avoiding 'idle capital'. Contingency urbanism has a normative element and presumes new collaboration between disparate governance entities and levels. It requires considerable reflective engagement to avoid the monofunctional instrumentality that denies the social complexities of placemaking. Still, it is challenging to identify relevant cases or best practices to point out the advantages of applying urban planning principles to contingency planning. Compared with the dual programming of Cold War emergency architecture, the concept of contingency urbanism can contribute to more fine-tuned alterations between daily and emergency uses but requires further exploration.

CRediT authorship contribution statement

Håvard Breivik-Khan: Conceptualization, Data curation, Investigation, Methodology, Visualization, Writing – original draft, Writing – review & editing. **Peter Hemmersam:** Conceptualization, Data curation, Investigation, Methodology, Visualization, Writing – original draft, Writing – review & editing.

Declaration of competing interest

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

References

A/S, Fagbokservice, 1982. Forskrifter M.V. OM Tilfluktsrom. Oslo.
Aerts, Jens., 2018. Shaping urbanization for children: a handbook on child-responsive urban planning. UNICEF, New York. Retrieved from. https://www.unicef.org/reports/shaping-urbanization-children.
Aftenposten. "Et Symbol På Sør-Varangers Tro På Fremtiden: Fjellhallen i Kirkenes." *Aftenposten*, March 20, 1984.
Aftenposten. "Fra Kosovo Til Bomberom." Aftenposten, June 2, 1999.
Alexander, David., 2015. Disaster and emergency planning for preparedness, response, and recovery. In Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Natural Hazard Science. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
Beck, Ulrich., 1992. Risk Society: towards a New Modernity. Theory. Cult. Soc.

Campbell, Margaret., October 1, 2005. What tuberculosis did for modernism: the influence of a curative environment on modernist design and architecture. Med. Hist. 49 (4), 463–488. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0025727300009169.
Chandler, David, Coaffee, Jon, 2017. Introduction: contested paradigms of international resilience. The Routledge Handbook of International Resilience. Routledge, pp. 3–9.
Chandler, David., January 2, 2014. Beyond neoliberalism: resilience, the new art of governing complexity. Resilience 2 (1), 47–63. https://doi.org/10.1080/21693293.2013.878544.
Chircop, John, 2018. Quarantine, sanitisation, colonialism and the construction of the 'contagious arab' in the mediterranean, 1830s–1900. In: Chircop, J., Martinez, F.J. (Eds.), Mediterranean Quarantines, 1750-1914: Space, Identity and Power. Manchester University Press, Manchester, pp. 199–231, 2018.
Legger Ned Ventesone." Fredrikstad Blad 9, 2022.
Dagbladet. "Atomfrykt Tross Bedre Beredskap." Dagbladet, April 26, 1996.
Dagen. "UDI Åpner Nye Ventemottak for Ukraina." *Dagen*, March 26, 2022.
Dagsavisen. "Vil Ikke Kaste Bort Ressursene." Dagsavisen, June 30, 2016.
Danbolt, Marte Storhaug. "Y-Blokken – Fragmenter *Av* et Monument," June 2020.
Dean, Penelope., 2005. Deadline urbanism. Log. (5), 46–49.
Det Kongelige Justis- og Beredskapsdepartementet, October 16, 2020. St.meld. nr. 5 (2020-2021) Melding til Stortinget Samfunnssikkerhet i en usikker verden. Det Kongelige Justis- og Beredskapsdepartementet. file:///C:/Users/Owner/Downloads/stm202020210005000dddpdfs.pdf.
«Detaljregulering for Jonsten Vestre - Plan ID 0135 2017 01 - Fremlegges for 2. gangs behandling» Kommunestyret, 2020. Råde Municipality.
Direktoratet for samfunnssikkerhet og beredskap (DSB), 2019. Analyser av krisescenarioer 2019. Direktoratet for samfunnssikkerhet og beredskap (DSB). https://www.dsbinfo.no/DSBno/2019/tema/aks-2019/?fbclid=IwAR1LWmZIJLN39fVK9jf3E7hJx5ylkPvySH1rbTW19dcwvuBabLAyKy1sS9M.
Direktoratet for Sivilt Beredskap, 1971. Fredsbruk Av Tilfluktsrom. Oslo.
Direktoratet for Sivilt Beredskap (DSB), 1995. FORSKRIFTER M.V. OM TILFLUKTSROM. Oslo.
Ellin, Nan, Blakely, Edward J., 1997. Architecture of Fear, 1st ed. Princeton Architectural Press, New York.
Elliott-Cooper, Adam, Hubbard, Phil, Lees, Loretta, June 2020. Moving beyond Marcuse: gentrification, displacement and the violence of Un-homing. Prog. Hum. Geogr. 44 (3), 492–509. https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132519830511.
Eriksson, Kerstin, McConnell, Allan, May 1, 2011. Contingency planning for crisis management: recipe for success or political fantasy? Policy Soc. 30 (2), 89–99. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polsoc.2011.03.004.
Finnmarken. "In 1999 we rehearsed. Now it is serious." *Finnmarken*, November 27, 2015.
Finnmarken, 2016. Departementet Skulle Bare Visst." *Finnmarken*, February 4.
Finnmarken. "Fjellhallen Snart Klar." Finnmarken, January 6, 2016.
Finnmarken. "Vi Skal Gi Dem En Fin Start i Norge." *Finnmarken*, September 25, 2015.
Gandy, Matthew., 2006. The bacteriological city and its discontents. Hist. Geogr. 34 (2006), 14–25.
Gjørv, Alexandra Bech. *Rapport fra 22. juli-kommisjonen*. Oslo: departementenes servicesenter, 2012.
Grønseth, Anne Sigfrid, Thorshaug, Ragne Øwre, March 1, 2022. Struggling for home where home is not meant to be: a study of asylum seekers in reception centers in Norway. Focaal. 2022 (92), 15–30. https://doi.org/10.3167/fcl.2022.920102.
Graham, Stephen, 2004. *Cities, war, and terrorism: towards an urban geopolitics*. studies in urban and social change. Blackwell Publishing, Malden, MA.
Graham, Stephen., 2010. Cities Under Siege: The New Military Urbanism. Verso, London.
Hauge, Åshild Lappegard, Denizou, Karine, Støa, Eli, 2015. Bokvalitet På Norske Asylmottak. SINTEF akademisk forlag. http://hdl.handle.net/11250/2365070.
Hauge, Åshild Lappegard, Støa, Eli, Denizou, Karine, January 2, 2017. Framing Outsidedness – Aspects of housing quality in decentralized reception centres for asylum seekers in Norway. Hous., Theory Soc. 34 (1), 1–20. https://doi.org/10.1080/14036096.2016.1200668.
Hernes, Vilde, Deineko, Oleksandra, Håndaa Myhre, Marthe, Liodden, Tone, Staver, Anne Balke, 2022. Ukrainian Refugees – Experiences from the First Phase in Norway. NORwegian Institute Urban Reg. Res. (NIBR). https://hdl.handle.net/11250/3029151.
International Rescue Committee (IRC), 2017. 8 Reasons place should matter to humanitarians. Project for Public Spaces. Retrieved from. https://www.pps.org/article/8-reasons-place-should-matter-to-humanitarians.
Justisdepartementet. "Forskrifter for anlegg av permanente splint-, ras- og gass-sikre tilfluktsrom i nybygg samt i eldre bygninger ved hovedombygning," 1948.
Madanipour, A., 2014. *Urban Design, Space and Society*. Planning, Environment, Cities. Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, Hampshire.
Moe, Arild, and Lars Rowe. "Asylstrømmen Fra Russland Til Norge i 2015: bevisst Russisk Politikk?" *Nordisk Østforum* 30, no. 2 (June 20, 2016). https://doi.org/10.17585/nof.v30.432.
Moss Avis. "Skjerper Sikkerheten Etter Trusler." Moss Avis, October 27, 2015.
Moss Avis. "Sterk Kritikk Mot Lang Ventetid." Moss Avis, March 26, 2022.
Nordlys. "Russere Skadd i Buss-Velt En Russisk Turistbuss Med 36 Passasjerer Om Bord." *Nordlys*, April 2, 1993.
Nordlys. "Sykkelhaugen På Storskog." Nordlys, October 12, 2015.
NTB. "Flyktninger i Finnmark Må Vente i Telt." *NTB*, October 13, 2015.
NTB. "Siste Fly Med Flyktninger Har Landet." *NTB*, June 1, 1999.
NTB. "VERDENS ÅTTENDE UNDERVERK?"." NTB, July 3, 1991.
Olsen, Ann-Kristin. *Når det virkelig gjelder- effektiv organisering av statlige forsterkningsressurser*. Oslo, 2013. https://www.regjeringen.no/contentassets/b8d8400cdbd045b68f859dbb583456a0/no/pdfs/nou201320130005000dddpdfs.pdf.
Oslo Kommune, Planprogram for kommuneplanens arealdel (2021).
Oslo, City of. Oslo Kommunalt risikobilde 2021 https://www.oslo.kommune.no/getfile.php/13262149-1641208058/Tjenester%20og%20tilbud/Politikk%20og%20administrasjon/Etater%2C%20foretak%20og%20ombud/Beredskapsetaten/Kommunalt%20risikobilde%202021%20-%20kortversjon.pdf.
Parker, Elizabeth, Maynard, Victoria., 2015. *Humanitarian response to urban crises: a review of area-based approaches* [Working Paper]. Internat. Institute Environ. Develop. (IIED). Retrieved from. https://pubs.iied.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/migrate/10742IIED.pdf.
Sør-Varanger Avis. "Fjellhallen Klar for Mottak Og Omsorg." *Sør-Varanger Avis*, September 24, 2015.
Sample, Hilary., 2005. Emergency Urbanism. Building Material (14), 46–47.
Sanderson, David., Sitko, Pamela., 2018. Ten principles for area-based approaches in urban post-disaster recovery, in Humanitarian Exchange Special feature Humanitarian response in urban areas. *Humanit. Pract. Network ODI, 71*. Retriev. (PDF) Ten Principles Area-Based Approach. Urban Post-Disast. Recov., Humanit. Exchange Special Feat. Humanit. Resp. Urban Areas (researchgate.net).
Sanderson, David., 2019. *Urban humanitarian response* (Good Practice Review 12). Overseas Develop. Institute. Retrieved from. https://odihpn.org/resources/humanitarian-response-urban-crises/.
Schuldenfrei, Robin., 2023. Tracking the Monobloc chair: polypropylene plastic between the global and the local. In: at Material Landscapes Symposium the Columbia University, Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation. New York, 24 March 2023. https://www.arch.columbia.edu/events/2569-material-landscapes.
Shirazi, M. Reza, and Ramin Keivani. *URBAN SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY: theory, Policy and Practice*. S.l.: ROUTLEDGE, 2020.
Simonsen, Anne Hege, Skjulhaug, Marianne, 2019. Living on the Threshold: the Missing Debate on Peri-Urban Asylum Reception Centres in Norway. *Nordisk Arkitekturforskning*, Reflecting histories and Directing Futures, pp. 2015–2016.
Simpson, Deane, Jensen, Vibeke, Rubing, Anders, 2017. The City between Freedom and Security. eds. Basel: Birkhäuser.
Smith, Merrill., 2004. Warehousing refugees: a denial of rights, a waste of humanity. World Refugee Sur.
Sorkin, Michael, 2008. Indefensible Space: The Architecture of the National Insecurity State. Routledge, New York.
"Støtte og samarbeid - En beskrivelse av totalforsvaret i dag." Oslo: Forsvarsdepartementet og Justis- og beredskapsdepartementet, June 2018.
T-2 Prosjekt, AS., 2019. Risiko- Og Sårbarhetsanalyse – Detaljregulering Mosseveien 58. Jonsten Vestre, Råde Kommune.
The Guardian. "Bicycles Used by Syrian Refugees to Enter Norway from Russia to Be Destroyed." *The Guardian*, November 18, 2015.
The Norwegian Refugee Council, and NORCAP, 2016. Dignified Reception Guidelines. Oslo. https://www.nrc.no/globalassets/pdf/guidelines/dr-guidelines-2016.pdf.
Thorshaug, Ragne Øwre, Brun, Cathrine, December 31, 2019. Temporal injustice and asylum reception centres in norway: towards a critical geographies of architecture in the institution. Fennia - International J.f Geograp. 197 (2), 232–248. https://doi.org/10.11143/fennia.84758.
Tuhkanen, Heidi, Cinderby, Steve, de Bruin, Annemarieke, Wikman, Anna, Adelina, Charrlotte, January 1, 2022. Diane archer, and cassilde muhoza. "health and wellbeing in cities - cultural contributions from urban form in the global south context." *wellbeing*. Space Soc. 3, 100071 https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wss.2021.100071.
UNHCR. "Reception Standards For Asylum Seekers In the European Union." Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), July 2000. https://www.unhcr.org/4aa763899.pdf.
VG. "BYGGET FOR 1000 - NÅ ER DE ÅTTE." *VG*, April 5, 2016.
VG. "MILLIONKRANGLENE." VG, October 27, 2016.
Vianelli, Lorenzo., February 2022. Warehousing asylum seekers: the *logistification* of reception. Soc. Space 40 (1), 41–59. https://doi.org/10.1177/02637758211056339.
Wergeland, Even Smith, 2019. There's a world going on underground: Ecotopian realism in subterranean design. In: Fallan, K, (Ed.), The Culture of Nature in the History of Design. Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, London; New York, pp. 116-128.

Breivik-Khan *City, Territory and Architecture* (2025) 12:16
https://doi.org/10.1186/s40410-025-00265-9

City, Territory and Architecture

RESEARCH ARTICLE Open Access

Non-exceptional humanitarian spaces: the emergency reception of Ukrainian refugees as contingency planning for domestic mass displacement in Romania

Håvard Breivik-Khan[1*]

Abstract

Current policy and practice on shelter and settlements solutions in global displacement management promote limited engagement with long-term plans for the built environment of host communities receiving new arrivals. The prevailing thinking in global displacement management of any emergency as exceptional, impacts the ability of host communities to co-use and repurpose emergency architecture for domestic contingency planning purposes and everyday functions in parallel or later. To research these missed interactions, I explore the potential of spatial and programmatic overlaps between two emergency reception domains separated by international and national governance mandates. I look to Romania, a country that is simultaneously providing humanitarian assistance to refugees from Ukraine while preparing for domestic mass displacement in the imminent event of a major earthquake. The case of Romania was explored in-situ while I as an architect, alternated between three professional roles at different times: the 'humanitarian site planning expert', 'the academic researcher', and 'the educator. With this as my empirical foundation, I discuss imaginative and speculative research and design-projects that explore the duality of everyday life and a state of emergency in Romania's capital, Bucharest, and use this as a framework for expanding the concept of 'humanitarian space' built on 'non-exceptionalism'.

Keywords Architecture, Urbanism, Displacement, Humanitarian space, Contingency planning, Romania

Introduction

The standardised spatiality of emergency reception has been developed for contexts with scarce resources and territories with sparse population densities. Displacement management in contexts featuring higher concentrations of not only people, power, and wealth but also clusters of poverty (de Boer et al. 2016) require additional or alternative solutions to the spatial standards presented in existing guidance tools (Breivik-Khan 2022, 128). While knowledge development on the urban displacement phenomenon is common within the international humanitarian, development, and peacebuilding communities, the practical application of global spatial standards in displacement situations generally follow the common perception of these situations as time-limited events and

*Correspondence:
Håvard Breivik-Khan
haavard.breivik.khan@gmail.com; havard.breivik-khan@aho.no
[1] The Oslo School of Architecture and Design, Maridalsveien 29, 0175 Oslo, Norway

Springer Open

© The Author(s) 2025. **Open Access** This article is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License, which permits any non-commercial use, sharing, distribution and reproduction in any medium or format, as long as you give appropriate credit to the original author(s) and the source, provide a link to the Creative Commons licence, and indicate if you modified the licensed material. You do not have permission under this licence to share adapted material derived from this article or parts of it. The images or other third party material in this article are included in the article's Creative Commons licence, unless indicated otherwise in a credit line to the material. If material is not included in the article's Creative Commons licence and your intended use is not permitted by statutory regulation or exceeds the permitted use, you will need to obtain permission directly from the copyright holder. To view a copy of this licence, visit http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/.

any emergency as exceptional (Alexander 2002; Hilhorst 2018).[1] This conception of exceptionalism is also found in operational guidance literature, which highlights the goal of a near future closure as one of the main parameters for site selection and spatial adjustments of reception facilities. In humanitarian handbooks and other guidance literature, the collective centre typology—a common way of temporarily accommodating displaced populations—is described as a non-durable solution that should be avoided (e.g. CCCM 2015). These centres are often situated in existing buildings (e.g. CCCM 2010), which may disrupt the everyday lives of host community members.[2]

Humanitarian actors are concerned with the time frame of *here and now* in the event of a disaster. Further, what was previously understood as the *before and after* of these events is now partially recognised as cyclical, because disasters are becoming more frequent, and these responses will be needed periodically. This is being increasingly considered the new normal in global displacement management (Hilhorst 2018). The current practice of global displacement management and the corresponding temporality of built reception structures, however, does not reflect this shift, which limits the possibilities for selecting and upgrading structures to become assets for host communities from a domestic contingency planning perspective. In Europe, national contingency planning is largely scenario-focused and outlines anticipated outcomes for specific threats to society, the impacts and likelihoods of these threats, and the procedures for responding to such threats (IGSU 2016; DSB 2019). International and national mandates related to the built interventions of displacement management and contingency planning, however, rarely intersect in ways that go beyond essential and acute emergency functions (Breivik-Khan and Hemmersam 2024).

To explore the spatial aspects of the meeting between international displacement management regimes and domestic contingency planning, I look to Romania. Romania has since February 2022 provided and planned for prolonged humanitarian assistance in its own territory for refugees from Ukraine, which also includes the unprecedented presence and coordination of humanitarian partners such as international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) and United Nations (UN) agencies. At the same time, the country develops plans and prepares for internal mass displacement in the event of a major earthquake as the country is situated in a high-risk seismic area (Armaş et al. 2017). Because of the war in Ukraine, Bucharest and other urban centres in Romania have been turned into potential locations for what architect and urban theorist Marianne Potvin refers to as *the urban problem* in aid, in which humanitarian actors are confronted with projects that defy their levels of technological expertise and thereby struggle to choose between helping only the individuals protected under international law, the wide spectrum of urban poor, marginalized urban communities, or economic, climate or environmental migrants (Potvin 2019, 3).

The reception of Ukrainian refugees in Romania is multi-faceted, with localised living arrangements and in many cases volunteer-driven reception by families opening their homes. This is certainly a relevant model for a comprehensive reception system. This research, however, focus collective solutions, referred to in global displacement management guidance documents as collective centres, for two reasons: (1) despite the collective centre typology being a common way of accommodating displaced groups—which also extends to domestic contingency planning—the global policy in reflective-operational displacement management documents is to avoid the establishment of collective centres, and (2) the subject of collective centres is underrepresented in displacement management policy and also underexplored in architecture and urbanism theory. Thus, emergency reception solutions remain siloed and not mutually integrated into the two domains of architecture & urbanism, and displacement management & contingency planning.

