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Architecture of Displacement

Cities of refuge: Sanctuary or ghetto?

Comparative analysis of the location and design of state subsidized/managed accommodations for asylees in Vienna and Copenhagen

4Cities Master in Urban Studies
Prepared by: Nazia Roushan
September 1, 2017

Nussbaum. *The Refugee.* 1939

„Die arge Spur, in der die Zeit vor uns wegläuft"

The devilish foot prints, in that the time runs away from us

Christa Wolf. Kein Ort, Nirgends (1979)

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

ABSTRACT

The sensitive issue of a large-scale entry of refugees to Europe has arisen again since the summer of 2015. The challenge is to quickly build adequate numbers of affordable homes and to integrate the varied incoming population. The situation has put pressure and impetus for refurbishment and new construction of housing. For stability, home is a given, more so for the uprooted asylees—the asylum seekers and refugees living precarious lives. So, what makes a shelter a home for the asylees? Two aspects have been considered to define the effectiveness of an adequate asylee accommodation for the study in Vienna and Copenhagen: the location and the design. Location has been examined through four attributes: economic status, ethno-demographic character, quality of housing and proximity to amenities. Design has been studied through the existing building regulations, functionality and the spatial articulation of the public and private dimension. In both Vienna and Copenhagen, while there are some apparent causal relations, **locations** of the asylee accommodations neither explicitly nor absolutely depend on the ethno-socio-economic and spatial character of the cities, but rather on the availability of physical spaces. On the other hand, **design**, in terms of building regulations, are patently different for the newcomers and the natives, having lower standards for the former. Functionality of the spaces fluctuates, but the distinction between public and private spaces have considerable clarity with scopes for interpretations on the *qui vive*. Investigation in to the spatial performance showed that the architectural language must be redefined to improve the design so that the accommodations foster belongingness which will consequently help integration.

1. INTRODUCTION

No data is available for the year 2017 yet, but it is safe to say that the number of people displaced due to persecution, war and violation of human rights has surpassed that of World War II (Figure 1). Displacement has, therefore, become one of the most powerful imagery of the planet. Since 2011, Syria has been trapped in a bloody civil war, making it the world's biggest driver of migration (Figure 2).
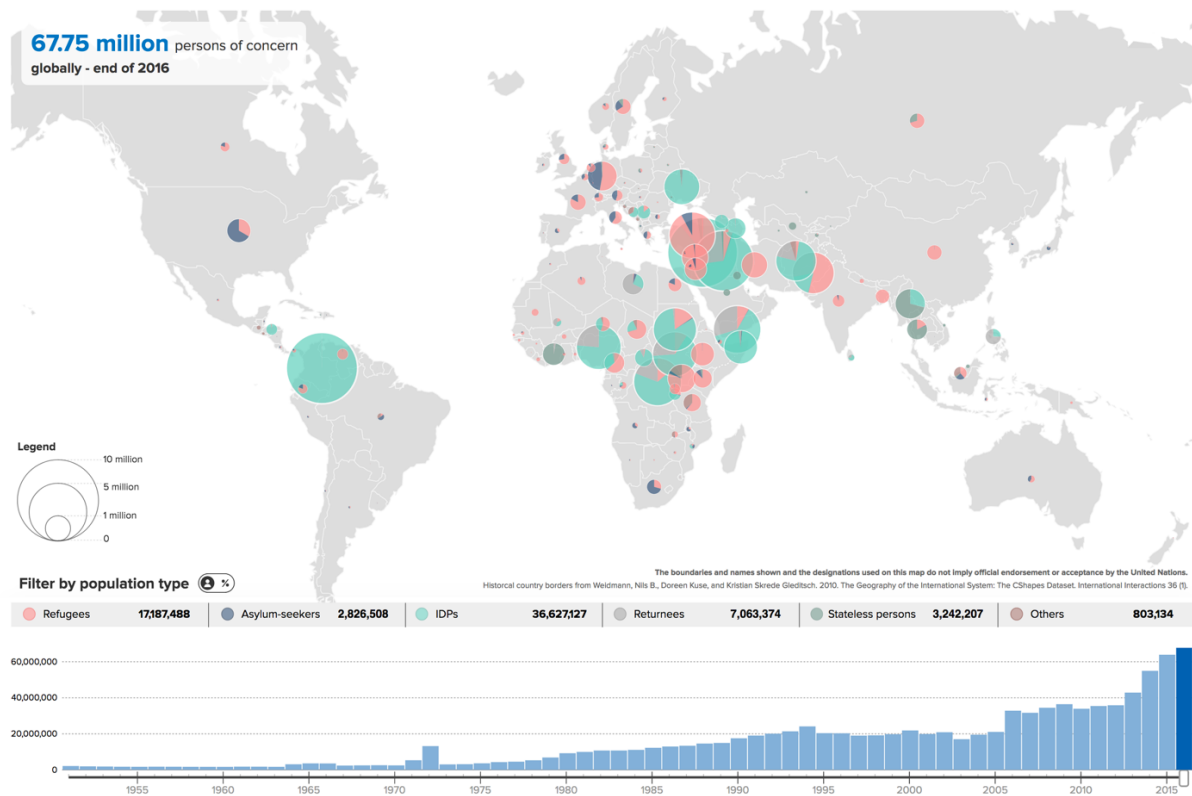
Figure 1 Number of people displaced globally due to conflict, war, persecution and human rights violation (UNHCR, 2017b)

Not a recent phenomenon (UNHCR, 2017a, p.59), the so called "refugee crisis" only hit Europe and the west in 2015, when more than 1 million migrants and refugees (BBC News, 2016) entered the continent. A largely political emergency rather than that of capacity (Roth, 2016; Neate, 2014), the EU nations with the disarrayed feeling of losing control of their borders faced the challenges of testing their infrastructural capabilities along with some of EU's core policies. And because "[r]efugees don't move to nations" (McKenzie, 2016) but to the cities, this became, for the cities, a huge responsibility of suddenly providing basic and immediate needs of survival to a large number of people from different cultures, and at the same time upholding law and order for all their residents.

As the first wave of "emergency" has subsided, and the basic physiological needs have been met, now comes the safety needs, and belongingness and love needs (Maslow, 1954) and long-term solutions for integration need to be established, no matter how long the asylees stay eventually. Long-term issues like poverty and climate change, also demographic changes and the continuing instability in the Middle East and North Africa means that large scale migration to Europe is going to continue (Pittella, 2017). At this stage and in the long run, therefore, this is more a housing crisis than a refugee crisis (Housing Europe, 2016). Also, undeniably, a key dimension for refugee integration is affordable, quality housing[1] (EWSI, 2016; Calon, 2016), and cities are on the frontline to tackle such a situation as more than 60% of the 19.5 million refugees (excluding climate migrants) throughout the world live in urban environments (UNHCR, 2017c).

Figure 2 Asylum applicants in EU and EFTA states, January–December 2015. The height of the bars indicates the number of asylum applicants per country. Colours indicate the percentage of asylum applicants in relation to the population (Dörrbecker, 2015)

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[1] Providing housing is one of the action plans for the EU third-country national integration policy of 2016
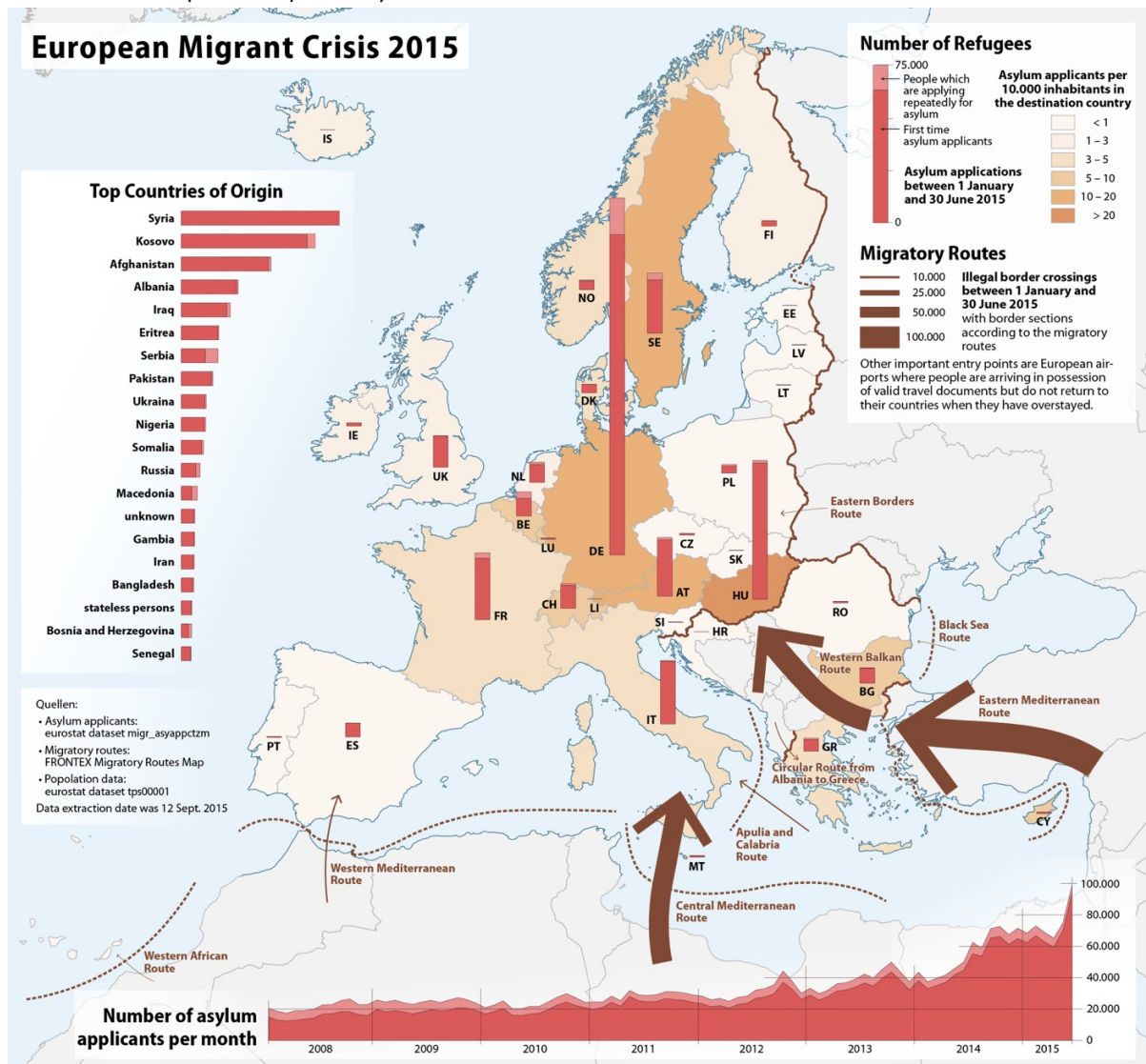
1.1   Problem Setting

Articles 13.2 and 14.1 of the UDHR[2] state that "[e]veryone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to [their] country" and "[e]veryone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution" (United Nations, 1948). However, the declaration does not require any obligations on the parts of the receiving countries. In such a situation, how do governments deal with the moral imperative of receiving and managing the newcomers? What kind of housing facilities do they foresee for asylees, and manage this organizational and logistic feat? Do they build temporary facilities and avoid permanent resettlement or "signal an acceptance and normalization of the status quo" (Ramadan, 2012, p.8) by providing and/or building more permanent housing for the newcomers?

The pace at which our world is changing is faster than the rate of providing housing. The reality is always changing for the housing sector as well as for the local and national authorities because of climate change, uneven development, changing demography, and volatile geographies of war zones. The pressing need is to find out new ways of construction, to supply the soaring demands for better homes, quicker and at a lower cost than before. In Denmark, 33% of refugees returned to their country of origin in the municipalities that were most successful in integrating refugees, while it was only 12% on average (Rasmussen, 2016). Does the government therefore spend resources on integration for people who are eventually going to leave? On the other hand, in Austria, apart from those in the process of seeking asylum and those who have received asylum, there are currently 1,200 people with a legally invalid asylum claim in Vienna's basic care (ORF, 2017). Does this imply that the government is "allowing" them to stay and provide them with Primary Care to avoid increase in crimes committed by the illegals? The challenge is to find a way which has a right mix of policies, access to finance, and innovation in construction and design which guarantees a resilient future for housing, ensuring effective integration of asylees at the same time.
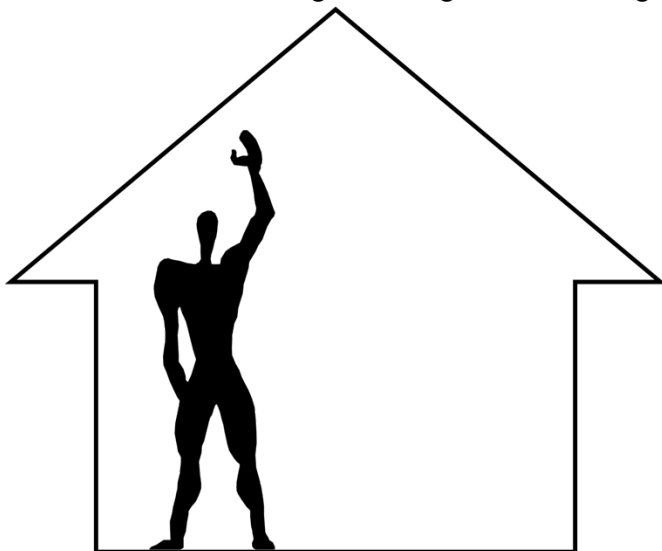

Figure 3 Skin and envelop (Author, from Le Corbusier's Modulor)

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[2] Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Our actions and thinking change based on the rooms or buildings people live in (Goldhagen, 2017). We live in our bodies; our bodies live in spaces. Our home is like a second skin to us (Figure 3). Based on our knowledge of human perception and cognition, the built environments we live in are much more important than what we think they are (Goldhagen, 2017). While the notions of home, constancy and belongingness—often absent from academic work on refugees, migration and exodus—have been studied at least to some extent, little attention has been given to research on shelter, the physical structure and its design (Franklin, 2001). This will be explored in the thesis through the study of the architecture of accommodation for asylees, a very temporary concept, hence bringing forth the paradigmatic dichotomy between the transient and the permanent. While it is obvious that "[e]xperiences of dislocation are disruptive of the migrant's sense of belonging to a particular place" (Ahmed et al., 2003), it is important to examine how home and belongingness are forged (or not) in these "anomalous geopolitical spaces'' (Feldman, 2015): the "permanently impermanent" (Ramadan, 2012, p.9) shelters, and if they are "constrained within a liminal temporality" (Ramadan, 2012, p.11). The thesis examines the inherent qualities and challenges of shelter versus home in the context of (forced) migration from four interlocking disciplinary perspectives of architecture, sociology, anthropology and psychology, and studies the effectiveness of government subsidized accommodation facilities that often have complex, ever changing layers.

1.2 Aims and Objectives

One main driver of changes for a better society is quality, affordable housing. Cooperative, public and social housing providers have an impact on the larger communities which is multifactorial and measurable. All over Europe, many best practices can be identified which deal with social exclusion in general and also the challenges caused by migration and homelessness. While contentious politics has tried to **influence** policies, the general objective of this thesis is to focus more on what architects can do to make the housing policies of the future **work**, in order to transform and evolve from building mere *containers of displaced people* to building homes that offer dignity and belongingness to its inhabitants. The specific objective of this thesis is to study two innovative models of housing and explores whether they can be replicated and adopted from the local to the national, and eventually to the international levels when huge movements of people occur and public budgets are short.

1.3   Research Question

RESEARCH QUESTION
What attributes of government subsidized/managed accommodations for asylees in Vienna and Copenhagen influence the effectiveness of these spaces?

Attributes of the accommodations that define effectiveness:
Location
a. How are they embedded in a larger network of urban fabric? Where do the governments geographically locate these shelters?
   - *Are the accommodations located in economically weak areas?*
   - *Are they located in areas identified by the concentrations of non-native population?*
   - *Are they located in areas with high shares of sub-standard housing facilities?*
   - *Are they located in amenity-poor areas?*

Design
b. How do the spaces function?
   - *Do the accommodations have/ follow building regulations?*
   - *Do they provide shelter from elements, security, peace and dignity?*
   - *Is there clear demarcation of public and private zones?*

Outcome Indicator
c. Do the accommodations invoke the feeling of belongingness?

HYPOTHESIS
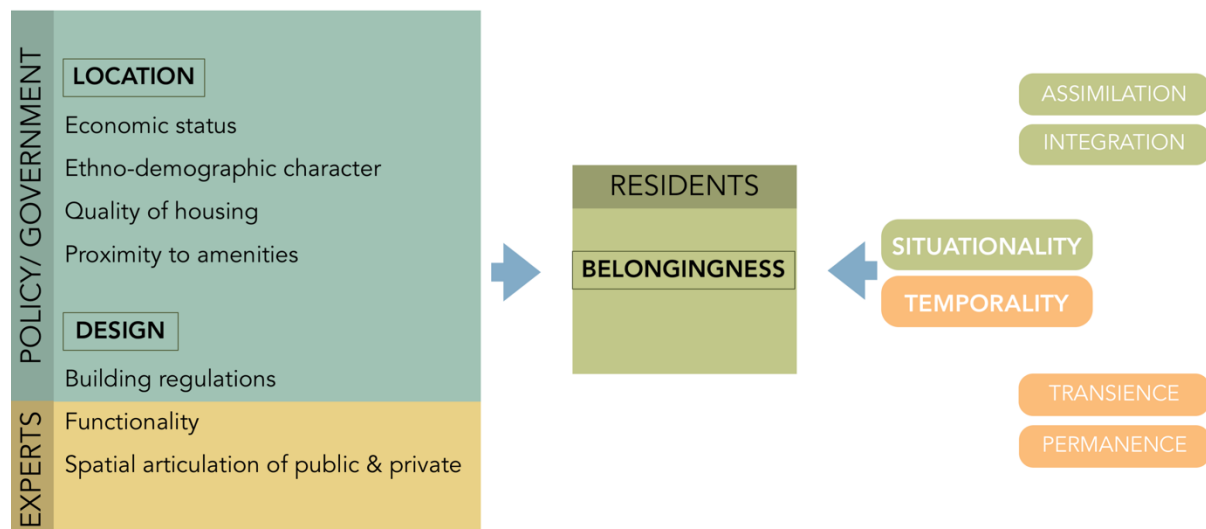Location and design of asylee accommodation influence belongingness.

Figure 4 Effectiveness of accommodations for asylees (Author)

In this context, the figure shows that the location of asylee accommodations are decided by EU policy frameworks at the regional scale and by governments at the state and local levels. Space requirements are defined by building regulations of the governments of the respective

countries. Functionality and public-private articulation of space are drafted by experts such as architects, social scientists and anthropologists. This thesis defines the effectiveness of asylee accommodation based on these seven attributes (Figure 4). Whether these attributes tilt towards positive or negative can tell if the accommodations can invoke the feeling of belongingness of the residents. This is further confirmed by the experiences of the residents themselves.

Belongingness also depends on temporality—how permanent or temporary they are—and situationality—whether the residents are being integrated or forced to assimilate—of the spaces. The government subsidized accommodations are supposed to provide the newcomers a safe place for emotional and physical stability to begin preparing for their integration into the society, and eventually feeling that they belong. But, this thesis hypothesized that location of asylee accommodation tend to be in areas where there is a concentration of non-native residents and where the socioeconomic conditions are unsatisfactory. I expected to find that accommodation facilities for the asylees are consciously segregated (spatially and socially) to undermine presence and visibility of the newcomer in the cities. Moreover, these accommodations are mostly not designed specifically for asylees, and are, therefore, either refurbished or remodelled to (forcefully) fit the needs of the occupiers.

Spatial settings can inhibit or promote integration depending on their location and design, and in some cases, their size. This is also linked to the general housing policies and the fact that housing has been commodified over the past 30 years in the EU. Projects without economic perspectives often have to move out to the periphery. This, combined with the substandard qualities of the accommodations bring about psychological damages of cramped, confined spaces and remote places.

1.4   Operational Definitions

The figure below is a summary of the most frequent terminologies used in this thesis for **a place to live** and **a person who lives there**. "Home", "abode" and "native" have the strongest connotations to belongingness and "permanence". The terminologies lose these connotations as we move towards "transience" in the diagram. Asylum—an idea of a place of refuge and protection—is farthest from the notions of "permanence" and "architecture".
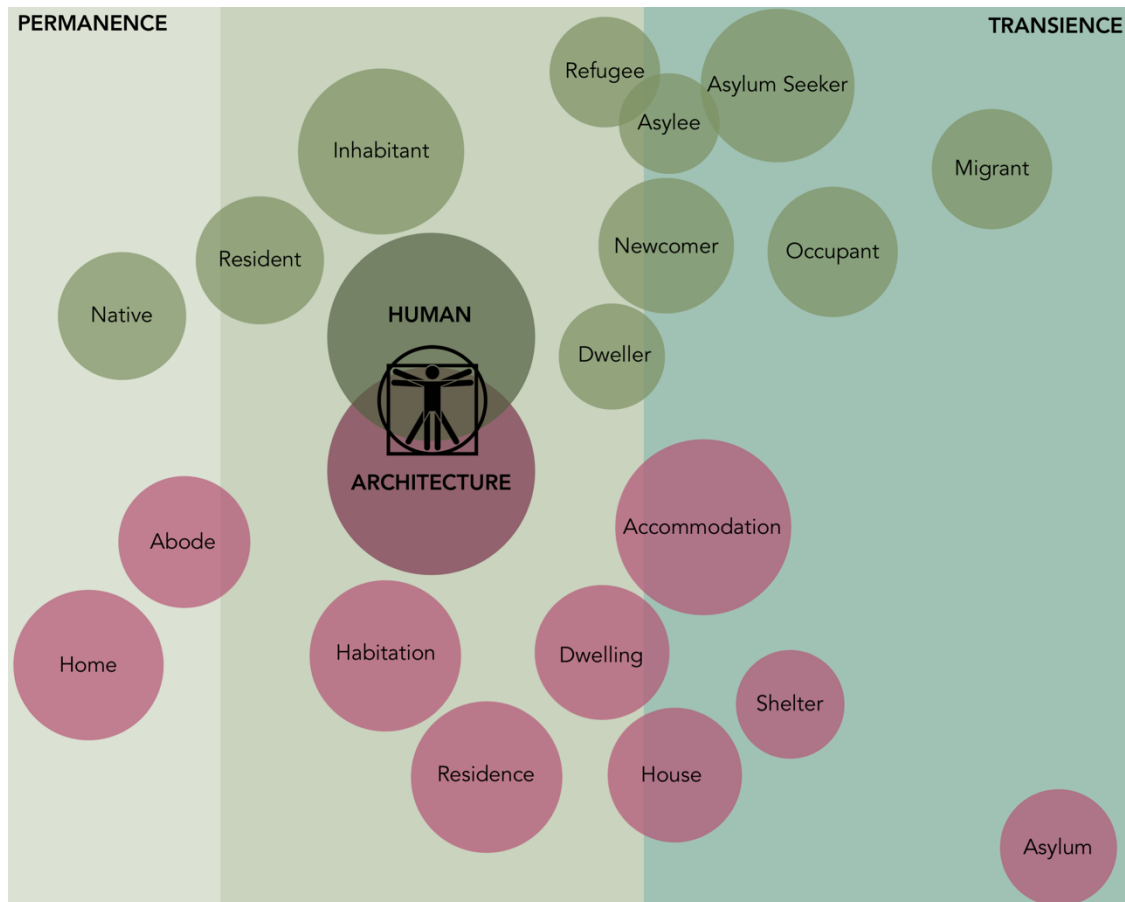
Figure 5 Places to live and people who live in them (Author)

Among these, the following terminologies with their corresponding definitions have been used in this thesis:

Asylum seeker has been defined as someone who has applied for protection as a refugee and is awaiting the determination of his or her status (UNESCO, 2017).

Refugee has been defined a person who has already been granted protection (ibid).

Asylum seekers can become refugees if the local immigration or refugee authority deems them as fitting the international definition of refugee (ibid).

Asylee has been considered as someone who is either an asylum seeker or a refugee.

Accommodation has been regarded as any form of shelter that provides at least the basic protection from the elements.

Newcomer is someone who is not an original inhabitant of a place

Native is someone who is indigenous as opposed to (a descendant from) migrants/ colonists.

Place is a location or "lived space" (Norberg-Schulz, 1983, p.66)

Public spaces are outdoor spaces that do not provide individual privacy, such as courtyard or garden

Private spaces are places that provide individual privacy, such as bedrooms

Communal spaces are common living areas that provide group privacy, such as shared toilet, communal kitchen, hallways

Architecture is the making of places (ibid)

1.5   Significance of Study

Cities exist both in its urban milieu, as well as out of its dwellers who live, act and interact within this environment. Considering the rapid social metamorphosis of the last two years, housing—one of the key components of urban space—becomes a setting where diverse cultures, values and lifestyles converge. This reality prompts an alternate, culturally unbiased comprehension of the living spaces as far as function, design and usage are concerned. Cities take care of issues related to the inclusion of newcomers through policies and by setting up representative, equitable and capable governance structures. Enforcing building codes and managing social housing may not be the priority of national policies, but these factors greatly influence the level of inclusion among different social groups (Ray, 2003).

Architects, on the other hand, can and have the moral obligation to ensure inclusion— through design—by ensuring socio-spatial access to employment, amenities and public services, thereby minimizing residential and social exclusion of marginalized groups. Architects can also provide grounds for integration as a two-way process between the newcomers and receiving communities by designing spaces that promote positive encounters between them. And by identification of the attributes that make spaces effective, architects can actively contribute to the challenges of the present. These are the possible implications of this study.

1.6   Scope and Delimitation

This thesis is an exploratory research between two contrasting cases using identical methods. "It embodies the logic of comparison, in that it implies that we can understand social phenomena better when they are compared in relation to two or more meaningfully contrasting cases or situations" (Bryman, 2012). This comparison is realized in the context of both qualitative and quantitative research methods. The purpose is to seek explanations for similarities and dissimilarities, and to achieve a greater awareness and a deeper comprehension of social reality in the two national and urban contexts. Longitudinal study was not possible due to both time constraints and transient nature of the residents and accommodations.

Brussels, Vienna, Copenhagen and Madrid were the preliminary chosen cities for the case study. Out of them, Vienna and Copenhagen were chosen—Vienna as an example with a high number of reception of asylum seekers (Austria had the highest number of first instance decisions issued in 2016 in EU (Figure 6)) and Copenhagen as an example opposite to Vienna as it struggles with a provisional quota of 335 refugees (Københavns Kommune, 2016) in the same year. Copenhagen has no experience with refugees at all (M Bendixen 2017, pers. comm., 20 March), as they have been out of the quota system for many years and were only put back in the system in 2016.
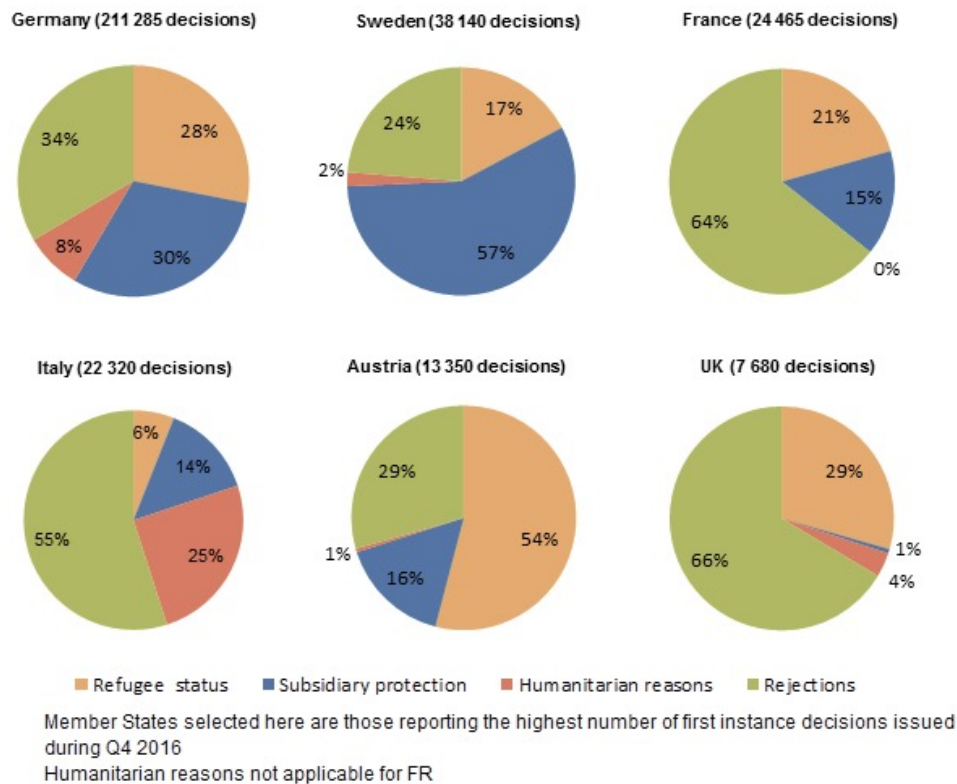
Figure 6 First instance decision on application (Eurostat, 2017)

The asylum claims in Austria were among the highest in the EU in 2015 (88,180 applications) (European Stability Initiative, 2017) and 2016 (65,240 applications, including both first and second instances) (Hilfe für Flüchtlinge in Wien, 2017), while those in Denmark were among the lowest (20,970 applications in 2015 (European Stability Initiative, 2017) and 6,235 applications in 2016 (Bendixen, 2017)). The number of asylum applications per 1,000 inhabitants was 10.3 in 2015 (Hilfe für Flüchtlinge in Wien, 2016) and 4.8 in 2016 (Hilfe für Flüchtlinge in Wien, 2017) in Austria. On the other hand, this number was 3.7 in 2015 (Hilfe für Flüchtlinge in Wien, 2016) and 1.1 in 2016 (Hilfe für Flüchtlinge in Wien, 2017) in Denmark. As of May 31, 2017, out of 27,250 asylum applicants in Austria in 2017, 46% (12,535) received a positive decision (asylum status, subsidiary protection and humanitarian stay), and 39% received a negative decision. (Bisgaard and Poulin, 2017). In 2016, 7,494 asylum seekers were granted residence permits in Denmark, out of which, 7,445 were given a refugee status (ibid).

