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Rethinking Shelter*ing* for the Displaced

How Refugees Make Homes in Stuttgart's Community Shelters

A Thesis submitted in the Partial Fulfillment for the Requirement of the Degree of Master of Science in Integrated Urbanism and Sustainable Design

by

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08/15/2022
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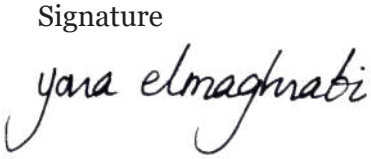

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Without a considerable amount of extraordinary humans, this research would not have been feasible. Words can not possibly express my respect, gratitude, and appreciation for them, but I will try. Here is a little glimpse of those humans.

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To everyone who is still searching for a *home*....

Abstract

Rethinking Shelter*ing* for the Displaced
How Refugees Make Homes in Stuttgart's Community Shelters

Yara ElMaghrabi

Home is an ambiguous and perhaps controversial term. 'Where is your *home*? What is *home* to you?' are hard questions to answer, particularly in displacement. When an individual is uprooted from their place of residence, a journey that seeks to rebuild that *home* can take place in the origin country or a refuge country. They seek shelter in various spaces, from staying with friends or family to transforming substandard buildings to building their own shelters. Shelters can also be provided by humanitarian organisations or governmental institutions, usually referred to as 'temporary' shelters. While the displaced hope that the situation is, in fact, temporary, it is seldom the case. Nevertheless, shelter is not recognised as a starting point where the displaced can rebuild their *homes*, and generally, shelter has gained little academic interest. In the context of refugees, the perception of shelter as a non-urban/rural structure further contributed to the limited studies on shelters in urban contexts. Furthermore, no global standards are available on collective shelters, as it is presumed that collective shelters are pre-existing buildings.

This research addresses these gaps and focuses on Stuttgart's *Systembauten* community shelters. These urban collective shelters were constructed in Germany in 2015-2016 to temporarily host refugees while their asylum applications were being processed. The study investigates: HOW do refugees dwelling in Stuttgart's *Systembauten* community shelters make homes? and as such, adopted a qualitative inductive approach through grounded theory and architectural ethnography. Upon applying this methodology, and through thematic analysis of the various spatial scales (the shelter with its private and shared spaces in

addition to the site), different conditions emerged as the main influencers of space appropriation, and consequently, a set of spatial practices occurred in response to these conditions. Finally, it was concluded that the spatial practice of making homes in Stuttgart's community shelters resulted from an interplay between the sum of *spatial, political, temporal* and *socio-cultural* negotiations that occurs within the various spaces of the shelter, which are a result of the refugees' response to both tangible and intangible conditions, and connections to their previous and ideal home. Cumulatively, this research added to the limited research on the role and impact of temporary, urban, collective shelters on refugees while utilising the lens of the spatial practice of 'making homes' in the context of displacement.

Keywords: *Systembauten*; spatial agency; appropriation; collective shelter; urban shelter

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List of Acronyms

AsylbLG	Das Asylbewerberleistungsgesetz (The Asylum Seekers Benefits Act)
AsylG	Das Asylgesetz (The Asylum Act)
AsylVfG	Das Asylverfahrensgesetzes (The Asylum Procedure Act)
AU	Anschlussunterbringung (Follow-Up/Municipal Accommodation)
AWO	Arbeiterwohlfahrt (A Welfare Organization)
AZR	Ausländerzentralregister (Central Register of Foreigners)
BAMF	Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (Federal Office for Migration and Refugees)
BW	Baden-Württemberg
CARE International	Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere (NGO)
CRS	Catholic Relief Services (NGO)
DRC	Danish Refugee Council (NGO)
DRK	Deutsches Rotes Kreuz (German Red Cross)
EASY System	Erstverteilung der Asylbegehrenden (Initial Distribution of Asylum Seekers)
EU	European Union

EVA	Evangelische Gesellschaft (A Welfare Organization)
FlüAG	Flüchtlingsaufnahmegesetz (Refugee Admissions Act)
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GU	Gemeinschaftsunterkunft (Communal/Community Accommodation)
IDMC	Internal Displacement Monitoring Center
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IFRC	International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Cresent (NGO)
IHL	International Humanitarian Law
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
LEAs	Landeserstaufnahmeeinrichtungen (Initial Reception Facility)
LpB BW	Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Baden-Württemberg
NFIs	Non Food Items
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council (NGO)
OCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
RPK	Regierungspräsidium Karlsruhe (Regional Council of Karlsruhe)
UMFs	Unbegleitete minderjährige Flüchtlinge (Unaccompanied Minor Refugees)
UN	United Nations
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
VU	Vorläufige Unterbringung (Temporary Accommodation)
WASH	Water, Sanitation and Hygiene
WHO	World Health Organization

The Unwitnessed Journey

As a Palestinian urban refugee who lived in Egypt, the researcher has always had a keen interest in the topic of displaced populations, particularly refugees. Stories of displaced populations from natural hazards, war and conflict, can be seen in the media and how international and national non-profit organisations provided humanitarian assistance. However, the most profound spatial implication of displacement, and thus humanitarian assistance, has always been to provide shelter, which usually implies a tent or a prefab structure, but as was subsequently shown, this is not the case. A spatial implication that is considered profoundly problematic. How do these displaced populations continue with their lives in these shelters? Do they feel at *home*? How can it be ' just a tent'? Is it really temporary? How is it not 'better' after all this time?