Frameworks, empirical data and thesis statement

Theory on resilience humanitarianism and humanitarian space that challenge exceptional approaches to displacement management constitutes the broader theoretical foundation for my research. Within this overarching topic, I problematize the missed interactions between international and national governance concerning emergency reception, and the recommendations in international displacement management to avoid urban collective living situations, and that emergency reception architecture should be planned and designed with closure as the end goal. These two matters form the background for formulating the main question of this study: how can the architecture of emergency reception facilities be built

[1] See, for example The Global Alliance for Urban Crises, 'a multi-disciplinary, collaborative community of practice working to prevent, prepare for and effectively respond to humanitarian crises in urban settings' spearheaded by the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat). https://www.urbancrises.org/.

[2] The Global Camp Coordination and Camp Management (CCCM) Cluster was established in 2005 and is co-led at Global level by UNHCR in conflict situations and by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in natural disaster situations. The CCCM cluster's overall goals are to coordinate and facilitate the efficient, effective and predictable delivery of protection and services at community level, ensure that the rights of IDPs and other affected populations are protected, and advocate for durable solutions. Description taken from the website of UNHCR: https://emergency.unhcr.org/coordination-and-communication/cluster-system/camp-coordination-and-camp-management-cccm-cluster-iasc.

on the notions of non-exceptionalism and used to expand the concept of humanitarian space?

Theoretical orientation

The theoretical framework for this article is situated in the convergence of spatial and contingency planning and global displacement management critique (Alexander 2002, 2016; Brun 2016; Koshy et al. 2022; Hilhorst 2018; Hilhorst and Jansen 2010; Potvin 2019) primarily from the fields of human geography, architecture, and urbanism. Central to this article is also theory that expands the concept of humanitarian space. This is discussed in "Expanding humanitarian spaces" and "Exceptionalism and the paradox of planning" sections. Furthermore, I lean on theory by contemporary Romanian scholars in the fields of architecture and urbanism (Vais 2018, 2022; Hasnas 2023; Constantinescu and Voiculescu 2019), engineering, and earth sciences (Armaș et al. 2017, 2020; Georgescu et al. 2014, 2016; Merciu et al. 2018; Suditu 2020; Toma-Danila et al. 2022) to provide an outline of Romania's built environment and domestic contingency planning.

The architecture of emergency reception facilities in guidance documents and in imaginative and speculative design projects

This research explores how emergency reception facilities can be built to accommodate both emergency and daily life transitions and be aligned with the need for anew and cyclical uses. The primary data sources applied are: (1) reflective-operational displacement management documents as reference for practical application for emergency reception; (2) imaginative and speculative design proposals challenging the spatial recommendations, programming, and architectural typologies found in these guidance documents. This specific composition of data sources as my empirical foundation, is linked to my alternating roles during the course of this study, as a humanitarian site planning expert, the academic researcher, and the educator. This is further discussed in the "Methodology and structure" section.

1. Reflective-operational documents are hybrid sources from the vast repository of humanitarian lessons and evaluations—policy papers, opinion pieces, manuals, and guidelines. Many of these were produced to support the implementation of interventions, and their suggested actions correspond with the policies of the organisations or clusters they were produced by and for (Breivik-Khan 2022). In addition to the reflective-operational documents, I have studied official documents concerning the current displacement of Ukrainian refugees hosted in Romania, including reports and white papers from the UN, INGOs, and Romanian authorities. Many of these were developed successively as the war in Ukraine unfolded, and both the situation in Romania and the responses have changed since then. This category also includes material produced by myself during my first Romania mission, which was submitted in the format of mission reports to NORCAP and the Romanian Ministry of Internal Affairs, with recommendations for further interventions.[3] Furthermore, government reports concerning national contingency planning are also included in this study, which provided an overview of Romania's preparedness and response strategy to environmental threats, and in particular to earthquakes.
2. I further critically discuss spatial solutions proposed as design projects exploring the duality of daily life and a state of emergency in Romania's capital, Bucharest. This is explained in more detail in the section "Investigating non-exceptional humanitarian spaces through design". These solutions—developed by advanced-level architecture, landscape architecture and urbanism students from the *In Transit Studio* course at the Oslo School of Architecture and Design (AHO) co-led by me in 2022—project alternatives to the mono-functional and time-limited reception solutions which dominate current displacement management practise. Based on these investigations, I examine aspects of materiality and time in the context of humanitarian spaces to outline ways of rethinking emergency architecture that exceed the view of a series of single, select moments, but as a continuous and ongoing process of change (Franck 2016, p. 10) more suitable for planning the future.

Methodology and structure

The methods used in this analysis are qualitative and include document analyses and embedded field research. Management scholars Eisenhardt and Graebner (2007) describe the embedded researcher method as providing opportunities for unusual research access. Ward et al. (2021, 594) note that "embedded research initiatives come in a range of different shapes and sizes." Typically, embedded researchers are university-based individuals or teams with defined research roles within host organizations—public, private, or third sector—including non-academic settings (McGinity and Salokangas 2014, 3; Ward et al. 2021, 593). Researchers may also be legitimized through staff status within the host

[3] These documents are not externally published and are only accessible upon request to the Romanian Ministry of Internal Affairs.

organization (McGinity and Salokangas 2014, 3). In my case, the embedded approach was tied to a secondment model in the global displacement management sector, involving deployments of pre-identified experts to various agencies. As a roster member of NORCAP, I have served as staff for different UN agencies, more recently as described below, for national authorities such as those in Romania.

Associated with the embedded researcher method is the concept *observant participation* (McNeill and St. Clair 2009; Mosse 2005; Mosse 2013; Geirbo 2017). Being an observant participant entails possessing performative knowledge as an insider, at the same time as maintaining an analytical distance to allow for reflection on this performative knowledge as a researcher. The embedded researcher approach is in this paper used as a way of obtaining localised knowledge about ongoing displacement management and future contingency planning in Romania, as an active participant in a different role than as an academic outsider. Building on this experience, I continued conducting research through fieldwork with students, using Bucharest as the location for our study, and engaging with a network of intergovernmental and domestic stakeholders and experts from the built environment. As an active participant in situ, I obtained different types of knowledge, while alternating between three professional roles at different times: the site planning expert, the academic researcher, and the educator. Because of the changing roles and several organisational affiliations, the mutually beneficial relationship between me, my employers and host organisations provided me with greater access to data—a central aspect of embedded research (McGinity and Salokangas 2014, 3)—but in my case not limited to the organisations directly or indirectly involved in my research.

As a site planning expert, I was in the summer of 2022 assigned the role of advisor to Romanian authorities concerning the reception of Ukrainian refugees displaced after the Russian invasion of Ukraine on 24 February 2022. In effect I was placed between the two domains of the international humanitarian sector and national governance: I was on assignment with NORCAP, a humanitarian organisation, to provide direct support to national authorities, the Romanian Ministry of Internal Affairs. The other two future roles were as an academic doing field research in Bucharest with students from the Oslo School of Architecture and Design while also contributing to the first mission as a site planner and continuing dialogues with many of the same stakeholders. Nevertheless, the natures of the different roles provided access to different sets of actors and stakeholders: to the official response apparatus as the international site planning expert and to the localised urbanism expertise as the researcher and the teacher accompanied by students.

In studio teaching with project-based learning, which is common in architecture education and akin to an academic semester project in other fields, the focus is on problem solving, experimentation, and design in a hands-on environment. Teaching as a collaborative effort between students and teachers to produce new knowledge through imagined design projects, is part of my methodology. The synergies between students and instructors that happen through this method allows me to also spatially speculate on possible ways of improving reception architecture, in a very different way than I can when deployed as a site planner, even if the outputs are ultimately the students' projects. Implicit in this process is that I mentally place myself in the same situation as the student to be able to provide meaningful feedback from a designer's perspective. I benefit greatly from occupying this space, applying my spatial expertise beyond the role of a site planner bound by mandates. This teaching method also enriches my other roles, as it expands my repertoire of possible solutions to displacement.

As one way of exploring the potentially overlapping qualitative aspects of the built environment—places that promote well-being, dignity and the opportunity for normalcy and daily life—within the two domains of displacement management and architecture respectively, I conducted a document analysis of key operational guidance documents on emergency reception internationally: The Global Camp Coordination and Camp Management Cluster's CAMP MANAGEMENT TOOLKIT (CCCM 2015), United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the International Organization for Migration (IOM)'s "Collective Centre Guidelines" (2010), and The Sphere Handbook (2018). These are central to my research because built environment experts rely on these types of documents to support experience-based decisions when deployed to crisis contexts.

While many of these guidelines or handbooks are primary reference tools aiming to improve the quality of humanitarian work during disaster response (Sphere 2018), for built environment practitioners in displacement management, however, the quantifiable parts of crisis response, such as the minimum standards in a temporary settlement, are meant to guide spatial interventions. Size descriptions in these documents mostly come as volumes and surface coverage, not as design guidance based on a cross section of human interaction and movement. The work of a built environment professionals in displacement management, often called site planners, has largely consisted of finding solutions to house as many people as possible in the shortest amount of time—in a variety of structures and sites

that offer emergency reception and other services, such as temporary health clinics and schools. These solutions have primarily been based on logistics and maximized capacity: how closely can emergency shelters, which are often tents, be placed? How many rows of tents per water point, and is the spacing wide enough for a truck to refill the water tanks? The site planners count the number of family members per unit, which in some contexts means 4.2 people and in others 4.5 (CCCM 2010, HRRP 2018), to spatially accommodate the formula: 30–45 m^2 per person, including all service facilities, within defined site boundaries (CCCM 2015). Site selection criteria outlined in displacement management guidance tools are primarily technical, in the sense that they prioritize quantifiable solutions instead of the more intangible aspects of the built environment, such as wellbeing, recreation and social interaction.

Part of the document analysis I conducted in this research, was to review the site selection criteria and spatial design recommendations in the sections about set-up and closure of emergency reception facilities—similar to how site planners on deployment use them to ensure that minimum standards are followed. However, instead of reviewing the quantitative aspects of built environment recommendations, I explored whether the more qualitative aspects of the built interventions in displacement management, were emphasized in operational-reflective documents. Thus, I scanned these documents for words with communal units in different lexical meanings: 'neighbourhood'; '[host] community [relations]'; 'communal'; 'collective [centre]'; city; and 'urban'. I further identified terms that would describe material qualities and thence indicate duration of use: 'durable'; 'permanent'; and 'temporary', but also key built environment terms: 'building'; 'landscape'; and 'street'.

In August 2022 I returned to Bucharest in my other roles as a researcher and teacher, accompanied by 16 advanced-level students of architecture, landscape architecture, and urbanism enrolled in the In Transit Studio course. The studio's approach can be described as an inquiry-based learning process reflecting a studio culture centred around peer learning with studio teachers acting as co-investigators (Hemmersam et al. 2022). Naturally, the students' roles differ from those of the teachers. The students are active designers and translate data obtained during field work and desk studies into three-dimensional form, whereas my colleagues and I prepare and contextualise the material and task and guide the students, some of which is presented in this article. The students' assignments were to explore in which ways architecture, landscape architecture and urban design can challenge the binary between emergency and everyday functions, and the conflicting international and national displacement management mandates through a process in which teachers acted as co-investigator. Thus, the assignments were built around the question: how can the architecture of emergency reception facilities be built on the notion of non-exceptionalism and used to expand the concept of humanitarian space? Teaching—particularly engaging students to challenge the existing guidance tools for site selection in emergency reception—contributes to emphasising the non-technical and more social-qualitative aspects of the built environment in emergency contexts. Combining methods such as document analysis, desk studies, on-site observations, and imaginative spatial speculations helps build a fuller understanding of the research problem and provides richer insights into the topic (Nightingale 2009).

The location of the study: Romania with Bucharest as the epicentre

In this article I explore the complicated relationship between time and space in displacement management by studying a disastrous real-time event that may also impact the future of Romania: the reception of Ukrainian refugees and the imminent regional earthquake risk in Romania. Bucharest is the location of this study. This is a complex case unfolding in real time with severe consequences for the affected populations, which makes it contemporary but also challenging to study and describe. I treat the current condition of Romania as the convergence of national and international contingencies rather than an in-depth political and historical analysis of the country. My research does not evaluate the Romanian authorities' or their humanitarian partners' responses to the Ukraine war, nor do I look at the jurisdiction of Romania's regular asylum system or conditions in reception facilities. Instead, I have studied guidance literature concerning the shelters and settlements in global displacement management through the lens of the Romanian authorities' response strategies concerning the reception of Ukrainian refugees and their domestic scenario-based contingency planning. The Bucharest-specific design proposals from the In Transit Studio course, which will be discussed in the section "Investigating non-exceptional humanitarian spaces through design". This is a normative model used to further explore collective centre reception alternating between international and domestic humanitarian spaces, and non-crisis uses.

Expanding humanitarian spaces

Within the international humanitarian, development, and peacebuilding domain, *humanitarian space* is an evolving concept with different understandings depending on who or what is put at the centre of the different definitions. Policy analysts Collinson and Elhawary have

outlined four definitions of humanitarian space: (1) (humanitarian) agency space, (2) affected community space, (3) international humanitarian law, and (4) a complex political, military, and legal arena (2012, 1). From a linguistic point of view, *humanitarian space* has spatial connotations but is primarily understood as a legal concept (Potvin 2019), as exhibited by the four definitions above. However, there are exceptions, exemplified by Robert Mardini, Director-General of the International Committee of the Red Cross, who stated that 'Humanitarian space is tangible: it is a prison, a hospital, a water network, a camp. But it is also normative: it is rooted in international humanitarian law and principles and aims to have effective and sustainable impact'.[4] This view is supported by humanitarianism studies scholar Hilhorst and anthropologist Jansen, who wrote: 'Like any type of space, humanitarian space has physical and metaphorical dimensions' (2010, 1117). They further explain that humanitarian space is an arena where a multitude of factors, including humanitarians and the disaster-affected recipients of aid, shape the everyday realities of humanitarian action. In studying humanitarian spaces as arenas, Hilhorst and Jansen have argued that humanitarian situations are not blank slates to be occupied by lone agencies but are shaped by social negotiations over inclusion and exclusion (1133); furthermore, the dynamics of aid should focus on the manner in which actors engage with and respond to their surroundings (1137).

The theory by Collinson and Elhawary can expand our understanding of what a humanitarian space is. Hilhorst and Jansen's humanitarian spaces approach goes further by focusing on the local dimension of aid and explains humanitarian spaces as physical places in existing environments. I argue that when activated for emergency use, predesignated reception structures or collective centres—explained in UN guidelines as one kind of domestic contingency planning—is a type of humanitarian space. These spaces, however, have a physical presence in existing communities, and the spatial output of emergency preparedness can encourage wellbeing and place-making in both emergency and non-emergency situations (Breivik-Khan and Hemmersam 2024). Thus, in this article I refer to humanitarian space as designated localised places spatially suitable for protection needs regardless of migration status and designed to accommodate other functions in non-crisis situations. Selecting prospective humanitarian spaces with these qualities, is therefore a central part of this research.

[4] Statement by Robert Mardini in a UN Security Council Briefing: 'Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict: Preserving Humanitarian Space' on 16 July 2021. https://www.icrc.org/en/document/humanitarian-space-must-be-protected-without-exception. Entry date 10 June 2025.

Reception in the humanitarian space

Guidance literature produced largely by and for international displacement management actors apply the terms *shelter* and *camp* broadly, and the global recommendations encompass all types of communal settlements, including planned camps, collective centres, self-settled camps, and reception and transit centres (CCCM 2010: 5). *Shelter* in humanitarian space is linked to various degrees of permanence and thus also to materiality. The question of the materials used for reception structures is relevant for host communities because it indicates duration of use. The types of construction materials are therefore often a central and concrete aspect of negotiations between international displacement management actors and national, local, or private counterparts when obtaining permission to use sites for emergency reception.[5] The question of shelter, in all its facets, accentuates the complicated relationship between time and space in displacement management. However, the materiality of shelter also illustrates the linear approach of time-limited response phases in global displacement management, as incrementally more durable materials are implemented as the phases replace one another along with the responsible agencies of emergency response, early recovery, and reconstruction (de Meritens et al. 2016).

The advice against urban collective centres

Collective centres, according to the UN, are '[…] pre-existing buildings and structures where large groups of displaced people find shelter for a short time while durable solutions are pursued' (UNHCR 2022).[6] Predesignated collective shelters are also included as reception solutions in contingency plans of countries prone to natural disasters, such as cyclone, hurricane, storm, and flood shelters (CCCM Cluster 2010). In contexts with internally displaced persons (IDPs), the approach of the United Nations Migration Agency (IOM) and UNHCR is as follows: 'It is extremely important that the closure of a Collective Centre is considered from the time of the Collective Centre set-up throughout its lifecycle. The way in which a Collective Centre is closed will have a significant impact on the future of its former residents' (p. 117). Similarly, the *Sphere Handbook*, another prominent document in displacement management, states that: '[…] a systematic consideration of the post-crisis context is the

[5] For example, the discussions concerning transitional shelter construction materials as part of the response to the Haiti 2010 earthquake that displaced 2.1 million people (Cazabat and Tucci 2019, 2). The object for discussion was a concrete platform and whether the foundation was considered too permanent (IASC 2010).

[6] https://emergency.unhcr.org/emergency-assistance/shelter-camp-and-settlement/transit-and-collective-centers/collective-centre-rehabilitation: Entry date 13 July 2023.

first step in planning options for shelter and settlement assistance' (2018, 242).

Further, the CCCM cluster states that 'Although the displaced population may prefer to live together as a community, Collective Centres are considered a last resort' (2010, 6). Some generalisations based on rather extreme situations exclude other more common conditions and therefore do not provide guidance on how to approach such outliers. One such example is this: 'Collective Centres are often located in lowly populated, marginalized or derelict areas where potential hazards may include toxic waste, such as contamination from heavy metals, waste oil or even nuclear waste' (2010, 46). Another piece of general advice is a warning about urban settings creating an unwanted pull factor toward the Collective Centre (2010, 56). According to these types of documents, urban collective living solutions are to be avoided, and reception begins with the end in sight.

Exceptionalism and the paradox of planning

What a humanitarian space is—or could be, if based on non-exceptionalism—can also be seen in relation to architect Hilary Sample's conceptualisation of emergency urbanism, which includes, she argues, spaces that are 'pre-programmed for change during times of traumas, [and] have the option of returning to a pre-trauma state or remaining in the new changed condition' (2005, 47). The tension between alternating from emergency to normality on the one hand and emergencies becoming the new normal on the other hand has been conceptualized in different ways in theory. Geographer David Alexander wrote:

> *There is a curious paradox about disasters. On the one hand they are extraordinary events that require special organization and resources to tackle the damage, causalities and disruption they cause, and on the other hand they are sufficiently frequent and similar to each other to be normal, not abnormal events. (2002, ix)*

The practise of serial mono-functionality described in the previous section about collective centre solutions and the paradox described by Alexander above can both be placed in the dichotomy of classical and resilience humanitarianism—a discourse advanced by the aforementioned Hilhorst (2018). Whereas classical humanitarianism is rooted in the notion of exceptionalism, resilience humanitarianism starts from the idea of crisis as the new normality and foregrounds building on local response capabilities, according to Hilhorst (2018, 1). Classical humanitarianism, according to Hilhorst, outlines a strict separation between crisis and normality. The exceptionalism of crises is a major organising principle, and the backbone of many of the properties of aid, including its short-cycle funding modalities and expensive operating procedures (2018, 1).