Vienna and Copenhagen have been chosen as the units of comparison in their respective countries because capital cities or regions tend to receive the highest share of asylum seekers. As of June 2017, there are 20,750 people (1% of total Viennese population[3]) in Vienna receiving Primary Care (*Grundversorgung*) among whom 65% live in private accommodations and 35% live in 105 organized facilities (*Organisierten Quartieren*) (Hilfe für Flüchtlinge in Wien, 2017). Copenhagen municipality received 147 refugees in 2016 and 117 in 2017 as of May 31 (Udlændinge- og Integrationsministeriet, 2017, p.8), which is 0.019% of

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[3] 1.89 million people

the total population[4] of the municipality (Københavns Kommune, 2017). The Capital Region of Denmark[5] (CRD) comprising of 29 municipalities received 1,410 refugees in 2016 (ibid). The thesis looks at what strategies and techniques the two EU countries and their capital cities—which are in the upper and lower confines of receiving asylum claims and refugees (both in absolute numbers and shares)—use to accommodate the asylees. At the city level, Vienna and Copenhagen are the two units of comparison. However, unlike Vienna—a state and the federal capital on its own (Figure 7)—Copenhagen is a municipality, and until last year, it was a "*null kommune*", meaning it did not receive any refugees under the quota system.

1. Innere Stadt
2. Leopoldstadt
3. Landstraße
4. Wieden
5. Margareten
6. Mariahilf
7. Neubau
8. Josefstadt
9. Alsergrund
10. Favoriten
11. Simmering
12. Meidling
13. Hietzing
14. Penzing
15. Rudolfsheim-Fünfhaus
16. Ottakring
17. Hernals
18. Währing
19. Döbling
20. Brigittenau
21. Floridsdorf
22. Donaustadt
23. Liesing
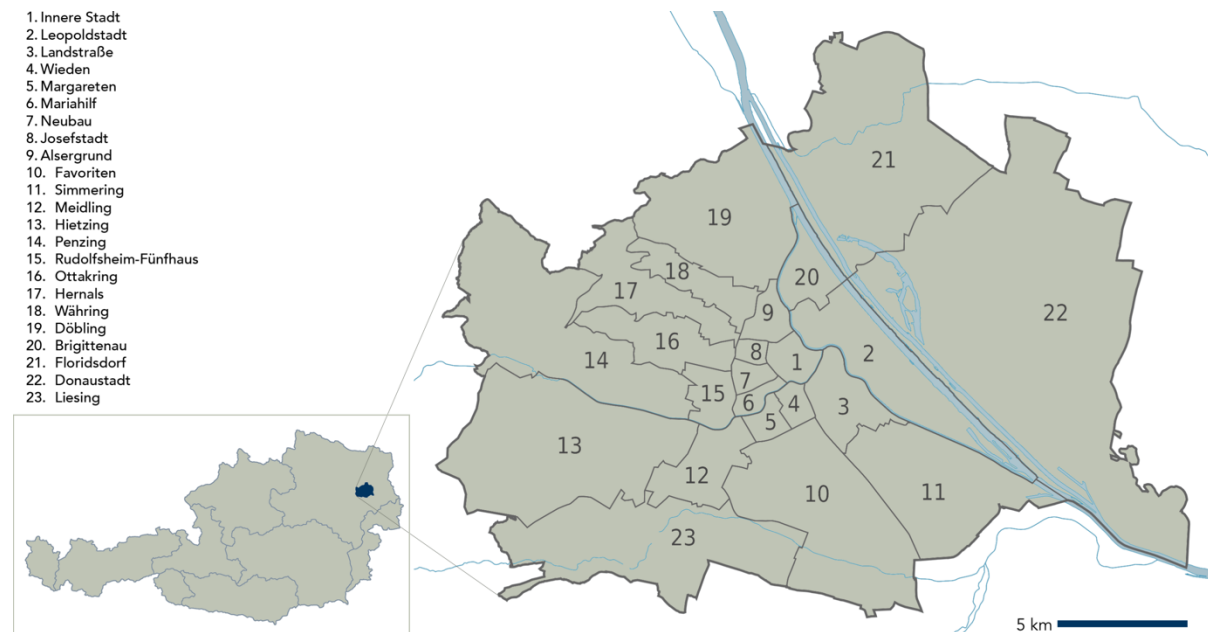
Figure 7 Vienna with its 23 districts (Austria in inset) (Author, from Robot, 2011)

Consequently, Copenhagen has only two temporary residence for asylum seekers (Figure 30). On the other hand, Frederiksberg, a municipality enclosed by Copenhagen, has two (Figure 30) and the rest of the CRD has eleven temporary residences for asylum seekers including the ones in Copenhagen and Frederiksberg (Figure 29). These numbers do not include *Venligbolig* and *Venligbolig+*. Therefore, the scope of the comparison for the location of asylee accommodations has been expanded to the CRD (Figure 8). Moreover, Vienna (414.87km² (Wien, 2015)) is almost five times larger than Copenhagen (88.25km² (Danmarks Statistik, 2016)) in surface area.

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[4] 602,481 people
[5] *Region Hovedstaden*

Figure 8 Capital Region of Denmark (CRD) with its 29 municipalities (Denmark in inset) (Author, from Regionh, n.d.)

Those who have just arrived in a country are usually held in "reception" facilities and those who are detained or have been denied asylum are held in "detention" facilities. The reception and detention centres, although managed and funded by the government are very temporary in nature, both in terms of duration of stay of the detainees and in terms of design of their spaces. The thesis, therefore, researches the more permanent accommodation facilities subsidized and/or managed by the government for the asylum seekers during the process of asylum application and for the refugees.

In 2015, emergency accommodations had to be set up in Austria due to the huge influx of people. Newspaper offices and sport halls in Vienna, for example, were converted into accommodation facilities which were "not really adequate for living" (Fellinger, 2017), and were temporary make-shift "places to sleep for some time" (ibid). During this time, the Social Fund Vienna (FSW[6]) started a public appeal for houses and apartments, and formed a project group with the MA 37[7]. The team inspected the "donated" rooms and houses to ascertain liveability and accommodated the asylees accordingly. As the initial emergency has waned, the aim of the FSW now is to reduce the number of people living in the accommodation facilities and redistribute them, or as they receive asylum, help them enter the local housing market. The other aim is to mix asylees with non-asylees, for example, students (ibid). One

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[6] Fonds Soziales Wien
[7] Building Inspection Department for the City of Vienna (*Baupolizei der Stadt Wien*)

such housing project is *Hawi* in district *Favoriten* of Vienna and this project is one of the cases of this thesis.
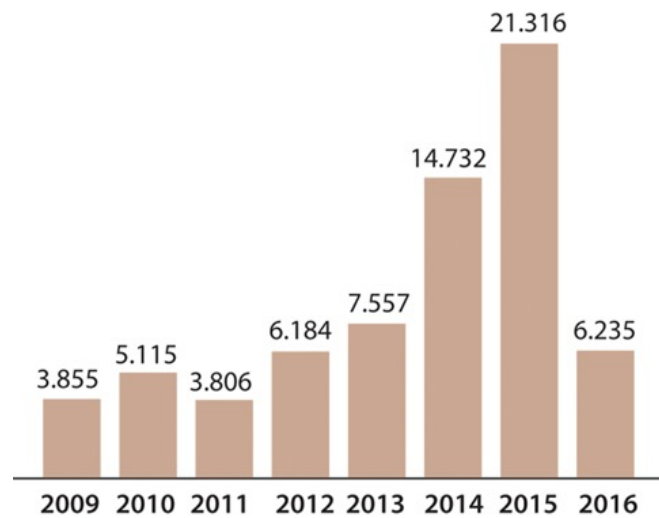
Figure 9 Number of asylum seekers in Denmark 2009-2016 (gross numbers) (Bendixen, 2017)

On the other hand, Denmark's status quo, with its long history of circumnavigating EU legislations regarding immigration laws, especially in case of "non-Westerns[8]" (Hedetoft, 2006), has only been challenged in the last two years (Figure 9). Fright of the unknown, "*migrantenschreck*" (anxious contempt) for the alien (Brygger, 2014) and negative stereotypes of immigrants—Muslims in particular—is widespread, and asylum applications have been explicitly discouraged since 2001 (Hedetoft, 2006). Researching how the "egalitarian, secular, and assimilationist" (ibid) capital of a welfare state with deep-rooted ideas of social egalitarianism embedded in "cultural similarity" (ibid) reacts to recent changes due to the "refugee crisis" has led to a project called *Venligbolig*. Still nascent, the project has a similar idea as *Hawi*—to accommodate asylees in very close proximity to non-asylees, in this case, the natives. This is the other case for this thesis. However, based on the initial information gathered from last year, I had hoped that *Venligbolig* would have more momentum than it has right now and had expected some more concrete outcomes in addition to just a prototype.

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[8] Countries except EU countries, Andorra, Iceland, Liechtenstein, San Marino, Norway, Monaco, Switzerland, Vatican, Canada, USA, New Zealand and Australia (Open Data DK, 2016)

1.7   Outline

The first chapter outlines the problem setting, the objectives, the research question with its leading questions and hypothesis, operational definitions used, significance of the research, and scope and delimitations. The second chapter focuses on the research design of the thesis. It presents the methodological framework and explains in detail the research methods and methodologies used. The third chapter analyses various research done so far on belongingness, home, location and design to root the research question into an academic framework. The next chapter aims to gain an insight of asylum procedures, and housing practices and policies in Austria and Denmark. To do this, the chapter identifies actors providing asylee accommodation and the different types of accommodations the asylees occupy during the application process. Chapter five summarizes the different types of accommodations the asylees occupy in Austria and Denmark, presents the two case studies and describes them in detail. The sixth chapter contains the visual, architectural and empirical analyses, and the results. Finally, chapter seven summarizes the key findings from the analyses carried out in the previous chapter and chapter eight points out possibilities of further research.

2. RESEARCH DESIGN

To understand the strategies and techniques that are used by the polity to shelter people on the move, this research examined accommodations for asylees from four distinctive angles: **a) theoretical analysis; b) policy analysis**: comparing building codes to understand how they are different from the status quo, and how they manifest ideological dilemma and socio-political limitations; **c) ethnographic enquiry**: interviews and surveys to understand how people live in these accommodation facilities and how they individualize the spaces they inhabit to invoke (or not) a sense of belongingness; and **d) spatial analysis and study of physical attributes**: examining spaces, building regulations, floorplans and maps of locations of the accommodations.

2.1   Methodological Framework

Who: Beneficiaries (Asylees) and Actors (National/local authorities/experts in Austria and Denmark)

What: Effectiveness (design and location) of spaces

Where: Government subsidized/managed asylee accommodations in Vienna and Copenhagen

The approach from problem-finding to the result of the thesis was mapped out using the methodological framework described by Martin (n.d.) (Figure 10). Formal approaches for problem-finding included prior research, extrapolation (extending the trend of continued migration to Europe for the foreseeable future and asking questions about the predicted outcome of increased need for housing), morphology (exploring combinational possibilities of the sub-attributes of *design* and *location*), decomposition (breaking down the issue into components), dichotomy (breaking down the issue into yes/no-answer questions) and aggregation (combining the attributes *design* and *location* to apply them to the notion of *belongingness*). Informal approaches included conjecture, phenomenology and consensus among experts and researchers. Exploratory and deductive modes were used to understand the consequences of the methods employed. The nature of data and process of obtaining the data were categorized into opinion, empirical, archival and analytic strategies. Both formal and informal methods (described in detail in the next section) were used to conduct research among the seven domains outlined in the figure below.
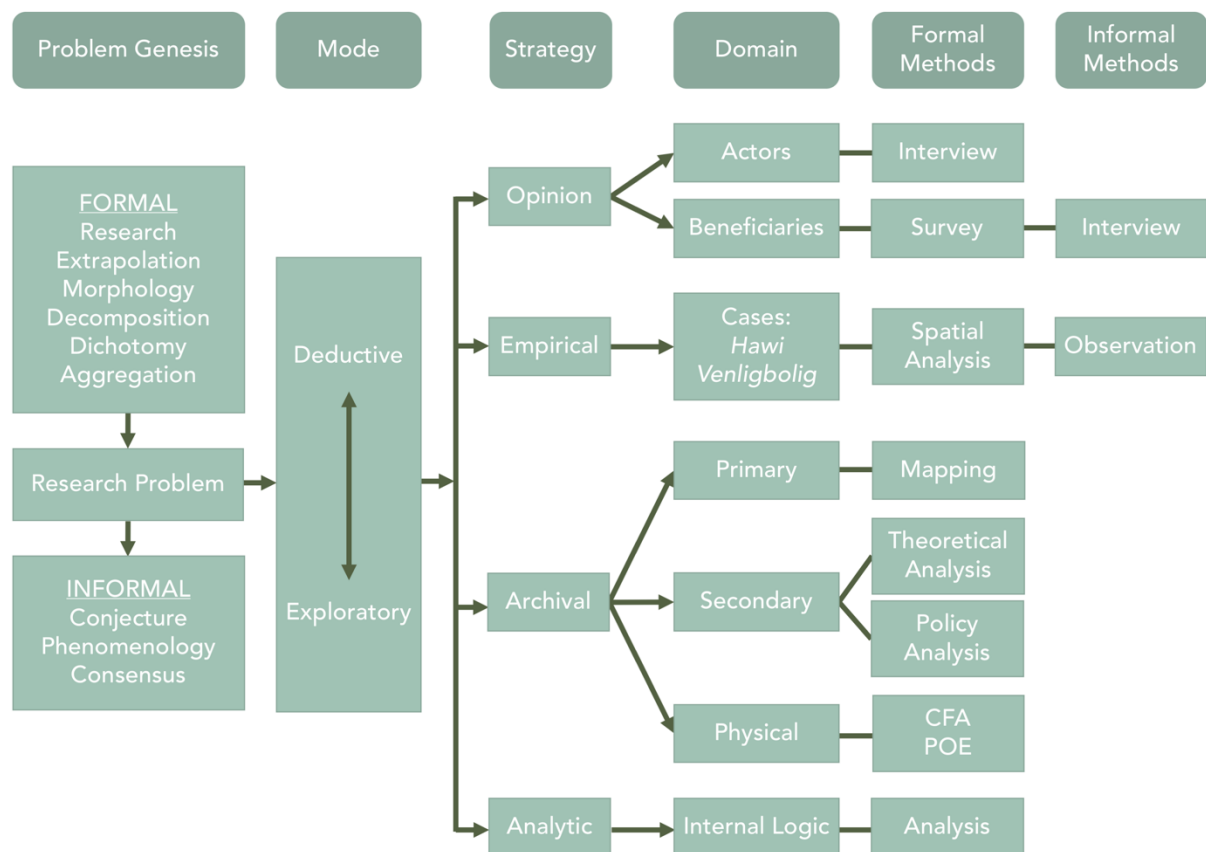
Figure 10 Methodological Framework (Author, from Martin, n.d.)

2.2   Methods and Methodology

2.2.1   Theoretical Analysis

Theoretical analysis of existing literature has been done to create the groundwork of knowledge about the sense of place, and notions of home and belongingness, and to gain insight into the different positions about these notions from architectural, psychological, anthropological and sociological points of views. Since design and location are the two broader attributes identified for the analyses of the spaces, architectural theories about functionality of spaces based on design and location have also been explored. These theories have been used as a framework for the empirical analyses of the spaces in chapter six.

2.2.2   Policy Analysis

Policies about asylum procedures in Austria and Denmark were studied to create an outline of the asylum procedures in these two countries. Where and by whom the asylees are accommodated during the various steps of the application were also found out to determine the actors directly involved in the processes. Interviewees were chosen and approached based on this information. Policies and building guidelines in the current housing market were studied and compared to the housing conditions of the newcomers. This provided an understanding of the differences and biases (even if unintentional) between regulations for the natives and the newcomers.

2.2.3   Ethnographic Enquiry

Traditional socio-scientific research methods—interviews and surveys—were applied out to reduce personal biases from observations. Expert interviews were conducted to gain insight into asylum processes, housing situations of asylees, perspectives and subjective experiences of the residents. The interviews were not mere "passive conduits for retrieving information" (Gubrium, 2006, p.83), but also a tool to get meaningful understandings of these complex processes and experiences. Interviewees were chosen from two broad domains—actors and beneficiaries—to develop an extensive context of the information collected which later on gave direction for which accommodation facilities to focus on as specific case studies. Actors included decision makers (government institute), administrators (manager, coordinator and operator of the centres) and experts (architect, activist and researcher), and beneficiaries included residents (asylee and student). A total of 16 interviews were conducted; 12 for Vienna and four for Copenhagen.

The interviews for the actors (total 12) were semi-structured and in-depth conducted in person, via e-mail and/or Skype, while those for the beneficiaries were more open-ended and conducted in person while visiting *Hawi* in Vienna (Annex 10.1). The project received a lot of attention this year from researchers, and therefore, only four interviews and six surveys among the residents could be conducted before the operators of the facility stopped further contact with its residents "as it became too much for the people living here" (N Jimenez 2017, pers. comm., 9 May). The interviews and surveys of the residents were conducted to assess the entirely subjective sense of belongingness among them and how this notion differed between the asylees and students. The surveys were also part of the post-occupancy evaluation (POE) for the design and location of the project. They were anonymous and a structured questionnaire was used (Annex 10.2).

2.2.4   Spatial Analysis and Study of Physical Attributes

Traditional socio-scientific research methods have very limited implications for analyses of formal structure and architectonic aspects of a space. Therefore, interviews and standardized surveys were combined with observations, comparative floorplan analysis (CFA) and architectural design analysis to evaluate spatio-functional characteristics. Spatial design choices and their limitations thus became evident, dialectic and debatable.

a. Observation

Hawi was visited several times to get a first-hand experience of the lives of the residents. Attributes of the third dimension such as qualities of the inner environment, outer environment and furnishings, sensory aspects like colour, smell, sound, temperature, humidity, light, air quality, texture and materials, and the behaviour of people were observed, sketched, photographed and noted. What feelings the different spaces evoked were also studied.

b. Comparison between Regulations and Reality

Building regulations of the selected cities (or countries) were studied, and compared to the regulations for minimum spatial requirements of asylee accommodations in each case and in the EU. The design and location of existing accommodation facilities were studied in the selected cities by visiting the facilities, mapping their locations and talking to authorities to find out reasons behind their strategies to locate the facilities where they are.

c. Comparative Floorplan Analysis (CFA) and Post-Occupancy Evaluation (POE)

Comparative Floorplan Analysis (CFA) was carried out to determine the congruency (or the lack thereof) between existing spatial systems and expected social systems (such as social norms and behaviour, values, social standards, activities). Floorplans of the two cases were studied and compared to each other on the basis of several physical characteristics related to social aspects with a focus on the design, uses and performance of the private, communal and public spaces. Post-Occupancy Evaluation (POE) was, however, carried out only in case of *Hawi* as *Venligbolig* is yet to install its first unit. POE is a useful tool to find out whether spaces perform as intended by the designers and architects, and what changes are required, if any. Analysis of the floor plans of the two cases served as the foundation for determining the answers to guiding questions "b" (See 1.3) and helped to demarcate spatio-functional typologies (i.e. private, communal and public) of the building layouts. It also provided insight into the "(dis)advantages for use and perception, and (dis)congruencies between spatial systems and social systems" (van der Voordt, Vrielink and van Wegen, 1997).

d. Mapping

Three kinds of mapping have been done to test the hypothesis:
- spot maps to show where the accommodations are located
- rate maps to show the economic status, ethno-demographic character and quality of housing of the population
- zone maps to show the distances of the accommodation facilities from the city centre and/or amenities

The spot maps are superimposed on to the rate and zone maps to see if the locations of the accommodations have any bearing on the ethno-socio-spatial character of the city, i.e. if there is a pattern that explains a causal relationship among the attributes shown in the spot, rate and zone maps. These maps are an attempt to visualize and analyse internal differentiation of the two cities as a by-product of their recent socio-demographic changes and test the concept that social phenomena have spatial effects, that is, the locations of refugee housing tend to be in areas where there is a concentration of non-native residents and where the socioeconomic conditions are unsatisfactory. All maps have north up as per convention.

I was confirmed in a religion
originating from the Middle East
Grew up with HC Andersen's adventures
as well as Grimm's
and 1001 nights
Aladdin's magical lamp
The flying carpet
Sailor Sindbad
Ali Baba and the forty thieves
Sesame sesame open up!

My shirt is Indian
My shoes Italian
My car Japanese
My watch from Switzerland or Hong Kong
But amid all I am so very Danish
The whole world comes together in me
And gets well shaken!

Sesame sesame – open up …
Or is it me that is Sesame?
In any case, I want to open myself up.
(Andersen, 1995)

3. THEORETICAL ANALYSIS

This chapter gives an overview of relevant theories related to home and housing of refugees in the academic debate. First, the different academic fields that study design in relation to humans are introduced. Then what the role of architecture can be is analysed through the concepts of camp, home, belongingness, design and location theories.

3.1   Different Fields Studying Design

As early as 5th century BC, architects have tried to discover the principles behind the aesthetics of a built form, and to form a theory explaining the socialization of consequent generation. The aesthetics of a building comes from its form, which in turn comes from "size, scale, proportion, massing and volume, relationships of parts to each other and to the whole, ornamentation, rhythm, light and shadow, texture, decoration and colour" (Franklin, 2001). Architects over time have tried to develop arduous theories to find out about ideal properties of buildings based on scale and proportion. Vitruvius used the standard figure of human (male) body (Vitruvius Pollio and Granger, 1931); Palladio used the mathematical properties and ratios of lines to generate the golden section; and Le Corbusier used the combination of the two for his *Modulor*. Some architects however find these theories too rigid and pedantic, and argue that numbers cannot represent visual harmony (ibid).

Another way of looking at building aesthetics is a theory of what a building "says" to its beholder (from the sciences of semiology and semiotics). The building becomes a "sign" expressed either in overt metaphorism or covert symbolism. These signs usually reflect the belief and value system of the architect and the prevailing socioeconomic or political system. The criticism of this obsession over "image" is that what the building has been designed to "say" and what the users "hear" can be completely different, consequently depriving the user from being able to appreciate the aesthetics. Other academic disciplines which contribute to "good design" are those which address the relationship between people, places and spaces: environmental psychology and people-environment studies look at the connotation, usage and awareness of place, whereas sociology and geography look at the socio-political-economic consumption and production of space. Environmental psychology focuses on the individual and their behaviour and is concerned "with people, place, and the behaviour and experience of those people in relation to those places" (ibid). It also deals with how places relate to construction of self-identity where home becomes a symbol of the self or collective memory, or how the place is related with the perception of self and place in society of a person throughout their lives. This psychological approach brings into the discourse the attributes of emotional effect, self-involvement, privacy, and territory—the factors that essentially lead to the attachment to a place. To create appropriate built environments, this understanding helps the design professionals keep in mind the need of the people to "personalize" spaces, the need to feel ownership of the places and any grief they experience when uprooted from their homes (ibid).

The above concept of place attachment links environmental psychology to people-environment studies where the focus is on sociocultural aspects influencing the relationship between people and environment—specially the home environment. Rapoport believes that sociocultural factors help generate built forms and that "a house needs to be viewed as part of a specific system to which it belongs—in relation to the complete built environment of village or town; including monumental buildings, non- domestic spaces and the links between those spaces" (ibid, p.87). He says that environment should be agreeable to and support the culture, values and needs of a group. Otherwise, it causes stresses, particularly to vulnerable groups, the sick or the old (ibid).

3.2   Belongingness

Belongingness and social integration are intertwined, interdependent concepts (Steinkamp and Kelly, 1987; Lindgren, Pass and Sime, 1990). Often associated with displacement, belongingness is a theoretical concept linked to categories of people who are seen as "displaced/uprooted/dislocated", as opposed to those who are regarded as being "in place/rooted/located" (Anthias, 2006, p.17). Belongingness can be reclaimed (Wernesjö, 2014, p.453) when challenged, and having a home, an address, a ground to stand on gives a person the stronghold of claim to this notion.

3.3   What Architecture Can and Cannot Do

Probably very few people would argue against the fact pointed out by Doug Saunders, author of *Arrival City* (2011) that, new migration zones can also be vibrant hotspots of cultural and economic activity. In such a context, Msrco Steinberg, curator of the Finnish Pavilion says, "…architecture must regain its capacity to shape not just the design of buildings, but also the design of social solutions. By combining these two capacities, architecture can help crystallise the principles of better housing" (Madlener, 2016). Architecture, according to Scott-Brown on the other hand, cannot compel people to connect. "It can only plan the crossing points, remove barriers, and make the meeting places useful and attractive." (Foote et al., 2016).

The three types of asylee accommodations identified earlier—**reception facilities, accommodation and detention centres**—have different levels of permanence and formality, construction techniques and materials, ways of adaptation, and impacts on lives of asylees. Unfortunately, almost always, very few of these accommodations are designed by architects and are rather materialized through individual ingenuity, improvisation or accident and not innovation and design. So, the question remains: what can and cannot architecture do? Scott-Smith (2016) detects five problems in the (few) design interventions by architects for emergency shelters: **1. over-complexity:** designs are often very beautiful and original, but not

practical (hexagonal, inflated, breathable fabrics). Architects tend to forget that the simplest solutions are the best. Heuristic technique/ Occam's razor is required so that the simplest solutions are not over-looked in the drive of innovations. **2. neophilia:** architects often shun or even despise tradition. **3. triumphalism:** overstating the benefits of a particular innovation or design to the point that it sometimes becomes unethical. **4. under-representation:** not asking people what they want; emergency demand vs. the actual need. **5. fetishization of objects:** valuing the objects more than need of the users, leading to the overlooking of the problem (politics of impermanence) and focusing on the solution (design products and process). Therefore, "the need for a new venue, the idea of the *concrete tent*" is discounted, losing the chance of giving these architectural forms new meanings and representations "beyond the idea of poverty, marginalization and victimization" (Bedir, 2015).

3.4 Camp

The design of the shelters for asylees essentially enforce the notion of asylums as places that separate their inhabitants from the surrounding world with locked doors and high walls (Goffman, 1961). This description of a 13th century lunatic asylum in Europe is hauntingly similar to the reception centres that were built throughout Europe in the past few years (Figures 11 and 12):

> "[They] lived within the confines … and their personal privacy was minimal. [The rooms] were able to house up to 50 [individuals], in very close proximity and little personal space. The daily regime was strictly regimented, with little room for variation and often under the watchful eye of staff. During the early years of the Asylums, wards were locked and security was kept high..." (The Time Chamber, 2015).

Figure 11 Tempelhof Airport, Germany's largest refugee camp (World Architecture, 2016)

Figure 12 One of the tents in a refugee camp in Denmark (The Local, 2015)

These makeshift emergency shelters have inadequate visual barriers and no auditory privacy. Lack of privacy is heightened by large number of people concentrated in one confined space. Rigorous control and policing is part of the daily routine. It is highly unlikely that these sites

engender urban agency, and potentially urban citizenship. These are merely shelters—often low-rise, barrack-style buildings placed in peripheral locations on the outskirts of cities—that invoke the sense of exclusion through policy-making.

"The camp is the space opened when the exception becomes the rule or the normal situation."

Agamben, G. (1998). Homo Sacer.

Do the landscapes of these "container cities" provide ease of mind for the locals? Are the asylees a smoke-screen to the actual problem of lack of affordable housing in general? Or is the question not who is to blame for the shortage of affordable housing but does housing asylees remove opportunities from locals? What meaning an asylee accommodation signals is an important aspect while designing such spaces, for both the natives and the newcomers to not feel neglected, aprioritized or unwanted. This brings us to the spatiality of camps, most famously described by Agamben. According to Agamben (1998), the camp has replaced the city in its biopolitical model and the state of exception has become the standard. These camps, the "exceptional spaces" of "inclusive exclusion" (ibid) are built so that the population that "disturb the national order of things" (Turner, 2015) can be kept there. Camps can be defined in spatial and temporal dimensions. Spatially bounded by both physical and authoritarian barriers, asylees and natives constantly penetrate these "walls" for trade, employment or other necessities. Temporally, although expected to be temporary, the camps can often become permanent (ibid).

3.5   Home

The interim statement produced by the Commission on Integration and Cohesion (2007, page 33) states "[I]ntegration and cohesion will always be about place." So what is this place that denounces the notion of a camp? What provides stability and safety? Let us explore the ideas of home and house.

Right to housing is a basic human right (United Nations, 1948, Article 25.1; OHCHR, 1976, Article 11.1). Absence of home is "an extreme violation of the rights to adequate housing and non-discrimination and often also a violation of the rights to life, to security of person, to health, to protection of the home and family and to freedom from cruel and inhuman treatment" (Farha, 2015). Home has not received academic and policy attention with as much urgency and priority as it should[9] (ibid, p.3).

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[9] absent from the MDG even though housing stands at the centre of New Urban Agenda of Habitat III

What is the function of a house? As notably put by Le Corbusier, it is a "machine for living in" (Le Corbusier, 1927, p.95), "[…] a shelter against heat, cold, rain, thieves and the inquisitive. A receptacle for light and sun. A certain number of cells appropriated to cooking, work, and personal life" (ibid., p.114). Apart from a perfectly deviced tool for *life*, a house also is a home. The notion of home is beautifully expressed by the Arabic root word for dwelling *"sakan"* (سكن). It has two meanings: "lingering in peace" and "persisting in stillness". This etymological complexity uncovers the impossibility of dwelling and suggests that one can only dwell at the culmination of things: the limit. It unfolds a spatial narrative that analyses the home both as a tangible establishment of an object, as well as social, psychological, and linguistic phenomena (*Zwischen Zonen*, 2017). Home can also be defined in spatial, temporal and social contexts. It is something that occupies space, something physical. Home is, quoting Freya Stark, "a place where every day is multiplied by days before it" (2013). Here, "the problem of meaning is temporal, a passage of time linked to experiential consciousness" (Terkenli, 1995); the memories that are constructed in a house are deracinated—as are the residents when they are forced to leave home. This brings us to the paradox of the recent typology of shelters/homes that are known as "refugee housing", a permanently temporary situation (meant both in terms of a place and circumstance) that revolves around the lives of the asylees.

Notion of home and belongingness is constantly changing for the asylees; a post-structuralist approach justifies it as a dynamic and continually negotiated concept. It challenges the idea that these notions are connected to ethnical, racial and national origin (Wernesjö, 2014). For the asylees, the meanings of home and belongingness change over the course of their journey and once they have reached a more or less stable location, they would want stability.