Initially, as an architect, the researcher had an idealised view of how temporary shelters should function and be generally constructed. An egocentric perspective, believing that one could build a shelter that would address some of the obvious issues shelter response has. Issues such as not being sustainable, climate-responsive, or culturally appropriate and that if some of these challenges are solved, an obvious consequence is that the displaced would feel better and more at *home*, as it has been proven that shelter is not just a brief stopover. An effort that was ready to be approached without consulting with the displaced. In fact, it was a technocratic, top-down approach.

With that mindset, the researcher started examining contexts to study. Noting that substantial research has been done on developing countries, which is

understandable given that they host most of the displaced populations and particularly refugees, the researcher wanted to grasp the opportunity of studying in Europe and examine a context in that area. Greece, with the fire at Moria camp, and Germany as one of the top hosting countries in Europe seemed like potential contexts to study. At the same time, there were many question marks about shelter response. How does it operate? When does the UNHCR intervene: they could operate in Greece but not in Germany? Why is the shelter response for IDPs different from refugees? Why are refugees treated differently in different contexts?

As a result, the researcher started conducting interviews with shelter practitioners and scholars to understand the dichotomy of what happens in the field and what it is being researched while simultaneously taking online courses on humanitarian response. Cumulatively, the researcher realised that the previous technocratic perspective was profoundly wrong. That the situation is much more complex than previously anticipated. It was realised that the perspective and needs of the displaced are much more impactful than coming from a top-down approach, and their voices and capacities should be brought forward. However, one thing remained clear and unchanged. It is when the researcher found the goal of becoming a humanitarian architect.

The need for shelter is not going to stop.

At that time, the Ukrainian-Russian conflict started, and due to the nature of the research, being in a context that is accessible and safe was a priority, and staying in Germany seemed reasonable. With that conclusion, the researcher started volunteering with 'Scalabrinian Secular Missionary Women' while reviewing the sheltering strategies in Europe and Germany. With that volunteer opportunity and literature review, the *Systembauten* Community Shelters were selected as the main case study, and volunteering with Caritas and AWO started, along with the journey of understanding how refugees make homes in foreign lands (See Prologue).

This was a brief of the unwitnessed journey of the researcher and the total shift of perspective that followed. With that note, the next chapters will give a more in-depth understanding of that journey and lay out the research background, focus, results, discussion, conclusions and recommendations.

Figure (0.01) Systembauten Community Shelters
Source: Author

Prologue

0.1 Research Background

By May 2022, an unexpected milestone was reached as the number of forcibly displaced populations surpassed 100 million, compared to 89.4 million by the end of 2021 (UNHCR, 2022; McAuliffe & Triandafyllidou, 2021). Accordingly, in the first few months of 2022, an additional 11.8 million were forced to flee their homes (UNHCR, 2022). The causes of forced displacement and migration can be due to political (e.g. armed conflicts), economic (e.g. famine), environmental (e.g. natural hazards and climate change), social (e.g. gender-based violence) or individual determinants (Kuhnt, 2019). Nevertheless, when an individual is uprooted from their place of residence, a journey that seeks to rebuild that *home* can take place in the origin country or a refuge country. During this journey, access to essential services such as water, energy, education, and healthcare are often restricted. In addition, the displaced person often lacks livelihood opportunities and has uncertain prospects for the future (Becker & Ferrara, 2019). However, decision-makers and researchers somehow disregard that journey and find it hard to comprehend that *homes* can be formed in displacement. As a result, the current momentum and the ongoing debates of intersecting 'forced displacement' and 'making homes' are largely lacking, and it is advocated to intersect these concepts from a spatial and architectural perspective (Beeckmans et al., 2022). In that sense, home is a phenomenon that can take place on multiple scales (a dwelling, a community, a nation) and encompasses a set of complex practices (Brun, 2015).

Regardless of the type of displacement (internal or cross-border), the humanitarian response occurs to cover its consequences, which depending on the capacity of the government, can be managed by humanitarian or governmental organisations and situated in an urban or camp context. As most humanitarian responses are focused on the short term, the strategy is primarily restricted to the emergency and temporary phases without considering long-term development, which significantly impacts the perceptions and funding strategies of decision-makers (VanRooyen, 2016). Nevertheless, humanitarian response is highly crucial, and in the context of cross-border displacement, refugees tend to be more vulnerable and with a greater need for this assistance (Opitz-Stapleton et al., 2017), even though they account for a small proportion (around 30%) compared to the total number of displaced populations. While great emphasis has been given to the humanitarian response to refugees in camp settings, almost 60% of refugees live in urban settings (UNHCR, 2016). In addition, as the number of refugees grows yearly and will likely keep growing due to climate change (Kamal, 2017), cities face more obstacles than ever in accommodating refugees.