Further to the global division outlined by Hilhorst, there are also internal discrepancies between the policies and the practises of displacement management organisations. 'There is no Future in Humanitarianism' is the title of an article by human geographer Brun, who highlights the different spatio-temporal notions of the future between humanitarian policies and among humanitarian workers (2016, 393). Through interviews with humanitarian workers, Brun reveals that there is a tension in what the humanitarian organisations and workers want to do and what they can do because of mandates and policy frameworks. Brun wrote, in relation to shelter solutions for Syrian refugees in Jordan,

> *They [humanitarian workers] wanted to build permanent structures, to make durable changes that would benefit both the host community and refugees by increasing the housing stock in the country. However, they ended up with a small renovation project that helped the refugees short term, perhaps for a year. (2016, 404)*

Brun also argues that because humanitarian practitioners are moving from crisis to crisis, primarily within rural, camp-based settings, bringing with them entirely different experiences than when deployed to urban contexts (398). Thus, individual experiences and skills of staff in these organisations are not always appropriate for the contexts to which they are deployed, and the discrepancies between policy and practise goes both ways: sometimes new knowledge produced at the policy level does not reach the field.

Exceptionalism can be found in modern contingency planning approaches and in Romania, which I outline in the section that follows: 'Present-day Romania as the convergence point of national and international contingencies'. Contemporary contingency planning is largely distinct from urban planning, but the two domains intersect in critical ways (Breivik-Khan and Hemmersam 2024). The interaction between long-term spatial planning and short-term humanitarian responses has been theorised by urbanist Mrudhula Koshy and colleagues. They wrote that 'Spatial planning conventionally operates with the aim to reduce uncertainty, which creates a paradoxical relationship between planning and uncertainty. However, humanitarian agencies tend to focus on short-term uncertainties and have limited capacity to plan for long-term uncertainties' (Koshy et al. 2022). Koshy et al. have outlined what they refer to as a *contextualised contingency planning approach* intended to bridge the temporal gaps between

emergency response and long-term spatial planning due to increasing frequency and severity of environmental crises caused by climate change. While I do not apply this specific approach to this study, the theory advanced by Koshy and colleagues describes a similar convergence of the types of actors and opportunities as in Romania and outlined in the section that follows.

Present-day Romania as the convergence point of national and international contingencies

Two months after the Russian invasion of Ukraine on 24 February 2022, more than 774,000 Ukrainian refugees had arrived in Romania—an unparalleled number compared to the 4000 asylum-seekers the country was already hosting (UNHCR 2022). As the war unfolded, the UN and INGOs increased their capacities and presences in Romania and deployed displacement management experts from other missions and different sectors. One of these expert functions, the site planner, is used by the international humanitarian community to refer to expert personnel with backgrounds in the built environment sector, in the broadest sense. Within emergency response contexts, a site planner's role is to identify and coordinate all physical interventions needed to create safe living conditions for displaced populations (Breivik and Selmer-Olsen 2015).

NORCAP, the Norwegian Refugee Council's global provider of expertise to the humanitarian, development, and peace-building sectors, supports international organisations and national actors with specialised personnel—including site planning experts. The agencies receiving NORCAP experts are primarily international and regional organisations, but increasingly the organisation is also providing direct support to national governments. Under this arrangement I was deployed by NORCAP to the Department of Emergency Situations (DSU) within the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Romania in June 2022, with the following scope: 'Advise on approaches to contingency planning for increased reception capacity in Moldova[7] and Romania.' Thus, the mission was conceptually and organisationally situated between the two domains of international humanitarian response and national governance.

The implications of the Russia–Ukraine war in Romania

What follows is a time-specific overview of the humanitarian situation in Romania, limited to the duration of my deployment, which spanned the summer months of 2022. Further, this account is based on what was presented to me by colleagues at the Ministry of Internal Affairs' Department for Emergency Situations (DSU) upon my arrival in Romania and summarised by myself in a report titled 'Contingency Planning—Approaches to Increased Reception Capacity in Romania 2022.' The report also includes my recommendations concerning immediate and long-term reception, and I will henceforth refer to this as the *Contingency Planning report*. The report, however, is not externally published; thus, this article does not reveal sensitive or confidential information.

The DSU started planning for the scenario of a high influx of Ukrainian refugees in February 2022. Transit sites in Romania's 41 counties were established. A priority scheme was introduced and visualised in maps, based on the anticipated numbers of refugees, with corresponding preparedness measures, starting in the north along the Ukrainian border and working towards the Moldovan border in the east. A dynamic system of mobile camps was established by the DSU with the support of the Romanian General Inspectorate for Emergency Situations (IGSU). A mobile camp is a set of prepositioned equipment that can be installed as part of the infrastructure required for transit sites, e.g., generators, kitchen equipment, buses, containers, fire trucks, and lighting.

Additionally, the emergency accommodation capacity per county was identified by local authorities. Identifying places suitable for habitation with minimal upgrades, such as hotels and similar buildings, was a priority. The second tier of emergency accommodation included stadiums, theatres, schools, and similar buildings, and were included because they already had basic infrastructure in place, such as water and sanitation. In these types of sites, refugees were generally accommodated in tents or large open rooms. The maximum length of stay in these sites was meant to be 72 h. In addition, a coordinated framework for offering and receiving private accommodation had also been established, which was complemented by the online platform dopomoha.ro for registering both hosts and tenants.

The second part of the Contingency Planning report was intended to build on the *Action Plan* developed by the Romanian Humanitarian Assistance Strategic Coordination Group. The Coordination Group was placed at the level of the prime minister's chancellery and was established to ensure that a strategic framework of humanitarian response would be established and to facilitate inter-agency cooperation among national and international partners. Six sectoral working groups contributed to a three-year National Action Plan.

Measure 11 in the housing sector's Action Plan became a central point for the recommendations in the contingency planning report and presented a critical point for rethinking the contributions from humanitarian partners. The measure reads as follows (unofficial translation

[7] The deployment scope was to have a roving position between the two countries. In this article, however, I only include the Romanian part of my mission.

from Romanian by the Chancellery): '*Measure 11:* Rehabilitation and/or renovation of unused buildings in which displaced persons from Ukraine benefiting from temporary protection in Romania can be accommodated' (Action Plan 2022). In the Contingency Planning report, I outlined that the involvement of the DSU was also needed in this process, despite its mandate being limited to the '72 first hours'. The argument for this was that the first phase response would dependon the planning of the second phase—as well as to secure better resource utilisation and external emergency funding through UN agencies and other humanitarian partners that could be used to upgrade the urban building stock of Romania.

The challenges of these types of interactions, however, pertain to mandates and the expertise of involved organisations—and how their representatives interpret both these aspects. UNHCR, as one example, has used measured language to describe their contributions to the built environment aspect of displacement management in Romania. The agency stated the following on their Romania country-specific website: 'UNHCR is not involved in the accommodation of refugees' [in Romania] (UNHCR 2022). The agency is, however, a partner in the contingency planning process of Romanian authorities and contributes plans for emergency accommodation; this was summarised in the end-of-year report for 2022, which stated that they had 'jointly with the Department of Emergency Situation (DSU) assessed 62 sites located in 10 counties to ensure timely accommodation and basic services in case of a sudden mass influx'.[8] However, there are examples of UN agencies contributing project funding and implementation as per Measure 11 of the National Action Plan. While public information of the project details is sparse, the IOM reported in their 'Ukraine Response 12 Months Report' that the agency had supported the rehabilitation of accommodation and shelter sites (IOM 2023). Another example is the Habitat for Humanity Romania-led rehabilitation of an unused office building in Bucharest called The Edmond Centre, which in the short to medium term will accommodate refugees from Ukraine and in the long term will accommodate vulnerable families from Bucharest (UNHCR 2023).

[8] In personal email correspondence with UNHCR site planning staff in April 2023, documents describing contingency planning and site assessment and corresponding layouts were still classified as confidential and could thus not be provided. However, on social media platforms UNHCR staff has shared—without providing any further details—that site selection, site planning, and site layout design for temporary transit accommodation and design for collective accommodation had been carried out and informally reviewed by an external international architecture firm. During a visit to the UNHCR office in Bucharest with the In Transit students in August 2022, plans developed for gymnasiums and football fields were presented.

Contingency planning for internal mass displacement in Romania

Romania, a member of the EU and a NATO country, is not the typical location for which guidelines of global displacement management were developed. Romania's contingency planning, like that of many other European countries, is domestic-oriented, scenario-focused, and outlines anticipated outcomes of specific threats to society (IGSU 2016). Earthquake risk is high on the national contingency planning agenda and in the media, yet a significant number of the population do not feel prepared for earthquakes (IGSU 2016; Armaș et al. 2017). Bucharest is situated in an earthquake-prone area located about 140 km from the most seismically active area of the country, Vrancea (Armaș et al. 2017; Merciu et al. 2018), which makes Bucharest the capital in Europe with the highest seismic risk and one of the ten most vulnerable cities in the world (Armaș et al. 2017; The World Bank 2015).

A comprehensive study with analyses of potential threats to Romania can be found in a report published in 2016 by the Ministry of Internal Affairs' General Inspectorate for Emergency Situations (IGSU). The report categorises hazards probable to occur on Romanian territory and stated that 75% of the population and 45% of vital networks are exposed to moderate and high earthquake risk, and the possibility and likelihood of a major earthquake in 30–40 years is a statistical reality. The report outlines that emergency situations management institutions are responsible not only for upgrading existing facilities and renovating buildings with high seismic risks but also for promoting a national programme for building houses for the temporary relocation of people (2016, 74–77). However, the report does not present a strategy for emergency reception in the event of internal mass displacement. Similarly, scholarly articles addressing issues concerning national earthquake preparedness and response emphasise operational preparedness and ideal locations for emergency functions (Merciu et al. 2018, 2015; Armaș et al. 2020) but do not outline or refer to mass reception solutions.

Contemporary contingency planning in Romania can be seen in connection with Romania's urbanism history and current building mass conditions. Urban planning scholar Suditu and colleagues point to poor housing management during Romania's communist period and the lack of significant subsequent modifications to the housing built by the state between 1950 and 1989 and the current poor building conditions (2020, 8). The current vulnerability of the country's building stock can also be attributed to a feeling of fear and the sense of helplessness among the country's citizens (Suditu et al. 2020). As physical geographer Armaș pointed out in a study of the

psychology of earthquake risk perception in Bucharest, many are worried about an imminent earthquake, but few feel prepared (2017). Homeowners feel overwhelmed by the situation and do not know how to consolidate their buildings. Many owners live abroad, and many, including local authorities, do not engage in upgrading initiatives (Suditu et al. 2020). These factors contributed to a World Bank report of 2015 concluding that 'Romania's housing is among the most crowded, dilapidated, expensive, and poorly-located of any country in Europe, and exposes a large number of people to high seismic risk'. A structurally vulnerable building stock would be considered one of the multi-hazard threats to Bucharest outlined by engineer scholars Georgescu and colleagues who wrote: "The current urban planning [of Bucharest]—and even Civil Protection approaches, that relies only on the enforcement of laws and codes—proved to be less efficient [than a comprehensive view about emerging urban risks], since the community stakeholders do not participate in the risk reduction processes" (2017, 17). Thus, collective solutions to internal displacement also lacks from a local community perspective in Bucharest.

Investigating non-exceptional humanitarian spaces through design

In this section I explore the ways in which the two emergency reception domains of, on the one hand, hosting new arrivals and, on the other, planning for internal displacement can spatially and qualitatively overlap and accommodate both timeframes of *here and now* and *before and after* by reflecting on the condition of Romania and by contextualising the research and the design projects produced collectively as the In Transit Studio at the Oslo School of Architecture and Design.

Expanding site selection criteria for emergency reception

As outlined earlier, in displacement management contexts the responsibility of a site planner often extends to identifying potential locations and sites suitable for emergency reception facilities such as camps and collective centres. The change of my role from site planner to teacher allowed for a broader approach to expand site selection criteria as part of the academic semester assignment for the In Transit Studio students. This included a process of searching for sites, analysing the sites through urbanism mapping methods, and proposing a strategy for using these sites as places for developing design projects with architecture, landscape architecture, and urban design components to constitute 'a Collective Centre [in Bucharest] that combines spaces and functions for both new arrivals and the host community and accommodates different uses at different times' (In Transit Studio 2022).[9] Thus, the imagined three-dimensional design proposals developed by the In Transit Studio following the mapping and site selection phase would further highlight the possibilities and limitations of the chosen sites in terms of emergency reception capacity in crisis situations, as well as available programmes for the community in daily life.

Contrary to the warning against collective centre reception in urban settings found in the UN collective centre guidelines, we specifically asked our local built environment counterparts to propose urban sites, since urban displacement research from this point of view has been underexplored. Thus, a long list of potential sites was compiled based on suggestions from Romanian partner organisations with architecture and urbanism competencies. From this list, thirteen sites were selected and categorised as follows: disused industrial sites with transformation potentials, Historical heritage buildings with transformation potentials, and Wildcard sites, some also controversial. Very few of the suggested sites could be quickly converted into reception facilities, even with minor renovations. Some were derelict and a few were even structurally hazardous. Also, our local partners did not shy away from proposing politically charged sites associated with conflicts between two or more parties. Thus, we labelled a few of these sites 'controversial', which was indeed also recognised by our partners from the outset.[10]Additionally, the Filaret bus station, situated in the border of sectors 4 and 5 of Bucharest, was added to the list of sites by three of the students after conducting research on region-wide transportation infrastructure. The Filaret bus station is part of a larger industrial site in transformation, and at the time of our visit in August 2022, it was the main arrival point for Ukrainian refugees travelling by bus (Figs. 1, 2, 3).

The In Transit Studio students designed 'a Collective Centre that combines spaces and functions for both new arrivals and the host community'. The main component of the design proposal was to transform an existing structure. This focus on transformation was chosen for two reasons. First, despite the common practice of temporarily appropriating existing buildings for collective centres in global displacement management, guidance on material and spatial upgrades is limited to spatial organisation primarily based on vulnerability criteria and general protection principles. Thus, we explored these aspects through design from an architecture and urbanism point of view, which included a stronger focus on liveability and urban wellbeing (Shirazi and Keivani 2020). Second, the adaptation of existing structures aligns with current

[9] Wording taken from the semester thesis assignment of the In Transit Studio Fall 2022 semester at the Oslo School of Architecture and Design, partly published online. https://intransit.aho.no/updates/dignified-reception.

[10] Paul-Antoine Lucas was the other responsible teacher of the studio in the Fall 2022 semester.



Fig. 1 Two of the suggested sites for emergency reception, as proposed by Romanian partner organisations with architecture and urbanism competencies, August 2022. Photos: Breivik-Khan 2022

discourses in architecture and urbanism of minimising building obsolescence by inciting new functions through design (Hölscher and Frantzeskaki 2021; Franck 2016; Iselin and Lemer 1993), which is increasingly motivated by and presented as both climate adaption and a measure for reducing greenhouse gas emissions (Shahi et al. 2020; Plevoets and van Cleempoel 2019). These spatial and programmatic adaptation processes have many interchangeable names, such as transformation, retrofitting, and rehabilitation (Fig. 4).

At the urban scale, these transformation processes are often conceptualised under the framework of *transitional urbanism*, defined as "a collective urban activation strategy that optimises the use of un-used [sic] or under-utilised land and buildings in cities to address a social, environmental or economic need to achieve a common end goal' (ARUP 2020). Within the humanitarian sector, however, the focus of the so-called 'green shift' remains largely on measurable aspects such as renewable energy solutions, sustainable materials, and the management of land, natural resources, procurement, transportation, and logistics.[11] While these initiatives prioritise quantifiable environmental and operational improvements, they largely overlook strategies for the adaptive reuse and transformation of existing structures in urban settings—an area that remains underexplored in both practice and academic research. In response to this gap, students were tasked with investigating how such transformations could be imaginatively and practically pursued.

Design projects promoting non-exceptionalism

Measure 11 in the Action Plan of the Romanian Humanitarian Assistance Strategic Coordination Group is aligned with sustainability principles. Thus, Measure 11 can be seen as an apparent, pragmatic, but ultimately progressive idea proposed by Romanian authorities. However, combating the earthquake risk may require sustainable spatial strategies in combination with resource-intensive construction techniques (De Castro Mazarro et al. 2023). Measure 11 can also be seen in relation to the concept of contingency urbanism, which highlight placemaking opportunities for the local community through emergency reception structures (Breivk-Khan and Hemmersam 2024). Contingency urbanism promotes parallel and evolving co-use that can grow within a network of contingency-based architecture and urban public spaces scaled for neighbourhoods (ibid.). This concept encompasses both material and social durability. With Measure 11 as the main premise for the In Transit Studio students, social and material durability became guiding principles for designing hybrid emergency and daily life collective centres.

The students were given the task to explore a variety of needs and uses that can be cared for by design in complex situations as in the Bucharest case. This is an explorative form of architectural programming, in which identifying needs and uses are a central part of

[11] Tree reports that thematically constitute the green shift project of NORCAP can be accessed here: https://www.nrc.no/expert-deployment/2016/2022/welcome-to-our-green-shift-reports-launch/. Entry date 10 June 2025.