3.6   Multifunctionality and Building Components

Architects usually design buildings keeping in mind its immediate use. But buildings survive for a long time, during which their use, users, technology are bound to change. Designing a building that allows adaptive reuse with future changes is not easy, but multifunctionality of a building makes it cost effective, useful, environment friendly and an asset for the society (Farley, 2015). Stewart Brand in H*ow Buildings Learn* divides a typical building into six components: site, structure, skin, services, space plan and stuff (1995). Site is permanent, structure is semi- permanent, skin can be expensively modified. Services (electricity, water, data, ventilation) and space plan (doors, windows, walls and ceilings) can be easily adjusted if the architect initially designs them to be so. Stuff includes furniture, accessories, décor and every other "minutiae of daily life" (Brand, 1995). Designing by keeping in mind these layers of building composition immensely helps to create spaces which are both aesthetically sound and functional. Over the years, there has been little change in the nature of housing discourse and terminology. Questions about the meaning of dwelling and how buildings belong to the concept of dwelling still remain (Heidegger, 1993). In his article *Building Dwelling Thinking*, Heidegger tries to understand these questions through a multifaceted approach where he

uses the concept of "fourfold": "Staying on **earth** under the **sky**, before the **divinities**, among **mortals**" (1993). Through these, he constitutes a framework through the connection between the building and the "fourfold", explaining dwelling as something which includes human experience in a greater context.

3.7   Tabula Rasa

Walter Benjamin argued that "monstrous unfolding of technology" created a *tabula rasa*, destroying, among other things, the age-old "dreadful mishmash of styles and worldview" (Hanssen, 2006) of the domestic interior of the 19th century bourgeoisie house. During the same time, Le Corbusier's the Dom-Ino model (Figure 13) established the *nouvelle idée* of a private property that denounces all previous "traces" left by its dwellers—a *tabula rasa*. Here, the domestic realm was taken over by the *tabula rasa* of the industrial production, making the space open to any interpretation. Although Le Corbusier was unsuccessful in putting this model into practice (Aureli, 2015), its basic philosophy is seen everywhere today. It was conceived as a system that combines RCC[10] with DIY[11] building practices to be used as a housing prototype for mass-production. The opportunity of self-construction consequently "makes the inhabitant the owner of their house" and turns "them into small entrepreneurs of their respective households" (ibid). Le Corbusier saw it as a "place of social reproduction and the centre of architecture's radical reinvention" (ibid).
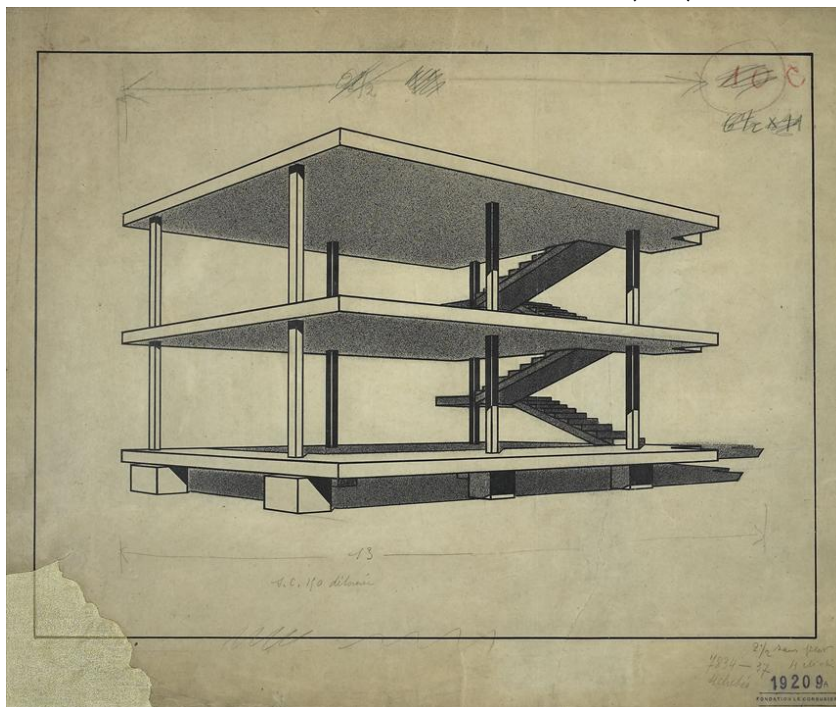

Figure 13 Maison Dom-Ino, one of the most recognisable images of 20th century architecture (Le Corbusier, 1914)

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[10] Reinforced Concrete
[11] Do It Yourself

Ten years later, Hannes Meyer proposed another radical idea that was imbued at the scale of the house but manifested at the larger scale of the city: the Co-op Zimmer (Figure 14). He developed the concept from the basic component of house, a room (*Zimmer*) that infuses a way of life beyond possession for the ever-increasing mobile population. Meyer, and later Benjamin in the 1930s, saw the possibility of life detached from the sense of ownership represented by the domestic interior. By reducing the room into a bare space, Meyer in his model eliminates the idea of permanent occupation (Heynen, 2009). The sense of impermanence due to economic instability in Berlin and Moscow in the 1920s gave rise to new, constantly changing *modus vivendi*. The dwellings were such scantily furnished that there was hardly any option for the dwellers to claim and customize anything as their own. The life was constantly reinvented in the communal—in the outside public realm as an eternally incomplete project. Aureli argues that whereas the dweller of the Dom-Ino house could be a small entrepreneur who owns it, the dweller of the Co-op Zimmer is the urbanite turned ascetic who has no need for further developing the household, and can therefore concentrate on their *ars vivendi* (2015).

Figure 14 Co-op Zimmer (Meyer, 1926)
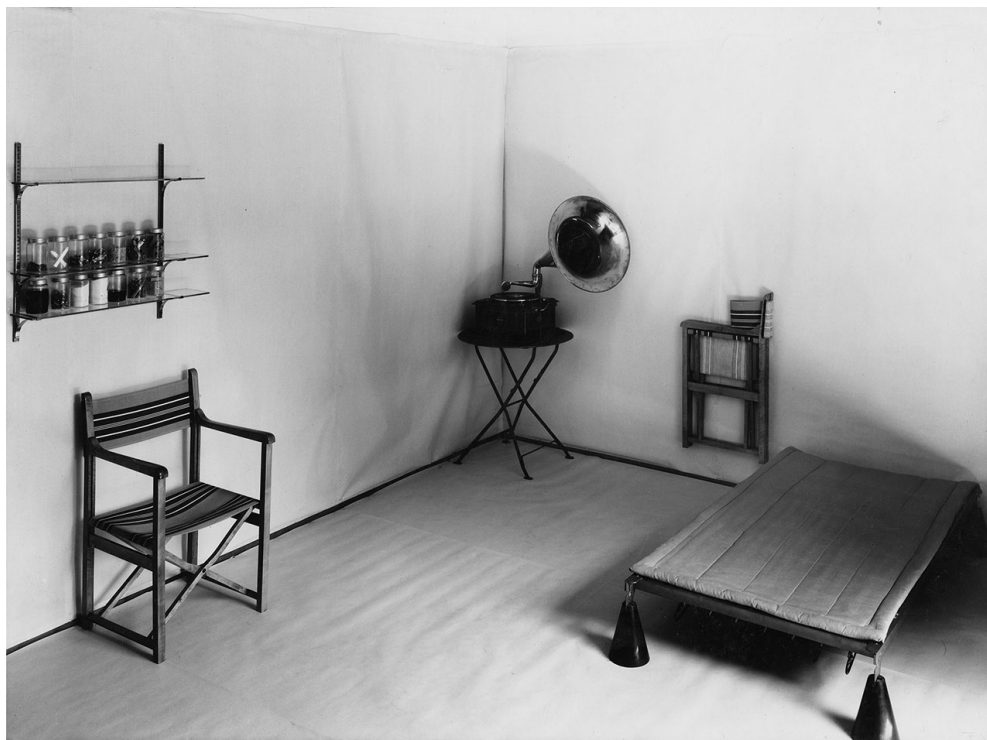
3.8   Location

Kemeny (1992) proposes a socio-spatial approach to housing studies. He argues that the location of the housing as one of the main elements for the social integration of people (p.159). Location dictates how individuals forge different relationships during their daily life and work. His concept "residence" is a combination of household (social aspect) and dwelling

(spatial aspect). There are multiple impacts of home on the economic wellbeing of a household. Yes, a home is a shelter from the elements, provides comfort, security and privacy, it is a place to relax, learn and live. But it also provides the residents a neighbourhood which dictates the accessibility of the households to friends and relative, shops, public services, employment and leisure (Maclennan, Stephens and Kemp, 1996, p. 7).

The type of amenities and the distance at which they are available depend on the neighbourhood of the home. With the idea of city as a manmade distribution mechanism, Harvey (2009, p. 68) indicates that the location of urban services and facilities are linked to a spatial system constructed by locational decisions taken by households, entrepreneurs and public authorities. Harvey also points out that the real income of communities in a city is influenced by the location of households, and its accessibility and proximity to different amenities and resources (ibid, p. 57).

Mature, established urban areas with good public transport system are basic requirements for integration. Vacant office buildings are often found in such urban settings. Shifting the use of these buildings from working to living changes its effects on its surroundings, both visibly and tangibly as stimuli of the urban realm. Urban planning and architecture in the "normative territorial politics" means to make provisions like housing, infrastructure etc. for only those who are considered "indispensable" (Ortefuermenschen, 2016). If those considered "dispensable" and who live outside the "centralized territorial polis" are included in urban planning it will mean that architecture is taken as refuge architecture, and not reduced to mere refugee architecture (ibid).

4. POLICY ANALYSIS

This chapter introduces the current situation of the asylees in Austria and Denmark in urban areas. The asylum procedures are explained and summary diagrams are created for a better understanding. In the second section of this chapter, housing trends and policies of the two countries are outlined.

4.1 Asylum Procedure and Accommodation of Asylees

4.1.1 Asylum Procedure in Austria

WHERE DO ASYLEES STAY?

A person seeking asylum (*Asylberechtigte*) in Austria, once gone through initial screening, registration and recording of biometric features by the police or border control, are sent to the Federal Office for Foreign Affairs and Asylum[12]. From there, they are either sent to Distribution Centres (*Verteilzentren*) or to one of the three Federal Reception Centers (*Erstaufnahmezentren*) in Traiskirchen, Thalham, or Schwechat Airport if they are identified as UAMs[13] or if they fall within the Dublin regulation. Those who fall within the Dublin regulation are given a deadline for voluntary departure to the responsible EU member states, and are otherwise deported. During this time, they stay in either Initial Reception Centres or Organized Reception Facilities. The UAMs are transferred to Special Federal Reception Facilities (*Sonderbetreuungsstellen*) and then to Special Accommodation Facilities for UAMs (*UMF-Quartieren der Lände)* managed by provincial governments where they stay while their application for asylum is processed. From the Distribution Centres, the rest of the applicants are interviewed once again and distributed to Organized Reception Facilities *(Länderquartier)* managed by provincial governments until the completion of the procedure. For Vienna, this distribution is carried out by Social Fund Vienna (FSW). The applicants can also stay in Individual Accommodations (houses, apartments) or stay with friends or family. During this time, applicants are entitled to Primary Care (*Grundversorgung*) that includes compulsory schooling for the children, monthly financial allowances[14] and access to the labour market under restricted conditions. If the asylum application is denied, the applicants may appeal the decision and are placed at Initial Reception Centres or Organized Reception Facilities during the appeal. If the asylum is granted, they can move to a private accommodation immediately, or after four months (Koppenberg, 2014) from receiving a positive decision. The states assist in finding private accommodations. The procedure is summarized in the following diagram (Figure 15):

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[12] Bundesamt für Fremdenwesen und Asyl (BFA)

[13] Unaccompanied Minors

[14] Amounts granted to asylum seekers as of 31 December 2016: Accommodated including food €40; Accommodated without food €110-200; Private accommodation €365 (Knapp, 2017, p.65)
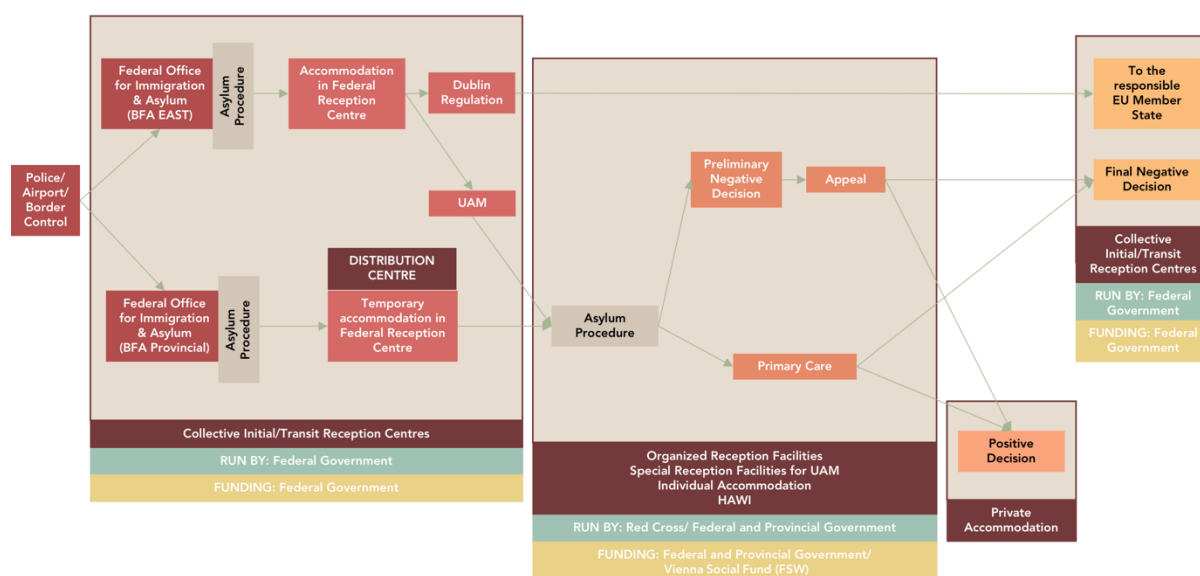
Figure 15 Various accommodation facilities during asylum procedure, Austria (Author, from Asylkoordination Österreich, 2017; BFA, 2017; Deinasylverfahren, n.d.; Knapp, 2017; Koppenberg, 2014; Welcome to Europe, 2016)

WHO RUNS THE FACILITIES?

Among the three types of reception facilities in Austria (Table 1), the federal government runs the Collective Initial/Transit Reception Centres (*Transitquartiere*). Organized Reception Facilities exist in all nine provinces as well as at the federal level, but Individual Accommodation is only arranged in the provincial level. The table below shows that the number of beneficiaries living in individual accommodations have been decreased until 2012. However, in the past two years, the ratio has reversed (Hilfe für Flüchtlinge in Wien, 2017).

Table 1 Different types of reception facilities in Austria (Koppenberg, 2014, p.33)

Type of Accommodation	Number of facilities at the end of 2012	Number of applicants accommodated during 2008-2012 (as of 2 January)				
		2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Collective Initial/Transit Reception Centres	2 initial and 1 transit reception centre	13,108	12,632	12,400	10,903	12,045
Organized Reception Facilities	Around 805					
Special Reception Facilities for Unaccompanied Minors	73 (of which 45 apartment-sharing groups, 20 residential homes and 8 supervised accommodations)					
Individual Accommodation	N/A	11,485	10.273	9,354	7,369	6,317

HOW ARE ASYLEES DISTRIBUTED?

Two main factors for the allocation of applicants are capacity of the reception facilities and stage of the asylum procedure (Koppenburg, 2014). The provinces provide places according to a quota system based on their population size. There is a department for Primary Care in all nine provinces, which finds suitable accommodation, concludes contracts with landlords or NGOs, hotel or pension owners, to provide accommodation and Primary Care according to the quota. Practically, most provinces remain short of their quota, in part because provinces like Vienna exceed theirs. Notably, Vienna is the only province which fulfilled and even exceeded its quota during the five years of 2008 to 2012, leading to capacity strains. The number of applicants for international protection who have family members living in Vienna is comparatively large because of this. Asylum seekers like Vienna because of its foreign communities, foreign language services and its infrastructure. So, relocation is often directed towards Vienna (Koppenburg, 2014). The reception system of Austria had a capacity of 88,009 places and hosted 79,176 persons at the end of 2016 (ibid). In some federal provinces asylum seekers are mostly placed in reception centres, unlike in Vienna where 65% of applicants lived in private accommodations as of June 2017 (Hilfe fur Fluchtlinge in Wien, 2017).

4.1.2 Asylum Procedure in Denmark

WHERE DO ASYLEES STAY?

A person seeking asylum (*asylansøgere*) in Denmark, once gone through initial screening, registration and recording of biometric features by the police or border control, are sent to the Reception Center (*modtagecentre*) in Sandholm. The Immigration Service then establishes which of the four processes the asylum case will go through (Figure 16). Those who fall within the Dublin regulation are sent to the Departure Centres to await their departure to the responsible EU member states. The rest proceed to the second phase of the application process and are accommodated in one of the four asylum centres while their case is being processed: Accommodation Centre (*opholdscentre*), Children's Centre (*børnecentre*), Care Centre (*omsorgscentre*) or *udebolig*. The applicants continue to stay in these centres if they are given a preliminary negative decision and decide to appeal. The municipalities must find housing for those who get a positive decision. In the beginning, the rent is paid by the refugee until they find a job, usually from the allowance they receive from the municipalities who are reimbursed by the state. The municipalities can offer any kind of house (build new accommodations, rent private properties, etc.) but mostly it is Public Housing (*alment boligbyggeri*). The refugee can also find their own place.

If the applicant receives the final negative decision, they are sent to one of the two departure centres. However, a small number of people with special needs stay after rejection in centers run by Red Cross. Previously, rejected families with children were allowed to stay in *udeboliger*. This option has been revoked and is now gradually being shut down. Two prisons at Ellebæk and Vridsløselille are used for asylum seekers only - with no criminal sentence,

usually for short stays but can be up to one year. Not everybody is imprisoned, but it happens quite a lot, either in the beginning or to those awaiting deportation. Other prisons are used for asylum seekers or foreigners who enter illegally and have not applied for asylum. All prisons are run by Prison and Probation Service (M Bendixen 2017, pers. comm., 9 August). The procedure is summarized in the following diagram:
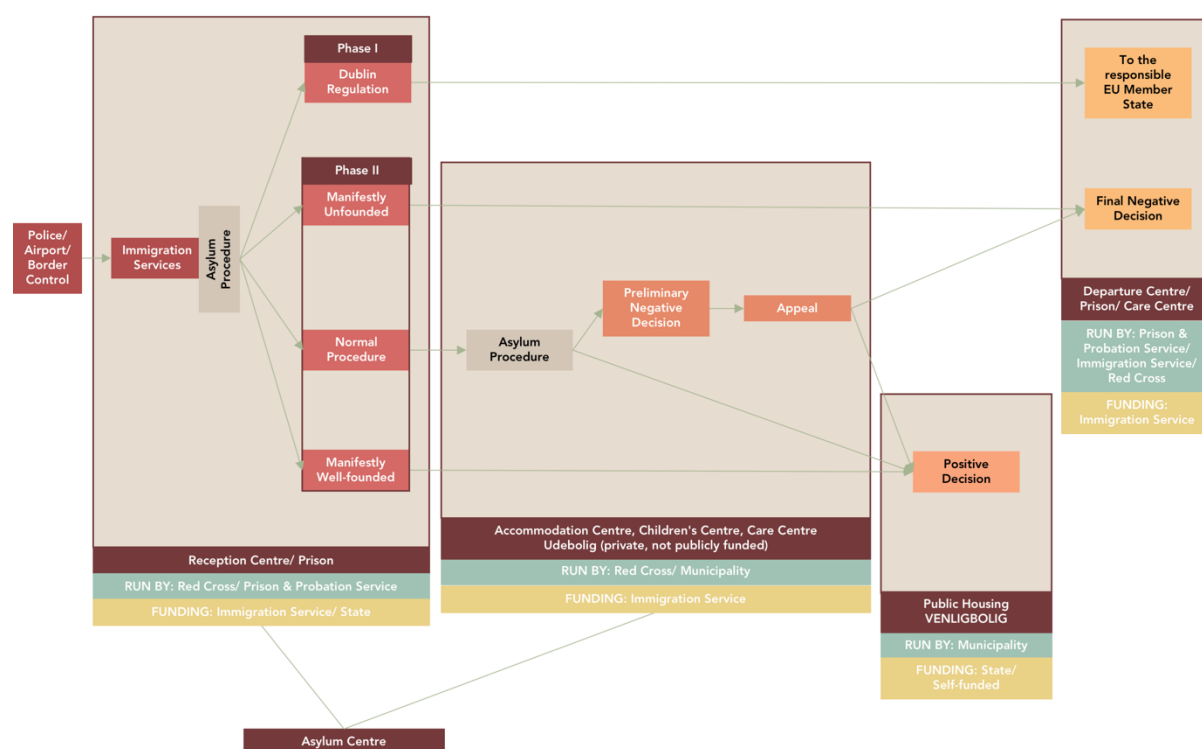
Figure 16 Accommodation during asylum procedure, Denmark (Author, from Bendixen, 2016; Dansk Flygtningehjælp, n.d.b; M Bendixen 2017, pers. comm., 9 August; Ny i Danmark, 2013; Ny i Danmark, 2016a)

WHO RUNS THE FACILITIES?

Centre Sandholm is run on contract by Red Cross and funded by the Danish Immigration Service (UIM[15]). Accommodation Centre (*Opholdscentre*), Children's Centre (*Børnecentre*), Care Centre (*Omsorgscentre*) or *Udebolig* are also run on contract by Red Cross or by the municipalities, and funded by Immigration Service except for the *Udeboliger* which are privately funded (Table 2). The two departure centres are run by Prison and Probation Service[16] jointly with Immigration Service.

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[15] **Udlændinge- og Integrationsministeriet**
[16] Kriminalforsorgen

Table 2 Types of reception facilities in Denmark (Røde Kors, n.d., Sundhedsstyrelsen, 2017)

Type	Description
Long-term, temporary accommodation (*Langvarig, midlertidig indkvartering*)	Temporary housing for a longer period, which may last for a couple of weeks or several years. Examples include asylum centres, reception centres, resettlement for evacuation from home, quarantine centres.
Accommodation Facility (*Indkvarteringsfacilitet*)	A general term for the physical location where people are gathered for long-term temporary accommodation, for example, municipal or government buildings or, during greater pressure, barracks or tents.
Asylum Centre (*Asylcentre*)	For asylum seekers who will have their case dealt with in Denmark.
Accommodation Centre (*Opholdscentre*)	Where asylum seekers live while authorities process their application for asylum.
Reception Centre (*Modtagecentre*)	For newly arrived asylum seekers.
Children's Centre (*Børnecentre*)	For unaccompanied minor asylum seekers.
Care Centre (Omsorgscentre)	For vulnerable residents with special needs
Room-Share (*Husstandslignende forhold*)	Shared housing and bathroom.
Out-House (Udebolig)	Private accommodations with family
Departure Centre (*Udrejsecentre*)	For persons who have been definitively refused asylum, and who therefore must leave Denmark.

HOW ARE ASYLEES DISTRIBUTED?

Overall, most refugees, immigrants and descendants of non-Western origin live in and around Copenhagen and other major cities. When granted asylum, the Immigration Agency determines which municipality the refugees will live in under the integration program. The goal is an even distribution of refugees and immigrants in the country's different municipalities. Therefore, most new refugees are distributed to areas outside the larger cities of Denmark.

The municipality allocates housing to newly arrived refugees. Refugees usually cannot move to another municipality during the integration period—the first five years—unless they have received employment. If a refugee wants to move to another municipality during this period, it must be approved by the receiving municipality[17]. If a refugee moves without approval, they may lose the right to follow the integration program and the municipality may reduce or stop paying the financial assistance. New refugees are distributed to the country's municipalities following a quota system. The quotas are determined by the estimate of Immigration Service of how many refugees are expected to stay in the coming year. The starting point is that municipalities must agree on the distribution. If no agreements are concluded, the distribution of Immigration Service will be final (Udlændinge- og Integrationsministeriet, 2016a).

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[17] Tilflytningskommunen

As of January 1, 2015, 33.6% of immigrants and descendants of non-Western origin lived in the country's three largest municipalities (Copenhagen, Aarhus, Odense), and 85,984 persons of non-Western origin live in the municipality of Copenhagen alone (equivalent to one fifth of the country's refugees, immigrants and descendants of non-Western origin) (Dansk Flygtningehjælp, n.d.a). The proportion of refugees, immigrants and descendants of non-Western origin is highest in the Zealand-Western counties/sjællandske vestegnskommuner (primarily Ishøj, Brøndby and Albertslund) and in the country's three metropolitan municipalities (Copenhagen, Odense and Aarhus) (ibid). Albertslund, Brøndby, Høje-Taastrup, Ishøj, Læsø, Odder and Vallensbæk were therefore declared as "*null kommune*" in 2017, meaning they would not receive any refugees this year. (Ny i Danmark, 2016b). Læsø, Odder and Vallensbæk have been removed from the list for 2018 (Ny i Danmark, 2017) (Table 3).

Table 3 Number of refugees accepted by region and municipality 2012-2016 (Tal og fakta på udlændingeområdet 2016, 2017; Graversen, 2017)

	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Total accepted in Denmark	2,511	3,780	6,048	10,592	7,172
Capital Region					
Municipality (*Kommune*)	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Københavns Kommune	10	10	10	5	147
Gentofte Kommune	35	32	53	89	135[18]
Frederiksberg Kommune	21	30	63	139	113
Rudersdal Kommune	16	37	61	116	98
Lyngby-Taarbæk Kommune	19	40	51	83	87
Egedal Kommune	28	45	59	125	84
Bornholms Kommune	28	28	74	127	78
Frederikssund Kommune	28	44	77	112	75
Helsingør Kommune	32	47	69	112	75
Hillerød Kommune	24	43	57	92	61
Gribskov Kommune	29	44	71	97	53
Gladsaxe Kommune	22	7	19	17	47
Halsnæs Kommune	20	19	34	77	47
Tårnby Kommune	25	18	31	86	44
Hørsholm Kommune	11	22	35	60	43
Other municipalities	82	106	161	302	223
Total	404	572	925	1,639	1,410

FUNDING AND BUDGET

Politicians have allocated DKK 44 million for Copenhagen to integrate the refugees and Allerslev plans to create a new "Copenhagen Model" of integration with the money (Saietz, 2016). As part of the Government's two-party agreement with Municipal Association (KL[19]), DKK 150

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[18] 201 in 2017

[19] *Kommunernes Landsforening*

million (around 20 million EUR) has been allocated (DKK 75 million for 2016 and DKK 75.8 million for 2017) to the state co-financing for establishment of temporary housing and conversion of suitable empty buildings for refugees. In 2016, the government gave a total of DKK 1 billion to the municipalities to integrate and accommodate the refugees (Thomsen, 2016). Frederiksberg municipality receives DKK 2,150 from the state and DKK 1,000 in contributions per refugee (Engelund, 2016).

4.1.3   Summary

The proportion of refugees, immigrants and descendants is the lowest in the smaller island municipalities of Denmark. That is why the country distributes refugees to areas outside the major cities for an even distribution of the newcomers, while Austria tends to allow refugees to stay in the big cities, especially in Vienna.

4.2   Housing

4.2.1   Housing Trends and Policies in Austria

HOUSING MARKET & QUALITY
In the recent decades, the housing market in Austria has not experienced a significant rise in either production or home ownership. Consequently, the country has not experienced the repercussions of the housing crisis as much as the rest of the EU countries. The country's housing system has been able to provide a fairly steady and affordable housing stock for its people (Pittini et al., 2015). With 50,134 new dwellings in 2015, Austria saw a 6.7% rise in the production of housing compared to the previous year and a 11% rise compared to 2013 (Statistik Austria, 2017). Austria's housing stock has a high quality and the average habitable space per person has been increasing continually over the years (Figure 17). In 2016, the average size of a dwelling was 99.3m^2 (Statistik Austria, 2017) and each dwelling had approximately four rooms in average. In the first quarter of 2017, residents spent 501.6 EUR per month in rent and the cost of floor space/m^2 was 7.55 EUR per month (Statistik Austria, 2017). The statistics are considerably different in Vienna and the state capitals, where the average dwelling size was 81m^2 in 2011, as opposed to 107m^2 in the whole country (Maxian, 2016). About 20% of people living in Austria have to spend more than a quarter of the household income on housing costs (Medien Servicestelle Neue ÖsterreicherInnen, 2016).
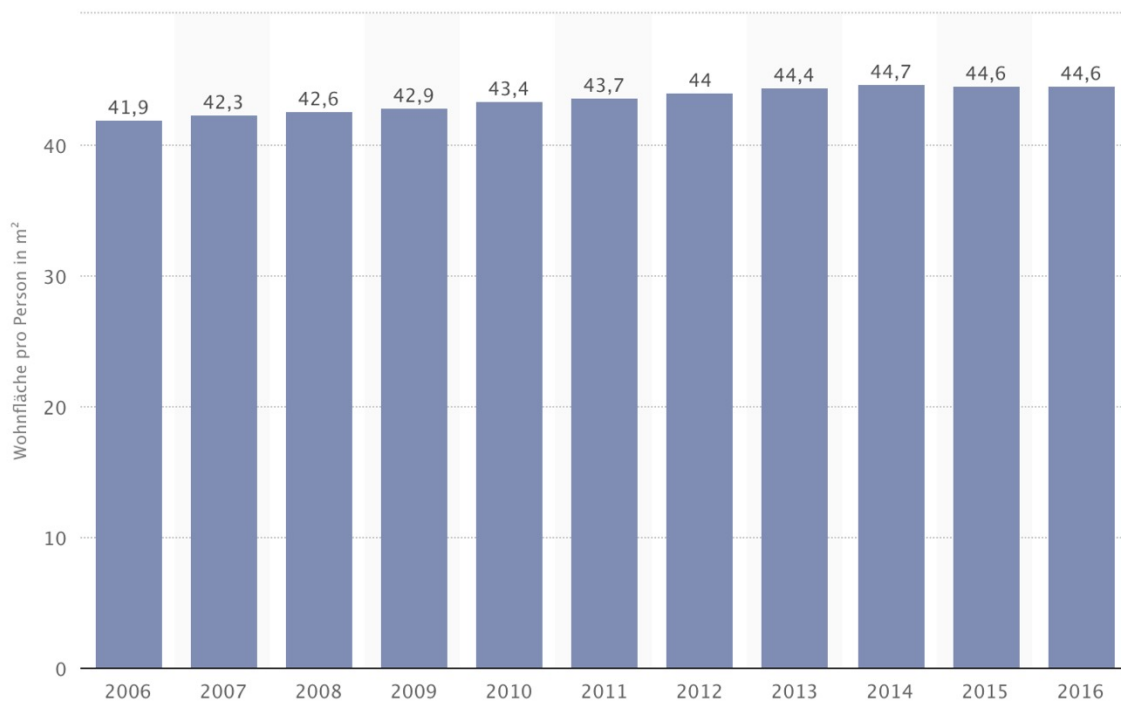
Figure 17 Average living space per person in main residence apartments in Austria from 2006 to 2016 in m² (Statista, 2017)

HOUSING FOR NEWCOMERS

Despite the upward trend and high quality, there is a general lack of low to medium rent level housing stock (Pittini et al., 2015). The deficiency has exacerbated due to the on-going immigration and the recent influx of people, especially to Vienna. And ostensibly, the newcomers get the worse share of the deal than the natives. In the past year, the average living space per person was 44.6m², compared to the 31m² of households with a migration background (Medien Servicestelle Neue ÖsterreicherInnen, 2016). As of 2015, 55% of native Austrian households[20] have a home ownership, while 25% of foreign born nationals have their own residential property and 70% live in rented apartments. In 2013, native Austrians spent of 19.2% of their available household income on housing costs (Pittini et al., 2015), while foreign born nationals spent 37% (average 2013-2015) (Medien Servicestelle Neue ÖsterreicherInnen, 2016).