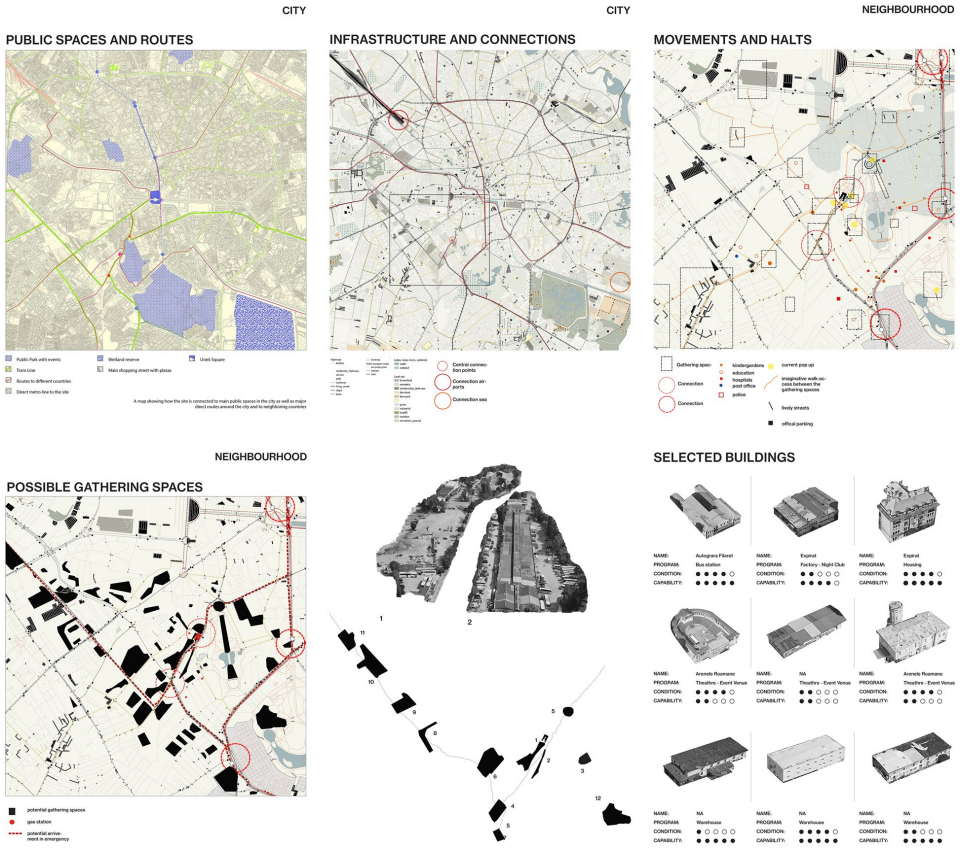


Fig. 2 This compilation of qualitative and quantitative on-site registrations was conducted and visualized by In Transit Studio students Daniel Clearwater, Maria Charlotte Thonet, and Stanisław Daniel Rudzki as part of the 2022 mapping exercise to identify suitable locations for emergency reception in Bucharest. These illustrations constituted one part of the studio's collective Urban Analysis of Bucharest. The documentation and interpretation of local social infrastructure, spatial and material conditions, and flows of people, including movement of Ukrainian refugees, created the foundation for the design project "The Burete: Flows and Forces at Autogara Filaret," authored by Rudzki later in the same academic semester, also featured in this article. The visualizations above illustrate how data on cross-border and regional human movement can be paired with on-site conditions, in order to capture relevant information on daily life and emergency needs, followed by suggested spatial and programmatic interventions that benefit both host community residents and new arrivals. The illustrations further point out potential gathering points for both emergencies and daily life, with imagined and improved mobility and connections. The mapping conducted by the three students also included a detailed overview with on-site buildings and other structures with transformations potentials for combining contingency and urban planning Illustrations: Clearwater, Rudzki and Thonet / In Transit Studio 2022

the design task. This approach can be summarized as a "research and decision-making process that defines the problem to be solved by design" (Chantzaras 2019, 4). Thus, all studio projects addressed the challenge of mono-functional displacement management, with one function displacing another (Breivk-Khan and Hemmersam 2024) and presented instead a set of dual daily life and emergency plans for the buildings they redesigned, accompanied with explanations of the spatial transitions between these two conditions. Most projects imagined groups with fluctuating accommodation needs: primarily local students and displaced persons. However, to maintain social durability, many projects imagined students having a constant presence on the



Fig. 3 Map of the city of Bucharest with the locations of nine the In Transit Studio projects. Despite UN guidelines cautioning against urban locations for collective centres, the teachers, Lucas, and I sought urban sites to address an underexplored area of displacement research. Thirteen sites were selected from a long list provided by Romanian partners, categorised into disused industrial sites, historical heritage buildings, and wildcard (sometimes controversial) sites. Many locations were unsuitable for quick conversion due to dereliction or structural issues. Some politically sensitive sites were hesitantly included, and one additional site—the Filaret bus station—was later added following student research. Nevertheless, creative explorations of site possibilities were primarily conducted as a contribution to expanding the site selection criteria for neighbourhood-anchored emergency reception, not as a direct contribution to the ongoing humanitarian response. To further explore the potentials of the selected sites, an overlapping and continuous phase then led to the project proposals titles listed above—as nine different interpretations of the semester brief, which was to "design a multi-performing structure—a Collective Centre—in one (or more) of the sites identified during the Mapping: Urban Profiling Analysis phase. […] Your proposal should spatially and programmatically negotiate […]functions for both new arrivals and the host community, accommodate different uses at different times and show how this works in practice, and incorporate solutions to prepare for earthquakes and heatwaves." The text segment is taken from the studio brief of the In Transit Spring Fall 2022 Studio at AHO. Illustration: Stanisław Daniel Rudzki 2025

site, with new arrivals coming and leaving as needed. This flexible co-use was based on careful and specific site and building redesigns with personal spaces that expand and shrink as needed but with generous common spaces to be used in both emergency and non-emergency situations (Fig. 5).

Beyond designing for adaptive use in emergency and non-emergency contexts, students also engaged with wider questions of environmental sustainability and



Fig. 4 One of the suggested sites for emergency reception: The infamous government building, the so-called House of the Republic, for which three historic districts of the city were destroyed and 40,000 people were uprooted from 1977–1989. The building itself, labelled 'one of the world's worst eyesores' with a 'Communist Rococo' interior, currently hosts the two chambers of the Romanian Parliament as well as the National Museum of Contemporary Art and yet the building still has vast amounts of unprogrammed and available space (Hasnas 2023; The Telegraph 2013; Vais 2018, Cottrell 2014, Karasz 2015). While part of the objective of the In Transit Studio semester brief was to challenge the separation of international and national contingency planning, the perception of making use of this politically charged site with its evocative history was deemed too extreme by the group and did not align with the guiding characteristic requested in the semester brief: *dignified*. Photo: Breivik-Khan 2022

urban resilience within their proposals. While material durability was primarily explored through building-specific redesigns that included earthquake retrofitting, many projects addressed overall urban challenges relating to climate change. Some proposed reclaiming former industrial areas and turning them into public and green spaces. Ground surface permeability and landscapes were redesigned to mitigate flooding and combat the urban heat island effect, which is when urban areas experience higher temperatures than surrounding non-urban areas; it is considered a critical factor contributing to global warming, heat related mortalities, and unpredictable climatic changes (Deilami et al. 2018) (Fig. 6).

The empirical findings of the In Transit Studio study of Bucharest can be summarised in two points—they may appear paradoxical, however. The first is that the knowledge gaps we addressed are underexplored from material, spatial, and physical points of view. The site-specific conditions investigated through design highlight potentials that could not have been revealed without three-dimensional explorations and visualisations. While site-specific, the studio collectively showcased these potentials and arrived at a decentralised city-wide model for emergency reception that comprised seven project proposals geographically spread out in the city of Bucharest.

The second point is that fieldwork within the framework of an academic course presents different opportunities for stakeholder engagement. Compared with the urbanism mapping practice—which also includes representations of non-visual features of the built



Fig. 5 Site visit to a collective centre for Ukrainian refugees at the premises of the Technical University of Civil Engineering Bucharest (UTCB), August 2022. The UTCB Collective Center was run by UTCB students. The centre was centrally located close to the university and commercial offers and featured an architecture that allowed social interactions. As with most collective centres occupying existing buildings, however, the dormitory will close at some point and be re-appropriated as a student dormitory. This places the project in a mono-functional displacement management tradition, alternating between time-limited functions rather than as a place for parallel and evolving co-use that can grow within a network of contingency-based architecture and urban public spaces scaled for neighbourhoods (Breivik-Khan and Hemmersam 2024). Photos: Breivik-Khan 2022

environment—the operational displacement management literature does not describe how to identify or treat qualitative aspects of site analyses (Breivik-Khan 2022). Stakeholder engagement played a crucial role in the site selection process in Bucharest and allowed for project designs with spatial interventions that were not limited by guidelines based on exceptionalism. It also highlights the importance of displacement management actors engaging with an expanded network of built environment and urbanism experts in similar contexts and consider displacement situations as *non-exceptional*—if the aim is to align international and domestic priorities (Fig. 7).

Findings and critical reflections

Building on a theoretical expansion of the humanitarian space concept and showcasing proposed site-specific design projects for Bucharest, I refer to humanitarian space as designated localised places spatially suitable for protection needs regardless of migration status and designed to accommodate other functions in non-crisis situations. Non-exceptional humanitarian spaces can therefore acknowledge not only the new normal of recurring crises but also the need for spaces of material and spatial qualities that promote, to the extent possible, a sense of normalcy in displacement situations for displaced persons and host community residents alike.

The resilience paradigm in humanitarianism, according to Hilhorst, is based on selective understandings and reduces the multiplicity of social reality to a singular discourse (2018, 10). Yet, Hilhorst points out that resilience humanitarianism has contributed to a breakthrough of the binary between exception and normality in the humanitarian universe (2018, 9). The paradigm shift from classical to resilience humanitarianism,

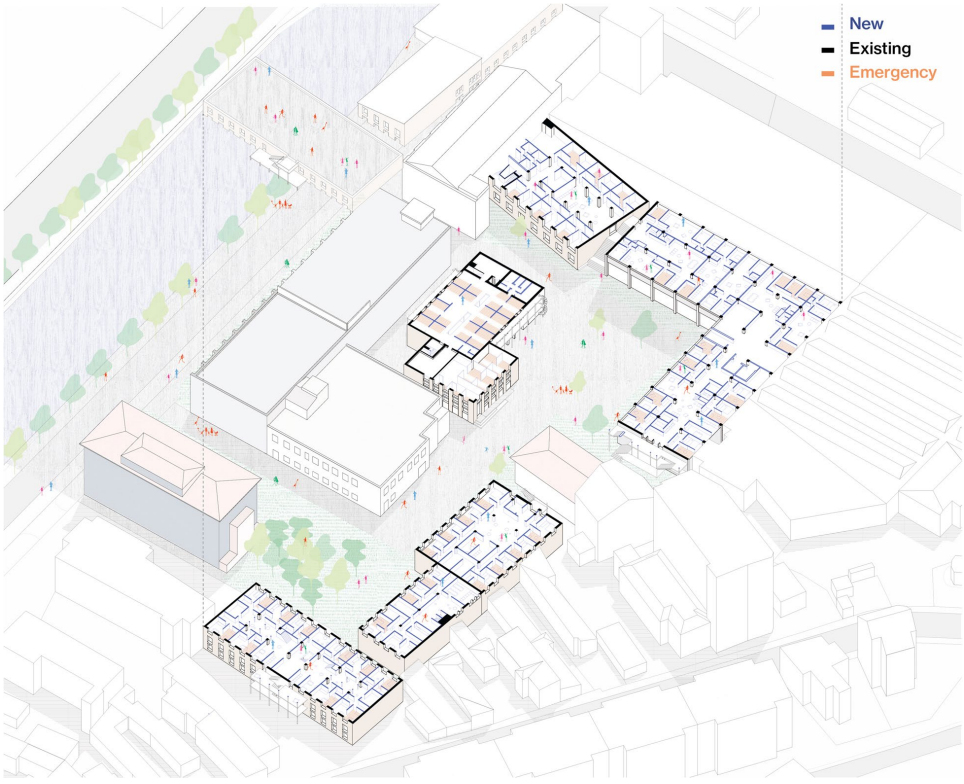


Fig. 6 Illustrations from the In Transit Studio project *Cartier Bumbacului* authored by Shona Beattie, Laura Pauwels Duretz, and Alice Taillandier, who in this project explored the relationship between a place and its mobile residents. Pictured is a visualisation of a redesigned complex and the spatial relations between the two conditions of daily life and emergencies. In this proposal, the cluster of buildings and the courtyard at their centre create secluded yet accessible neighbourhood spaces. Ground floor community uses are proposed along with apartments, student housing and artist's residences on upper floors to create a variety of occupations which can both add to the everyday life of the site and adapt in different ways for short-term and long-term emergency solutions. Through the combination of these scenarios the project caters to the local neighbourhood alongside a community of displaced people, envisioning ways in which both can contribute to the liveliness of the site regardless of the current situation. Illustration: Beattie, Duretz and Alice Taillandier / In Transit Studio 2022

however, is difficult to detect in the guidance literature on the built interventions of displacement management.

The parameters for selecting a site for emergency reception are thoroughly presented in reflective-operational displacement documents, which guide considerations of size, ideal site characteristics and conditions, geology, topography, the availability of resources, safety and security issues, coexistence with the surrounding communities, and cultural and social considerations (CCCM 2015). However, while host community relations are frequently included as important aspects to consider when choosing a site, such relations are most often framed as important preventive measures to avoid conflicts between new arrivals and hosts (CCCM 2010). Thus, opportunities for the host community, while recognized in policy and critical theory, is not reflected in reflective-operational documents that provides guidance on site selection and built interventions.

Furthermore, prevalent throughout these sources are the "before and after" approach of the exceptionalism of the event itself. In these types of documents, emergency reception begins with the end in sight. Because these guidelines emphasize the closure of emergency reception, purpose-built, multi-performing structures that can also



Fig. 7 Illustrations from the In Transit Studio project *The Burete. Flows and Forces at Autogara Filaret* authored by Stanisław Daniel Rudzki. The Filaret bus station is part of a larger industrial site in transformation, and at the time of our visit in August 2022, it was the main arrival point for Ukrainian refugees travelling by bus. The project proposed a complex reception system that can be activated in case of emergency and scaled up or down due to shifting needs through a distribution system based on the former railway tracks. Some of the architecture, urban design, and landscape structures would remain in the host community between and after disasters. Pictured to the left is a proposed on-site logistics hub with workshops for building and assembling structures for accommodation and social functions. To the right is the main arrival hall, with functions for emergency situations and for daily regional bus departures and arrivals. Illustration: Stanisław Daniel Rudzki / In Transit Studio, 2022.

be used for everyday activities and designed and built to also withstand cycles of extreme use—and thus increase local resilience—are not included in global displacement management policy and practice.

The "leave-no-traces" approach as a planning principle of the closure of emergency reception sites, further means that adaptive reuse and transformation of existing structures in urban settings is not explored in the built environment part of displacement management. In response to this gap, the In Transit Studio students were tasked with investigating how such transformations could be imaginatively and practically pursued. The contributions from the In Transit Studio show how site selection criteria in global displacement management policy must be expanded to also include host community aspects to a greater extent than currently practiced. Site selection, however, is linked to design capabilities, and these are interlinked. The change of roles from site planner to teacher and researcher allowed for a broader approach to expand site selection criteria that also emphasize spatial qualities beyond minimum technical requirement for physical safety of displaced populations but also investigate local conditions and incorporate these in localized contingency plans in different. In this article, central parts of Bucharest were used to highlight these opportunities. Furthermore, I argue that qualitative aspects of site analyses need to be incorporated when selecting sites for emergency reception that aligns international mandates and local conditions. I further argue that

such approaches need to be included in international policy and guidance on emergency reception solutions, aligned with the need for cyclical uses included in the resilience humanitarianism concept. In the Romanian context, the structural qualities of the housing stock and the high risk of earthquakes call attention to the urgent need for identifying and preparing emergency reception. The ongoing humanitarian response to the Ukraine conflict presents an opportunity for implementing sustainable reception solutions aligned with national strategies and building local resilience.

Further, because humanitarian practitioners are moving from crisis to crisis, primarily between rural, camp-based settings, they bring with them entirely different experiences than when deployed to urban contexts (Brun 2016). The missed interactions between international and national governance mandates can in part be seen in relation to exceptionalism attitudes, but they might also occur because global displacement management agencies are concerned that aid becomes more politicised and aligned with national security objectives (Collinson and Elhawary 2012). This, however, is challenged and I cite Potvin as a note of caution for furthering this divide:

> *Belief and rejection of this myth have segmented humanitarian scholarship in two camps: the hagiographies of humanitarian institutions and the praises of their heroic work on the one hand; the virulent critiques portraying aid as either desperately naïve or diabolically self-interested on the other. For the past twenty years, humanitarian scholarship has been somewhat stuck in this false dichotomy, between the pure and impure, or the Samaritans and the cynics. (2019, 31)*

The concept of non-exceptional humanitarian spaces, as a way of challenging mono-functional and one-time event-based contingency planning separated by national and international governance entities, can be linked to Potvin's point about the limitations of single-view perspectives. Thus, the concept, as presented in this article, suggests new ways of fostering collaboration between disparate international and national governance entities and levels; nevertheless, systemic change is required for this to be successful.

Conclusion

This article has explored how international displacement management actors might contribute to upgrading Romania's existing building stock by aligning interventions with the Romanian government's long-term strategies—specifically, the rehabilitation of disused buildings to accommodate refugees from Ukraine. However, prevailing global displacement management frameworks, rooted in a paradigm of temporality and exceptionality, continue to constrain the potential for durable and integrated architectural responses within host communities. Current guidance documents offer limited scope for spatial or material upgrades and largely disregard the possibility of emergency reception facilities serving multifunctional or everyday purposes.

I have presented alternative approaches to how the architecture of emergency reception facilities can be built on the notions of non-exceptionalism and I have used these explorations to expand the concept of humanitarian space to also include internal displacement in domestic contingency planning. Drawing on the concept of *non-exceptional humanitarian spaces*, this article advances an argument for rethinking the architecture of displacement. Rather than conceiving emergencies as isolated and exceptional, the proposed approach embeds displacement-related interventions into the continuity of everyday life. This reframing underscores the need to consider material durability, spatial quality, and the potential for long-term, cyclical use within displacement responses—an orientation that aligns more closely with the humanitarian sector's broader commitments to environmental sustainability and resilience.

In this article I have outlined a potential for international displacement management actors to upgrade Romania's building stock by adhering to Romanian authorities' long-term strategy for hosting Ukrainian refugees in rehabilitated buildings. However, current policies of global displacement management and the corresponding temporality of built reception structures promote limited engagement with long-term plans for the built environment of host communities receiving new arrivals. I explore ways of designing and building reception facilities based on non-exceptionalism approaches to expand the concept of humanitarian space. I argue that instead of thinking of any emergency as an exceptional situation, the built interventions for displacement management should rather be included as part of everyday life.

With theory on resilience humanitarianism and humanitarian space that challenge exceptional approaches to displacement management, and through document analysis and site-specific design proposals for Bucharest, I have illustrated how humanitarian spaces can be reconceptualized as versatile, localized areas that meet protection needs irrespective of migration status, and that can also accommodate other functions during non-crises. The design work presented by the *In Transit Studio* demonstrates the critical need to expand site

selection criteria beyond minimum technical requirements to also account for host community needs, urban integration, and long-term usability. The concept of non-exceptional humanitarian spaces thus offers a speculative but actionable framework for fostering systemic change. For such transformations to occur, closer alignment between international mandates and national priorities is essential. More broadly, the article calls for a recalibration of displacement management policies to accommodate the realities of protracted crises and to recognize architecture's capacity to mediate between the temporary and the permanent, the exceptional and the everyday.

Acknowledgements
The article is written as part of the author's doctoral dissertation research at the Oslo School of Architecture and Design (AHO). The author declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper. The author has obtained rights to publish images included in the article.

Author contributions
I am the sole and corresponding author.

Funding
No external funding was received. The funding is implicitly provided by The Oslo School of Architecture and Design (AHO) as part of my PhD fellowship (institution not listed in the scroll-down menu on the online submission platform).

Availability of data and materials
The manuscript has no associated data.

Declarations

Competing interests
There are no competing interests.