VACANT DWELLINGS

A survey on vacant houses in Vienna carried out in 2015 by MA 50[21] states that the city has a market-active vacancy, with 25,000 short-term vacant apartments which is 2.5% of the total stock of around one million apartments in Vienna. A healthy mobility reserve for a city is estimated internationally with a vacancy rate of between 2-4% of the total housing stock. Vienna is thus within the range of a healthy mobility reserve, allowing new arrivals to and movements within the city. The Viennese housing market provides 50,000 housing allowances per year, as confirmed by the survey. Almost half of the new or rented apartments are also affordable municipal and subsidized dwellings.

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[20] with a household reference person without a migrant background
[21] Department of Housing Promotion and Arbitration Center for Housing Law

Around 10,000 usable apartments do not have a residence permit for more than 2.5 years and are classified as definite and medium-term vacancies. This is partly due to extensive refurbishment activities and apartments are often not rented during this time. The raking model also shows that subsidized new construction (80% of total new construction) makes a significant contribution to the housing supply in the city (Daxböck, 2015).

POLICY DEVELOPMENTS
Austrian housing policy aims at high quality, affordable housing for its citizens. The country follows a supply-driven housing strategy as opposed to demand-oriented strategies in other European nations that rely on rent allowances to reach housing targets. Regulated profit and a huge social housing stock (20% of entire housing stock; 51% of rented properties) assume an imperative role. Current discourses of housing policies focus on increasing the production of rented properties by providing additional public incentives (Pittini et al., 2015).

4.2.2   Housing Trends and Policies in Denmark

HOUSING MARKET & QUALITY
Unlike in Austria, Denmark saw its property prices plummet after the financial crisis of 2008 (Pittini et al., 2015; Westig, 2016, p.5). However, in the last few years, the housing prices have stabilized and begun to increase again (Fletcher et al., 2015). Housing production has remained stagnant, most likely due to the fact that the construction cost and mortgage debt in the country are both the second highest in the EU after Sweden and the Netherlands, respectively (Pittini et al., 2015). Since 2007, the Danish households have adjusted to housing price and high amounts of debts with the high levels of assets such as landed property and very high retirement savings (Alert Mechanism Report 2016, 2015, p.24).

In 2017, 57% of the Danish population live in owner-occupied dwellings and the rest in rented properties (Bisgaard and Poulin, 2017). Also, the space for an owner-occupied dwelling is $57m^2$ per occupant and $45.6m^2$ per occupant for a rented dwelling. Among all the municipalities in Denmark, Copenhagen has the lowest living space per occupant ($40.2m^2$) (Ritzau, 2016). As the size of households has decreased from 2.5 to 2.1 persons since 1981, consequently the average dwelling size has increased from $106.4m^2$ to $112.1m^2$ (Bisgaard and Poulin, 2017).

HOUSING FOR NEWCOMERS
Since 1980 and especially in the 1990s there has been a concentration of refugees and immigrants in apartments *(etageboliger)*. In 2010, 68% of refugees, immigrants and descendants of non-Western origin live in apartments and 28% in detached houses *(parcelhuset)*. 53.6% of immigrants and descendants of non-Western origin, 16% of immigrants and descendants from western countries and almost 14% of people of Danish origin lived in public housing *(alment boligbyggeri)*. There is, however, a tendency for

immigrants to move away from the social housing areas after 10 years of residence in Denmark. This happens as they get stable income (Dansk Flygtningehjælp, n.d.a).

VACANT DWELLINGS
As of January 1, 2017, there are 152,450 vacant dwellings in the country (Bisgaard and Poulin, 2017, p.59). There is no data available for Copenhagen municipality or the CRD.

POLICY DEVELOPMENTS
Public housing rented by non-profit organizations comprise of around 20% of the total Danish housing stock (Scanlon, Arrigoitia and Whitehead, 2015, p.4). Both private and public housing tenants are entitled to rent subsidies based on their earnings. As of December 2015, 575,000 households received one of the three forms of rent subsidy (1.7% more than in December 2014) (Danmarks Statistik, 2016).

Socially deprived and migrant groups tend to concentrate in public housing blocks (Scanlon, Arrigoitia and Whitehead, 2015, p.6) that leads to a higher likelihood of social exclusion. Public housing associations are addressing the issue by regenerating the communities through establishing more amenities, promoting local employment, enforcing crime prevention, etc. (Pittini et al., 2015). However, the yearly publication of a list of ghetto areas[22] (*ghettoområder*), some argue, stigmatizes and marginalizes the communities more than help them (Shekol, 2016).

The integration Act of 1999 assigned the responsibility of "activating" the refugees and immigrants by providing them jobs and housing (Hedetoft, 2006). However, it was clarified in the two-party agreement between KL and the government from March 2016 that the municipalities are not obliged to impose the statutory task of appointing permanent housing for refugees over the need for other social housing instructions (Frederiksberg Kommune, 2017).

In August last year, the government implemented a series of austerity measures on immigration matters. The length of residence permit for convention and quota[23] refugees was changed from five to two years with subsequent extensions of every two years. The length of residence permit for recipients of protection status was changed from five to one year with subsequent extensions of two years. The length of residence permit for recipients of temporary protection status remained one year. The eligibility of acquiring a permanent residence permit was increased from five to six years. Moreover, the government introduced a fee for applying for a permanent residence permit for refugees and others, and financial benefits for asylum seekers was reduced by 10%. However, it also included measures to ensure increased capacity for accommodation of asylees. The authorities were given several new tools to handle an increase in the number of asylees and migrants who enter and reside in Denmark: access to deviate from planning legislation in relation to asylum accommodation,

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[22]Based on percentages of residents outside labour market, country of origin, income, and criminally charged (Liste over ghettoområder pr. 1. december 2016, 2017)

[23] A refugee who is outside Denmark can be resettled in Denmark, in agreement with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) or similar international organization

access to use of public property for asylum accommodation or detention facilities without the consent of the owner, access to impose responsibility for asylum centres on municipalities and relaxed requirements for temporary housing placement of asylees (Regeringen, 2016).

When Copenhagen was removed from the list of *null kommune*, the city hall decided that all the refugees that the municipality receives would be accommodated in a closed office building in Valby, Copenhagen. Integration and Employment Mayor of Copenhagen Anna Mee Allerslev is strongly opposed to this decision of amassing all the refugees in one place, anticipating "ghettoization". However, a maximum limit of a six-month stay was implemented after which the refugees would be distributed into their own homes around the city as well as in some of the reconverted municipal old homes. The municipality is also planning to let people move in some of the larger and more expensive apartments, which are otherwise difficult to rent (Saietz, 2016).

Frederiksberg municipality has published that a balance between housing needs and housing supply should be achieved by December 2018. In addition, a significantly larger number of refugees could already move to permanent homes by 2018. However, the schedules for several of the projects for the provision of permanent housing have been changed. This means that a balance will only be reached from January 2019, and that a larger number of refugees than previously expected will stay longer in temporary accommodation, which may have consequences for the long-term integration perspective (Frederiksberg Kommune, 2017) (Table 4).

Table 4 Refugee quotas & waiting list with expected housing demand (Frederiksberg Kommune, 2017)

	2017	2018	2019
Refugees in temporary accommodation with housing needs (number of persons) as of end of February 2017	177		
Expected number of refugees received from March 2017	153	183	183
Expected housing need - accumulated at year end (number of persons)	330	513	696

Alongside these efforts, work is being done to establish temporary accommodation capacity if/when sufficiently sustainable housing solutions are not realized soon enough. The municipality has 11-33% of the available housing with Public Housing Organizations[24] and approximately 25% with the Consumers Association (FBF[25]). Some of these homes can be offered refugees (Frederiksberg Kommune, 2017). Moreover, new accommodations are also being constructed (Table 5).

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[24] *Almene boligorganisationer*

[25] *Forbrugsforeningen*

Table 5 Construction projects in Frederiksberg (Frederiksberg Kommune, 2017)

	November 2016		February 2017	
	Capacity (housing/ person)	Timeframe	Capacity (housing/ person)	Timeframe
K1. Acaciavej	6/6	May 2017	6/6	May 2017
K2. Prins Constantins Vej, roofing	1/3	Jun 2017	1/3	Jun 2017
K3. Functional residence, Jakob Dannefærdsvej	9/9	Jul 2017	9/9	Jul 2017
Total	16/18		16/18	
New grant				
K4. Kærnehuset	9/9	End of 2017	9/9	Jan 2018
Completed				
K5. Prins Constantins Vej	8/8	Dec 2016	8/8	Occupation 1 Feb 2017

4.2.3   Housing Standards for Asylees

STANDARDS FOR ACCOMMODATION FOR ASYLEES, AUSTRIA

Minimum requirements for housing refugees in Austria, and by default in Vienna, is very detailed and extensive. The general requirements mention that the accommodation facilities must have—in addition to building permit, operating license, trade authorization, fire policing—accessibility to public transport and facilities for daily needs. The minimum personal living space for one person is 8m² and that for each additional person is 4m². There must be community areas inside and outside the buildings. The rooms must have minimum equipment such as, wardrobe, table, bed, box, armchair and ethnic, religious, linguistic differences and family units must be considered for room allocation. The sanitary facilities should be separate for women and men, lockable, and must have shower, wash basin, toilet facilities (for a maximum of 10 people each). Washing machines and dryers or tokens from nearby washers must be available. In the case of full board, balanced meals and warm lunch must be provided, with consideration for special food regulations, e.g. religion. For partial and self-catering accommodation for 12 persons each, cooker with four plates and oven, refrigerator, freezer, sink, kitchen cabinets and dishes must be provided. In addition to the general requirements, there is a more detailed set of requirements for those in primary care (See Annex 10.3) (Hanes, 2015).

For "living", i.e. long-term housing, there are minimum requirements for infrastructure and facilities (for example, illumination, hygiene, etc.). For refugees, the guidelines are the same as those for Austrian people, all regulated through the "Bauordnung"

Marlies Fellinger, MA18, Vienna

COMPARISON OF STANDARDS FOR ACCOMMODATION FOR ASYLEES WITH AUSTRIAN BUILDING REGULATIONS

Section 8 of the Building Regulations for Vienna[26] states that the usable area of an apartment must be at least 30m^2. Each apartment must have at least one toilet and a bathroom in the housing unit. For apartments with more than two living spaces (*Aufenthaltsräumen*), at least one toilet must be placed in a separate room (Bauordnung für Wien, 2017). The two accommodation standards do not contain the same unit for comparison and are, therefore, not entirely comparable. However, it is safe to say—whatever the reasoning—that the standards are different (and lower) for the newcomers "because they are not native residents yet" (tnE Architects, 2017). In 2015, the mass immigration resulted in a special agreement among the authorities which allowed the construction of "container cities" on agricultural land as well as the provision of accommodation in vacant office spaces. However, dormitories (e.g. student residences) with commercial benefits are not included in this special arrangement (ibid).

"The main difference is clearly that asylum seekers have no possibility to choose. They are distributed. Large shared rooms are the standard, often there is no possibility to cook own meals. We can speak of accommodation but not of dwelling – and this is a big difference."

Tobias Grandel, TU Vienna

STANDARDS FOR ACCOMMODATION FOR ASYLEES, DENMARK

There are no separate requirements set out by Integration Act for the standard or the nature of the temporary residence (Myhre, 2017). The accommodation must, however, be legal. This means that building and planning regulations should be respected and that the place must be approved for habitation, and must include sanitation, security, fire regulations (Udlændinge- og Integrationsministeriet, 2016b). For self-financed accommodation (during asylum application) only, the Immigration Agency must ensure that asylum seekers are accommodated under proper conditions. The requirements for the housing standard state that the accommodation must be connected to heating and electricity, and have access to kitchen, toilet and bathroom. In addition, the accommodation must have a size that makes it suitable for housing the concerned household. This means, among other things, that a maximum of two persons can be accommodated per living space in the accommodation, or that at least 20 m^2 is available per person (Ny I Danmark, 2016b).

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[26] Bauordnung für Wien; Other requirements for buildings, components and installations in Residential buildings; Apartments and their belongings

COMPARISON OF STANDARDS FOR ACCOMMODATION FOR ASYLEES WITH DANISH BUILDING REGULATIONS

Legally, there are no minimum standards in Denmark (or Copenhagen) regarding the size of a dwelling. However, the Ministry of Social Affairs has published a report evaluating housing conditions for vulnerable persons. The report recommends that a dwelling for one person should have a gross size of at least $30m^2$ and that the housing should contain net areas of a foyer/entrance of approx. $2m^2$ a living room of approx. $12m^2$, a small kitchen of approx. $3m^2$, a bedroom of approx. $6m^2$ and a bathroom of approx. $3m^2$ (Andersen, 2013).

Against this, it can be argued that special groups may have special needs and may therefore require a larger area or a more special home than others. A report from the Danish Building Research Institute and the National Research Institute of Denmark and the Municipalities on the Danish housing market from 2001 examines, among other things, how households live in "overpopulated" housing, i.e. have very small living spaces. The survey defines "overpopulated" housing as the living space being less than $35m^2$ for a single person and less than $45m^2$ for couples without children (ibid). There is not a long way between the recommended size in the Ministry of Social Affairs report and the National Building Research Institute's limit on overcrowded housing. However, the latter includes homes that are not targeted at a particular target group and are also easier to use, taking into account different family sizes. From these two reports, the Copenhagen Poverty Survey[27] has put forward a minimum living space of $35m^2$ per person plus $10m^2$ per extra resident (ibid). Therefore, it can be definitively concluded that the minimum space requirements for newcomers are lower than those for the natives.

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[27] Københavnske fattigdomsundersøgelse

5. CASE STUDIES

5.1   Types of Accommodations for Asylees

The study of different forms of accommodations available for asylees in Austria and Denmark (Tables 1 and 2) brings forward four types of dwellings (Figure 18). Temporary dwellings are a) "reception", the first stop for the asylum seekers; b) "accommodation", where they stay while their applications are processed; and c) "detention", where they are detained while waiting for deportation or transfer to another EU member under Dublin regulation. Once the applicant receives asylum, they have the option of entering the local housing market and either rent or buy "private" accommodations, the fourth typology. This thesis focuses on the temporary "accommodation" and the permanent "private" accommodations of the asylees—the more *long term* housing solutions of the transient population—in Austria and Denmark. The integration process for the asylees begins while staying in these two types of accommodations and this is where design regulations are most vigorously applied by the authorities (Figure 18).
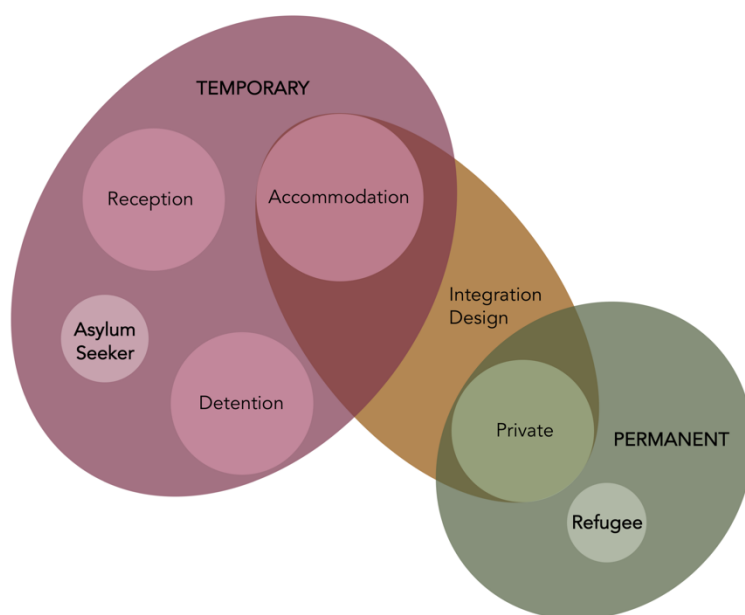

Figure 18 Types of accommodations for asylees (Author)

Hawi in Austria and *Venligbolig* in Denmark (Table 6) were chosen to compare the different initiatives being taken by the respective government agencies and to find out more about "refugee housing" becoming a new typology in housing. Also, how the authorities balance between providing quality housing to its own residents and to the refugees, and whether they prioritize the former by locating the latter in the outskirts of the cities were analysed through these two projects.

Table 6 Case studies (Author)

	Type	Location	Accommodates	Organizers	Architects/ Designers
Hawi	New design + Adaptive re-use of empty office	30 minutes from the city centre	70 asylum seekers, 70 students, 30 UAMs	Caritas, Social Welfare Fund *(Fonds Soziales Wien FSW)*	*the next ENTERprise-architects, TU Vienna*
Venligbolig	New design	Suburb, 2 hours from Copenhagen	2-4 refugees in each unit	Gribskov Municipality; Fælleskassen Bank	*ONV Architects, 2+1 Ideabereau*
Venligbolig+		20 minutes from the city centre	51 refugees, 51 students	Frederiksberg Municipality; Public Housing Association (KAB)	

5.2   Hawi

THE CONCEPT

Hawi, a name derived from the Viennese expression for friend and mate "*Hawerer*", is an integrative residential project where 70 asylum seekers and 70 students (aged 18 to 25) can live together. In addition, 30 UAM refugees can also be accommodated. Abandoned office spaces (Figure 19)—located in a former industrial complex in *Favoriten*, a neighbourhood in the 10th and the most populous[28] district of Vienna—have been converted to habitable rooms that comprise of three types of living spaces: the *Classic*, the *Traudi* and the *Hawi-Box* (Caritas Wien, 2016). The students and young refugees live, build and work together and make way for the much-coveted social integration of all parties involved (Ortefuermenschen, 2016). *Hawi* intends to enable an unconventional and self-determined way of living, bringing together different cultures on affordable terms (EUR 240-260) (Amkempelenpark, 2016). The project installed the *Hawi-Box* prototype on site on February 2016 (Ortefuermenschen, 2016). The asylum seekers moved into *Hawi* at the end of July 2016, followed by students in September (Maurer, 2016). Of the total of 148 living and sleeping areas spread over two levels, 43 units—spread over 16 two- and three-bed rooms—are *Traudis.* The majority are the Classics furnished with donation from Ikea worth EUR 150,000 (Czaja, 2017).

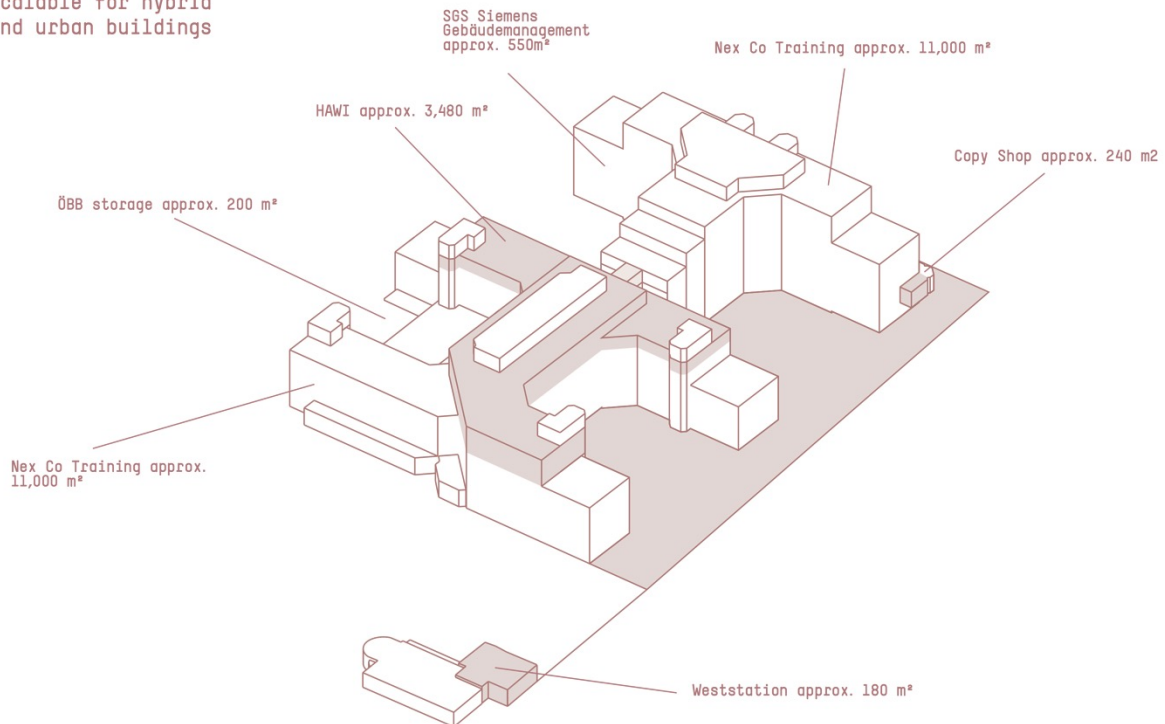[28] 189,713 people, as of January 2015 (Wien, 2015)

Figure 19 Hybrid office building of Siemens (tnE architects, 2016a)

Area per person: approx. 12m² gross floor area

Size and occupancy of the apartments: *Hawi-Box*: 3-4 persons in 39-64m²; *Traudi*: 2-3 persons in 19-28m²; Rooms for UAMs: 23 persons in 25-38m²

Common areas: 800m² of which UAMs 140m², and students and after-careers 660 m²

Outdoor installations Kempelenpark: Five 180m², of which 400m² intervention (Czaja, 2017)

THE CLASSIC

It is a classic two or three bed student room (Caritas Wien, 2016), also known as "Ikea-room" (Gaigg, 2016). There are 16 Classic rooms.

THE TRAUDI

The *Traudi* is a DIY room, and therefore can be individually tailored to the needs of its residents. Available as double and triple rooms, this new concept was developed by students of TU-Vienna (Caritas Wien, 2016). The double floor, typical of office buildings, was dismantled to carve out a 32cm central depression on the floor that creates a built-in cosy seating area. The suspended ceiling was removed to make way for fire protection and infrastructural elements, leaving a clear height of up to 3m in some areas. The most imposing element of *Traudi* rooms is a semi-finished Spruce wood frame structure clamped between the raw floor and ceiling. Initially starting with a box in the room, the designers decided to take the functions outside the box, resulting in a naked ascetic installation that seems to float like an exploded drawing in space. The finesse lies in the reduction to the bare minimum,

literally. The construction costs around 400 EUR per resident including furniture, assembly, and electrical, ventilation and plumbing works (Czaja, 2017).

HAWI-BOX

The design of the *Hawi-Box* is almost the exact opposite of *Traudi*. It is a self-contained multifunctional "work and live" module (2.30m x 1.30m x 2m) that consists of a bed, a fold-out work table resulting in a comfortable seating corner, bedside table, wardrobe and an individual adjustable light. This "room-in-room" concept—a new type of cohabitation—allows privacy when the swing doors are closed. But when opened, the introverted space becomes inviting, making it both individual and common (Figure 20). Four *Hawi-Boxes* are in one room, the interstices are freely designable. The *Hawi-Boxes* were developed for the Architecture Biennale 2016 "Places for People" by the next ENTERprise-architects (Caritas Wien, 2016). The modules include a pre-installed electrical connection, are fully functional and can be plugged in to existing infrastructure (electricity, water, sewage) (Amkempelenpark, 2016). The basic construction consists of standard aluminium rod profiles and plywood partition, initially exposed and now white veneered. There are three rooms with four *Hawi-Boxes* in each.
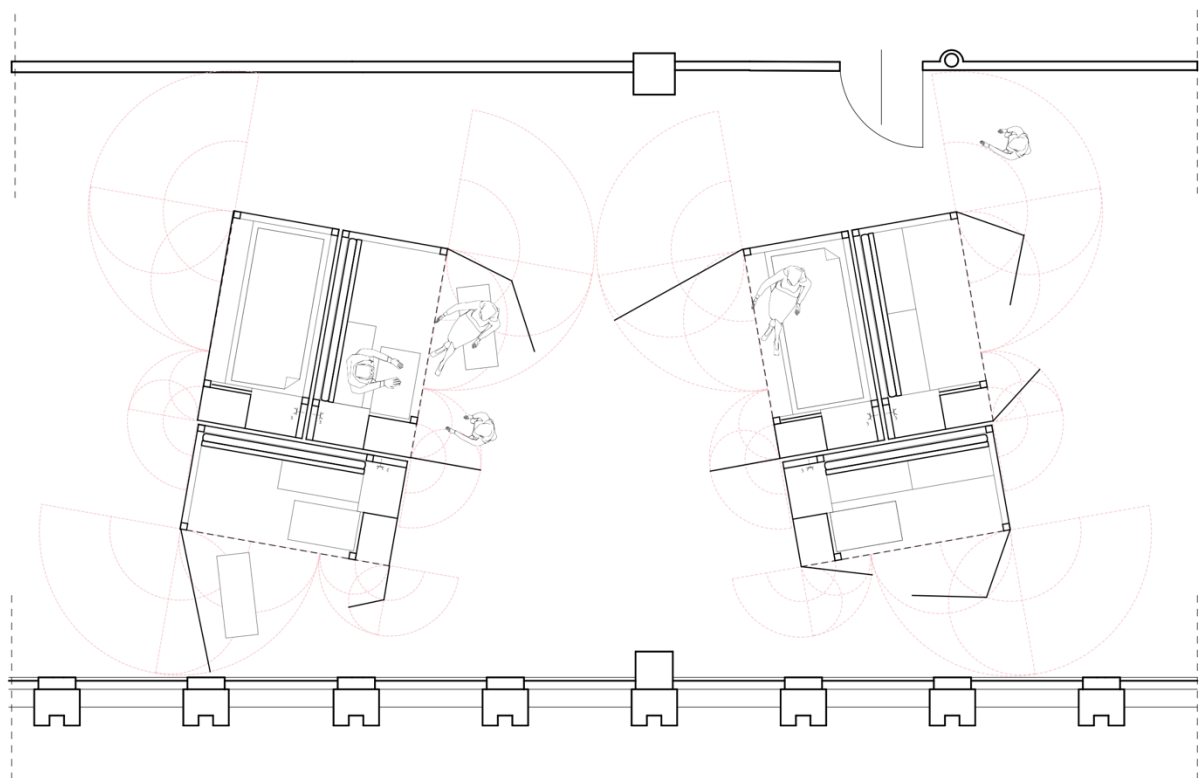

Figure 20 Different possibilities of creating "common and un/common space" with Hawi-Boxes (tnE architects, 2016a)

THE SITE

The industrial complex (*Siemensareal*), previously closed for a long time, was made open to public in 2016. The fourth and fifth floors of the building (*Siemensgründe*) will be used for temporary accommodation for three years. After that the modules can be dismantled and reused in another temporarily usable office property (Amkempelenpark, 2016). Besides *Hawi*, the building houses training organizations, companies, non-profit organizations and research

facilities (Caritas Wien, 2016). The high-density residential district has a heterogeneous configuration. The vibrant spirit of the area is uplifted by the new Central Railway Station adjacent development area, the social housing estates of the 1980s, the late-nineteenth century close-knit residential blocks of Kreta neighbourhood, the peripheral allotment zone and the *Ankerbrot factory*—a bakery turned into a cultural area (tnE Architects, 2016b) (Figure 21).
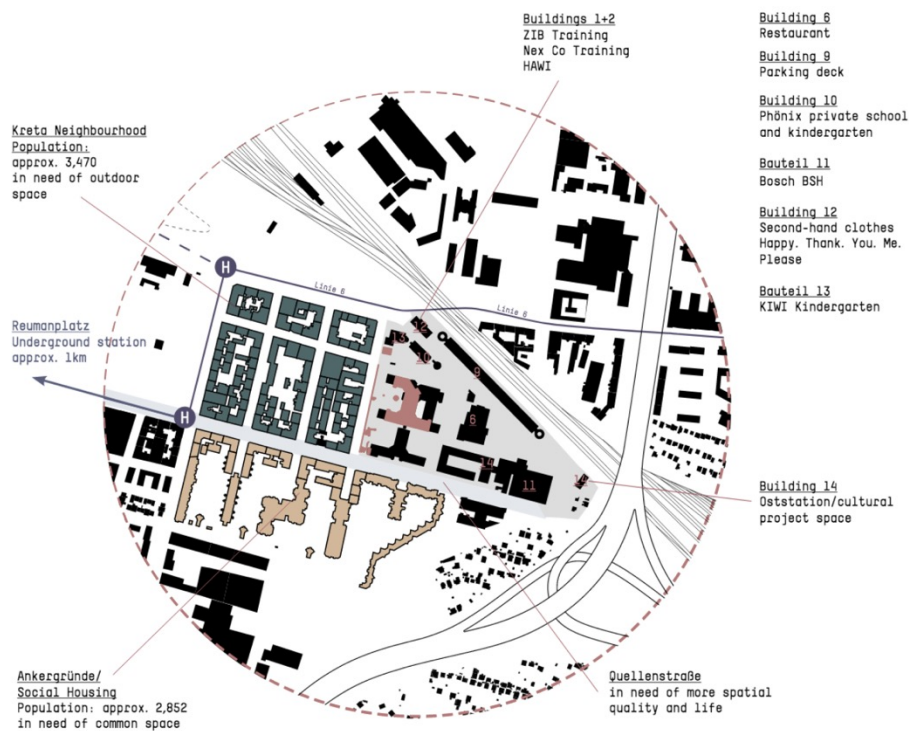

Figure 21 Neighbourhood local services, social and leisure facilities, and open space (tnE Architects, 2016a)

KEMPELENPARK

In June 2016, the green space between the building and Kempelengaße was opened as a public park—a communicative and integrative transition between *Siemensareal* and the neighbourhood. This area is not only interimistic, but also provides inciting catalysts for the environment and new urban development models. The urban space provides interested people the opportunity to participate in and self-organize courses, presentations, workshops, cooking meetings, hangouts, etc. (Caritas Wien, 2016). Along Kempelengaße, a 140-meter-long wooden bridge with platforms, terraces and stairs connects the park of the former *Siemensareal* with the surrounding cityscape. The bridge serves as a walkway and complements the missing sidewalk of the street. A large seating area invites one to linger among the trees. The interlocking of the park and development topography creates new spaces of meeting, communicating and common activities among residents, visitors and urban enthusiasts (Amkempelenpark, 2016)

"UN/COMMON SPACE–UN/DEFINED LIVING"

The space-in-space concept is a new housing typology (tnE Architects, 2016b) that was developed on the layout of the existing vacant office building. The basic needs for living such as sleeping, hygiene, cooking is provided by "hybrid space elements/modules" (hardware) (Amkempelenpark, 2016). The rest of the areas (software) are spaces without predetermined functions, and open to active and self-defined definition and furnishing (ibid). Private and communal spaces are balanced throughout the two floors. For example, the project includes a communal space containing a 10-meter-long "*supermöbel*" (Caritas Wien, 2016) that offers the inhabitants a wealth of activities and possibilities; there are ample opportunities for educational, vocational and recreational activities. The unusual and undefined living mode is devised so that it can be used as "a complement to the existing residential market in the context of temporary living" (tnE Architects, 2016b).