Received: 16 November 2023 Accepted: 24 May 2025
Published online: 20 June 2025

References

Alexander D (2002) From civil defence to civil protection—and back again. Disaster Prevent Manag Int J 11(3):209–213. https://doi.org/10.1108/09653560210435803

Alexander D (2016) How to write an emergency plan. Dunedin, Edinburgh

Armaş I, Cretu RZ, Ionescu R (2017) Self-efficacy, stress, and locus of control: the psychology of earthquake risk perception in Bucharest, Romania. International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction 22:71–76. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijdrr.2017.02.018

Armaş I, Toma-Danilă D, Popovici D, Mocanu R (2020) Identifying optimal locations for mobile first aid facilities in bucharest, accounting for seismic risk. Geopatterns 5:7–14. https://doi.org/10.5719/GeoP.5/1

ARUP (2020) Meanwhile use London: a research report for the Greater London Authority. November 2020. https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/meanwhile_use_for_london_final_draft_-_rev_jan2022_lr.pdf

Breivik H, Selmer-Olsen T. Safe space Part 1 pre-camp set UP." The Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC)/NORCAP; 2015. http://shelterprojects.org/other/siteplanning/site-planning-references/Breivik%20and%20Selmer-Olsen%202015%20Safe%20Space.pdf.

Breivik-Khan H (2022) The concept of place in displacement management. Nordic J Architect Res 34(1):119–145

Breivik-Khan H, Hemmersam P (2024) The mountain hall and the smart club: the architecture of emergency reception in Norwegian Cities. Wellbeing Space Soc 6:100189. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wss.2024.100189

Brun C (2016) There is no future in humanitarianism: emergency, temporality and protracted displacement. Hist Anthropol 27(4):393–410. https://doi.org/10.1080/02757206.2016.1207637

Cazabat C, Tucci M (2019) Unveiling the cost of internal displacement. In: O'Keeffe R (ed) The ripple effect: Economic impacts of internal displacement. The Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, Geneva, Switzerland. https://www.internal-displacement.org/sites/default/files/publications/documents/201902-economic-impact-cost-estimates.pdf

CCCM Cluster (2010) Collective centre guidelines. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and International Organization for Migration. https://cccmcluster.org/sites/default/files/2018-10/doc18990-contenido.pdf

CCCM Cluster. CAMP management toolkit 2015; 2015. Geneva: CCCM Cluster; 2015. https://cccmcluster.org/sites/default/files/2018-10/CMT_2015_Portfolio_compressed.pdf.

Chantzaras C (2019) Architecture as a system and innovation design discipline. FormAkademisk Forskningstidsskrift for Design Og Designdidaktikk. https://doi.org/10.7577/formakademisk.3077

Collective Centre Guidelines. United Nations high commissioner for refugees and International Organization for Migration; 2010. https://cccmcluster.org/sites/default/files/2018-10/doc18990-contenido.pdf.

Collison S, Elhawary S. Humanitarian space: a review of trends and issues. HPG Report/Overseas Development Institute 32. London: Overseas Development Institute; 2012.

Constantinescu IP, Voiculescu IM (2019) Shrinking cities in Romania Grundlagen (Berlin, Germany), vol 93–94. București: DOM publishers; MNAC, Berlin

Cottrell R. Anca Petrescu: 'The World's Worst Architect'? *BBC*; 2014. https://www.bbc.com/culture/article/20131106-the-worlds-worst-architect.

de Boer J, Muggah R, Patel R. Conceptualizing city fragility and resilience. United Nations University Centre for Policy Research Working Paper 5; 2016. https://cpr.unu.edu/research/projects/conceptualizing-city-fragility-and-resilience.html.

De Castro Mazarro A, Kaliaden RG, Wende W, Egermann M (2023) Beyond urban ecomodernism: how can degrowth-aligned spatial practices enhance urban sustainability transformations. Urban Stud. https://doi.org/10.1177/00420980221148107

De Meritens JR, White JL, Davies A, Kefford S, Handley S (2016) Guidance note on inter-cluster early recovery. The Global Cluster for Early Recovery (GCER), Geneva. https://reliefweb.int/attachments/c24cf81d-e847-3b1f-a2df-4059ab670206/Guidance%20Note%20-010816.pdf

Deilami K, Kamruzzaman M, Liu Y (2018) Urban heat island effect: a systematic review of spatio-temporal factors, data, methods, and mitigation measures. Int J Appl Earth Obs Geoinf 67:30–42. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jag.2017.12.009

Direktoratet for samfunnssikkerhet og beredskap (DSB). Analyser av krisescenarioer 2019. Direktoratet for samfunnssikkerhet og beredskap (DSB); 2019.

Eisenhardt KM, Graebner ME (2007) Theory building from cases: opportunities and challenges. Acad Manag J 50(1):25–32

Franck KA (2016) Designing with time in mind. In: Franck KA (ed) Architecture timed: designing with time in mind. John Wiley & Sons, London

Geirbo HC (2017) Crafting connections—practices of infrastructuring. An ethnographic study of developing a village electricity grid in Bangladesh. University of Oslo UiO

Georgescu ES, Gociman CO, Craifaleanu IG, Florescu T, Moscu C, Georgescu MS, Dragomir CS. Urban heritage value and seismic vulnerability mapping: challenges for engineering and architectural assessments. Case study of a protected area in Bucharest, Romania; 2014. https://doi.org/10.13140/2.1.2359.9045

Georgescu ES, Gociman CO, Craifaleanu IG, Georgescu MS, Moscu CI, Dragomir CS, Dobre D (2016) Evaluation of risks and vulnerabilities under multihazard threats in a protected area of Bucharest Romania. Constructii 17(12):17–24

Hasnas D (2023) What was the big deal with this neighborhood anyway? In: Acum U (ed) Ștefan Ghenciulescu. Editura Universitară Ion Mincu, Bucharest. https://doi.org/10.54508/9786066382120

Hemmersam P, Chopra D, Dar A, Breivik-Khan H, Olsen TS, Ip M, Lappi TR et al (2022) Displacement and placemaking in design studios. Architecture_mps. https://doi.org/10.14324/111.444.amps.2022v21i1.004
Hilhorst D (2018) Classical humanitarianism and resilience humanitarianism: making sense of two brands of humanitarian action. J Int Human Action 3(1):15. https://doi.org/10.1186/s41018-018-0043-6
Hilhorst D, Jansen BJ (2010) Humanitarian space as arena: a perspective on the everyday politics of aid: humanitarian space as arena. Dev Chang 41(6):1117–1139. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7660.2010.01673.x
Hölscher K, Frantzeskaki N (2021) Perspectives on urban transformation research: transformations in, of, and by cities. Urban Transf 3(1):2. https://doi.org/10.1186/s42854-021-00019-z
The Housing Recovery and Reconstruction Platform (HRRP) (2018) Temporary shelter research report. The Housing Recovery and Reconstruction Platform (HRRP). https://www.preventionweb.net/files/63483_temporaryshelterresearchreporthrrpf.pdf
IASC (2010) The Inter-Agency Standing Committee Shelter Cluster Haiti transitional shelter technical guidance 19/02/10. Guidelines. Port-au-Prince, Haiti. https://example.com/100421_Haiti_Shelter_TechnicalGuidance_REVISED.pdf
IGSU. Country Report 5.1 Conditionality Romania. Romanian general inspectorate for emergency situations (IGSU); 2016. https://www.igsu.ro/Resources/COJ/RapoarteStudii/Raport_Final_de_tara%20pt%20Condit%20ex-ante%202016.pdf.
International Organization for Migration (IOM) (2023) IOM Romania Ukraine response 12 month report. February 2023. https://romania.iom.int/sites/g/files/tmzbdl1556/files/press_release/file/2023-02/IOM%20Romania_12%20Month%20Report_Ukraine%20Response_0.pdf
Iselin DG, Lemer AC (1993) Fourth dimension in building: strategies for avoiding obsolescence. National Academies Press, Washington, D. C. https://doi.org/10.17226/2124
Karasz P. In Bucharest, an open door to art in a dictator's palace. New York Times; 2015. https://www.nytimes.com/2015/06/18/arts/international/in-bucharest-an-open-door-to-art-in-a-dictators-palace.html.
Koshy M, Aranya R, Refstie H (2022) Handling compounded uncertainty in spatial planning and humanitarian action in unexpected floods in Wayanad, Kerala: towards a contextualised contingency planning approach. Plan Theory Pract 23(5):703–723. https://doi.org/10.1080/14649357.2022.2143548
McGinity R, Salokangas M (2014) Introduction: 'embedded research' as an approach into academia for emerging researchers. Manag Educ 28(1):3–5. https://doi.org/10.1177/0892020613508863
McNeill D, St Clair A (2009) Global poverty, ethics and human rights: the role of multilateral organisations. Rethinking Globalizations 19. Routledge, London New York. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203881309
Merciu C, Ianos I, Merciu G-L, Jones R, Pomeroy G (2018) Mapping accessibility for earthquake hazard response in the historic urban centre of Bucharest. Nat Hazard 18(7):2011–2026. https://doi.org/10.5194/nhess-18-2011-2018
Mosse D (2005) Cultivating development: an ethnography of aid policy and practice. Anthropology, culture, and society. Pluto Press
Mosse D (2013) The anthropology of international development. Annu Rev Anthropol 42:227–246
Nightingale A (2009) Triangulation. International Encyclopedia of Human Geography. Elsevier, pp 489–492. https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-008044910-4.00552-6
Plevoets B, Van Cleempoel K (2019) Adaptive reuse of the built heritage: concepts and cases of an emerging discipline, 1st edn. Routledge, New York. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315161440
Potvin MF. Humanitarian Urbanism: Cities, Technology, and the Hybrid Practices of Humanitarian Planners. PhD diss., Harvard University; 2019. http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:HUL.InstRepos:42013101.
Shahi S, Esfahani ME, Bachmann C, Haas C (2020) A definition framework for building adaptation projects. Sustain Cities Soc 63:102345. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.scs.2020.102345
Shirazi MR, Keivani R (2020) Urban social sustainability: theory, policy and practice. Routledge
Sphere Project (2018) The sphere handbook: humanitarian charter and minimum standards in humanitarian response, 4th edn. Sphere Association, Geneva
Suditu B (2020) The shadow of the 'great earthquake' on a sustainable bucharest shared responsibilities and disaster risk management. Human Geogr J Stud Res Human Geogr 14(1):5–20. https://doi.org/10.5719/hgeo.2020.141.1
The Telegraph. Anca Petrescu. The Telegraph; 2013. https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/10421302/Anca-Petrescu.html.
The World Bank. Towards a National Housing Strategy regional development program 2|harmonizing public investments component 4: final report (1). The World Bank; 2015. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Ashna_Mathema/publication/326741409_Housing_in_Romania-Towards_a_National_Housing_Strategy/links/5b61c0ab0f7e9bc79a73ba88/Housing-in-Romania-Towards-a-National-Housing-Strategy.pdf.
Toma-Danila D, Marmureanu A, Tiganescu A, Ionescu C, Armas I, Grecu B, Cioflan C, Neagoe C. Real-time solutions for an improved rapid response to earthquakes in Romania; 2022. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/363406400_Real-time_solutions_for_an_improved_rapid_response_to_earthquakes_in_Romania
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Ukraine situation regional refugee response plan March to December 2022. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees; 2022. https://www.unhcr.org/by/wp-content/uploads/sites/8/2022/10/Ukraine-situation-RRP-plan-and-flash-appeal-March-December-2022_1.pdf
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Inter-Agency Operational Update Romania. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR); 2023. file:///C:/Users/Owner/Downloads/Ukraine%20Situation%20Inter-Agency%20Romania%20Update%20February%202023.pdf.
Vais D (2018) The (in)Famous anca petrescu: authorship and authority in Romanian communist architecture, 1977–1989. In: Pepchinski M, Simon M (eds) Ideological equals: women architects in socialist Europe 1945–1989. Routledge, London, pp 139–154
Vais D (2022) Systematization: a key term in 20th-century romanian urbanism. Urban Plan. https://doi.org/10.17645/up.v7i1.4791
Ward V, Tooman T, Reid B, Davies H, Marshall M (2021) Embedding researchers into organisations: a study of the features of embedded research initiatives. Evid Policy 17(4):593–614. https://doi.org/10.1332/174426421X16165177580453

Publisher's Note

Springer Nature remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Chapter Five:
Critical reflections and conclusion

In this chapter, I present my findings and explain how the key conceptualizations from the three articles, *place in displacement*, *contingency urbanism*, and *non-exceptional humanitarian spaces*, build on one another and together constitute a way of re-actualizing the relationship between architecture and urbanism with displacement management and contingency planning. My point of departure was to investigate the concept of place because of the increasing use of the term in international displacement management and the different meanings of the term attributed by different actors, and whether increased use also led to any re-actualization of the relationship between architecture and urbanism with displacement management and contingency planning. The concepts of contingency urbanism and non-exceptional humanitarian spaces emerged after my investigations of place, and after studying the spatial overlaps between international displacement and domestic contingency planning during the Cold War, the 2015 refugee situation in Europe, the COVID-19 pandemic, and the war in Ukraine.

In this chapter, I discuss and reflect on the main questions of my thesis: What are the spatial intersections between international and local governance practices in contingency planning and displacement management? How can these intersections contribute to creating conceptual frameworks for evolving understandings of displacement? And how can these frameworks be used in policies for spatially integrated emergency and daily uses? In the first section that follows, I present findings from each of the three articles. I then summarize my key findings and critically reflect on their significance. I then discuss why my research is relevant, and how the three main implications of my findings target *theory*, *policy*, and *practice* and summarize these reflections in three separate sections. Following this, I outline the limitations of my research to highlight what my findings cannot tell us. I end with concluding remarks and reiterate and further elaborate on points relating to avenues for further research.

FINDINGS FROM THE THREE ARTICLES

In the first article, I examined how place, placemaking, and other place-related terms are understood in theory and applied to policy and practice of displacement management and urban planning. Place is generally understood as location in displacement management policy. In the practical application of these policies, geographic delimitation is used as a convenient concept for determining interventions in displacement management operations and later in recovery and reconstruction. Tools meant to (re-)educate practitioners by applying place thinking limited to location can, however, contribute to an assumed, instead of a shared understanding of the concepts and methods that this type of literature advocates. This happens not only due to the inter-changeable and cursory usage of terms and concepts that are most often not accompanied by further explanations, but also in part because of the wide-spread use of these terms in everyday speech (Cresswell, 2015).

Non-sedentarist conceptualizations of place offer new perspectives on place attachment, but also on displacement. Such conceptualizations are asserted by scholars associated with the mobilities paradigm (Di Masso et al. 2019; Urry 2007/2012), yet scarcely featured in the operational displacement manage-ment literature. Examining place attachment through the lens of a fixity-flow framework, as introduced by Di Masso et al., (2019) suggests that place attachments are informed across time and place by a wide specter of mobility conditions, and that the new mobilities paradigm can also be useful in under-standing the evolving concept of displacement.

The "top-down driven bottom-up" process that assigns the displaced person the role of designer, builder, and user of spatial interventions, downplays the need for design expertise in displacement management. Placemaking in crisis contexts is commonly understood as creating or upgrading public spaces with residents as active participants. While presented as a way of promoting social cohesion, place thinking, through placemaking, also reflect a de-profession-

alization of spatial design expertise in displacement management. The view of displacement management actors of placemaking as bottom-up initiatives to be carried out by displaced populations themselves, corresponds with a general view by scholars, primarily in the fields of social sciences, but also in the humanities. Architects, on the other hand, have a strong belief in architecture and urban design as instruments in the creation of place (Hvattum 2009). Placemaking can be used to "fix problems" through spatial and programmatic improvements in neighborhoods with high numbers of settled or recently arrived migrants. This also includes, as outlined in the second article, displacement as gentrification-induced out-pricing of residents in poor urban neighborhoods due to place- or area-based integrated urban renewal programs that have become part of urban planning in many cities (Elliott-Cooper et al. 2020). Spatial interventions in these contexts may also be perceived as ineffective governance, constructed as visible and tangible measures instead of tackling social challenges with other means, such as education and employment opportunities (Breivik-Khan et al. (eds.) 2021, 56).

Maintaining an uninterrupted place-relation for some may exclude placemaking opportunities for others. The geographic delimitation that follows the physical framing of a place requires boundaries that distinguish between an inside and an outside (Massey 1994). This also extends to the spatiality of asylum regimes. Understanding displacement as a disruption in the relationship between people and place (Elliott-Cooper et al. 2020) followed by actions preventing this from happening, can also contribute to othering processes (Stierl 2020; Simonsen and Skjulhaug 2019). Peripheral locations of reception or asylum centers are instigated to avoid interrupting nearby host community members' daily lives or their "sense of place".

Mono-functional displacement management is not spatially attuned to complex emergencies. The confluence of Ukrainian refugees arriving in 2022 and the COVID-19 pandemic, illustrates how the spatial layout of the Smart Club interior is not suitable for handling two ongoing crises in parallel. The use of the Mountain Hall in Kirkenes as emergency reception is an example of a disruptive mono-functionalism approach. It is an example of Cold War double-use programming: it functions as a central everyday social space for the local community in peaceful times but is also commissioned and designed for emergencies. The mountain hall accommodates both quotidian life and extreme events, yet at different times in cycles of alternating uses. The abrupt oscillation between uses and the sudden arrival of displaced people results in disruption through a secondary form of displacement, where host community inhabitants are prevented from accessing one of their everyday places.

Emergency reception for cross-border displacement is now centered around preventing disruptions between people and places in host communities, whereas emergency reception meant for domestic use in the event of a large-scale emergency would lead to the opposite. There is, however, limited guidance and established practice regarding the location and spatial qualities of emergency architecture in contemporary domestic contingency planning, where planners, architects, and designers are involved to a minimal extent. The two conceptualizations expose the historical dynamics of emergency architecture and point to a new concept of *contingency urbanism*, a framework that can contribute to more fine-tuned alterations between daily and emergency uses. Furthermore, it outlines the relationship between the spatial policies of placemaking and the reception policies of displacement management.

Having identified and studied exceptional urbanism frameworks in the second article, I arrived at the concept of *Non-exceptional Humanitarian Space* in my third article after responding to global displacement management critique (Brun 2016; Collinson and Elhawary 2012; Hilhorst 2018; Hilhorst and Jansen 2010, Potvin 2019) primarily from the fields of human geography, architecture, and urbanism but also from theory on contingency planning (Alexander 2002, 2016; Koshy et al. 2022). The potential for overlaps between spatial and programmatic emergency reception domains, separated by international and national governance mandates, is also underexplored. In my third article, I reveal how current policies of global displacement management and the corresponding temporality of built reception structures promote limited engagement with long-term plans for the built environment of host communities receiving new arrivals. Furthermore, exceptionalism—thinking of any emergency as exceptional—maintains a perpetual improvisation of emergency reception architecture despite increasing needs for a multitude of displacement situations due to conflict, natural hazards, and climate change.

In my third article, I further outline the potential for international displacement management actors to upgrade Romania's building stock by adhering to Romanian authorities' long-term strategy for hosting Ukrainian refugees in rehabilitated buildings. My research, however, shows that global displacement management guidance documents ignore the potential for spatial and material upgrades to host community structures. Furthermore, displacement management deprioritizes the material and spatial durability of emergency architecture, which implicitly reduces the ability to follow up on the "green shift" ambition within the humanitarian sector. This approach persists because displacement management guidance literature still features time-limited and mono-functional emergency structures that reflect exceptionalism.

I use the findings of the three articles to outline and suggest a paradigm shift in displacement management and contingency planning. *Place thinking* shifts focus from the isolated shelter to creating livable spaces that foster community and social cohesion. It underscores the importance of spatial expertise in the design process while recognizing the value of community participation. *Contingency Urbanism* promotes flexible, multi-use reception structures that integrate emergency and everyday uses, thus enhancing community resilience and reducing disruption to daily life. It calls for a collaborative approach between architecture, contingency planning, and urban planning. The everyday life aspect is taken further in the concept of *Non-exceptional Humanitarian Spaces*, which bridge the emergency-normalcy dichotomy due to the increasing need for emergency reception in the face of changing displacement needs. This concept aligns with the principles of place thinking and contingency urbanism by emphasizing the continuous, overlapping needs of displaced persons and host communities.

The three conceptualizations presented above constitute a central part of spatial mediation—the strengthening of the architecture–displacement management nexus—a mediation between cultural worlds (Scott-Smith 2017). When I refer to the mediation of place and time, I point not only to the potential of places to host different functions at different times and the coordination between international and local entities needed to achieve this but also to architectural typologies that provide emergency–daily life transitions for new arrivals and their hosts. Thus, the mediation I suggest points towards pronounced goals—such as livability and inclusion—in the spatial practice of displacement management and contingency planning. These goals—along with the expertise and processes that they require—are not neutral. Yet, neither is mediation. As stated in the UN Guidance for Effective Mediation: "Impartiality is not synonymous with neutrality, as a mediator, especially a United Nations mediator, is typically mandated to uphold certain universal principles and values and may need to make them explicitly known to the parties" (United Nations 2012, 10).

During the last century, pioneering spatial interventions were developed to meet specific societal challenges related to diseases and war, resulting in a new international architectural (life-) style, *functionalism.* In this era, architectural qualities were indeed thought to be part of the solution. Lacaton (in Harboe 2012) suggests that the extraordinary aspect of architecture concerns wellbeing, pleasure, and the functions and organization of spaces without compromising on quality or aesthetic pleasure. A similar argument is promoted by Sample (2012), who argues that planning must address issues of

emergency more as a norm than an exception. Sample argues that this is not a loss of formal, cultural or aesthetic project, but rather the opposite, and that architecture could and should absorb these contemporary performance issues. Furthermore, as I elaborated on in chapter four, the idea of the In Transit Studio came into existence when I was part of the humanitarian response in the Balkans in 2015—surrounded by the remnants of grandiose architectural and urban ambitions of United Nations-led post-earthquake reconstruction projects in the 1960s, which provided a contrast to the lack of architectural ambition of the international emergency response of which I was a part. Contrary to modernism—with all its flaws—there is a marked lack of ambition in current reception or other displacement management architecture.

KEY FINDINGS

I present below my key findings as four main points. These should be considered a comprehensive synthesis of the research across the three articles and the discussions presented in the exegesis. They point to knowledge contributions and are outlined below:

1. The focus on shelter as the converging point between the domains of displacement management and contingency planning, and architecture and urbanism, explains some of the shortsightedness of the shelter and settlement sector, which currently under-prioritizes social and material sustainability.

My research reveals that overly functionalist approaches to shelter and emergency reception often fail to adequately account for the long-term effects that short-term structures have on host communities. As a result, both social and material aspects of sustainability tend to be overlooked. I also found that guidance within the global displacement management field frequently misses opportunities to integrate emergency reception into the existing urban fabric. The prevailing emphasis on time-limited, mono-functional solutions reinforces a cycle of improvisation, rather than encouraging sustainable approaches that are meaningfully embedded within communities.

2. The 'top-down driven bottom-up' process of placemaking downplays the need for design expertise in displacement management.

Placemaking in crisis contexts is often presented as a participatory process that empowers displaced populations to shape their own environments. While this approach can be commended for the efforts made to foreground the perspectives of those most acutely impacted by the decision-making process, my research highlights how this approach de-professionalizes spatial design expertise. Displacement management actors encourage placemaking as bottom-up activities to be carried out by displaced communities themselves. While community participation is essential, this approach downplays the role and competences of architects, landscape architects, and urban planners in shaping livable, functional, and inclusive spaces. Moreover, placemaking initiatives are often framed as tools for social cohesion, yet they can also contribute to displacement processes, such as gentrification-induced outpricing. The assumption that spatial interventions can 'fix' social challenges ignores the broader structural issues at play, such as lack of access to education and employment. I argue that a more balanced approach is needed—one that values both participatory processes and professional spatial expertise.

3. Driven by the shift from single event-driven displacement to multi-cause displacement, current spatial practices do not take into consideration the intangible qualities of architecture such as dignity and the opportunity for normalcy.

Displacement is no longer a singular, exceptional event—it is an ongoing, dynamic condition shaped by mobility, attachment, and evolving spatial relationships. My research refers to the concept of spatial mediation, which recognizes the need for architectural and urban design strategies that bridge the gap between emergencies and daily life. This mediation is not just about providing shelter; it is about designing spaces that support transitions, continuity, and a sense of belonging for both displaced persons and host communities.

Non-Exceptional Humanitarian Spaces emerge as a framework that challenges the emergency-normalcy dichotomy, advocating reception structures that are durable, adaptable, and embedded within the urban environment. The concept of non-exceptionalism that I introduce in my thesis is not meant to downplay the spatially extraordinary aspects of architecture. On the contrary, I point out that as displacement events become increasingly frequent, our built environments should minimize aesthetically substandard interventions

that often are the results of current practice. Including permanence, the longevity of built structures, offers a change in how to design emergency architecture. Given the shift from single event-driven displacement to multi-cause displacement, including conflict-, climate-induced migration and pandemics, there is a need for new parameters for emergency reception site selection.

4. The single-purpose architecture responding to exceptional events fail when confronted with simultaneous challenges.

My findings demonstrate that viewing emergencies as exceptional events often results in architectural solutions that are ill-equipped to handle overlapping or prolonged crises. Structures designed with a singular emergency function in mind fail, and can even exacerbate vulnerabilities, when confronted with multiple, simultaneous challenges.

By contrast, approaches influenced by contingency planning offer more adaptable solutions. Multi-functional spaces that serve everyday community needs but can be repurposed during emergencies represent one such strategy. However, this kind of flexibility is not without complications. Sudden shifts in use can displace regular community activities, creating tension and a sense of exclusion. Moreover, these spaces rarely facilitate genuine inclusion or integration for those seeking refuge.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THEORY

My research considers the particular knowledge of professionals in displacement management to revise and expand architectural urban theory. Building on my findings, I suggest different approaches to explore transitional emergency and daily life places as a contribution to architecture and urbanism theory. First, I suggest that the term *displacement* is adjusted to new time frames and places because of the shifting nature of emergencies caused by climate change and pandemics. Being displaced—in the meaning of a disruption between people and places (Elliott-Cooper et al. 2020)—also extends to sheltering in place, which means to remain at home or at a workplace during an emergency and be protected there, as exemplified by the COVID-19 pandemic beginning in 2020. The pandemic has highlighted that displacement can also involve movement restrictions.

The theory from the fields of the humanities and social sciences used for this thesis and written by central scholars in their fields (Augé 1995; Cresswell 2015; Hvattum 2009; Massey 1994; Madanipour 2014; Relph 1976/2008; Seamon and Sowers 2008; Tuan 1977/2011): include displacement and mobility discussions in relation to place (di Masso et al. 2019; Herscher et al. 2017; Herz 2013; Urry 2007/2012); and feature spatiality in conceptualizations by authors from non-design fields (Brun 2016; Brun and Shuayb 2020; Brun and Fabos 2015). With this as my theoretical foundation, I outline three dimensions of place, displacement and mobility as a framework for discussing the concept of *Place in displacement*: (1) *Site as Location as Place* unravels the multitude of perceived understandings of place that may inform a transition from technical site analysis to practices that align with the ambition of place-based approaches to focus on other aspects of the built environment than shelter. The second dimension, (2) *Constructing the Social*, points out that the introduction of place in displacement management theory underlines the need for increased focus on the social dimension of displacement management. The third dimension, (3) *Mobility, Longevity and Permanence* incorporates place-thinking into a discussion of the prevailing notion that built interventions in displacement management should be temporary and mono-functional.

Emergency reception at the intersection of international displacement management and domestic contingency planning is under-theorized. The search for an expanded theoretical framework in the thesis is based on *epidemic urbanism* (Campbell 2005; Chircop 2018; Gandy 2006; Sample 2005), *emergency urbanism* (Sample 2012), and *deadline urbanism* (Dean 2005). These exceptional urbanism frameworks helped formulate three different explanatory conceptualizations of the relationship between displacement management and urban planning: 1) mono-functional displacement management, 2) disruptive multi-functionalism, and 3) contingency urbanism. The first two are explained in the preceding section *Findings from the three articles*. Contingency urbanism provides a framework for understanding the multitude of displacement situations and the potential for spatial overlaps of a variety of localized emergency–normalcy transitions. *Contingency urbanism* considers the spatial elasticity of the built environment and its ability to accommodate both emergency and everyday use when planned for pre-, co- and post-uses for host communities. Such multi-purpose thinking is also vital in avoiding idle capital. Contingency urbanism suggests that livability, in the context of placemaking, should also be included in emergency architecture.

Contingency urbanism outlines that displacement is no longer a condition for the few, but rather for large portions of the world. It also points to the accommodation of *moments of displacement*, daily life occurrences that do not necessarily involve people moving from one place to another, but who are seeking temporary local relief. Thus, research on contingency urbanism contributes theoretical perspectives on the location and the co- and after-uses of emergency architecture.

I arrive at the concept of *Non-exceptional Humanitarian Space* departing from displacement management critique (Brun 2016; Collinson and Elhawary 2012; Hilhorst 2018; Hilhorst and Jansen 2010, Potvin 2019) primarily from the fields of human geography, architecture, and urbanism but also from theory on contingency planning (Alexander 2002, 2016; Koshy et al. 2022). Introducing this concept, I expand on Humanitarian space which is an evolving concept with different understandings depending on who or what is put at the center of the different definitions 1) (humanitarian) agency space, 2) affected community space, 3) international humanitarian law, and 4) a complex political, military, and legal arena (Collinson and Elhawary 2012).

Dorothea Hilhorst (2018) distinguishes between classical humanitarianism—rooted in the notion of exceptionalism, and resilience humanitarianism—the idea of crisis as the new normal and foregrounds building on local response capabilities (2018). However, I expand Hilhorst's non-exceptionalism concept to encompass the new normal of recurring crises and to highlight the value of daily life provided by the built environment, especially in displacement situations but also how these spaces can transition between peace time and moments of displacement. Furthermore, while the concept of non-exceptional humanitarian spaces points to increased domestic and internal displacement, the same spatial solutions must also include cross-border arrivals. Spatially, people deserve the same dignity. Thus, non-exceptional humanitarian space is less concerned about migration and citizen statuses, and holds a stronger transnational focus on emergency reception.

IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY

Place thinking and the focus on the social dimension of built environment interventions is a precursor to how I conceptualize contingency urbanism, which speaks to policies that accommodate mutually integrated contingency and urban planning processes. Central to improved interaction between actors of these domains is the need for new policies and corresponding operational guidance with updated parameters for selecting places that promote wellbeing, for both displaced persons and host community residents. Because of the shifting nature of emergencies due to climate change and pandemics, policies for emergency reception should not be based predominantly on technical engineering parameters but aiming to counter othering processes and spatial exclusion. Due to the uncertainties of contingency planning, it is crucial that policies for emergency architecture recognize the potential value for host communities. Qualitative aspects need to be incorporated when selecting sites for emergency reception that align international mandates and local conditions. I argue that such approaches need to be further explored and included in international policy and guidance on emergency reception solutions, aligned with the need for cyclical uses included in the resilience humanitarianism concept.

The involvement of city planning authorities in local contingency planning should go beyond the securitization of urban public spaces, but include safe spaces, built for short- and long-term displacement needs regardless of migrations status. Thus, urban planning might also approach policies of integration called for by Harwood (2022). The *places of protection* approach without clearly defined spatial requirements, that now for instance constitute emergency reception in Norwegian contingency policy, should be combined with facilitating for other needs in local communities. My research suggests that new policies on emergency reception must be updated to reflect new understandings of displacement. The separate national governance domains that currently manage the reception of new arrivals or internal displacement in the event of an emergency could benefit from ambitions similar to the Humanitarian Development Nexus' goal of better connectivity between humanitarian and development efforts (UNOCHA, 2017) and the Humanitarian-Development Peace Nexus approach of "[…] complementary, aligned and well-coordinated action by all key actors" (IASC 2023, 2). However, I argue that the concept of mediation is a more effective approach than the nexus approach. Nexus refers to linking short-term initiatives with development efforts in a linear timeframe, whereas mediation outlines how these dimensions can interact and co-exist regardless of the displacement management phases defined

by the international humanitarian, development, and peacemaking domains. Mediation is also useful in situations where, politically, it is challenging to move from the short-term solutions of humanitarianism to the long-term ones of development. Thus, the concept of transnationalism within the policy spread frameworks, speaks to better and more contextualized knowledge exchange processes on a policy level.

Reception is based on self-reliance in national contingency policies in Norway. The Oslo Municipality counts on the majority of the city's population to find individual reception solutions in the event of a major crisis. Approximately 30,000 of the city's population will be accommodated in pre-identified schools, sports halls and multi-purpose halls planned for an estimated stay of 3-7 days. Thus, there is a noticeable lack of reception solutions that offer relief for a multitude of crisis situations and population groups and sizes. A change in policy that reflects an evolving understanding of displacement does not necessarily have to be based on a stronger role or increased capacity of governing entities in displacement management. Self-reliance in current contingency planning can be strengthened by targeting collective community solutions. Thus, collective centers should no longer be regarded narrowly as emergency reception solutions but re-interpreted as overlapping with neighborhood resources and daily needs.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE

As I argue in the section above, the design and management of collective centers, as spaces for emergency reception-daily life transitions, must be further explored. For practitioners of architecture, the interest in collective solutions for peacetime, can be spatially explored and adjusted to accommodate emergency situations. I argue that this new spatial practice must incorporate some of the intangible qualities of architecture as a way to create environments that promote well-being, dignity and the opportunity of normalcy. This goes beyond basic shelter provision and acknowledges the deeper, emotional and cultural dimensions of design, including aesthetic considerations. In this context, the observations I accounted for in my key findings, point to the need for a Contingency Urbanism approach—one that encourages the design of flexible, multi-use reception infrastructure capable of responding to a range of crisis scenarios. Instead of treating emergency architecture as temporary and separate from the urban fabric, I argue for integrated solutions that support long-term resilience, adaptability, and social inclusion.

Similarly, international global minimum standards for reception in displacement management can also be explored through site-specific built solutions or architectural projects explained through three-dimensional visualizations that make architectural qualitative aspects evident to stakeholders and decision-makers. Furthermore, places spatially suited for emergency–daily life transitions require three-dimensional design solutions and explorations of new typologies, as explored during the six years of the existence of the In Transit Studio. Identifying and designing places within existing communities that can accommodate emergency reception while promoting placemaking opportunities is a cross-disciplinary challenge but is not possible without design expertise. In this way, architectural interventions can confront current practice and influence future contingency planning.

Spatial designers and planners provide the ability to think spatially, are accustomed to applying long-term perspectives in their work, and are familiar with the rules governing the form and function of urban spaces. On the other hand, displacement management officials offer in-depth knowledge about the day-to-day struggles of new arrivals (Harwood 2022). As one way of building capacity and bridging the reality gap between the domains of architecture and urbanism on the one hand and displacement management and contingency planning on the other, secondment arrangements can be organized with reference to the global displacement management sector's use of pre-identified experts in emergency response. The embedded arrangement is one possible model. Furthermore, education plays a pivotal role in changing practice. Thus, the idea that emergency architecture as a continuous and ongoing process of change is limited to specialized courses in architecture and planning education must be abandoned. Instead, displacement management and conditions should be a premise for all architecture and planning education.

LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

The motivation for undertaking the research presented in this thesis was based on my realization of the missed interactions between the two domains of displacement management and contingency planning, and architecture and urbanism. In Chapter Two, I have emphasized the advantages but also the potential conflicts posed by my alternating roles throughout the doctoral research period. As I wrote in the introduction of this thesis, I recognize that

I adopt a problem-solving approach in my research, which I attribute to my training as an architect, amplified by my professional experience as an aid worker and the demand for immediate and tangible deliverables. Thus, I have taken on the approach of looking for answers in the reflective-operational displacement management guidance documents I have studied. When these were not found, I highlighted this as problematic. I do acknowledge that there are many other sources and ways of obtaining knowledge that are also useful in the practical application of displacement management.

Some of the situations described in the three articles happened before my doctoral fellowship period, and conversations with the many displaced persons, host community members, authority representatives, and colleagues during this time could not be adequately documented. At the time, I was not occupying the researcher's 'hat' that would have guided my documentation differently. As I have accounted for in Chapter Three, I have been mindful of how I describe my encounters with others and how I represent their experiences and viewpoints.

My thesis has limitations bound by geography and circumstance. Due to the particular nature of specific displacement circumstances, as well as time constraints and resource scarcity in displacement contexts, some findings may have limited applicability to other scenarios. This may affect their relevance to certain actors I seek to engage in bridging displacement management and the built environment. I have accepted the reality of these limitations in order to prioritize the value of first-hand insights that allow this research to confront complexities that go beyond desk research. At a theoretical level, however, my findings are significant and have general value. In future cases, the questions I address should be contextualized to the political, economic, social, and cultural conditions of a given situation.

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I have presented three articles covering a wide range of displacement crisis situations: former, protracted, ongoing, and soon approaching. Each article explores different aspects of the three research questions. The primary inquiry concerns the spatial intersections between international and local governance practices in contingency planning and displacement management. I have shown that the interaction between architecture and urbanism, on the one hand, and displacement management and contingency planning, on the other, have historically been approached from different ends: *preparation versus reparation*. As I have demonstrated through case studies,

the planning and design of emergency reception has gradually transitioned from being built on the premise of the duality of war and peace—to accommodating emergencies and daily life transitions. This is in contrast to the current short-term retrofitting approach which characterizes joint humanitarian response and contingency planning.

Mediating the current divide in the architect–humanitarian relationship revolves around a type of emergency architecture less focused on "the shelter" and more aware of other aspects of displacement, including the spatiality of asylum and domestic contingency planning. As exemplified by the case of Romania, the distinctions between conflict and natural hazard–induced displacement and corresponding emergency responses are, in many places, gradually receding. Therefore, updated parameters for the site selection of emergency reception that can accommodate this "new normal" are urgently required.