HOW DOES IT WORK?

According to Putzer (2017), the FSW[29] decides which UAMs are placed here. To be able to live here, the asylum seekers must be willing to integrate, learn and exchange from the students and have a certain level of education so that they can study with the students. Caritas interviews the asylum seekers who apply to live here and choose who can move in based on these criteria. The living areas for the UAMs are separate from the rest of the areas and have separate entrances and exits. In the beginning, Caritas tried to set up a matching program where the residents could choose any room and roommates they wanted to stay in. But now, Caritas allocates them based on availability of the rooms. There are more male asylum seekers (7:1) and more female students, and since females and males are not allowed to live in the same room, it is difficult to allocate the students and asylum seekers in the same room. Moreover, often the students ask to be housed with other students, mostly because of the language barrier.

The facilities for the UAMs are checked by MA17 before they are opened to check if proper guidelines and building regulations are followed. It is not so strict for the recipients of Primary Care. The UAMs have to be inside by 22:00 every day. There are no restrictions for students. Officially, there must be daily attendance checks for the asylum seekers, but it is not possible always (Putzer, 2017). The fitness room can be used at specific times of the day and is locked at other times. General house rules such as no pets, no smoking, no bicycles, no fire, etc. apply for everyone for the rest of the areas. The asylum seekers can stay in *Haus Hawi* until they receive asylum. After that, they must leave within four months. In some cases, if the asylum seeker requests to stay longer or has not reached C1 German language efficiency, they could stay for up to six months. Once the UAMs become adults, they must leave as well.

PROBLEMS

When asked if there is any resistance from the locals, Putzer (2017) said that there are no signs saying that asylum seekers live here, because Caritas does not want to get too much attention. There are of course always a handful who are against it but the people in the neighbourhood are generally welcoming. Caritas has had some difficulties to attract students

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[29] Social Welfare Fund

because it is far away from the city centre and the universities. Therefore, the ratio of students has remained always less than the asylum seekers. Also, the students tend to reclude themselves in the privacy of their rooms (Putzer, 2017) because they are asked a lot of questions, advise, help and orientation, "which sometimes gave the feeling of being a social worker or care taker", as one of the residents remarked.

"They see this not as a home, [but] just as a stopping point. They don't know if they will move or not…There's also the feeling [that] they don't live there. They are just stopping. There's a huge difference."

Sigrid Putzer, Head of Cooperation and Volunteer Work, Hawi


FUTURE

Should *Hawi* be successful, Caritas CEO Klaus Schwertner answered the question of similar projects simply with "copying is allowed" (Maurer, 2016). However, Putzer remarked that there are no plans by Caritas to either expand as adding another floor will make *Hawi* lose its personal nature, or replicate as there are still vacant places left (2017). Diakonie showed interest in the project a few years ago, but it did not receive any momentum (ibid).

5.3   Venligbolig

THE CONCEPT

Started in January 2016, *Venligbolig* (*friendly housing* in English) is an idea that provides private and public actors to get together to invite refugees within the society and community. Instead of concentrating refugees in camps and barracks outside the cities, the refugees live and are activated as a resource, where the Danes also live and work. It is a modern prefabricated housing, designed to be set up in the front yard on a private plot or on a public plot of land (2+1 Idébureau, 2016). The houses are designed to fit into a classic Danish country house of 900m^2, but according to Johan Galster, it could also be fitted into a courtyard with apartments (Kamil, 2016). If or when the refugees leave, the house owners take over the property and can then use the unit for guest accommodation or teen room.

The dwelling units have four variations (Figure 22). Type 1 has a maximum transport width of 445cm, with a pitched roof and integrated terrace/balcony. Type 2 is a narrower version of Type 1 with a transport width of 300cm and intended for narrow plots with short distance to property lines. They have a single sloping roof and integrated terrace/balcony. Façades are timber-clad with wood/aluminium windows. Interiors have wooden floors and white walls (Rasmussen and Galster, 2016)
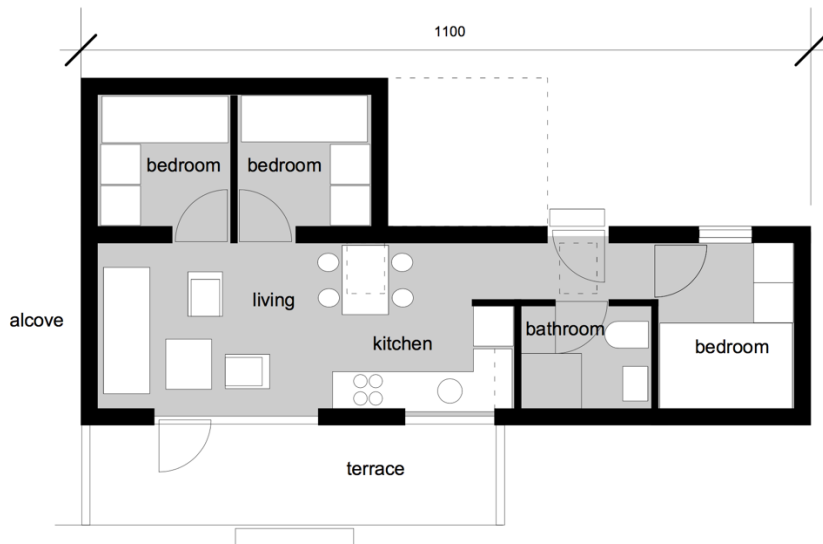
790

Type 1A 35m²

1100

Type 1B 49m²

1100

300
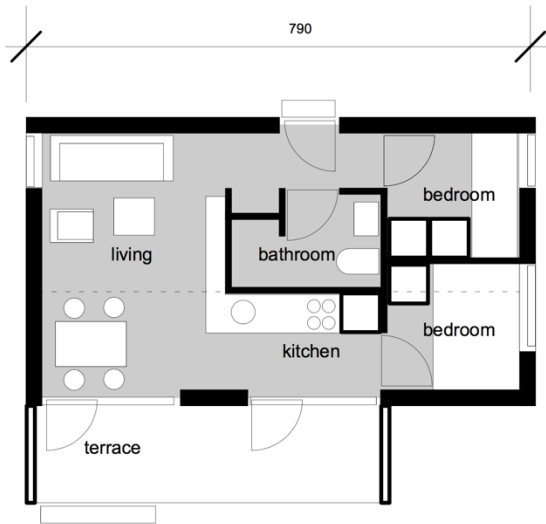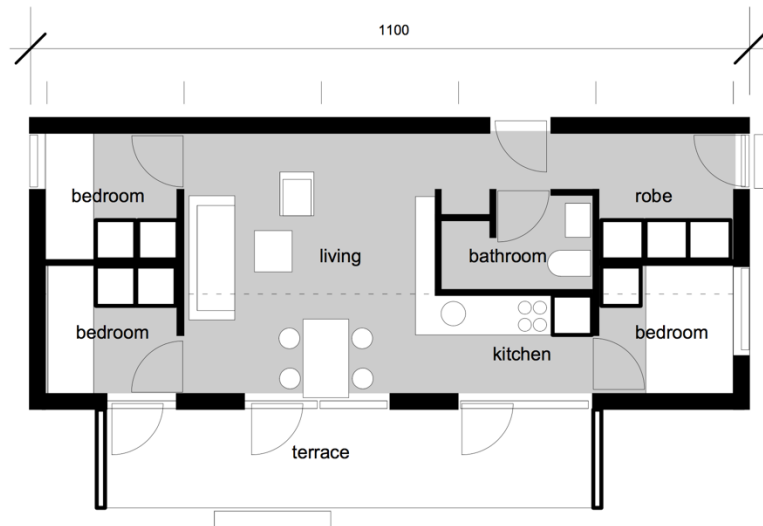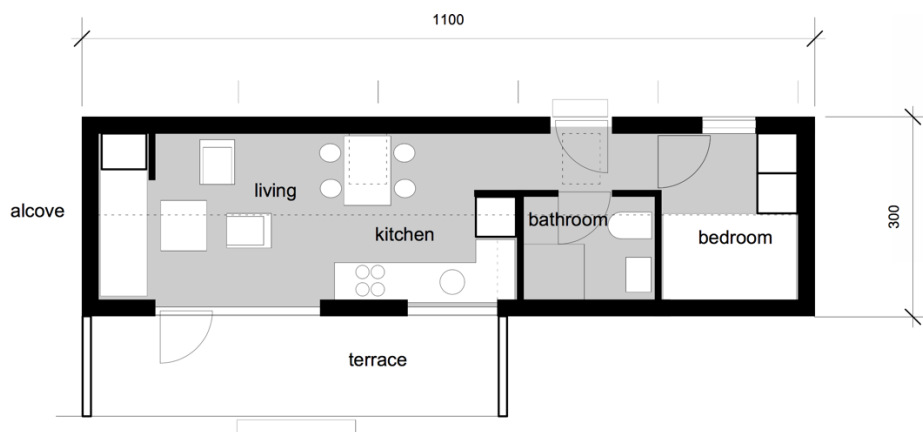
Type 2A 33m²

Type 2B 43m^2

Figure 22 Variations of Venligoblig units (Rasmussen and Galster, 2016)

According to Bisgaard and Poulin, 57% of the Danes live in privately-owned dwellings (2017). On the other hand, a large share of newcomers is concentrated in the relatively few public housing estates. Although they are structurally sound and well-functioning, the qualitative shortage of the public housing forces some towards social exclusion spanning generations (Kristensen, 2007). *Veligbolig* addresses both these issues; it provides private dwellings—a "Danish" way of living, and it provides affordable, quality dwellings that can be built and replicated within a very short time.

Depending on the number of homes produced, a prefabricated modern residence of 35m^2 can cost around 350,000 DKK, and can accommodate a family of 3-4 residents. By comparison, according to the Danish Emergency Board, it costs DKK 10,700 per month (about DKK 130,000 annually) to house the same, for example, in a tent on a landlocked land in Thisted. It is a relatively high monthly expense to run the tent camps with expenses for heating, fire protection, bath, toilet, kitchen, etc. In three years, the cost of the tent will exceed the investment in the prefabricated housing. The investment will also create Danish jobs in the construction and transport sector. Moreover, Danish architects will have an incentive for innovation for a new rising global market for cheap flexible prefabricated homes and be a global export success (Rasmussen, 2016).

THE SITE
Each unit can be placed on an empty plot and can be either clustered together on the ground level if there is more space or stacked on top of each other (Figure 23)

Figure 23 Possible placements of Venligbolig (2+1 Idébureau, 2016)

HOW DOES IT WORK?
Municipalities, organizations and families who are interested to host a *Venligbolig* must sign up through the website of the project. So far, 50-100 families have signed up. The project is still working out its finer details by showcasing the housing unit in various festivals and municipality meetings and taking feedbacks from both potential "hosts" and "guests". A model for matching guests with the hosts is also being developed. There are no monetary incentives for the hosts, a decision taken deliberately so that hosts who are solely interested to help the guests integrate take part (Myhre, 2017). To make it attractive for the citizens of the host municipality, the process has been made easy for the host family, housing association or housing company. With a targeted dissemination effort, the process could look like this: first, the municipality initiates information campaigns for citizens in the street scene, using social media and possibly setting up prototype as a kickstarter. The purpose is to invite landowners to enter the scheme, ensure support by the municipality's stakeholders and invite voluntary organizations into the solution. Second, a landowner, a housing association or a public house department wishes to host a refugee family. The landowner and the municipality enter into an agreement that the landowner, for example, makes 50-100m2 of land available to the municipality for three to five years. Third, the municipality issues a temporary building permit of the *Venligbolig*, ensuring a targeted orientation and dialogue process with neighbours, landowners and the local community so that everyone experiences a well-informed process. And finally, when the construction process is completed, a *Venligbolig* is delivered to the landowner and connected with water, electricity and sewer. The next day a refugee family can enter and a new friendship can begin. The citizen may choose to terminate the co-operation during the five years, in which case the housing can be relocated to a new site in the municipality (Rasmussen and Galster, 2016).

PILOT PROJECT
As part of the pilot project, Kim Wolff and Louise Frederiksen from Gribskov municipality are going to host two to three refugees, perhaps a Syrian family, into a 33m^2 housing unit with a kitchen, bath, living room, a room and a terrace (Lynard, 2017). As of February 2017, the housing unit was being built and was expected to be finished in two months (ibid).

VENLIGBOLIG+

In 2016, Frederiksberg municipality expects to receive 250 refugees. The municipality had plans to house about 50 families in Frederiksberg in *Venligbolig* (Engelund, 2016). However, now the municipality has taken on a new project, *Venligbolig+*, which will house refugees and students together. Financing is in place and if everything goes well, it is expected that the new housing with room for 102 residents will be ready by the end of 2018. The rent is intended to be approximately DKK 2,500 a month (Rahbek, 2017). This will be available for the refugees who are already in temporary homes in Frederiksberg as well as the new refugees who will come to the municipality (Dandanell, 2017). The units in *Venligbolig+* will be 33m^2 each, where two people can live. Each module will have two rooms and a shared kitchen/living room, bathroom and terrace. In addition, laundry facilities, roof terraces and communal facilities will be established to support a common social life. To promote integration, Frederiksberg will also establish a "buddy" program. It is a mentoring scheme that will counteract loneliness and segregation, and strengthen integration and activation of citizens' resources (Rahbek, 2017).

PROBLEMS

The legislation currently does not provide space for two permanent homes on a plot for a typical single family home (Rasmussen, 2016). These legislative details such as how housing benefit claims will work, or how to pay for repair and damages, etc. need to be worked out. Moreover, the future of the project will depend on the price of the housing in the coming years. Hillerød municipality had backed out after initially showing interest to participate by saying that the project does not "comply with the building regulations, and they do not meet the requirements for full-year living" (Garnak, 2016). Similarly, Kolding municipality also showed interest (Ritzau, 2016) but also backed out saying that the project is too expensive and complicated (Andersen, 2016).

Among those who have signed up, most want to host families. But there are very few refugee families who are in Denmark; most of them are single men (Myhre, 2017). This is an issue that needs to be addressed, because if no one wants to host the men, the original purpose of the project will go in vain.

FUTURE

The pilot project will be tested for at least six months and then further decisions will be taken based on the feedbacks and experiences of the parties involved. Venligbolig is a demand-based production of housing units and as such, limits are infinite. It can be used for the elderly or the homeless, and it can be placed anywhere in the country within 12 weeks of request (Myhre, 2017).

My shoes are Japanese, pants are English
Red cap on my head, Russian
But my heart is Hindustani

I set out upon the wide-open road with conviction
Where's my destination, where to stop, God knows best
I advance relentlessly, like a hurricane in a river

High to low, low to high, the waves of life flow
Ignorant is the one who sits by the shore, asking for the way home (motherland)
Moving is the story of life, stopping is the sign of death
Red cap on my head, Russian
But my heart is Hindustani
(Shailendra, 1955)

6. RESULTS & ANALYSIS

6.1   Visual Analysis of Maps

Residential differentiation of the urban population depends on attributes by which people become separated into different residential areas. This process of separation can happen through force, sanctions, policies and market forces, or can be even voluntary, as a defence against assimilation and/or discrimination (Timms, 1975). The principal motivation behind this analysis was to find whether there is a trend of residential segregation through national or local policy of deciding where the asylee accommodations are located. To test this hypothesis, maps were created to find out if there is any correlation between the location of the accommodations and the ethno-socio-spatial characters of the city. Information gathered from observations, interviews and surveys were compared with the findings to see whether they validate or contradict the visual data. Due to the unavailability of data at the level of Capital Region of Denmark, the comparisons have been done between Vienna and the municipality of Copenhagen.

The datasets have certain limitations that helped guide the selection of attributes. Although numerous, the datasets available do not offer all the measures which may give the clearest insight into the three ethno-socio-spatial attributes. It should also be noted that the last census was carried out in 2011 in both Vienna and Copenhagen, and therefore, data available for all chosen attributes are from 2011. This has led to inaccuracies when considering the rapid rate of change in these two cities post 2015. Moreover, the maps have been created using absolute values as Vienna data sets lacked relative values of the selected attributes. Nevertheless, relative values have been compared to the absolute ones in case of Copenhagen where the values contradicted each other. Finally, some data are provided at the subdistrict level and others only at the district level, which directed how the data would be collected and mapped.

*"Already 93% of dwellings are among the best equipped dwellings
with bathroom or shower, WC and central heating (category A) –
compared to 87% in the year 2004. The number of housing units of
the category B (with single oven heating) has comparably declined,
the share fell from 10% to 5%. Dwellings of category C have almost
disappeared (0.3%), as well as substandard dwellings (category D) with
1%"*

Statistik Austria, 2017

6.1.1   VIENNA

a.   About Data

Datasets have been collected from open data repository of Vienna for 2011 and calculated at the geographical level of *Zählbezirk*[30]. Maps have been generated using QGIS and Photoshop CS5. The 23 *Bezirk* (districts) of Vienna are divided into 250 *Zählbezirk* (Offene Daten Österreichs, 2014). *Zählbezirk* has been termed as subdistrict here on after. A total of 18 asylee accommodations have been identified in Vienna from interviews and secondary sources (Figure 24). Of them, nine including *Hawi* are run by Caritas, four by Diakonie, three by Red Cross and two by Fraubock and Hilfswerk, all NGOs. A list of these accommodations is in Annex 10.5.

Figure 24 Location of asylee accommodation in Vienna with its 250 subdistricts (Author, from Offene Daten Österreichs, 2014)

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[30] Smaller districts that are part of a statistical division unit of Vienna; also known as census district
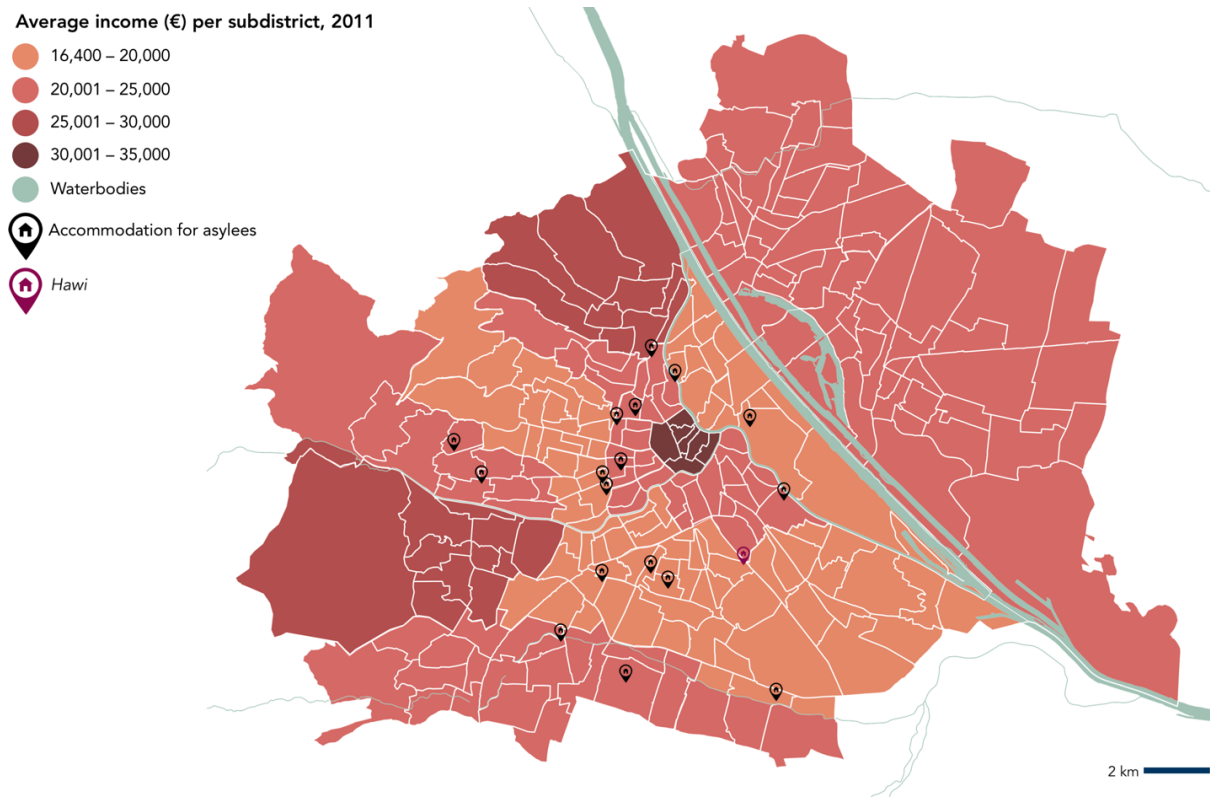
b. ATTRIBUTES

i. Economic Status

Figure 25 Average net income (€) per subdistrict in Vienna, 2011 (Author, from Offene Daten Österreichs, 2014)

Economic status or social rank has been constructed using average net income (€) per subdistrict (Figure 25). It is an indicator of the purchasing power, and therefore the capacity to avail different goods and services such as food, culture, housing, etc. Ten accommodations are in subdistricts with average net income of EUR 20,001-25,000 per year and eight including *Hawi* are in subdistricts with the lowest average income.
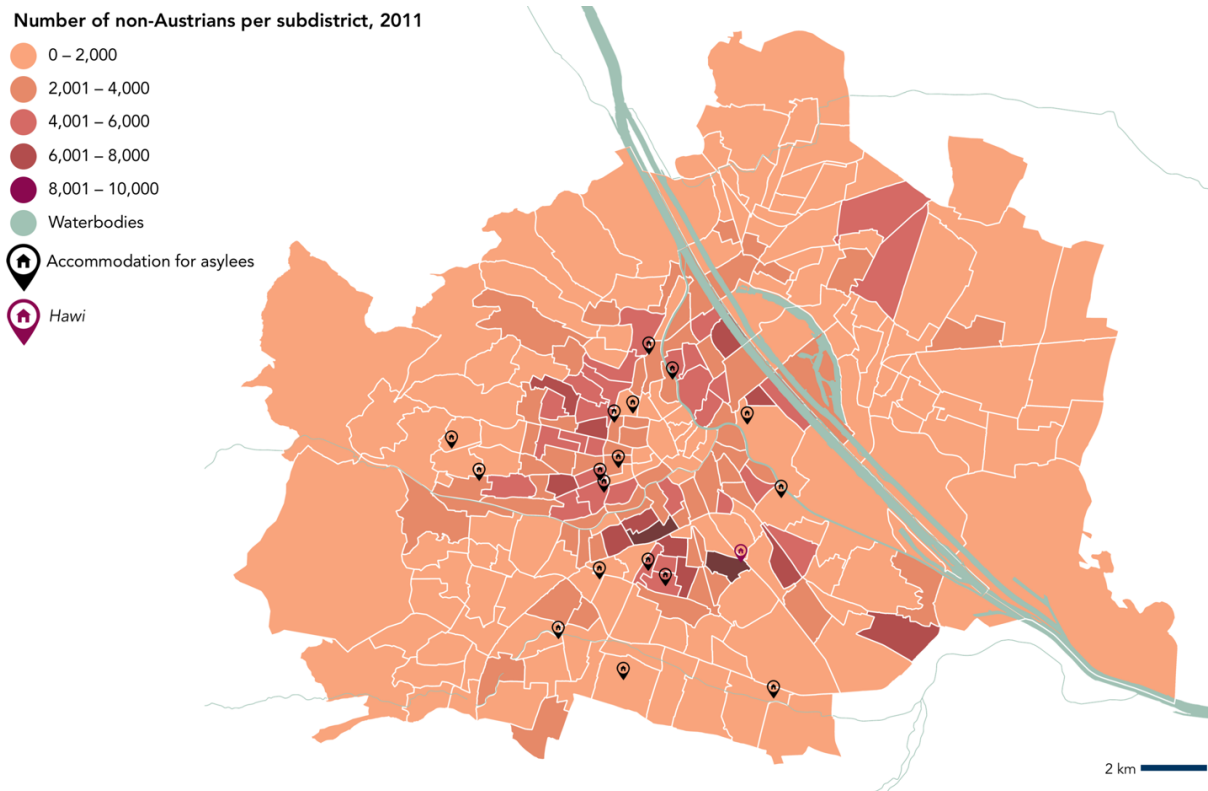
Figure 26 Number of non-Austrians per subdistrict in Vienna, 2011 (Author, from Offene Daten Österreichs, 2014)

Ethno-demographic character of the city has been depicted using the number of non-Austrians per subdistrict. From Figure 26, we can see that *Hawi* is located in an area with the highest number of non-Austrians. Eight are located with the lowest concentration of non-Austrians and the rest are distributed in subdistrcts with ranges between the lowest and highest.
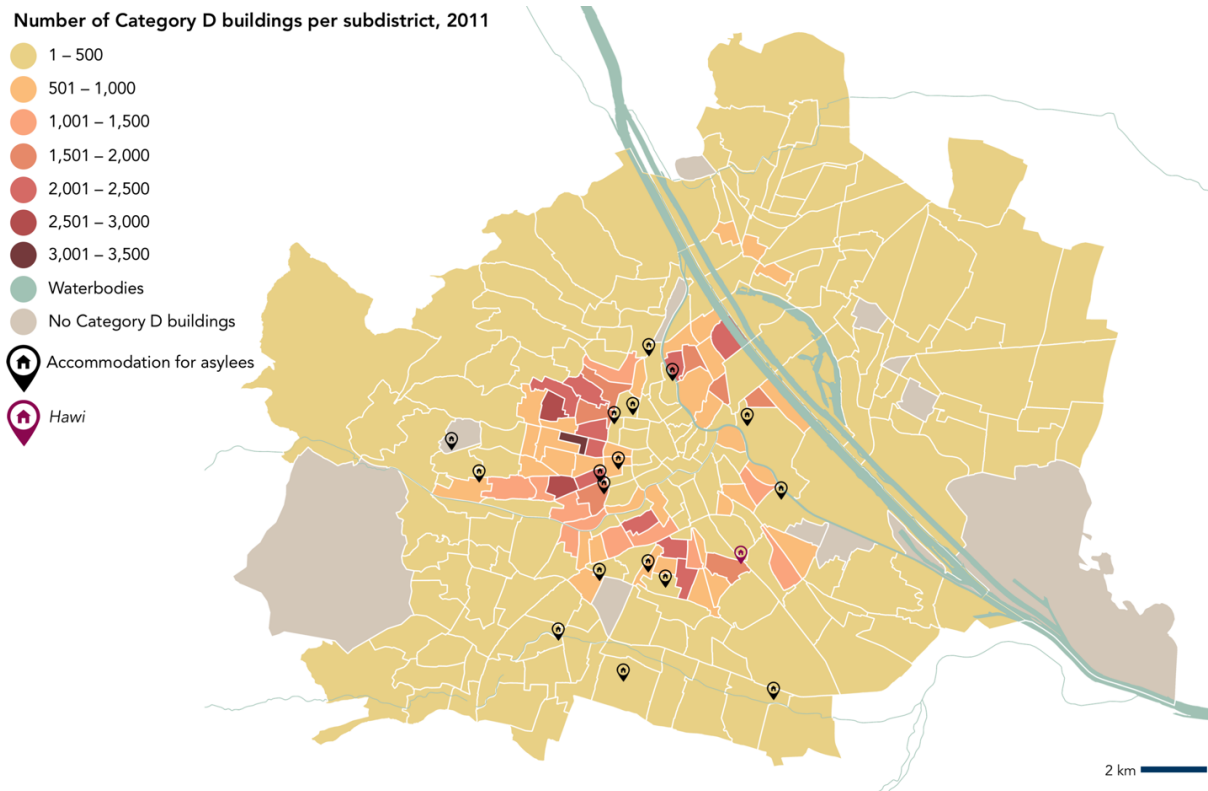
iii.   Quality of Housing

Figure 27 Number of Category D buildings per subdistrict in Vienna, 2011 (Author, from Offene Daten Österreichs, 2014)

Quality of housing is described by the number of Category D buildings per sub-district. Category D dwellings are substandard structures with no WC or water in them. While this does not mean that the accommodation facilities themselves are Category D buildings, it shows the character of the area, which in turn has some bearing on the image of the neighbourhood. Eleven accommodations are located in areas either with none or the least number of Category D buildings. *Hawi* and the rest are located in areas with lower to lower-medium number of Category D buildings (Figure 27).

iv.   Distance of *Hawi* from the city centre and/or amenities

Figure 28 Zone map with the distance of Hawi from the city centre and universities (Author)

Distance of *Hawi* from the city centre and four universities have been calculated using the application Qando as Google Maps does not work for Vienna. Figure 28 shows cycling distances and table 7 shows time taken to travel using public transport. These two modes of transport have been chosen as they are the most affordable options for asylum seekers and students. All the asylum seekers who live in *Hawi* are either current or prospective students and four most popular universities have been shown on the map based on the interviews and survey data. All respondents agreed that *Hawi* is located close to shops for daily needs, and is relatively well-connected to the rest of the city. One of them mentioned that it is easier to go to the city with a bicycle, because tram 6, the nearest public transportation is Vienna's most frequented tram. These trams are old and overcrowded, even more so during rush hour which does not give a comfortable atmosphere. Also, it takes about 20-30 minutes to get to the centre, which, the respondent thinks is too long. There were mixed feelings among both the asylum seekers and students about whether it is easy to go to workplaces or schools/universities; about the neighbourhood being friendly and welcoming; and about the ease with which one can meet with friends and family.