The concept of place entails the promise of knowledge transfer between displacement managers and designers. Thus, place thinking in displacement management suggests a shift from technical interventions to approaches that exceed basic protection needs; in other words, approaches that facilitate life beyond and between shelters. The concept of contingency urbanism highlights the spatial overlaps of places used for domestic and international displacement, primarily with national and local actors as the main displacement management and contingency planning entities. The concept of non-exceptional humanitarian spaces is conceptually built on the same premise as contingency urbanism but expanded to include situations where mandates and practices of international displacement management meet those of national and local entities. Together, the three concepts cover a broader range of displacement situations.

My findings emerged through qualitative methods. I have used case studies to investigate spatial and institutional overlaps between international and local entities, within the displacement management and contingency planning domain, with data obtained as an observant participant while working as an architect alternating between three professional roles at different times: the site planning expert, the academic researcher, and the educator.

I have in this thesis challenged the mono-functional dimensions of displacement management policy and practice. I have offered a new analytical framework for spatially mediating between emergency reception and daily life environments and institutionally mediating between the governing entities

of these places. I have clarified the concept of place in displacement management and outlined how place can be a useful tool in a multidimensional approach to emergency reception that emphasizes social and environmental concerns. Building on this, I have, through the concept of contingency urbanism, outlined how the spatiality of asylum policies can be re-conceptualized in tandem with domestic contingency planning.

Furthermore, I have demonstrated how placemaking can be integrated in domestic contingency planning and used to develop spatial and programmatic requirements for new arrangements of places of protection that also consider the daily lives of local community members. Further, I have through the concept of non-exceptional humanitarian spaces argued that better interaction between international and localized displacement management regimes can be achieved if practical guidance tools and site selection criteria for emergency reception are also based on host communities' conditions.

This thesis provides an understanding of the added value of non-exceptionalism in crises across and within the two domains of architecture and urbanism on the one hand and displacement management and contingency planning on the other. Non-exceptionalism should be understood not only as a tool to achieve dignity through the built environment but also as a way of rethinking contingency planning. It can be approached from two different angles. First, framing people's daily lives is an essential part of the architecture profession, including in extraordinary contexts. Displaced persons are experiencing the worst moments of their lives. The built environment should not contribute to exclusion, or feeling unsafe, but instead provide relief and wellbeing for displaced and host populations alike. This requires increased attention to the less tangible elements of the built environment, such as well-being, dignity, and normalcy. Second, because of the frequency and severity of climate-induced disasters, contingency planning must include designated localized places spatially suitable for protection needs regardless of migration status but designed to also accommodate other functions in non-crisis situations. The implication of this new reality extends to updating the site selection criteria for a type of emergency architecture that is currently not provided in policy or practice in global displacement management but that could strengthen the links between the mutually important competencies inherent within the two domains and between international and local governance mandates.

FURTHER RESEARCH

Based on the findings in my thesis, several avenues for further research and analysis emerge. I outline five here:

First, future studies could expand the concept of spatial mediation analyzing how different governance levels—international, national, and local—negotiate spatial interventions in displacement settings.

Second, given the shift from single event-driven displacement to multi-cause displacement—further studies could develop new parameters for emergency reception site selection that refine site selection criteria for emergency reception centers. Research could focus on how spatial policies for emergency reception currently function and explore ways to better integrate host communities' conditions into decision-making. Additionally, examining the long-term potential of emergency reception centers to transition into permanent infrastructure could provide valuable insights into creating more sustainable and adaptive displacement responses. Future studies could further develop the concept of spatial mediation by analyzing how different governance levels—international, national, and local—negotiate spatial interventions in displacement settings.

Third, future research investigating the role of placemaking in domestic contingency planning could explore how placemaking strategies can be systematically incorporated into domestic contingency planning, ensuring that emergency reception facilities not only serve displaced persons but also contribute positively to host communities. Additionally, research could investigate how placemaking principles might be adapted to different scales of displacement, from large urban centers to smaller rural communities, ensuring that spatial interventions are contextually relevant.

Fourth, further studies could advance the concept of non-exceptional humanitarian spaces through exploration of the legal, political, and financial implications of shifting from emergency-based to non-exceptional humanitarian spaces within international displacement management. An analysis of how different countries and regions approach non-exceptionalism in humanitarian responses could reveal best practices and potential obstacles in implementing this concept. Additionally, research could investigate the role of architectural and design interventions in creating spaces that maintain flexibility for both emergency and non-emergency functions.

Finally, as climate-induced displacement becomes more frequent, future research could address mass migration to the global north in domestic contingency planning. This would require exploration of how contingency planning frameworks can incorporate climate resilience while balancing both local and international governance mandates, especially in the Global North. A critical area of study could be the role of adaptive reuse and multifunctional emergency reception structures, which can be designed to accommodate climate migrants as well as other displaced populations in a sustainable manner.

Further research could also investigate how climate adaptation strategies in urban planning intersect with displacement management, identifying ways to create integrated approaches that address both environmental and social challenges. This could include examining how cities can proactively plan for climate migration, ensuring that displaced populations are not merely accommodated in emergency shelters but are integrated into broader urban resilience strategies.

* * * * *

I

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 2024

I no longer find it odd that the man in Haiti, who had lost his house, wanted a TV. A TV offers alternative realities. Watching TV is numbing. Its transmission is both ephemeral and continuous. Watching TV feels familiar, and it is normalizing. Whether TVs should be made standard Non-Food Items (NFI) inventory and stockpiled in warehouses next to tarpaulins, blankets, and jerrycans, is perhaps not the most pressing policy issue. Nevertheless, the duty of creating places that offer daily life moments should be included in transnational contingency planning and considered an essential need in all displacement situations.

II

NEW YORK, APRIL 2025

I am finalizing this exegesis in the spring of 2025, at a time when global aid is under severe strain—if not rapidly being dismantled. The right to asylum is increasingly being challenged by many countries, and individuals fleeing persecution—or the fear of it—no longer receive the protections they once did. In light of these developments, existing gaps between people, and between international and national governance entities, now seem even deeper. We are heading towards a new global reality, one in which normalcy is exceptional, but can still be built.

References

Aerts, Jens. 2018. *Shaping Urbanization for Children: A Handbook on Child-Responsive Urban Planning*. New York: UNICEF. https://www.unicef.org/reports/shaping-urbanization-children.

Agier, Michel. *Managing the Undesirables: Refugee Camps and Humanitarian Government*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011.

Agius, Christine. 2022. "6. Social Constructivism." In *Contemporary Security Studies*. Sixth edition. Edited by Alan Collins 73–89. Oxford, United Kingdom New York, NY: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/hepl/9780198862192.003.0006.

Ahrens, Jill, and Russell King, eds. *Onward Migration and Multi-Sited Transnationalism Complex Trajectories, Practices and Ties*. 1st ed. 2023. Cham: Springer Nature, 2023.

Al Jazeera. 2016. "UNHCR, MSF Withdraw from Greece's Refugee 'Hotspots.'" *Al Jazeera*, March 22, 2016. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/3/22/unhcr-msf-withdraw-from-greeces-refugee-hotspots.

Alexander, David. 2002. "From Civil Defence to Civil Protection—and Back Again." *Disaster Prevention and Management: An International Journal* 11, no. 3 (January 1): 209–13. https://doi.org/10.1108/09653560210435803.

Alexander, David. 2016. *How to Write an Emergency Plan*. Edinburgh: Dunedin.

American Institute of Architects (AIA), ed. *The Architect's Handbook of Professional Practice*. Fifteenth edition. Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley, 2014.

Anderson, Jamie, Kai Ruggeri, Koen Steemers, and Felicia Huppert. 2017. "Lively Social Space, Well-Being Activity, and Urban Design: Findings From a Low-Cost Community-Led Public Space Intervention." *Environment and Behavior* 49, no. 6 (July): 685–716. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013916516659108.

Asdal, Kristin, and Hilde Reinertsen. *Doing Document Analysis: A Practice-Oriented Method*. Los Angeles London New Delhi Singapore Washington DC Melbourne: SAGE, 2022.

The Assessment Capacities Project (ACAPS). 2014. *Humanitarian Needs Assessment: The Good Enough Guide*. Rugby, UK: Practical Action Publishing. https://reliefweb.int/attachments/2cc8a53a-e75b-3147-ba93-08d1d29c66e7/h-humanitarian-needs-assessment-the-good-enough-guide.pdf

The Assessment Capacities Project (ACAPS). 2016. "The Balkan Migrant Crisis: An Introduction." January 2016. https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/46801.

Atkinson, Rob, and Karsten Zimmermann. "Area-Based Initiatives – a Facilitator for Participatory Governance?" In *Handbook on Participatory Governance*, edited by Hubert Heinelt. Edward Elgar Publishing, 2018. https://doi.org/10.4337/9781785364358.00019.

Augé, Marc. 2008. *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*. 2nd English language ed. London: Verso.

Beauchemin, Cris. "A Manifesto for Quantitative Multi-Sited Approaches to International Migration." *International Migration Review* 48, no. 4 (December 2014): 921–38. https://doi.org/10.1111/imre.12157.

Breivik, Håvard and Tone Selmer-Olsen, eds. 2016. *In Transit: Architectural Solutions in Emergencies*. Oslo: The Oslo School of Architecture and Design (AHO).

Breivik-Khan, Håvard, Tone Selmer-Olsen, Son Quy Bui, and Paul-Antoine Lucas, eds. 2021. *In Transit Studio: Oslo Files*. Oslo: The Oslo School of Architecture and Design (AHO).

The Brookings Institution. 2010. "IASC Framework on Durable Solutions for Internally Displaced Persons." Policy framework. Washington, D.C: The Brookings Institution – University of Bern Project on Internal Displacement.

Brun, Cathrine. 2016. "There Is No Future in Humanitarianism: Emergency, Temporality and Protracted Displacement." *History and Anthropology* 27, no. 4 (August 7): 393–410. https://doi.org/10.1080/02757206.2016.1207637.

Brun, Cathrine, and Anita Fabos. 2015. "Making Homes in Limbo? A Conceptual Framework." *Refuge* 31, no. 1: 5–18.

Brun, Cathrine, and Maha Shuayb. 2020. "Exceptional and Futureless Humanitarian Education of Syrian Refugees in Lebanon: Prospects for Shifting the Lens." *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees* 36, no. 2 (December 18): 20–30. https://doi.org/10.25071/1920-7336.40717.

Campbell, Margaret. 2005. "What Tuberculosis Did for Modernism: The Influence of a Curative Environment on Modernist Design and Architecture." *Medical History* 49, no. 4 (October 1): 463–88. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0025727300009169.

Causey, Andrew. *Drawn to See: Drawing as an Ethnographic Method*. Ontario, Canada Plymouth, UK New York, USA: University of Toronto Press, 2017.

Cazabat, Christelle, and Marco Tucci / The Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC). 2019. "Unveiling the Cost of Internal Displacement." In *The Ripple Effect: Economic Impacts of Internal Displacement*, edited by Rory O'Keeffe. Geneva, Switzerland: The Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre. chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/https://www.internal-displacement.org/sites/default/files/publications/documents/201902-economic-impact-cost-estimates.pdf.

CCCM Cluster. 2010. *Collective Centre Guidelines*. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and International Organization for Migration. https://cccmcluster.org/sites/default/files/2018-10/doc18990-contenido.pdf.

CCCM Cluster. 2015. *Camp Management Toolkit 2015*. Geneva: CCCM Cluster. https://cccmcluster.org/sites/default/files/2018-10/CMT_2015_Portfolio_compressed.pdf.

Certeau, Michel de, Luce Giard, and Pierre Mayol. 1998. *The Practice of Everyday Life. Volume 2: Living and Cooking*. New rev. and augm. ed. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Chircop, John. 2018. "Quarantine, sanitisation, colonialism and the construction of the 'contagious Arab' in the Mediterranean, 1830s–1900." In *Mediterranean Quarantines, 1750-1914: Space, Identity and Power, Social Histories of Medicine*, edited by John Chircop and Francisco Javier Martinez, 199–231. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Cochrane, Allan, and Kevin Ward. "Researching the Geographies of Policy Mobility: Confronting the Methodological Challenges." *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 44, no. 1 (January 2012): 5–12. https://doi.org/10.1068/a44176.

Clifford, James. *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1988.

Collison, Sarah, and Samir Elhawary. 2012. *Humanitarian Space: A Review of Trends and Issues*. HPG Report/Overseas Development Institute 32. London: Overseas Development Institute.

Cresswell, Tim. 2015. *Place: An Introduction*. 2nd edition. Chichester, West Sussex, UK: J. Wiley & Sons.

Cunha, Dilip da. *The Invention of Rivers: Alexander's Eye and Ganga's Descent*. Penn Studies in Landscape Architecture. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019.

Davies, Catriona. 2011. "Is Macedonia's Capital Being Turned into a Theme Park?" *CNN*, October 10, 2011. https://edition.cnn.com/2011/10/04/world/europe/macedonia-skopje-2014/index.html.

De Castro Mazarro, Alejandro, Ritu George Kaliaden, Wolfgang Wende, and Markus Egermann. 2023. “Beyond Urban Ecomodernism: How Can Degrowth-Aligned Spatial Practices Enhance Urban Sustainability Transformations.” *Urban Studies* (January 31): 004209802211481. https://doi.org/10.1177/00420980221148107.

Dean, Penelope. 2005. “Deadline Urbanism.” *Log*, no. 5: 46–9.

Denzin, Norman K., and Yvonna S. Lincoln, eds. 2018. *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. 5th edition. Los Angeles: Sage.

Di Masso, Andrés, Daniel R. Williams, Christopher M. Raymond, Matthias Buchecker, Barbara Degenhardt, Patrick Devine-Wright, Alice Hertzog, et al. 2019. “Between Fixities and Flows: Navigating Place Attachments in an Increasingly Mobile World.” *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 61 (February): 125–33. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jenvp.2019.01.006.

Ellin, Nan, and Edward J. Blakely, eds. 1997. *Architecture of Fear*. 1st ed. New York: Princeton Architectural Press.

Elliott, Reenie (Karin). 2013. “Contested Spaces: Invisible Architectures”. In *Ordnance: War + Architecture & Space*, edited by Gary A. Boyd and Denis Linehan, 237–51. Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company.

Elliott-Cooper, Adam, Phil Hubbard, and Loretta Lees. 2020. “Moving Beyond Marcuse: Gentrification, Displacement and the Violence of Un-Homing.” *Progress in Human Geography* 44, no. 3 (June): 492–509. https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132519830511.

Ellis, Carolyn, Tony E. Adams, and Arthur P. Bochner. 2010. “Autoethnography: An Overview.” *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 12, no. 1 (November 24). https://doi.org/10.17169/FQS-12.1.1589.

Fandos, Nicholas. “N.Y. Lawmakers Sue to Block Migrants From Floyd Bennett Field.” *The New York Times*, September 19, 2023. https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/19/nyregion/floyd-bennett-migrants-lawsuit.html?smid=url-share.

Fink, Sheri. “Treating Coronavirus in a Central Park ‘Hot Zone.’” *The New York Times*, April 15, 2020. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/15/nyregion/coronavirus-central-park-hospital-tent.html.

Fitzpatrick, Miriam. 2011. “Fieldwork in Public Space Assessment William Holly Whyte and the Street Life Project 1970–1975.” In *Architecture and Field/Work*, edited by Suzanne Ewing, 72–80. New York: Routledge.

Flyvbjerg, Bent. 2006. “Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research.” *Qualitative Inquiry* 12, no. 2 (April): 219–45. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800405284363.

Gandy, Matthew. 2006. “The Bacteriological City and Its Discontents.” *Historical Geography* 34, no. 2006: 14–25.

Gehl, Jan. 2011. *Life between Buildings: Using Public Space*. Washington, DC: Island Press.

Geirbo, Hanne Cecilie. “Crafting Connections—Practices of Infrastructuring. An Ethnographic Study of Developing a Village Electricity Grid in Bangladesh.” University of Oslo (UiO), 2017.

Gillet, Kit. 2015. “How Skopje Became Europe’s New Capital of Kitsch.” *The Guardian*, April 11, 2015. https://www.theguardian.com/travel/2015/apr/11/skopje-macedonia-architecture-2014-project-building.

Global Shelter Cluster (GSC). 2021. “Construction Good Practice Standards 2021: Common Standards for the Responsible Delivery of Construction Projects in Humanitarian Settings.” chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/https://sheltercluster.s3.eu-central-1.amazonaws.com/public/docs/20210515_gsc-construction-good-practices-ver4_final-compressed.pdf.

Global Shelter Cluster (GSC) Urban Settlements Working Group. 2019. *Area-Based Approaches In Urban Settings: Compendium of Case Studies*. Global Shelter Cluster. https://reliefweb.int/report/world/area-based-approaches-urban-settings-compendium-case-studies-may-2019-edition.

Gregory, Steven. “Race and the Infrapolitics of Public Space in the Time of COVID-19: The Case of Harlem, New York.” *American Ethnologist* 49, no. 2 (May 2022): 163–77. https://doi.org/10.1111/amet.13070.

Haag, Matthew. “How New Yorkers Want to Change the Streetscape for Good.” *The New York Times*, December 18, 2020. https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/12/17/

Hajer, Maarten A., and Arnold Reijndorp. 2001. *In Search of New Public Domain: Analysis and Strategy*. Rotterdam: NAi Publishers.

Harboe, Lisbet. 2012. "Social Concerns in Contemporary Architecture: Three European Practices and Their Works." PhD Thesis, Oslo School of Architecture and Design.

Harwood, Stacy Anne. "Welcoming Immigrants: An Agenda for Municipal Planning." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 88, no. 3 (July 3, 2022): 413–28. https://doi.org/10.1080/01944363.2021.1999843.

Haupt, Wolfgang. "Policy Diffusion, Policy Transfer, and Policy Mobilities Revisited: A Call for More Interdisciplinary Approaches in Human Geography." *Geography Compass* 17, no. 5 (May 2023): e12688. https://doi.org/10.1111/gec3.12688.

Hemmersam, Peter, Divya Chopra, Anandini Dar, Håvard Breivik-Khan, Tone Selmer Olsen, Morgan Ip, Tiina-Riitta Lappi, et al. 2022. "Displacement and Placemaking in Design Studios." *Architecture_MPS 21*, no. 1 (April 5). https://doi.org/10.14324/111.444.amps.2022v21i1.004.

Hemmersam, Peter and Morgan Ip. 2021. "Inclusive Oslo? A snapshot of spatial and social conditions of Outer-East Oslo." In *In Transit Studio: Oslo Files*, edited by Breivik-Khan, Håvard, Tone Selmer-Olsen, Son Quy Bui, and Paul-Antoine Lucas, 10-11. Oslo: AHO.

Herdt, Tanja. T*he City and the Architecture of Change: The Work and Radical Visions of Cedric Price*. Zürich: Park Books, 2017.

Hernes, Vilde, Oleksandra Deineko, Marthe Hånda Myhre, Tone Liodden, and Anne Balke Staver. "Ukrainian Refugees – Experiences from the First Phase in Norway." NIBR-rapport 2022:11. Oslo: NORWEGIAN INSTITUTE FOR URBAN AND REGIONAL RESEARCH (NIBR), 2022. https://hdl.handle.net/11250/3029151.

Herscher, Andrew, Nikolaus Hirsch, Markus Miessen, and Omer Fast. *Displacements: Architecture and Refugee*. Critical Spatial Practice 9. Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2017.

Herscher, Andrew. 2010. *Violence Taking Place: The Architecture of the Kosovo Conflict*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

Herscher, Andrew, and Anooradha Iyer Siddiqi. 2017. *Spatial Violence*. Routledge.

Herz, Manuel, and Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule Zürich, eds. 2013. *From Camp to City: Refugee Camps of the Western Sahara*. Zürich: Lars Müller.

Hilhorst, Dorothea. 2018. "Classical Humanitarianism and Resilience Humanitarianism: Making Sense of Two Brands of Humanitarian Action." *Journal of International Humanitarian Action* 3, no. 1 (December): 15. https://doi.org/10.1186/s41018-018-0043-6.

Hilhorst, Dorothea, and Bram J. Jansen. 2010. "Humanitarian Space as Arena: A Perspective on the Everyday Politics of Aid." *Development and Change* 41, no. 6 (November): 1117–39. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7660.2010.01673.x.

Hvattum, Mari. "Stedets tyranni." *Arkitektur N* 04 (2009): 40–51. English title: "The tyranny of place"

Hogan, Gwynne, and Michael Elsen-Rooney. "City Will Send Migrant Families to Flood-Prone, Far-Off Tents." *The City*, October 16, 2023. https://www.thecity.nyc/2023/10/16/migrant-families-floyd-bennett-field-eviction-60-days/.

Iersel, Michiel van. "Masterplan for the City of Skopje." *Failed Architecture* (blog). Accessed November 3, 2023. https://failedarchitecture.com/master-plan-for-the-city-of-skopje-macedonia/.

Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC). "Guidance Note: ADVANCING THE HUMANITARIAN-DEVELOPMENT-PEACE NEXUS APPROACH THROUGH IASC GLOBAL CLUSTERS." Guidance note, December 2023. https://interagencystandingcommittee.org/sites/default/files/2023-12/IASC%20Guidance%20Note%2C%20Advancing%20the%20Humanitarian%20Development%20Peace%20Nexus%20Approach%20through%20IASC%20Global%20Clusterss.pdf.

Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC). "The Inter-Agency Standing Committee Shelter Cluster Haiti Transitional Shelter Technical Guidance 19/02/10." Guidelines. Port-au-Prince, February 19, 2010. file:///C:/Users/Owner/Downloads/100421_Haiti_Shelter_TechnicalGuidance_REVISED.pdf.

International Rescue Committee (IRC). “8 Reasons Place Should Matter to Humanitarians.” *Project for Public Spaces* (blog), 2017. https://www.pps.org/article/8-reasons-place-should-matter-to-humanitarians.

Jakubowicz, Linda. “Transnationalism – Migration – Integration. Migration and Nation State in the Modern World Order through the Prism of the Concept of Transnationalism.” *SIAK-Journal − Journal for Police Science and Practice*, 2012, 4–18. https://doi.org/10.7396/IE_2012_A.

Johansson, Rolf. 2003. “Case Study Methodology.” *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* - ACTA LINGUIST HUNG. 32: 22–24.

Karim, Farhan, ed. 2018. *The Routledge Companion to Architecture and Social Engagement*. New York: Routledge.

Kempf, Petra. 2009. “The Journey to (No-)Where—Constructing Place in a Space of Placelessness.” *Journal of New Frontiers in Spatial Concepts* 2009 (1): 165–2.

Kenzari, Bechir, and Libero Andreotti, eds. 2011. *Architecture and Violence*. Barcelona: Actar.

Klimes, Martina, David Michel, Elizabeth Yaari, and Phillia Restiani. “Water Diplomacy: The Intersect of Science, Policy and Practice.” *Journal of Hydrology* 575 (August 2019): 1362–70. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhydrol.2019.02.049.

Koshy, Mrudhula, Rolee Aranya, and Hilde Refstie. 2022. “Handling Compounded Uncertainty in Spatial Planning and Humanitarian Action in Unexpected Floods in Wayanad, Kerala: Towards a Contextualised Contingency Planning Approach.” *Planning Theory & Practice* 23, no. 5 (October 20): 703–23. https://doi.org/10.1080/14649357.2022.2143548.

Kries, Mateo, Mathias Müller, Daniel Niggli, Andreas Ruby, Ilka Ruby, Vitra Design Museum, and Centre d’innovation et de design (Hornu, Belgium), eds. *Together! The New Architecture of the Collective*. Weil am Rhein : Berlin: Vitra Design Museum ; Ruby Press, 2017.

Li, Rui, and Youqin Huang. “COVID-19 Pandemic and Minority Health Disparities in New York City: A Spatial and Temporal Perspective.” *Environment and Planning B: Urban Analytics and City Science* 50, no. 5 (June 2023): 1194–1211. https://doi.org/10.1177/23998083221126525.

Lintelo, Dolf te, Rajith Lakshman, Wissam Mansour, Emma Soye, Teo Ficcarelli, and Will Woodward. "Wellbeing and Protracted Urban Displacement: Refugees and Hosts in Jordan and Lebanon," April 2018. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.

Low, Setha M., and Neil Smith, eds. 2006. *The Politics of Public Space*. New York: Routledge.

Lozanovksa, Mirjana. 2012. "Kenzo Tange's Forgotten Master Plan for the Reconstruction of Skopje." *Fabrications* 22, no. 2 (December): 140–63. https://doi.org/10.1080/10331867.2012.733159.

Madanipour, Ali. 2014. *Urban Design, Space and Society (Planning, Environment, Cities)*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Malinowski, Bronislaw. *A Diary in the Strictest Sense of the Term*. Florence: Taylor & Francis Group, 2004. First published in 1967.

Massey, Doreen B. 1994. *Space, Place, and Gender*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Mathur, Anuradha, and Dilip Da Cunha. "Wetness Is Everywhere: Why Do We See Water Somewhere?" *Journal of Architectural Education* 74, no. 1 (January 2, 2020): 139–40. https://doi.org/10.1080/10464883.2020.1693843.

McGinity, Ruth, and Maija Salokangas. 2014. "Introduction: 'Embedded Research' as an Approach into Academia for Emerging Researchers." *Management in Education* 28, no. 1 (January): 3–5. https://doi.org/10.1177/0892020613508863.

McNeill, Desmond. *Global Poverty, Ethics and Human Rights: The Role of Multilateral Organisations*. *Rethinking Globalizations* 19. London New York: Routledge, 2009. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203881309.

Meritens, Jahal Rabesahala de, Janey Lawry White, Anne Davies, Stuart Kefford, and Silke Handley. January 2016. "Guidance Note on Inter-Cluster Early Recovery." Geneva: The Global Cluster for Early Recovery. https://reliefweb.int/attachments/c24cf81d-e847-3b1f-a2df-4059ab670206/Guidance%20Note%20-010816.pdf.

Monk, Daniel Bertrand, and Andrew Herscher. 2021. *The Global Shelter Imaginary: Ikea Humanitarianism and Rightless Relief*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Morgan, Hani. 2022. "Conducting a Qualitative Document Analysis." *The Qualitative Report* 27, no. 1: 64–77. https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2022.5044.

Mosse, David. "The Anthropology of International Development." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 42 (2013): 227–46.

Mosse, David. 2005. *Cultivating Development : An Ethnography of Aid Policy and Practice*. Anthropology, Culture, and Society. London: Pluto Press

Nightingale, A. "Triangulation." In *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, 489–92. Elsevier, 2009. https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-008044910-4.00552-6.

O'Beirne, Emer. 2010. "Marc Auge's Theoretical Fictions." *Romanic Review* 101, no. 3 (May): 445–66.

Pallister-Wilkins, Polly. 2023. "Moria Hotspot: Shelter as a Politically Crafted Materiality of Neglect." In *Structures of Protection? Rethinking Refugee Shelter*, edited by Tom Scott-Smith and Mark E. Breeze, 71–80. New York: Berghahn.

Peck, Jamie. "Geographies of Policy: From Transfer-Diffusion to Mobility-Mutation." *Progress in Human Geography* 35, no. 6 (December 2011): 773–97. https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132510394010.

Pilav, Armina, Marc Schoonderbeek, Heidi Sohn, and Aleksandar Staničić, eds. *Mediating the Spatiality of Conflicts: International Conference Proceedings*. Delft: Borders & Territories, 2020.

Plevoets, Bie, and Koenraad Van Cleempoel. 2019. *Adaptive Reuse of the Built Heritage: Concepts and Cases of an Emerging Discipline*. 1st ed. New York: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315161440.

Potvin, Marianne F. 2019. "Humanitarian Urbanism: Cities, Technology, and the Hybrid Practices of Humanitarian Planners." PhD diss., Harvard University, Graduate School of Arts & Sciences. http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:HUL.InstRepos:42013101.

Relph, Edward. 2008. *Place and Placelessness*. Research in Planning and Design 1. London: Pion Limited.
Rose, Richard. "What Is Lesson-Drawing?" *Journal of Public Policy* 11, no. 1 (1991): 3–30.

Rosen, Armin. 2013. “Skopje’s Strange Quest to Rewrite Its History … Through Public Sculpture.” *Bloomberg*, August 13, 2013. https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2013-08-13/skopje-s-strange-quest-to-rewrite-its-history-through-public-sculpture.

Saleem, Amna, Huma Kausar, and Farah Deeba. “Social Constructivism: A New Paradigm in Teaching and Learning Environment.” *PERENNIAL JOURNAL OF HISTORY* 2 (December 28, 2021): 403–21. https://doi.org/10.52700/pjh.v2i2.86.

Sample, Hilary. 2005. “Emergency Urbanism.” *Building Material*, no. 14: 46–7.

Sample, Hilary. 2012. “Emergency Urbanism and Preventive Architecture.” In *Imperfect Health: The Medicalization of Architecture*, edited by Mirko Zardini, Giovanna Borasi, Margaret Campbell, and Centre canadien d’architecture, 231-250. Montréal: Canadian Centre for Architecture: Lars Müller Publishers.

Sanderson, David. 2019. *Urban Humanitarian Response*. London: Humanitarian Policy Group.

Sanderson, David, Anshu Sharma, Jim Kennedy, and Jeni Burnell. 2014. “Principles, Practice and Lessons From Haiti for Urban Post-Disaster Shelter Recovery Programs.” *Asian Journal of Environment and Disaster Management* 6, no. 2: 131–51. https://doi.org/10.3850/S1793924014000362.

Sanyal, Romola. “Urbanizing Refuge: Interrogating Spaces of Displacement.” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 38, no. 2 (March 2014): 558–72. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12020.

Schiller, Nina Glick, Linda Basch, and Cristina Blanc-Szanton. “Transnationalism: A New Analytic Framework for Understanding Migration.” *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 645, no. 1 (1992): 1–24.

Schneider, Tatiana. 2018. “What If… or Toward a Progressive Understanding of Socially Engaged Architecture.” In *The Routledge Companion to Architecture and Social Engagement*, edited by Farhan Karim, 3–13. New York: Routledge.

Schoonderbeek, Marc. *Mapping in Architectural Discourse: Place-Time Discontinuities*. 1st ed. London: Routledge, 2021. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429278730.

Scott-Smith, Tom. “The Humanitarian-Architect Divide.” *Forced Migration Review Shelter in displacement*, no. 55 (June 2017): 67–68.

Seamon, David, and Jacob Sowers. 2008. “Place and Placelessness (1976): Edward Relph.” In *Key texts in human geography*, edited by Phil Hubbard, Rob Kitchin and Gill Valentine, 43-51. Los Angeles: SAGE.

Shahi, Sheida, Mansour Esnaashary Esfahani, Chris Bachmann, and Carl Haas. “A Definition Framework for Building Adaptation Projects.” *Sustainable Cities and Society* 63 (December 2020): 102345. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.scs.2020.102345.

Shelter Centre. May 2012. “Transitional Shelter Guidelines.” Geneva, Switzerland: Shelter Centre. www.sheltercentre.org/library.

Shirazi, M. Reza, and Ramin Keivani. *URBAN SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY: Theory, Policy and Practice*. S.l.: ROUTLEDGE, 2020.

Shoshan, Malkit. *Blue: Architecture of Un Peacekeeping Missions*. New York: Actar Publishers, 2021.

Simonsen, Anne Hege, and Marianne Skjulhaug. “Living on the Threshold: The Missing Debate on Peri-Urban Asylum Reception Centres in Norway, 2015–16.” *Nordisk Arkitekturforskning*, Reflecting histories and directing futures, 2019.

Skjott Linneberg, Mai, and Steffen Korsgaard. “Coding Qualitative Data: A Synthesis Guiding the Novice.” *Qualitative Research Journal* 19, no. 3 (July 24, 2019): 259–70. https://doi.org/10.1108/QRJ-12-2018-0012.

Sorkin, Michael, ed. 2008. *Indefensible Space: The Architecture of the National Insecurity State*. New York: Routledge.

Stake, Robert E. *The Art of Case Study Research*. Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage, 1995.

Stefanovic, Ingrid Leman. 1994. “Temporality and Architecture: A Phenomenological Reading of Built Form.” *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research* 11, no. 3: 211–25.

Stewart, Dodai. “Why Some of New York’s Snazziest Dining Sheds Are Headed for the Dumps.” *The New York Times*, July 8, 2024, sec. Street Wars.

https://www.nytimes.com/2024/07/08/nyregion/street-wars-dining-sheds-new-york.html.

Stierl, Maurice. 2020. *Migrant Resistance in Contemporary Europe (Interventions)*. New York: Routledge.

Stone, Diane, Osmany Porto De Oliveira, and Leslie A Pal. "Transnational Policy Transfer: The Circulation of Ideas, Power and Development Models." *Policy and Society* 39, no. 1 (January 2, 2020): 1–18. https://doi.org/10.1080/14494035.2019.1619325.

Thorshaug, Ragne Øwre, and Cathrine Brun. "Temporal Injustice and Asylum Reception Centres in Norway: Towards a Critical Geographies of Architecture in the Institution." *Fennia - International Journal of Geography* 197, no. 2 (December 31, 2019): 232–48. https://doi.org/10.11143/fennia.84758.

Tiller, Line. "AKUTTARKITEKTUR." *Dagens Næringsliv D2*, March 8, 2013.

Tuan, Yi-Fu. 2011. *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*. Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press.

United Nations General Assembly. 1991. General Assembly Resolution 46/182, A/RES/46/182 78th Plenary Meeting.

United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, OCHA Policy Development and Studies Branch. 2017. "New Way of Working." Policy paper.

United Nations. "United Nations Guidance on Effective Mediation." New York, 2012.

United Nations United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat). *New Urban Agenda: H III: Habitat III: Quito 17-20 October 2016*. Nairobi: United Nations, 2017.

Urry, John. 2012. *Mobilities*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Vince, Gaia. *Nomad Century: How Climate Migration Will Reshape Our World*. New York: Flatiron Books, 2023.

Vroman, Liselotte, and Thierry Lagrange. 2017. "Human Movement in Public Spaces: The Use and Development of Motion-Oriented Design Strategies." *The Design Journal* 20, no. sup1 (July 28): S3252–61. https://doi.org/10.1080/14606925.2017.1352830.

Wall, James A., John B. Stark, and Rhetta L. Standifer. 2001. "Mediation: A Current Review and Theory Development." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45, no. 3 (June): 370–91. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002701045003006.

Ward, Vicky, Tricia Tooman, Benet Reid, Huw Davies, and Martin Marshall. 2021. "Embedding Researchers into Organisations: A Study of the Features of Embedded Research Initiatives." *Evidence & Policy* 17, no. 4 (November): 593–614. https://doi.org/10.1332/174426421X16165177580453.

Weizman, Eyal. 2017. *Forensic Architecture: Violence at the Threshold of Detectability*. Brooklyn, NY: Zone Books.

Whyte, William Hollingsworth. 1980. *The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces*. Washington, D.C.: Conservation Foundation.

Wolfrum, Sophie. 2015. "Performative Urbanism—Generating and Designing Urban Space." In *Performative Urbanism—Generating and Designing Urban Space*, edited by Sophie Wolfrum and Nikolai Frhr von Brandis, 11–16. Berlin: Jovis.

Errata list

Page VI

Table of contents renumbered from Chapter Five onwards following replacement of the manuscript version of Article Three, '*Non-Exceptional Humanitarian Spaces: The Emergency Reception of Ukrainian Refugees as Contingency Planning for Domestic Mass Displacement in Romania'* with its published version.

Total page count corrected to 204, including preliminary pages using Roman numerals prior to the main text (previously 219 pages in the digital version).

- *Chapter Five: Critical reflections and conclusion* — page number corrected from 178 to 162
- *FINDINGS FROM THE THREE ARTICLES* — page number corrected from 179 to 163
- *KEY FINDINGS* — page number corrected from 183 to 167
- *IMPLICATIONS FOR THEORY* — page number corrected from 185 to 169
- *IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY* — page number corrected from 188 to 172
- *IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE* — page number corrected from 189 to 173
- *LIMITATIONS* — page number corrected from 190 to 174
- *CONCLUSION* — page number corrected from 191 to 175
- *FURTHER RESEARCH* — page number corrected from 194 to 178
- *Epilogue I* — page number corrected from 196 to 180
- *Epilogue II* — page number corrected from 197 to 181
- *References* — page number corrected from 198 to 182

Line 8 Article subtitle corrected from *'THE EMERGENCY RECEPTION OF UKRAINIAN REFUGEES'* to *'THE ARCHITECTURE OF EMERGENCY RECEPTION IN NORWEGIAN CITIES'*

Line 10 *Space* corrected to *Spaces*

Page 1, Line 36

- Double period corrected to single period

Page 6

- Line 19: *of of* corrected to *of*
- Line 28: Hyphen removed
- Line 30: Hyphen removed
- Line 35: Hyphen removed

Page 10, Line 34

- Hyphen corrected to line break in *suggest*

Page 15

- Line 34: *Above* corrected to *that follows* (referring to Figure B)
- Line 37: Line break inserted — *people* moved to page 16

Page 30, Footnote

- Missing space corrected after period

Page 38, Line 19

- Hyphen inserted

Page 67, Line 7

- Reference corrected: comma removed; *Forthcoming* corrected to *2025*

Page 83, Line 32

- Typo corrected from *theses* to *these*

Page 90, Caption

- Typo corrected from *ar¬rival* to *arrival*

Page 98

- Line 3: *two first* corrected to *three*
- Line 5: Text removed — *"The third article is pending minor revisions and presented here as it was submitted to the journal as a manuscript, including final minor revisions."*

Page 99

- Line 17: Citation inserted — *"12, no. 1 (2025): 16. https://doi.org/10.1186/s40410-025-00265-9"*
- Line 19: Text removed — *". Accepted pending minor revisions"*
- Lines 21–23: Text removed — *"Submitted November 8, 2023. Submitted in revised form July 16, 2024. Submitted in revised form April 30, 2025. This version is presented in this document."*

Page 182
From page 162 onward, pagination differs between the digital and published versions. The correction below cites the digital version, with the corresponding published page number in parentheses.

- Line 1: Missing word inserted — *articles* (page 166, line 1)

* * * * *

New York, August 31, 2025,



Håvard Breivik-Khan