Table 7 Time taken to travel from Hawi to various locations in the city (Author)

From	To	Public Transport	Travel Time
Hawi	City Centre, Stefansplatz	Tram + U-bahn[31]	37 minutes
	University of Applied Sciences	Bus + S-bahn[32]	42 minutes
		Tram + U-bahn	51 minutes
	University of Vienna	Tram	50 minutes
	University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna	Bus + S-bahn	37 minutes
		Tram + U-bahn	45 minutes
	Technical University of Vienna	Tram + U-bahn	36 minutes

c. SUMMARY ANALYSIS

All the accommodations are located to the south of the Danube. There is a noticeable concentration in the *Gürtel* area (at the border of the outer ring of districts 2-9) and the southern districts. It is difficult to formulate any pattern regarding the location of the facilities in relation to the income of the people. No definitive conclusion can be drawn from the map showing number of non-Austrians. The concentration of Category D buildings obviously corresponds with the general housing satisfaction of the Viennese (Troger, 2015), but since most the asylee accommodations are not in these subdistricts, no correlation between the two can be seen. *Hawi* poses some minor inconveniences being a little far from the universities, but Vienna's very well-connected public transport system (Buehler, Pucher and Altshuler, 2016) makes up for it. In conclusion, none of the four attributes (income, ethnicity, quality of dwelling and distance to amenities) have a strong correlation with the location of the asylee accommodation. Therefore, it confirms the claim of the institutional actors that the city tries its best to evenly and fairly distribute the accommodation facilities for the asylees (Fellinger, 2017; Foschi, 2017; Gampert, 2017).

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[31] Metro
[32] Fast trains

"In January 2017, immigrants and descendants comprised 12.9% of the total Danish population (741.572 persons) – about 9.9% are immigrants and 3% are descendants. 52% of all immigrants and descendants originate from a European country.

The largest group originates from Turkey, namely 62.707 persons or 8.5% of all immigrants and their descendants. Poland and Syria are numbers two and three on the list, with respectively 44,926 and 37,880 immigrants and descendants in Denmark"

Bisgaard and Poulin, 2017

6.1.2   COPENHAGEN

a.   About Data

Datasets have been collected from the open data repository of Copenhagen for 2011 and calculated at the geographical level of *rode*[33]. Maps have been generated using QGIS and Photoshop CS5. The 10 *bydele* (districts) of Copenhagen are divided into 396 *rode* (Københavnerkortet, 2014). *Rode* has been termed as subdistrict here on after. A total of 11 refugee accommodations (excluding *Venligbolig* and *Venligbolig+*) (Figure 29) in the CRD and four accommodations in Copenhagen municipality (Figure 30) have been identified from interviews and secondary sources. Of them, five are run by the respective municipalities and six by Red Cross. A list of all asylee accommodations is in Annex 10.6.

Figure 29 Location of refugee accommodations in the Capital Region of Denmark (CRD) (Author, from Open Data DK, 2016)

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[33] Smaller districts that are part of a statistical-administrative division unit of Copenhagen; also used for tax collection.

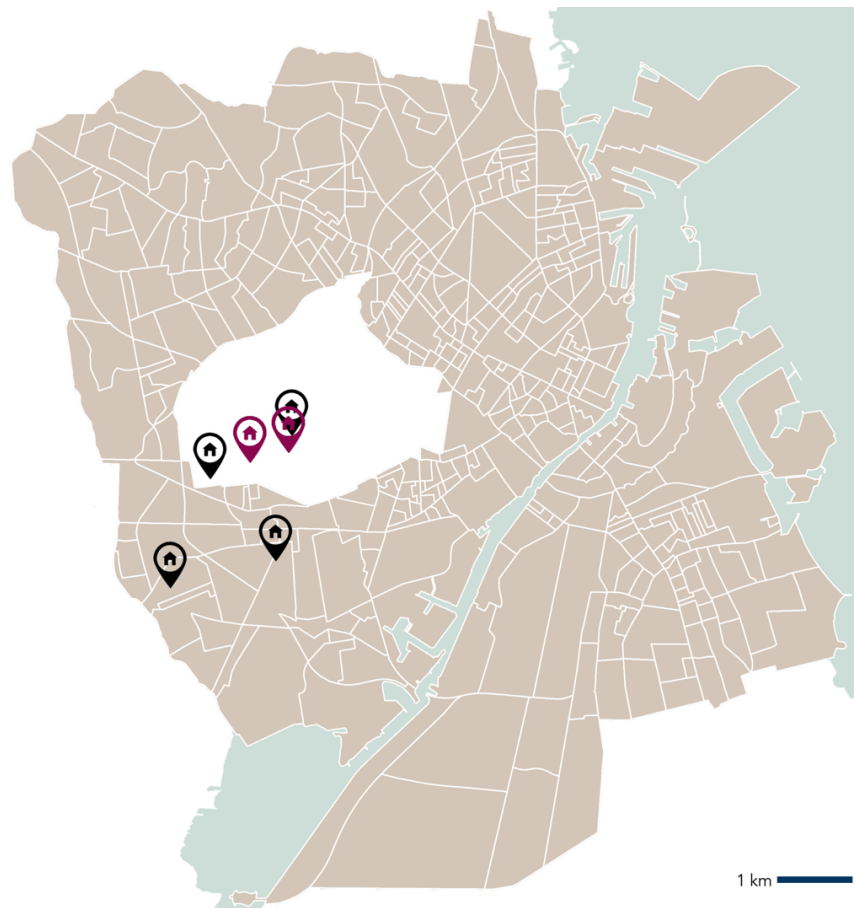*Figure 30 Location of refugee accommodations in Copenhagen with its 396 subdistricts, and Frederiksberg (Author, from Open Data DK, 2016)*
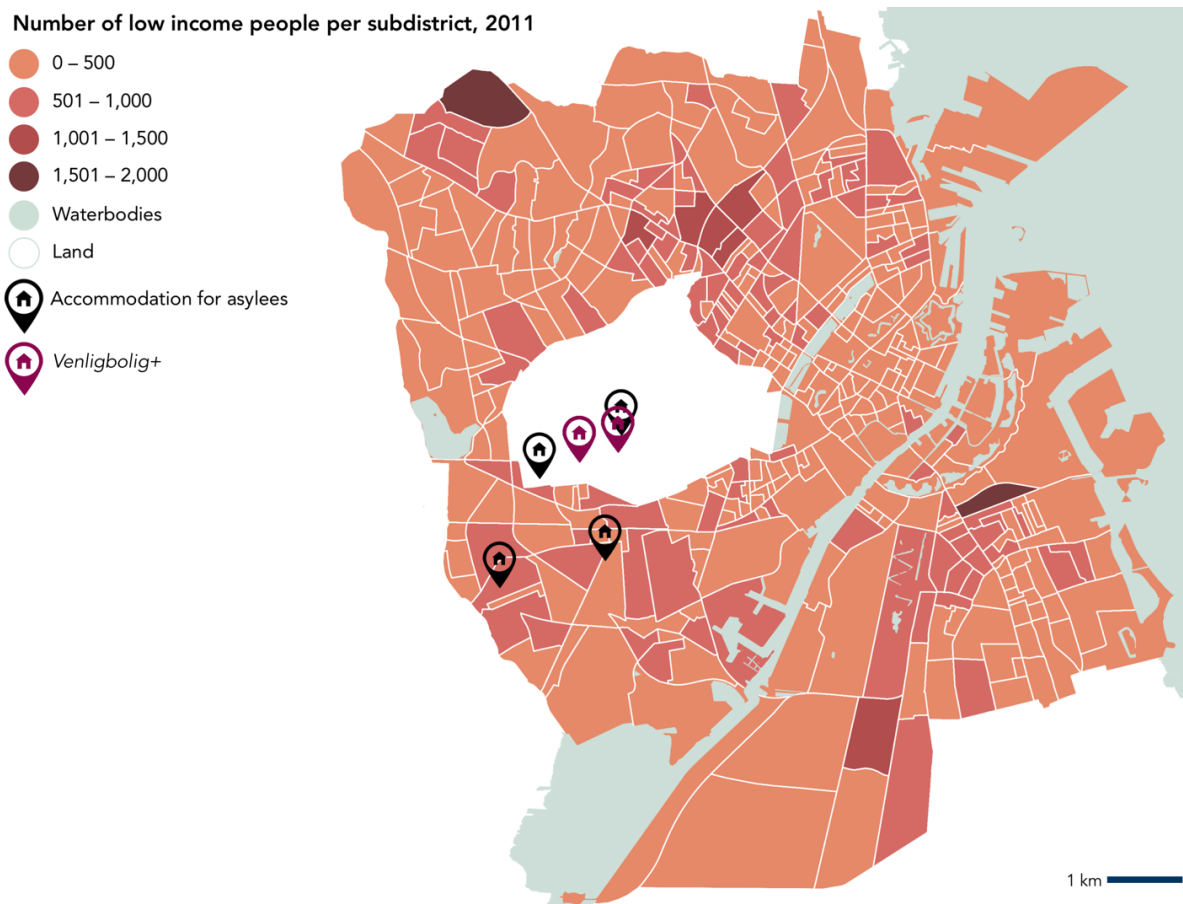
i.   Economic Status

Figure 31 Number of low income people per subdistrict in Copenhagen, 2011 (Author, from Open Data DK, 2016)

Economic status or social rank has been constructed using the number of low income people per subdistrict (Figure 31). Low income is calculated as gross income per person at least 18 years old. Gross income is all income included under ordinary income taxation calculated before various deductions such as interest expenses. Income is calculated on the basis of the median where low incomes are at least 25% below the median, high incomes at least 25% above the median, and the rest is defined as intermediate income. A low gross income amounted to a maximum of DKK 162,000 in 2011. The two accommodations in Copenhagen are in subdistricts that have low numbers of people with low income.
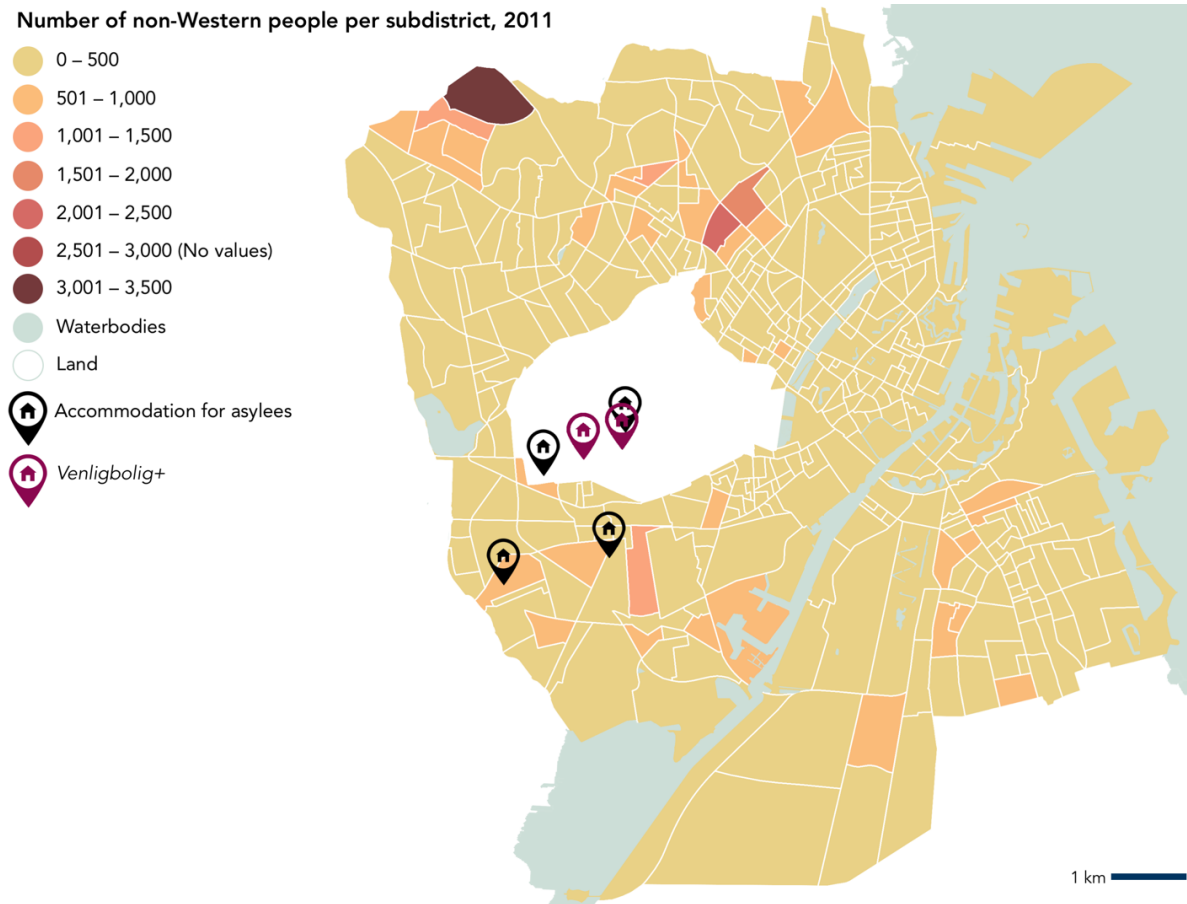
ii. Ethno-demographic Character

Figure 32 Number of non-Western people per subdistrict in Copenhagen, 2011 (Author, from Open Data DK, 2016)

Ethno-demographic character of the city has been shown using the number of non-Western people per subdistrict. From Figure 32, we see that the accommodations in an area with low concentration of non-Westerns. However, if we look at the relative values, one of the accommodations is located in an area with more than 18% of non-Westerns and the other with 3-6% (Københavnerkortet, 2014).
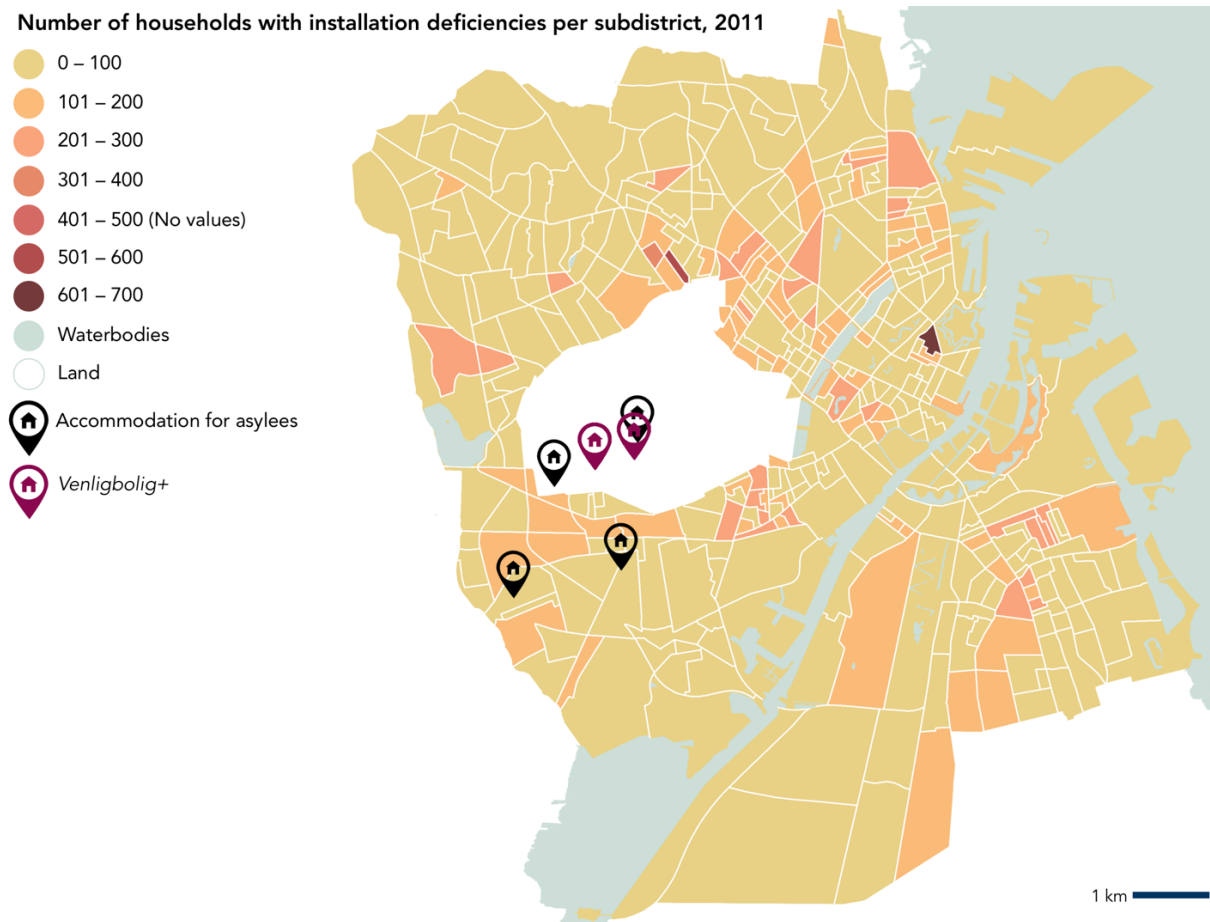
Figure 33 Number of households with installation deficiencies per subdistrict in Copenhagen, 2011 (Author, from Open Data DK, 2016)

Quality of housing is described by the number of households with installation deficiencies per sub-district. Housing with installation deficiencies are households that lack either private bath and/or private toilet and/or lack district heating/central heating. It must be noted here that sample surveys for the data for public housing with installation deficiencies have shown several register inaccuracies. While this does not mean that the accommodation facilities themselves have installation deficiencies, it shows the character of the area, which in turn has some bearing on the image of the neighbourhood. Both accommodations are located in areas with the least number of installation deficiencies (Figure 33). This, however, again contradicts with the relative numbers. One of the accommodations is located in an area with 8.4-20% of buildings with installation deficiencies (Københavnerkortet, 2014).
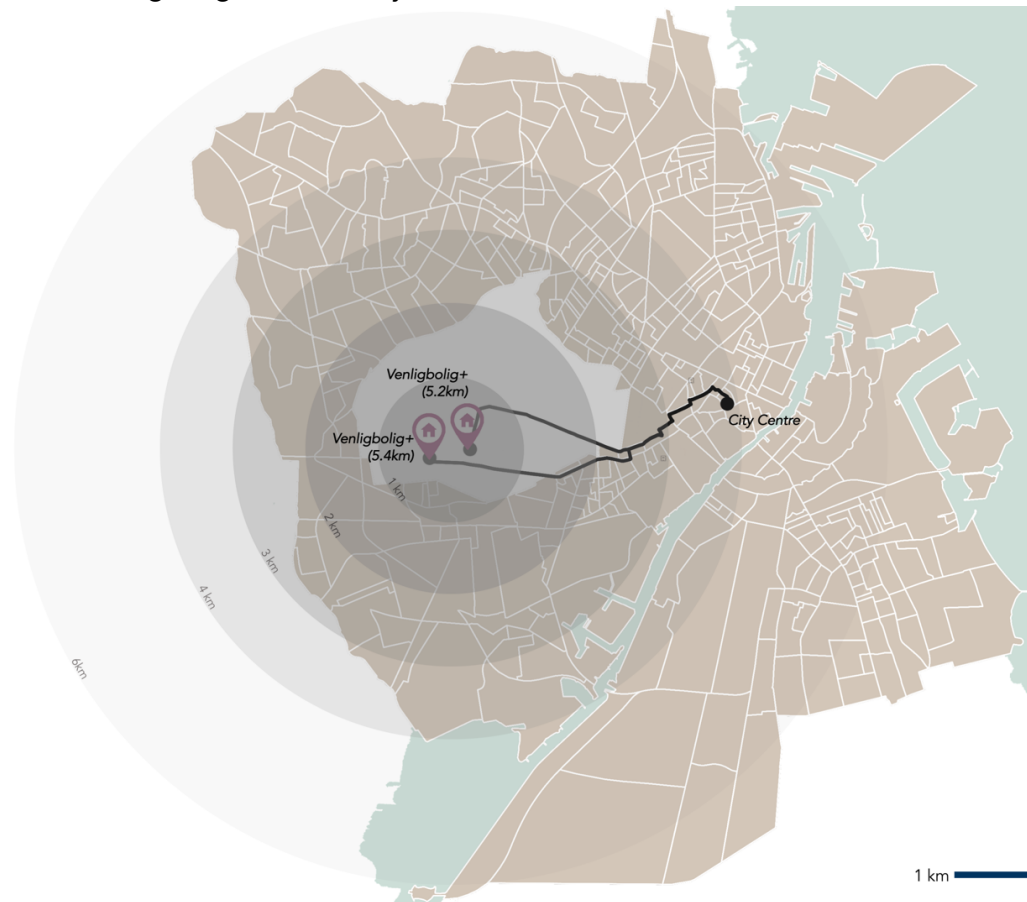
iv. Distance of *Venligbolig* from the city centre

Figure 34 Zone map with the distance of Venligbolig+ from the city centre (Author)

Distances of *Venligbolig+* projects from the city centre has been calculated using Google Maps. Figure 34 shows cycling distances and table 8 shows time taken to travel using public transport. These two modes of transport have been chosen as they are the most affordable options for refugees and students.

Table 8 Time taken to travel to the city centre (Author)

From	To	Public Transport	Travel Time
Venligbolig+	City Centre	Bus	35 minutes
		Bus + Metro	24 minutes
Venligbolig	City Centre	Metro + Train	2 hours

c. SUMMARY ANALYSIS

No direct link between socio-spatial segregation and the locations of the accommodations is present. However, it is difficult to formulate any pattern regarding the location of the facilities in relation to any of the attributes as the number of refugee accommodations in the study area is only two. Therefore, this is not a complete comparison and definitive conclusions can be drawn from the maps. In any case, because Copenhagen is a comparatively small municipality, any accommodation facility located within the municipal boundaries will benefit from proximity to amenities.

6.2 Architectural Analysis

6.2.1 Observational Analysis

The lift doors and steel frames of *Hawi* are painted red, perhaps to offset the grey of brutalist concrete façade of the eighties and the gloominess of the long corridors. The deconstructed and completely reassembled spaces of *Hawi* open behind the drab doors. Peculiar architectural aesthetics of these space are closer to bricolage and "*Rauminstallation*", being complete components of art than traditional interior design. German sociologist Yana Milev says that it is important to open up the scope for maneuvering cultural codes and collective rituals, especially in difficult living conditions, such as in times of flight and reorientation. The cultivation of culture, contact with the outgoing people and the maintenance of a certain habitation makes people mentally immune to their trauma and long-term stress (Czaja, 2017). Perhaps through *Hawi's* discovery and development of the social component of design, this noble demand to architecture can be claimed.

"It is not at all anonymous here; I did not know anyone here and was invited to celebrate the first evening"

Hawi resident

Traudi is in essence a *tabula rasa,* a space whose original walls were torn down to make way for the inhabitants to design and play with the construction. This process incites individuality, not in the selfish sense of the word, but as a marker for belongingness through individual identification. In other words, despite the rigid grid of the basic construction, which is based on the axes of the windows and on the depth of the building, the rooms are very different, thus invoking "ownership". However, there is a dialectic dilemma behind this concept when coupled with the transient nature of the residents. Why would one spend time and effort to create ownership and eventually belongingness, when they will leave anyway? A parallel can be drawn to Meyer's Co-op Zimmer (Heynen, 2009) where the "stuff" (Brand, 1995) has been reduced to the bare minimum for the people on the move. In *Hawi*, the impossibility of permanent occupation is imposed by uprooting the idea of the sense of possession (Heynen, 2009; Aureli, 2015), but at the same time invoking a feeling of ownership through creation—a perfect balance.

In *Venligbolig*, contrarily, the absence of the "burden" of creating/designing their habitable space lets its dwellers to focus on their *ars vivendi*. On a different note, new multicultural structures of "elective belonging" emerge for the new member(s) of the host family, the "stranger", distinct from both an "outsider" and a "wanderer" (Simmel, 1971). It is thus a setting "for new kinds of solidarities among people who chose to live in particular places, and whose deep concern about where they live is unlikely to be overlain with extraneous concerns arising from knowledge of others who have historically lived in the place" (Inglis, 2009), and a splendid combination of modular efficiency and privacy.

Hawi-Box and *Venligbolig* both have the same concept: portable, prefabricated "plug & play" units that can be placed virtually in any empty space, short or long-term. The portable *Hawi-Boxes* can be built like ready-to-assemble (RTA) or knock-down (KD) furniture in-situ. *Venligbolig* is assembled beforehand and delivered to the site. Both are "plug & play" units that can connect to external water and electricity networks. Although the designers have romanticised the *Hawi-Boxes* as "small houses with front gardens" (Ortefuermenschen, 2016), they are for indoor use only. *Venligbolig* is, on the other hand, exactly that, but for outside. Together, these two modules provide for virtually endless combinations of quality housing solutions in a short time.

"Most of the refugees, they didn't want this kind of constructed living spaces, I think it reminds where they are coming from…it's kind of not new, so they preferred the [Classic] rooms…the new furniture more looked like in a TV series or something"

Clemens Foschi, Project Manager, Magda Hotel; Leiter der Caritas Service

The *Hawi-Boxes* and *Traudi* rooms are different from *Venligbolig* in the sense that the former offer DIY options, that is, they are open to interpretations and design by the residents. This poses a slight predicament—also confirmed by the apparent bias of the asylum seekers towards the *Classics*—of whether asking the newcomers to build their spaces is a worthwhile strategical notion. *Venligbolig* supersedes this dilemma altogether by imposing in a way the *Danish Design* on to its residents, relieving them of the responsibility of having to make a choice of whether their walls should be painted lily white or spring green. On the other hand, it circumvents the possibility of creating a pretext for the host and the guest to work on something together, or for the guest to just work on something. The bias of the asylum seekers for the *Classics* might also be the materials. At the beginning, other materials were examined, but the semi-prefabricated timber construction was not only the most favourable, but also the most social in the sense of flexibility and individuality. Architectural aesthetics remain an individual one and is closer to bricolage and space installation than the classical concept of interior design.

"When talking about a multicultural society, it needs above all places where communication / mixing can take place - both in living and in the public space. […] The aim is to undermine the existing situation through intelligent maneuvers and to supplement it with new ideas for alternative forms of living and communication"

tnE architects, Venice Biennale

Hawi addresses possibilities of integration of asylum seekers through spatial deconstruction the building and opening up spaces for communication, that is, the design concepts applied at the scale of individual rooms and communal spaces have also been implemented to the building and the site. The building is, therefore, not just about plans, but also interpersonal contacts. It is "rooted" into the surrounding community–both physically and socially—by the *Kempelenpark*. It is a space that works as a smooth transition between building and the neighbourhood and provides a space where the residents of the building and the neighbourhood can come together (Figure 35). It works the same with *Venligbolig*, but at a smaller scale where the "rootedness" is first with the "guest" (as opposed to the community) and the transition space between the existing dwelling and the *Venligbolig* acts as a setting for interaction and exchanges.

Figure 35 Spatial relationships between indoor & outdoor interventions (1–Walkway and small square; 2–Walkway and tribune; 3–Walkway and waterfall; 4–Island; 5–HAWI-experimental temporary living) (tnE architects, 2016a)

DESIGN

In terms of space requirements, both *Hawi* and *Venligbolig* provide areas larger than the minimum requirements (Table 9).

Table 9 Comparison of space requirements (Author)

Space Requirement Austria	Space Requirement Denmark
Personal living space 8m² per person	Total living space 20m² per person
Hawi	*Venligbolig*
Area per person approx. 12m² gross floor area	Size of dwelling unit 33-49m²

"I think design of spaces has an important role in helping the people to integrate, but for me the design doesn't stop [at the] design of physical rooms, toilets, kitchens. What's important is that these rooms give the opportunity for the people to come and take the action, and also to provide possibilities to open the house up to others who want to want to do projects like Hawi"

Clemens Foschi, Project Manager, Magda Hotel; Leiter der Caritas Service

Some might claim that these are inevitably elitist projects without any surface effects as they do not change the situation of tens of thousands of asylees. But this is a start. Both projects are fairly new and are constantly improving and tweaking design aspects based on feedbacks from residents, locals and newcomers.

6.2.2   Comparative Floorplan Analysis (CFA)

This section analyses the spatial arrangements to see how the public, semi-public and private spaces are defined and arranged. Floorplans being the rudimentary spatial representation of any space the study of the topological properties of the layout and the "practical accessibility" (van der Voordt, Vrielink and van Wegen, 1997) of the rooms therefore helps to read the level of privacy. According to van der Voordt, Vrielink and van Wegen, the social constructs "openness and encounter" are spatially forged by a) main layout of the building; b) presence of a central encounter room; c) relation between habitable and communal spaces; d) nature of habitable and communal spaces and; e) communal, multiple and multifunctional use of spaces (1997). Additionally, "openness" is also shaped by the inside-outside relation and the relation between the habitable rooms (ibid).

Variations in the degree of privacy is influenced by the typology of a building (Figure 36a). Among the four types shown in the figure (single house, semidetached house, apartment in a building with private entrance and private room without a private entrance in a communal house), *Hawi* falls under the last category and *Venligbolig* the first. Variations in the degree of privacy also depends on the way people interact within the habitable spaces. These

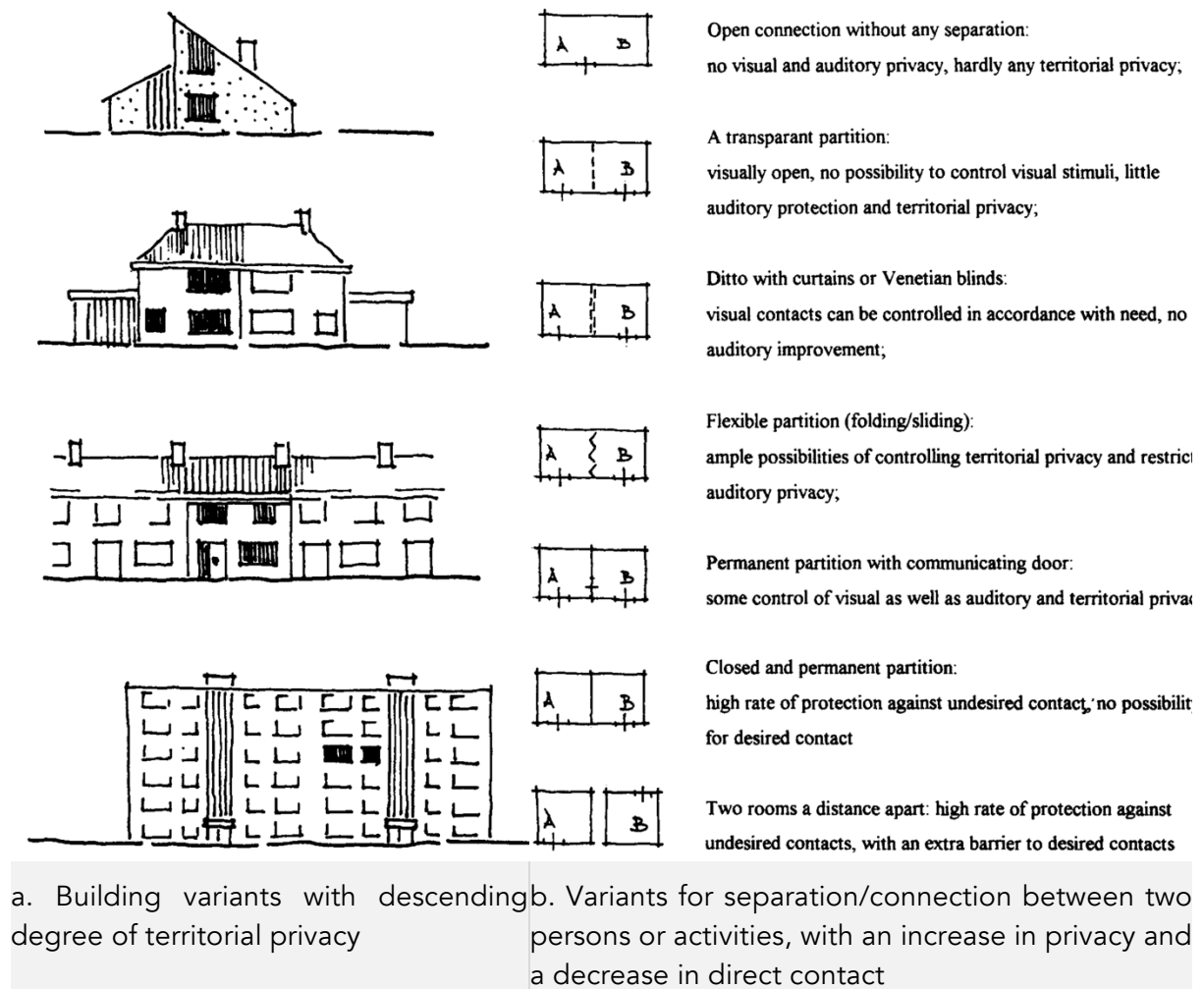interaction opportunities can be enhanced or inhibited through design (Figure 36b).

Open connection without any separation:
no visual and auditory privacy, hardly any territorial privacy;

A transparant partition:
visually open, no possibility to control visual stimuli, little auditory protection and territorial privacy;

Ditto with curtains or Venetian blinds:
visual contacts can be controlled in accordance with need, no auditory improvement;

Flexible partition (folding/sliding):
ample possibilities of controlling territorial privacy and restrict auditory privacy;

Permanent partition with communicating door:
some control of visual as well as auditory and territorial privac

Closed and permanent partition:
high rate of protection against undesired contact, no possibilit for desired contact

Two rooms a distance apart: high rate of protection against undesired contacts, with an extra barrier to desired contacts

a. Building variants with descending degree of territorial privacy	b. Variants for separation/connection between two persons or activities, with an increase in privacy and a decrease in direct contact

Figure 36 Variations in privacy in different scenarios (van der Voordt, Vrielink and van Wegen, 1997)

As opposed to the upper floors, the ground level invokes feelings of being coupled to a realm outside the dwelling space from within the sanctuary of enclosed and semi-enclosed spaces. This is where tactical proximity and interchange between the private and public happen. Therefore, for *Venligbolig*, only the ground floor plans were considered. *Hawi*, being in the upper floors of the building, has no horizontal connection to the ground floor. Vertical communication units (stair and elevators) are therefore extensively used by the residents and this is where the private-public interaction begins.

a. HAWI

In *Hawi*, the *Classic* and *Traudi* rooms have open connections without any partition allowing no visual or auditory privacy among the roommates. The *Hawi-Boxes* have flexible partitions that allow the dwellers to control their privacy according to their preferences (Figure 37). The communal spaces in *Hawi* have open connections with the hallways and secondary entrances on each floor, and flexible partition with the private spaces (Figures 38 and 39). The shared kitchen and toilets/showers, common rooms, study rooms, fitness room, and vertical communication units are described as communal here. Permanent partition with communicating doors separate the outdoor public spaces from the building (Figure 40), thus creating a clear distinction between the two.
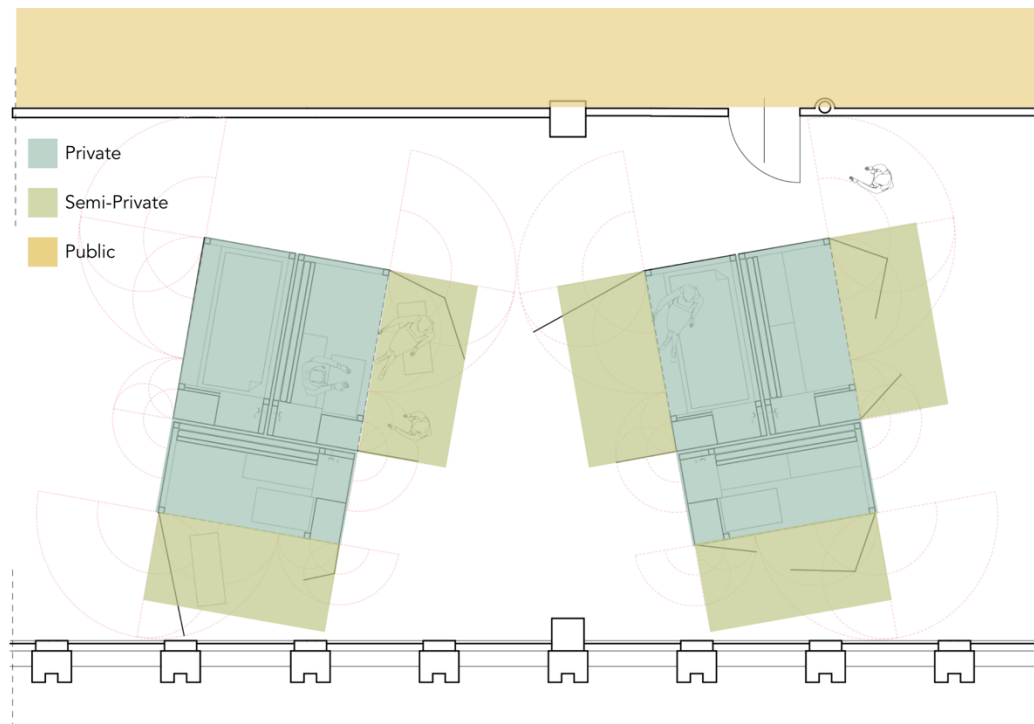
Figure 37 Hawi-Box privacy variants (Author, diagram created from tnE architects, 2016a)
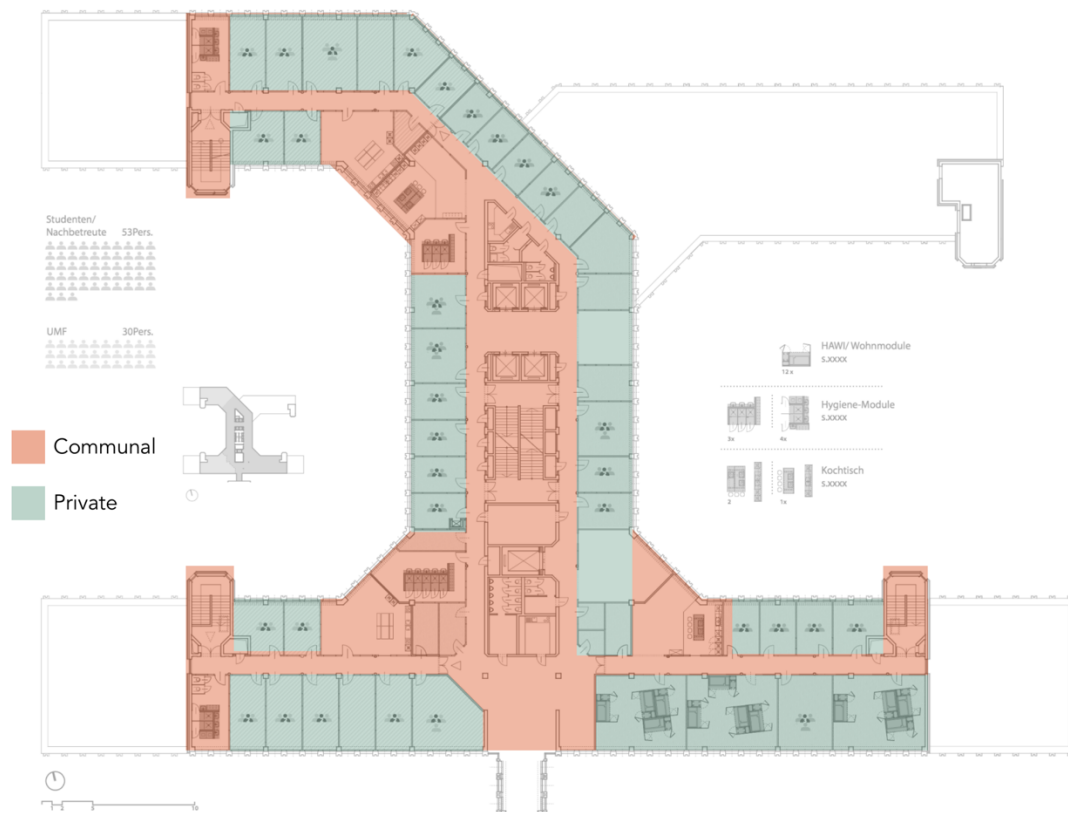
Figure 38 Hawi privacy variants for fourth floor (Author, diagram created from tnE architects, 2016a)

Figure 39 Hawi privacy variants for fifth floor (Author, diagram created from tnE architects, 2016a)
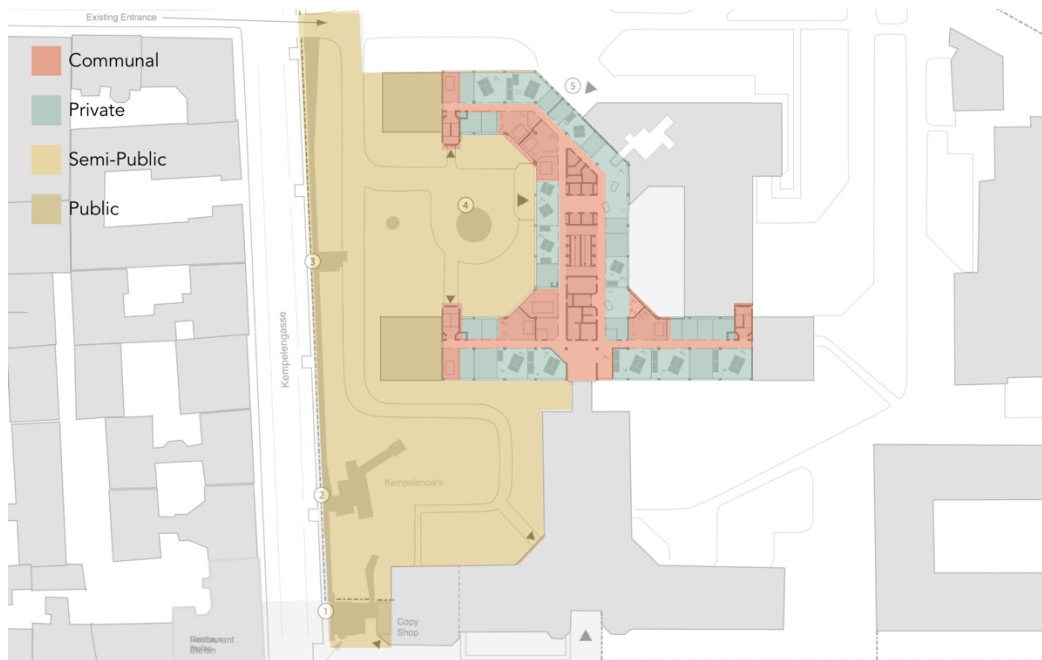

Figure 40 Hawi privacy variants for Siemensareal site (Author, diagram created from tnE architects, 2016a)

b. VENLIGBOLIG

The individual units of *Venligbolig* have flexible partition between the private and communal spaces, as well as between the private and public spaces (Figure 22). There are flexible partitions between the private and semi-private spaces that allow the dwellers to control their privacy according to their preferences (Figure 22). The communal spaces in *Venligbolig* are different from those in *Hawi* in the sense that they are outdoors and are not used for group activities. The vertical communication unit, the storage rooms and the covered porches have been termed as communal here (Figures 41, 42 and 43). Zooming out, permanent partition with communicating doors separate the outdoor public spaces from the dwelling units (Figures 44 and45), thus creating a clear distinction between the two.

Figure 41 Venligbolig privacy variants for Type 1 cluster for 5 units (Author, diagram created from Rasmussen and Galster, 2016)

Figure 42 Venligbolig privacy variants for Type 1 cluster for 6 units (Author, diagram created from Rasmussen and Galster, 2016)

Figure 43 Venligbolig Type 2 cluster privacy variants (Author, diagram created from Rasmussen and Galster, 2016)
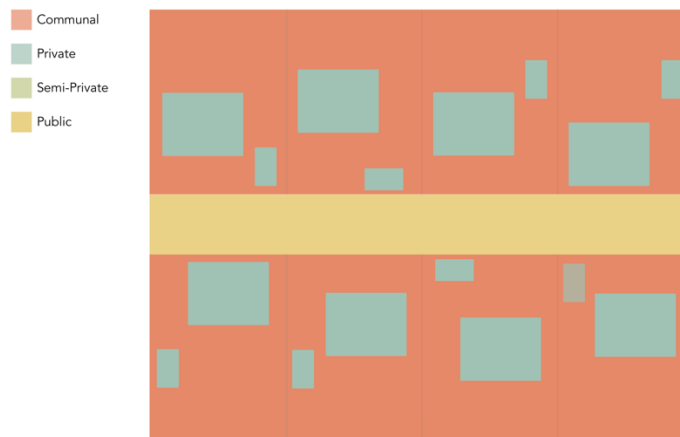
Figure 44 Venligbolig privacy variants in single family dwelling plots (Author, diagram created from Rasmussen and Galster, 2016)
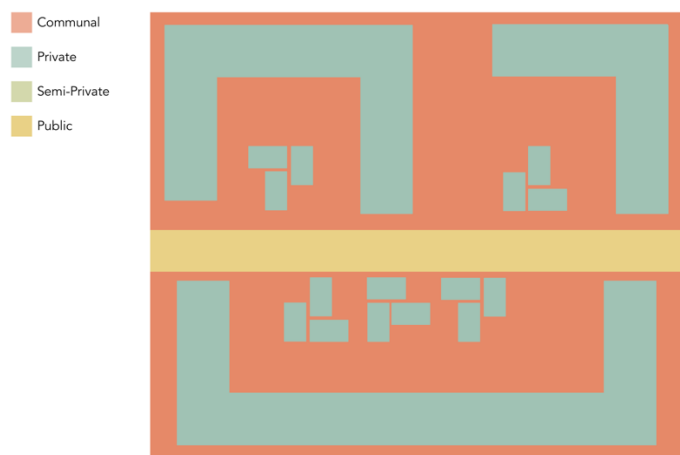

Figure 45 Venligbolig privacy variants in public housing courtyards (Author, diagram created from Rasmussen and Galster, 2016)

c. SUMMARY ANALYSIS

The main layout of the building of *Hawi* follows a typical office building plan with a central spine connecting rooms on its either side. There are several communal spaces or encounter rooms instead of one central space. This makes a fragmented space hierarchy, which is the best utilization of space for a linear layout like this. The relationship between the habitable and communal spaces are clearly demarcated visually, but auditory privacy is compromised due to thin walls. The communal spaces have an undifferentiated principle of openness and multifunctionality, but are not visually monotonous. Group privacy is fully ensured in closed communal spaces with flexible partitions, such as the study rooms and the fitness room. On the other hand, a direct visual and physical relation between the rest of the communal spaces (kitchen and common spaces) and the central spine ensures easy interactions among the residents, but reduces group privacy to some extent. The issue of group privacy is, however, irrelevant unless outsiders come to visit. The fourth and fifth floors stand on their own, without any possibility of thoroughfare by users of the other floors of the building.

Venligbolig follows a simple rectangular layout with the private (bedrooms) and communal spaces (living room) flanking the kitchen and toilet. Reinforcing the open plan nature of the layout, there is one unified communal space or encounter room comprising of the living room and kitchen. The relationship between the private rooms and communal space are clearly demarcated physically. The linear communal space has an undifferentiated principle of openness and offers some extent of multiple usages. Group privacy is fully ensured in the communal space ensuring interactions among the residents. The inside-outside relation in Venligbolig is buffered by semi-private terraces/balconies. In general, there is a coherent clarity among the different types and usages of the spaces. There is an offset of 2.5m from the units on all sides to respect the boundaries and neighbours. The design of the units is such that multifunctionality is possible with regard to different age groups.

In conclusion, the two cases can be considered as a well-defined, spatially designed concept of the philosophies and pedagogic points of departure of the prevailing system. Everything converges to the core concept of privacy, which is spatially translated into the layout, clearly demarcated spaces, entrances, private rooms for individuals, own identity of the different kinds of rooms, intentional absence of direct relations between the private rooms and the presence of multiple use of space (only in case of *Hawi*) and multifunctionality of space. *Hawi* has successfully attained variants of privacy of the residents despite having a rigid and old building layout (central spine with adjacent spaces). *Venligbolig*, with its new design has successfully kept these aspects in mind during the design, consciously or subconsciously. It remains to be seen how the design of its spaces perform once residents move in. A summary of the findings is given below (Table 10).

Table 10 Spatial differentiation between the two cases (Author, adapted from van der Voordt, Vrielink and van Wegen, 1997)

	Hawi	*Venligbolig*
Main Layout		
Recognizable, separate units	+	++
One central entrance	–	++
Several entrances	+	– –
Central communal area	++	+
Rooms		
Classic		*Types 1 & 2*
Recognizability, identity	++	+
Openness	+	++
Privacy	++	++
Traudi		
Recognizability, identity	++	
Openness	+++	
Privacy	–	
Hawi-Box		
Recognizability, identity	++	
Openness	+	
Privacy	+	

Relations between Spaces		
Clarity of threshold	++	++
Clarity of movement/maneuver	– –	++
Use of Space		
Joint use of space	++	+
Multiple use of space	++	–
Multifunctional use of space	++	–

6.3   Post-Occupancy Evaluation (POE)

Post-Occupancy Evaluation (POE) was possible only for *Hawi* as no one has lived in *Venligbolig* or *Venligbolig+* yet. A survey was carried out among the residents of *Hawi* to evaluate the performance of the building and design choices. The sample size for the POE was considerably small, but some interesting facts came out of the survey. Interviews of the residents and the operators of the facility also gave some notable insights about the project.

"The rooms are bigger, so there is more space to just walk around, use the floor for different things (doing yoga for example, or just lie down on the carpet) and you feel more free. I find the boxes a perfect concept to keep privacy but still share a room and live close together. The Traudi system […] seemed too chaotic, too open and too restless. Whereas the boxes made the rooms seem very calm, comfortable and even chic I'd say ;). I liked the color of the boxes, and the warmth and design of the light on the ceiling of the box"

Student, resident of Hawi-Box

Among the six respondents for the survey, 33.3% were female, and three were asylum seekers and three were students. No conscious choice was made regarding the genders; whoever was available to take part in the survey were included. The length of stay varied from one semester (four months) to 11 months. One respondent lived in *Traudi*, two in *Hawi-Boxes* and three in *Classic* (Figure 46).
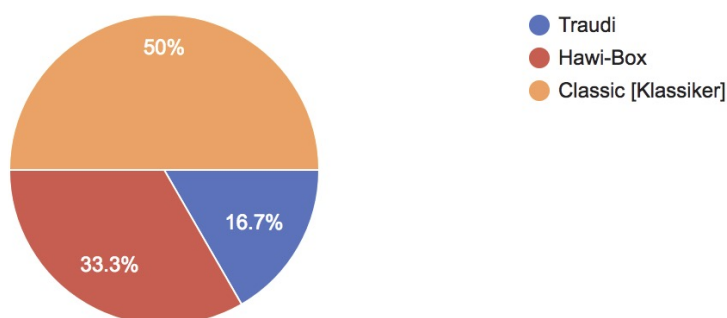

Figure 46 Share of respondents living in three types of rooms in Hawi (Author)

Everyone was satisfied with the design of the communal spaces and remarked that there is enough privacy for oneself. 83.3% were satisfied with the design of their rooms, agreed that it is safe and comfortable, and do not feel isolated or alone. Half of the respondents were happy with the layout of the whole building and the design of the public/outdoor spaces.

"I liked the design of the public spaces, even though we didn't use them very much. During the week, it was hardly possible to use them though, because people who visit the building for various courses (on floors 1, 2, 3) used the benches and stuff in their breaks. But on weekends when there was no one around except for Hawi residents, it was nice to chill in the sun on the big wooden round bench :)"

Resident, Hawi

Dissatisfaction was expressed for the design of the public/outdoor spaces and the private spaces by one respondent. Complaints were made about the lack of sound insulation and extreme dryness of the interior spaces. One of them raised the concern about safety issues. They said that they would prefer to have a key system that would allow only the *Hawi* residents to enter the 4th and 5th floors, and a guard stationed at the entrance to ensure safety at night.

Everyone agreed that the private, communal and public spaces are clearly demarcated. Only one respondent (asylum seeker) was ambivalent about feeling at home in *Hawi*. This, one can speculate, might not have anything to do with the design of the spaces, but may have appeared from staying away from friends and family as an asylum seeker, far from one's homeland. However, it can also mean that the space has failed to evoke the sense of being at home away from home.

"I felt very much at home at Hawi, since there was a lot of space and common areas to hang out (e.g. living room, study room, fitness room). The atmosphere was always very friendly and close. Probably because most of the asylum seekers living in Hawi came to Austria alone and were therefore glad to get in touch and hang out."

Resident, Hawi

Overall, the asylum seekers were satisfied with everything and would not prefer to change anything. The reason for this could be that the living conditions in *Hawi* was a huge improvement for them compared to what they had experienced before.

7. CONCLUSION & RECOMMENDATIONS

Emergency shelter, refugee accommodation, low-cost dwelling, affordable housing, compact living—what is behind these words? What is home? For whom and what are we building? What is the right to asylum and what is the role of architecture?

Cities should be resilient enough to be able to accommodate asylees. But in the wake of mass movements of people, the focus is now on political and ethical questions in architecture. To quote Saunders on current European policies, "No other government in the Western world is spending this kind of money on housing—and it has been decades since any government has deployed architectural solutions to social problems on this scale" (2016). Affordable housing projects need to be built within a short time, but this is unfortunately often accompanied by a penchant toward lowering the standards of architectural and urban planning quality of housing construction. If the so-called crisis is formulated as a downgrading of living space, the image of a practice of these new forms of "bare life/living" is created not only for asylees, but for all people with housing shortages. The images of architecture behind these much-heard words need to be constantly discussed and debated, and broadened to include concepts of belongingness, integration, and new accords for a not-merely-humane but high-quality architecture for all.

The current times of precariousness constantly challenges the traditional notion of home as a static concept. Home itself is a dynamic social process, not just a receptacle for social processes. Home is where one feels one belongs to. The sudden displacement from this home/homeland shatters the "feeling at home". The temporary shelters where displaced people stay in only provide the basic function of home—the physical protection; while the more complex roles of security and belonging are obscured. The architectural differences of the (temporary) accommodations can significantly influence these feelings of the residents.

Newcomers are not a burden to the receiving community if they get a proper home. A home creates belongingness, which in turn helps them integrate into the broader society with the native population. Sociospatial segregation, a major challenge in the modern urban environment gives rise to lack of affordable, quality housing and education, unemployment and even radicalization. Ensuring an even mix of different housing options, providing adequate financing, empowering and ensuring integration can aim to solve this apparently complicated situation and make the communities liveable. Architecture can and should be the mediator to maintain a balance between housing needs of the newcomers and natives while minimising public angst. There should not be a new housing typology only for asylees, but rather a *modus vivendi* that caters for all. A new architectural language needs to be invented that—in the same powerful way as the Co-op Zimmer—will give a fundamental form to this "void" of transience without making it permanent, or will perhaps avoid the question of temporality altogether, because evidently, we *possess* nothing.

To find oneself belong somewhere, as Jože Plečnik said[34], one seeks to attach their thread to tradition and weave a web on it. Instead of designing new "*buildings for nowhere*"—human catacombs with generic, empty façades enclosing monotonous, characterless volumes—or packing people into existing ones like sardines, identity and therefore belongingness by default can be fostered through accommodating the newcomers in buildings that respect the sense of place and local identity. *Hawi* and *Venligbolig* question and deconstruct the traditional notion of home and consequently the domestic life. These projects reinstate and reiterate the statement that the professional image of the architect must be redefined in the face of current political and economic circumstances.

Christa Wolf's book (1979) ends with: *The world does what it seems easiest to do: She is silent*[35]. Let us be different from the world, and let us not be silent.

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[34] "I find myself where I feel I belong. Like a spider, I seek to attach my thread to tradition and weave my web on it" (Prelovšek, D.,1988)
[35] Die Welt tut, was ihr am leichtesten fällt: Sie schweigt

8. FURTHER STUDY

Architecture both in its field of practice and discourse has been criticized for its exceptional focus on aesthetics and a lack of interest in user preference. Therefore, possibilities of designing spaces in close collaboration between the producer and the receiver must be explored. This is often not feasible in case of accommodations for asylees where design is for a receiver whose insights into the perceptions and preferences of spatial properties is unknown. Today we are only at the beginning of dealing with the problem.

Due to limited time, the comparative floorplan analyses were performed manually in this thesis. However, more advanced analyses can be done with software like Space Syntax and Architectural Knowledge Systems (AKS) by entering the floorplans in the computer. Floorplan analysis as such, would help in multi-criteria evaluation of design alternatives for asylee accommodations.

In this thesis, seven attributes had been chosen for analysing the effectiveness of the spaces. Other attributes such as education, participation in labour market, living space per person, migration flow, social housing, etc. can be used for further investigation. Because the two cases chosen are fairly new, it is too soon to tell whether the seven attributes promote or inhibit integration of the asylees. With time, it will also be possible to see whether residential differentiation can be seen as an aspect of a more encompassing mechanism of systemic social differentiation. Sense of belonging can be further researched psychometrically using the Sense of Belonging Instrument (SOBI) developed by Hagerty and Patusky (1995).

Sara Granér, *13-myter om bostadsfraagar*, 2016

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Zwischen Zonen (2017) [Exhibition] Marta Herford, Herford. 24 June-24 September 2017.

10.   APPENDIX

10.1   Interview Questions

10.1.1 VIENNA

Some questions might be relevant for other organisations/ out of your jurisdiction; please leave them blank or mention the relevant organisation(s)/ person(s). If there are some documents that have the answers to the questions, please refer to that (in German is also fine; I'll translate them).

CONTEXT DATA

1. What is the number and/or percentage of vacant buildings in Vienna (perhaps at the district (*bezirk*) or sub-district (*zählbezirk*) level, and not just the whole city). I am interested in empty flats/ empty social housing, but also in any buildings that are vacant (e.g. office/factory buildings). Is there a map/ website/ study containing this information?

HOUSING POLICY AND PRACTICE FRAMEWORK

2. Does Vienna have a specific housing policy framework and/or designated department or service addressing asylum seekers[36]/ refugees[37]? If yes, what are they? (For example, city government/ authorities, policy declaration or statement(s))

3. Which GOs and NGOs are directly linked with the provision of housing for asylees[38]? (e.g. building, designing, allocating, managing, etc.)

4. Which architecture firms/ architects besides tnE Architects are directly/ indirectly involved with the provision of housing for asylees?

DESIGN

5. Are there any guidelines/ design regulations (room size, conditions, communal areas, basic furniture, sanitary facilities (shower, toilet, washing machines/dryers), etc.) for quality standards in the accommodation facilities for asylees? What is the name?
    -   If yes, are these guidelines mandated by the country (Austria)?
    -   If not, is there any plan to set up such guidelines in the (near) future?

6. Do these guidelines differ from those for the native residents? If yes, why? Do you think there should be a difference?

7. Have you been involved in the designing of spaces/ accommodations for asylees?
    -   If yes, what special feature(s) did you add/omit/refine/design in your project(s) that was unique because it was designed for asylees?
    -   What challenge(s) do/did you face while designing spaces and accommodations for asylees?

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[36] *asylum seeker*: someone who has applied for protection as a refugee and is awaiting the determination of their status
[37] *refugee*: someone who has received protection/ asylum
[38] *asylee:* asylum seekers and/or refugees

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8. Do you think integration is possible through design of spaces? How?

9. Do you think asylees should be involved in the design process of the spaces that they are going to occupy/ are occupying?
   - If yes, do you think it is possible to involve them in reality (in the context of your city)?
   - If no, why not?

10. Do you think "refugee housing" is emerging as a housing typology (in Vienna/ Europe)?
    - Is there a need for a such a typology? Please explain.

HAWI
1. Why was *Hawi* chosen for the name of this project?

2. How was the decision taken about which groups of people would live in this project (asylum seekers aged 18-24, students, UAMs and young people in vocational training)?
   - Why were these specific types of people chosen for this project?

3. How and why was this building chosen for *Hawi*?
   - Are there other potential spaces like this in Vienna?

4. Once this building was chosen, how did you/Caritas proceed with the designing of the spaces of *Hawi*?
   - What professionals were involved in the designing of the spaces?
   - How were these professionals (e.g. architects/social scientists) involved/chosen? Was it a competition/tender/bid/other (please specify)?
   - Are the spaces designed/arranged differently because they would house asylees? If yes, how differently? If no, why not?

5. Are there any guidelines/ design regulations (room size, conditions, communal areas, basic furniture, sanitary facilities (shower, toilet, washing machines/dryers), etc.) for quality standards in the accommodation facilities?
   - If yes, are these guidelines mandated by the Bundesland/country or do you have your own guidelines?
   - If not, why and do you plan to set up such guidelines in the (near) future?

6. How much space do the residents have in these accommodations (sqm/person) approximately?

7. How involved are you with the project since residents have moved in?

8. *Hawi* is first of its kind in Austria after Projekts Kistlerhofstraße (München), Kiel, and Lüneburg in Germany by HomeNotShelter. Do you have any plans to expand?
   - If yes, where? If not, why not?

9. Do you think this project is successful? Has there been any problems?

10. *Hawi* and Projekt Kistlerhofstraße (München) are different from Kiel and Lüneburg in the sense that they were built/designed for both students and asylees from the beginning. What

will happen to the spaces once the asylum seekers are given/rejected asylum (and they have to leave)?
- Will the refugees (previously staying here as asylum seekers) be able to keep living here?
- The influx of asylum seekers has been decreasing over time. Will these spaces in *Hawi* remain as places for other/new asylum seekers?

11. "Refugees Welcome International" thinks that refugees *(maybe they meant asylum seekers as well? ref: www.refugees-welcome.net/)* should be able to live in flatshares or houses instead of camps. Some disagree, and think that it is unfair that the asylees are being prioritized over the locals in terms of providing housing. How do you think a balance can be maintained between the two?

12. I am interested in analyzing the shared, semi-shared and private spaces in *Hawi*. For this, could I please have the floor plans/ schematic plans of the site and project (or anything that would help me in this analysis)?

10.1.2 COPENHAGEN

Some questions might be relevant for other organisations/ out of your jurisdiction; please leave them blank or mention the relevant organisation(s)/ person(s). If there are some documents that have the answers to the questions, please refer to that (in Danish is also fine; I'll translate them).

CONTEXT DATA
11. As of January 1, 2017, there are 152,450 vacant dwellings in the country (Bisgaard and Poulin, 2017, p.59). What is the number and/or percentage of vacant buildings in Copenhagen kommune and/or Region Hovedstaden (perhaps at the district (*bydele*) level or sub-district level (*rodeniveau*), and not just the whole city). I am interested in empty flats/ empty social housing, but also in any buildings that are vacant (e.g. office/factory buildings). Is there a map/ website/ study containing this information?

HOUSING POLICY AND PRACTICE FRAMEWORK
12. Does Copenhagen have a specific housing policy framework and/or designated department or service addressing asylum seekers[39]/ refugees[40]? If yes, what are they? (For example, city government/authorities, policy declaration or statement(s))

13. Which GOs and NGOs are directly linked with the provision of housing for asylum seekers and refugees? (e.g. building, designing, allocating, managing, etc.)

14. Which architecture firms/ architects besides ONV Arkitekter and 2+1 are directly/ indirectly involved with the provision of housing for asylees[41]?

DESIGN
15. The requirements for <u>self-financed accommodation</u> state that the dwelling must be connected to heating and electricity, and must have access to kitchen, toilet and bathroom. In addition, the dwelling must have a size that makes it suitable for housing the concerned

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[39] *asylum seeker*: someone who has applied for protection as a refugee and is awaiting the determination of their status
[40] *refugee*: someone who has received protection/ asylum
[41] *asylee:* asylum seekers and/or refugees

household. This means, among other things, that a maximum of two persons can be accommodated per living space in the dwelling, or that at least 20 m² is available per person (Ny I Danmark, 2016b). Are there any guidelines/ design regulations (room size, conditions, communal areas, basic furniture, sanitary facilities (shower, toilet, washing machines/dryers), etc.) for quality standards in the <u>state managed/subsidized accommodation facilities</u> for asylees? What is the name?
- If yes, are these guidelines mandated by the country (Denmark)?
- If not, is there any plan to set up such guidelines in the (near) future?

16. Do these guidelines differ from the building regulations/codes for the native residents? If yes, why? Do you think there should be a difference? Is it practical to have the same regulations for everyone?

17. Have you been involved in the designing of spaces/ accommodations for asylees?
- If yes, what special feature(s) did you add/omit/refine/design in your project(s) that was unique because it was designed for asylees?
- What challenge(s) do/did you face while designing spaces and accommodations for asylees?

18. Do you think integration is possible through design of spaces? How?

19. Do you think asylees should be involved in the design process of the spaces that they are going to occupy/ are occupying?
- If yes, do you think it is possible to involve them in reality (in the context of your city)?
- If no, why not?

20. Do you think "refugee housing" is emerging as a housing typology (in Copenhagen/ Europe)? [Similar projects *IMBY* (France) or *We House Refugees* (Finland)]
- Is there a need for a such a typology? Please explain.

VENLIGBOLIG
13. What professionals are/were involved in the designing of *venligbolig*?
- How were these professionals (e.g. architects/social scientists) involved/chosen? Was it a competition/tender/bid/other (please specify)?
- Are the spaces designed/arranged differently because they would house asylees? If yes, how differently? If no, why not?

14. Who funds the project? Which actors are involved? Why isn't Copenhagen kommune involved?

15. What are the mechanisms to choose hosts/ criteria for families to become hosts?

16. What are the mechanisms to choose asylees? (Who can stay: refugees or asylum seekers or both?)

17. What incentives are there for families to host asylees?

18. What is the maximum number of *venligbolig* units you plan to build? Is this only for the Region Hovedstaden (29 kommunes)?

19. The project was launched in January 2016 (?). So far, a prototype of the *venligbolig* has been built. Workshops and debates have been held (June 19, 2017), and it was displayed at the Roskilde festival (end of June, 2017). How has been the reaction/ response/ feedback from the people (potential hosts)?

20. Hillerød and Kolding municipalities backed out after showing interest initially. Now it's only Gribskov municipality. Why do you think more municipalities haven't shown interest in the project?

21. As far as I could find out, there has only been one family in Vejby, Gribskov who is interested to host refugees as part of this project. Why haven't more people shown interest? (What is the update?)

22. Why was *Venligbolig+* introduced in Frederiksberg? Is this the only commune for *Venligbolig+*?

23. I am interested in analyzing the shared, semi-shared and private spaces in *venligbolig*. For this, could I please have the floor plans/ schematic plans of the project (or anything that would help me in this analysis)?

24. Do you think this project will be successful? Has there been any problems?

25. "Refugees Welcome International" thinks that refugees *(maybe they meant asylum seekers as well? ref: www.refugees-welcome.net/)* should be able to live in flatshares or houses instead of camps. Some disagree, and think that it is unfair that the asylees are being prioritized over the locals in terms of providing housing. How do you think a balance can be maintained between the two?

10.2 Survey Questionnaire

Dear respondent,

I am a 4Cities Master student in Urban Studies at the Institute for Geography and Regional Research (University of Vienna), doing research about the housing of refugees and asylum seekers in Vienna and Copenhagen. I would greatly appreciate if you fill out this questionnaire. It should not take more than 10 minutes. Your participation in this study is voluntary. Your responses are anonymous and will be used for this research only.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Best regards,
Nazia Roushan
naziaroushan@yahoo.com

Sehr geehrter Befragter,

Ich bin eine 4Cities Master Studentin in Urban Studies am Institut für Geographie und Regionalforschung (Universität Wien) und forsche über die Wohnungssuche von Asylberechtigte in

Wien und Kopenhagen. Ich würde mich sehr freuen, wenn Sie diesen Fragebogen ausfüllen würden. Es sollte nicht mehr als 10 Minuten dauern. Ihre Teilnahme an dieser Studie ist freiwillig. Ihre Antworten sind anonym und werden nur für diesen Forschungszwecke verwendet.

Vielen Dank für Ihre Zeit und Rücksicht.

Mit freundliche Grüße,
Nazia Roushan
naziaroushan@yahoo.com

* Required

You are... [Sie sind...] *
- ○ Female [Weiblich]
- ○ Male [Männlich]
- ○ Other:

You are a/an... [Sie sind ein...] *
- ○ Asylum Seeker [Asylberechtigte]
- ○ Student [Student/in]
- ○ Other:

Are you currently living in Hawi? [Wohnen Sie derzeit in Hawi?] *
- ○ Yes [Ja]
- ○ No [Nein]

How long have you been living in Hawi? If you don't live there anymore, how long did you stay in Hawi? [Wie lange wohnen Sie schon in Hawi? Wenn Sie nicht mehr dort wohnen, wie lange sind Sie in Hawi gewesen?] *

Which type of room are you living in/ did you stay in? [Welche Art von Zimmer wohnen Sie?] *
- ○ Traudi
- ○ Hawi-Box
- ○ Classic [Klassiker]

Why did you choose this type of room? [Warum haben Sie diese Art von Zimmer gewählt??] *

What do you like about Hawi? [Was gefällt Ihnen an Hawi?] *
- ☐ Design of the whole complex [Design des ganzen Komplexes]
- ☐ Design of your room/"private space" (e.g. layout, size, color, material, light & ventilation, furniture, insulation from heat, cold, and sound, etc.). Please specify/explain in "other" below. [Design Ihres Raumes / "privater Raum" (zB Gestaltung, Größe, Farbe, Material, Licht & Belüftung, Möbel, Isolierung von Hitze, Kälte und Ton usw.). Bitte spezifizieren / erklären Sie in "other" unten.]
- ☐ Design of the services/"semi-private space" (e.g. toilet, shower, kitchen, common areas, locker, elevator/stair, corridor, etc.). Please specify/explain in "other" below. [Design der Dienstleistungen/"halb-privat Raum" (zB WC, Dusche, Küche, gemeinsame Bereiche, Schließfach, Aufzug/Treppe, Korridor, etc.). Bitte spezifizieren/erklären Sie in "other" unten.]
- ☐ Design of the "public spaces" (e.g. outdoor spaces). Please specify/explain in "other" below. [Design der "öffentlichen Räume" (zB Außenräume). Bitte spezifizieren/erklären Sie in "other" unten.]
- ☐ It is safe and comfortable [Es ist sicher und bequem]
- ☐ There is enough privacy for myself [Es gibt genug Privatsphäre für mich]

- ☐ I don't feel isolated/alone [Ich fühle mich nicht isoliert/allein]
- ☐ Did I miss anything? Please write it in "other" below. [Habe ich etwas vergessen? Bitte schreiben Sie es in "other" unten.]
- ☐ Other:

What do you not like about Hawi? [Was mögen Sie nicht von Hawi?] *

- ☐ Design of the whole complex [Design des ganzen Komplexes]
- ☐ Design (e.g. size, color, material, light & ventilation, furniture, insulation from heat, cold, and sound, etc.) of the room/"private space" that you are staying in (or stayed in) [Design (zB Größe, Farbe, Material, Licht & Belüftung, Möbel, Isolierung von Hitze, Kälte und Klang, etc.) des Raumes/"Privatraum", in dem Sie wohnen]
- ☐ Design of the services/"semi-private space" (e.g. toilet, shower, kitchen, common areas, elevator/stair, corridor, etc.) [Design der Dienstleistungen/"halb-privat Raum" (zB WC, Dusche, Küche, gemeinsame Bereiche, Aufzug / Treppe, Korridor, etc.)]
- ☐ Design of the "public spaces" (e.g. outdoor spaces) [Design der "öffentlichen Räume" (zB Außenräume)]
- ☐ It is not safe or comfortable [Es ist nicht sicher oder bequem]
- ☐ There is not enough privacy for myself [Es gibt nicht genug Privatsphäre für mich]
- ☐ I feel isolated/alone [Ich fühle mich isoliert/allein]
- ☐ Did I miss anything? Please write it in "other" below. [Habe ich etwas vergessen? Bitte schreiben Sie es in "other" unten.]
- ☐ Other:

What would you change in Hawi? [Was würden Sie in Hawi ändern?] *

Do you think that the private, semi-private and public spaces in Hawi are clearly marked? (private: rooms; semi-private: kitchen, living areas; public: outdoor space) [Denken Sie, dass die privaten, halb-privaten und öffentlichen Räume in Hawi explizit gekennzeichnet sind? (Privat: Zimmer; Halb-privat: Küche, Wohnbereiche; Öffentlichkeit: Außenraum)] *

- ○ Yes [Ja]
- ○ No [Nein]

What do you think of the location of Hawi in terms of the following (choose if your answer is "yes") [Was halten Sie von der Lage von Hawi in Bezug auf die folgenden (wählen Sie, ob Ihre Antwort ist "Ja")]: *

- ☐ Well-connected to the rest of the city [Gut verbunden mit dem Rest der Stadt]
- ☐ Shops, grocery stores, etc. are close by [Geschäfte, Lebensmittelgeschäfte, etc. sind in der Nähe]
- ☐ Easy to go to workplace, school, university etc. [Gut verbunden zum Arbeitsplatz, Schule, Universität etc.]
- ☐ Easy to meet with friends and/or family [Leicht zu treffen mit Freunden und/oder Familie]
- ☐ The neighborhood/surrounding is friendly and welcoming [Die Nachbarschaft/Umgebung ist freundlich und einladend]
- ☐ Did I miss anything? Please write it in "other" below. [Habe ich etwas vergessen? Bitte schreiben Sie es in "other" unten.]
- ☐ Other:

Do you feel at home in Hawi? [Fühlen Sie dich zu Hause in Hawi?] *

- ○ Yes [Ja]
- ○ No [Nein]
- ○ Maybe [Vielleicht]
- ○ Other:

10.3 Minimum Standards for Accommodation in Primary Care, Austria (Hanes, 2015)

Organization:
- Fulfillment of required structural and organizational requirements & criteria
- Selection of the supply concept by the operator:
  - Full supply: the operator takes over the entire supply of the inhabitants
  - Partial supply: the operator is partially taking care of the inhabitants
  - Self-service: residents provide themselves with monetary transfers
- Creation of house rules (rights & obligations of residents) by operators
- First-time visitors receive a first-aid kit

Location and size:
- Accessibility to public transport and/or facilities for daily needs

Community areas:
- Community areas used throughout the year
- Exception: no community areas, if residents have 20% area as a minimum area available
- Lounge/ playroom/ playground: at family quarters where possible (can also be close to public facilities)
- TV including satellite connection in common room or in individual rooms

Living space and occupancy:
- Consideration of ethnic, religious, linguistic differences and family units in room allocation
- Maximum room allocation for single persons: maximum five people per room (for permanent occupancy)
- Minimum area for one person: 8m²; Minimum area for each additional person: 4m²
- Single women including their children in their own units and not with non-related men
- Occupancy plan: consideration of pre-installed rooms, kitchen, dining room, sanitary facilities
- Rooms can be locked and numbered
- Room facilities: wardrobe, table, chair (per person), bed including pillows, blankets and bed linen (per person), storage box (per person)

Plumbing:
- Lockable, hygienic sanitary facilities separate for women and men (for 10 persons each), WC (for 10 persons each), visual protection (for shared showers)

Power supply:
- Adequate artificial lighting depending on lighting conditions
- Rooms, bathrooms, community rooms sufficiently heated; night reduction of the temperature allowed
- Disturbances: immediate measures by the operator
- Warm water supply for bodily hygiene: around the clock, appropriate volume
- Use of personal cooking appliances by residents is prohibited for safety reasons

Cleaning:
- In principle, residents are obligated to clean the rooms provided
- Cleaning plan to be created by operators for common rooms (kitchen, hallways, etc.); operator must provide sufficient detergents and equipment

Laundry:
- Provision of washing machines including detergents and dryers (separate from living rooms) or tokens for washers by the operator; rationing of detergent allowed
- Change of bed linen: either every two weeks by operator or self-cleaning by residents (each resident to be provided with minimum two sets by operator)

Meals:
- Federal authorities and operators will agree on accommodation type regarding catering (full, partial, self-service)
- Room requirement and equipment for food preparation dependent on type of accommodation
- For catering by operator:
    - Varied, balanced meals (meat, fruit, vegetables, milk products, etc.)
    - Minimum three meals per day (minimum one of them should be warm); for schoolchildren, even if they do not receive a warm meal in care facilities
    - Minimum provision for water and tea
    - consideration of religious dietary requirements, vegetarian and vegan diet, food intolerances
    - Provision for baby, infant food
- For partial & self-supply:
    - Provision of kitchens including cooker with four hotplates and an oven, refrigerator, freezer, sinks, kitchens, dishes (for 10 persons each)

Health care and safety:
- Visible identification of regional and general emergency numbers
- Eliminate mold and restore the premises in a safe, habitable state; inform the inhabitants to avoid mold formation
- Independent inspection and compliance by all operators, fire and construction regulations, and sanitary regulations (review minimum once per week by operator)

Support by operator:
- Telephone availability of the operator or their well-known representation around the clock for residents in emergencies
- Presence of a person of more than 50 persons attributable to the operator
- Support of the residents when signing up and canceling according to the reporting law by the operator
- Support for new arrivals in the event of initial orientation by operators

Information:
- Access of the residents to information relevant to the residents of the federal, state, municipality and operator
- Inform the residents of existing emergency plans and fire regulations
- Information in languages that are understood by residents

Quality control:
- Supervision of the operation of organized accommodation by the service of the federal state, which is responsible for basic service agreement
- Inspection carried out with comprehensible procedures

• Obligation to provide information (if not contrary to secrecy) to the operator; inspectorate must have access to property and premises
• Elimination of deficiencies and maladministration by the operator (taking account of the economic reasonableness of the measures); in case of danger in delay, appropriate immediate measures

10.4   List of Interviewees (Alphabetically)

Name	Title
Andreas Gampert	Head of Department of Integration, Diakonie Flüchtlingsdienst, Vienna
Clemens Foschi	Project Manager, Magda Hotel; Head of Caritas Service, Vienna
Gerlinde Wambacher	Magistrat, Ministry of the Interior
Joakim Kerrn Malmgren	ONV Arkitekter, Denmark
Marie Myhre	Project Manager and Consultant, 2+1 Idébureau, Copenhagen
Marlies Fellinger	Project Coordinator for Multiple-use, MA18-Urban Development and City Planning, Vienna
Michala Clante Bendixen	Chairman, Refugees Welcome, Denmark
Nele Meier	Coordinator, *Haus Hawi*, Caritas, Vienna
Sigrid Putzer	Head of Coordination & Volunteer Work, *Haus Hawi*, Vienna
Teresa Steiner	Office and Communications, tnE Architects ZT GmbH, Vienna
Tobias Gunnar Grandel	Intern, Interdisciplinary Research and Teaching Project "Place of Importance", Faculty of Architecture and Planning, TU Vienna
Tone Olaf Nielsen	Program Coordinator & Women's Counseling/Program Coordinator, Trampoline House, Copenhagen
Vera Santner	Assistant Managing Director, Diakonie Flüchtlingsdienst, Vienna

Additionally, four residents (two asylum seekers and two students) of the asylee accommodation *Haus Hawi* in Vienna.

List of people and organizations contacted (Alphabetically) for further information:

Name	Title
—	Home Not Shelter Project, Germany and Austria
—	Openmarx Project, Faculty of Architecture and Spatial Planning, TU Vienna
—	Red Cross, Denmark
—	YouAreHere Project, Vienna
Amila Širbegović	Researcher, Urban Planning, Migration and Production of Space, Vienna
Anita Aigner	Assistant Professor, TU Vienna
Astrid Strak	Student Assistant, Faculty of Architecture and Spatial Planning, TU Vienna
Bernhard Gugg	Student, Faculty of Spatial and Regional Planning, TU Vienna

Jeremiah Haidevogel	Resident at *Haus Hawi* and Student, Theatre- Film- and Media Studies, University of Vienna
Marlene Jacobsen	Section Coordinator, Integration Team, Red Cross, Denmark
Nicole Jimenez	Coordinator, Caritas, Vienna
Patricia Studeny	Technical Assistance, FSW, Vienna
Tina Steiger	Intern, LG New Business Foundations, UNHCR, Denmark

List of people contacted for interviews but did not respond (Alphabetically):

Name	Title
—	IG Architektur, Vienna
—	Asylum Coordination Austria
—	Federal Office for Immigration and Asylum (BFA), Austria
—	Gribskov Municipality
Alexander Hagner	Architect, Gaupenraub Architektur, Vienna
Alexander Poschner, Carina Sacher	Initiators, Amal Ankommen, Vienna
Azra Bajrica, David Fuellekruss, Marlene Panzenboeck	PROSA Projekt Schule für Alle, Vienna
Beatrice Galilee	Curator, writer, critic, consultant and lecturer of Contemporary Architecture and Design
David Zistl	Initiator, Management, Fluechtlinge willkommen, Vienna
Denis Weber	Contact Person, Blaues Haus, Johanniter
Dr. Birgit Wolf	Refugee Social Care, Johanniter
Dr. Ralph Boch	Hans Sauer Foundation, Berlin
Erwin Bauer	Architect, Büro Bauer, Vienna
Flora Strohmeier	PR, ArchOG, Vienna
Frederikke Hansen	Founding Co-director, CAMP, Copenhagen
Gabrielle Ségur-Cabanac	Manager, Haus Ziedlergasse, Johanniter
Hans Drexler	Professor, Jade Hochschule, Oldenburg
Jörg Friedrich	Professor, Institute of Design and Building Theory, Leibniz University of Hannover
Karin Harather	Assistant Professor, Institute of Art and Design, TUof Vienna
Magdalena Dona, Franz Leuthner	Architects, ArchOG, Vienna
Marina Döring-Williams	Professor, Institute of Art History, Building Research and Preservation of Historical Monuments, TU Vienna
Markus Bachmaier	Coordinator, Haus Hawi, Caritas, Vienna
Michal Sikyta	Head, Fluechtlinge willkommen, Vienna
Morten Kold	Creative Director, 2+1 Idébureau, Copenhagen

Otto J. Simon	Initiator, Coordinator, Fluechtlinge willkommen, Vienna
Pernille Høxbro	Chairperson, Frederiksberg Municipality's Social Committee
Ralf Pasel	Professor, Institute of Architecture, Design and Construction, TU Berlin
Regnar M. Nielsen	Editor, Bladet Boligen, Denmark
Sophie Wolfrum	Professor, Chair of Urban Planning and Regional Planning, TU Munich
Tamina Mayrwöger	Coordinator, Fluechtlinge willkommen, Vienna

10.5   List of Accommodations for Asylees in 23 Districts of Vienna

Caritas House Daria
Braunspergengasse 22

Caritas Karwanhaus
Blindengasse 44

Caritas-Haus Vindobona
Baumgartner Height 1

Caritas House Erdberg
Erdbergstraße 186- 190

Caritas-Hawi
Kempelengasse 1

Caritas-Haus Amadou
RobertHamerling-Gasse 7

Caritas-Magdas Hotel
Laufbergergasse 12

ÖVW, Diakonie-Living Around the Commons
Traviatagasse

Red Cross-Haus Sandro
Oberlaaer Str. 10

Red Cross-Project IWORA
Altmannsdorfer Straße

Red Cross-Haus Baumgarten
Hütteldorfer Str. 14

Diakonie-Haus Neu Alber
Gunoldstraße 16

Diakonie-Haus Rossauer Lände
Roßauer Lände 37

Diakonie-LARES Wien
Liechtensteinstraße 130A

Diankonie-Haus Papageno
Wienerbergstraße 29A

Accommodation for Young People
Felberstraße 1, 1150, Vienna

Primary Care Centre
Mariannengasse 11, 1090, Vienna

Fraubock Accommodation
Zohmanngasse 28, 1100, Wien

10.6   List of accommodations for asylees in 29 municipalities of the CRD

Venligbolig
Askemosevejen, 3210 Vejby, Denmark
Type: Single family residence (?)
Operator: Gribskov Municipality
Host municipality: Gribskov Municipality
Capacity: 2-3

Venligbolig+
Roskildevej 54, 2000 Frederiksberg, Denmark
Type: -
Operator: Frederiksberg Municipality
Host municipality: Frederiksberg Municipality
Capacity: 102 (51 students and 51 refugees)

Venligbolig+
Søndre Fasanvej 36, 2000 Frederiksberg, Denmark
Type: -
Operator: Frederiksberg Municipality
Host municipality: Frederiksberg Municipality
Capacity: Unknown

Temporary Residence, Gentofte
Hellerupvej 22-26, 2900 Hellerup, Denmark
Type: midlertidigt opholdssted til nyankomne flygtninge/ Temporary Residence for newly arrived
refugees
Operator: Gentofte Municipality
Host municipality: Gentofte Municipality
Capacity: Unknown

Temporary Residence, Copenhagen
Ottiliavej 1, 2500 Valby, Denmark
Type: Temporary accommodation until the municipality is able to find affordable permanent housing
Operator: Copenhagen Municipality
Host municipality: Copenhagen Municipality
Capacity: Unknown

Temporary Residence, Copenhagen
Centerparken 2, 2500 Valby, Denmark
Type: Temporary accommodation until Frederiksberg municipality is able to find affordable permanent housing
Operator: Frederiksberg Municipality
Host municipality: Copenhagen Municipality
Capacity: 110

Temporary Residence, Frederiksberg
Betty Nansens Alle, 2000 Frederiksberg, Denmark
Type: Temporary accommodation until Frederiksberg municipality is able to find affordable permanent housing
Operator: Frederiksberg Municipality
Host municipality: Frederiksberg Municipality
Capacity: 12 moved from Centerparken 2-4, Valby + ???

Temporary Residence, Frederiksberg
Søndre Fasanvej 16, 2000 Frederiksberg, Denmark
Type: Temporary accommodation until Frederiksberg municipality is able to find affordable permanent housing
Operator: Frederiksberg Municipality
Host municipality: Frederiksberg Municipality
Capacity: 33 (https://www.tv2lorry.dk/artikel/flygtninge-betaler-nul-kroner-frivillige-aabner-gratis-butik)

Name: Børnecenter Gribskov
Address: Gantekrogsvej 9, Mårum, 3230 Græsted
Phone: 35 27 86 60
Center Type: Børnecenter / Children's Center
Operator: Red Cross
Host municipality: Gribskov Municipality
Capacity: 60 indkvarteringspladser/ accommodation places

Name: Center Sandholm
Address: Sandholmgårdsvej 40, 3460 Birkerød
Phone: 35 27 99 00
Center Type: (Modtage-/udrejsecenter/børnecenter/Omsorgscenter) Reception / Departure Center / Children's Center / Care Center (reception center for all new asylum seekers, where the first registration with the police takes place)
Operator: Red Cross
Host municipality: Allerød Municipality
Capacity: 600 indkvarteringspladser

Name: Center Sjælsmark
Address: Sjælsmarkvej 10, 2970 Hørsholm
Phone: 72 55 55 00
Center Type: Udrejsecenter / Departure Center
Operator: Kriminalforsorgen/ Correctional Services
Host Municipality: Hørsholm Municipality
Capacity: 300 indkvarteringspladser

Name: Center Kongelunden
Address: Kalvebodvej 250 2791 Dragør
Phone: 3253 1655
Center Type: Omsorgscenter (care center for particularly vulnerable asylum seekers with, for example, physical or mental disabilities, victims of torture, families with other serious problems and unaccompanied children seeking asylum with an adult other than their parents)
Operator: Red Cross
Host Municipality: Dragør Municipality
Capacity: Unknown

Center Aakirkeby
Ravnsgade 5, 3729 Aakirkeby
Phone: 35 27 93 10
Center type: Opholdscenter (residence for families with and without children)
Operator: Røde Kors and Bornholm Regional Municipality
Host Municipality: Bornholm Regional Municipality
Capacity: 55 indkvarteringspladser/ accommodation places
https://www.rodekors.dk/det-goer-vi/roede-kors-asyl/asylcentre/center-aakirkeby

Center Bornholm
Zahrtmannsvej 2, 3700 Rønne
Phone: 35 27 93 10
Center type: Opholdscenter (residence for families and single adults)
Operator: Røde Kors and Bornholm Regional Municipality
Host Municipality: Bornholm Regional Municipality
Capacity: 250 indkvarteringspladser/ accommodation places
https://www.rodekors.dk/det-goer-vi/roede-kors-asyl/asylcentre/center-bornholm-(slottet)

Center Segen
Segen Kasserne, Segenvej 31, Aarsballe 3700 Rønne
Phone: 35 27 93 10
Center type: Opholdscenter (residence for single adults)
Operator: Røde Kors and Bornholm Regional Municipality
Host Municipality: Bornholm Regional Municipality
Capacity: 50 indkvarteringspladser/ accommodation places
https://www.rodekors.dk/det-goer-vi/roede-kors-asyl/asylcentre/center-segen

10.7   Standards for the reception of applicants for international protection

DIRECTIVE 2013/33/EU
Article 17
General rules on material reception conditions and health care

1.   Member States shall ensure that material reception conditions are available to applicants when they make their application for international protection.

2.   Member States shall ensure that material reception conditions provide an adequate standard of living for applicants, which guarantees their subsistence and protects their physical and mental health.

Member States shall ensure that that standard of living is met in the specific situation of vulnerable persons, in accordance with Article 21[42], as well as in relation to the situation of persons who are in detention.

3.   Member States may make the provision of all or some of the material reception conditions and health care subject to the condition that applicants do not have sufficient means to have a standard of living adequate for their health and to enable their subsistence.

4.   Member States may require applicants to cover or contribute to the cost of the material reception conditions and of the health care provided for in this Directive, pursuant to the provision of paragraph 3, if the applicants have sufficient resources, for example if they have been working for a reasonable period of time.

If it transpires that an applicant had sufficient means to cover material reception conditions and health care at the time when those basic needs were being covered, Member States may ask the applicant for a refund.

5.   Where Member States provide material reception conditions in the form of financial allowances or vouchers, the amount thereof shall be determined on the basis of the level(s) established by the Member State concerned either by law or by the practice to ensure adequate standards of living for nationals. Member States may grant less favourable treatment to applicants compared with nationals in this respect, in particular where material support is partially provided in kind or where those level(s), applied for nationals, aim to ensure a standard of living higher than that prescribed for applicants under this Directive (EUR-lex, 2013).

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[42] *Article 21* **General Principle** Member States shall take into account the specific situation of vulnerable persons such as minors, unaccompanied minors, disabled people, elderly people, pregnant women, single parents with minor children, victims of human trafficking, persons with serious illnesses, persons with mental disorders and persons who have been subjected to torture, rape or other serious forms of psychological, physical or sexual violence, such as victims of female genital mutilation, in the national law implementing this Directive.

10.8   List of Figures

10.9   List of Tables

Richter, D. *Tarifa*, 2001