Shelter is considered to be the foundation of humanitarian response. The first image that might pop in one's head when reading the term 'shelter' is presumably a tent or a pre-fabricated structure with the logo of an international or national non-profit organisation on the front. However, a shelter can be inclusive and incorporate all the spaces the displaced accommodate till reaching their aspired *home*, which can also encompass temporarily transforming substandard or public buildings (Scott-Smith and Breeze, 2020). In general, shelter is highly essential as it can provide protection, a sense of security, an opportunity to maintain a sense of everyday life, and allow for other forms of humanitarian assistance to be delivered (Shelter Box, 2017). Nevertheless, based on the humanitarian response 'short-term scheme', mass-produced shelters with a one-design-fits-all concept are usually the strategy undertaken in most shelter responses with the perception that these shelters will only be 'temporary' and only a 'product' that serves a specific purpose. On the other hand, the reality is quite different, where shelters are used for more extended periods than planned. In fact, shelter is advocated as a process of incremental steps rather than a product (Davis, 1978).

However, despite the importance and impact of shelter, according to a recent literature survey, only 60 academic papers were issued on "emergency shelters" or "temporary shelters" in the past forty years (Albadra et al., 2018). In addition,

the concept of shelter in the global standards is founded on the notion that shelters are non-urban/rural, positioned in camp settings, while limited attention has been given to urban shelters that can be constructed of temporary/semi-permanent materials. Moreover, there are limited, almost absent standards on collective/multi-unit shelters and how individuals can dwell together.

Cumulatively, shelter is not usually associated with the term *home*, as it is perceived as a 'temporary' structure. As a result, it is barely recognised as a starting point where the displaced can build a future and assist in their journey to re-establish their *home* (Brun, 2016). Moreover, the Sphere Handbook mentions that "shelter is necessary to promote health, support family and community life, and provide dignity, security and access to livelihoods." Nevertheless, no emphasis has been given to making *homes* and fulfilling socio-cultural requirements (Interaction, 2021; Sphere Association, 2018: 240). On the contrary, *home* can take place in "temporary" dwellings, as Brun (2015) advocates. Moreover, recent ongoing debates among shelter practitioners (CRS, 2020; NRC, 2019) support that "Homes and Communities" should replace "Shelter and Settlements" to encompass the socio-cultural needs and not stop at the physical aspects of shelter.

In refugee contexts, the role of shelter increases significantly as most refugees live in protracted situations (EU, 2016). The shelter is identified as a place where refugees can exert some control and exercise their agency, particularly if mobility is limited (Adams et al., 2018). As a result, it has been advocated to better understand shelter in the context of refugees and its impact on their lives (Pascucci, 2021; Baumann, 2020). However, while the spatiality of refugee camps has been extensively studied in previous literature (Janson, 2018; McConnachie, 2016), insufficient emphasis has been given to shelter (Scott-Smith and Breeze, 2020) and the appropriation of space in refugee studies (Dalal & Misselwitz, 2021). Cumulatively, there are limited studies on the spatial practice of making homes in temporary shelters in general and temporary, urban, collective shelters in particular.

Given its geographical location and image as a symbol of stability, 6.7 million sought refugee status in Europe by the end of 2020 (UNHCR, 2021). In particular, Germany hosted more than 1.8 million refugees, placing Germany as the second-largest hosting country in Europe (LpB BW, N.D; UNHCR, 2021). In addition, over 360,000 Ukrainian refugees were registered in Germany as of mid-April

2022, a figure which is argued to be relatively higher (LpB BW, N.D). Stuttgart, the sixth-largest city in Germany and the capital of Baden-Württemberg, accommodates 6.47% of the population of refugees in the state, hosting around eight thousand refugees (Benneweg, 2022), where refugees account for 2.4% of the population (LpB BW, N.D). Stuttgart follows a decentralised strategy to accommodate refugees in the city and falls into the second (temporary shelter) and third phase (follow-up accommodation) of the sheltering strategy in the state (Benneweg, 2020).

0.2 Research Focus

Based on the above, this research focuses on the *Systembauten*[1] *Gemeinschaftsunterkünfte*[2] (referred to as communal/community shelters) constructed in (2015-2016) in Stuttgart, Germany in order to examine collective shelters in urban settings that were specifically mass-constructed to temporarily host refugees, as illustrated in Figure (0.02). The community shelters are one of the dominating shelter strategies in Stuttgart, spread over fifteen out of the city's twenty-three districts, where almost all locations have the same architectural design and vary in their urban design. While the duration of stay in the shelter shall not exceed two years, some refugees have stayed in this shelter since it was constructed, once again deconstructing the notion that shelters are 'temporary'. Moreover, these shelters were only constructed to last for five years, but due to the constant displacements taking place around the globe, their lease has been extended to accommodate different refugee influxes. Within its total capacity, the community shelters can host up to 4,000 refugees (Benneweg, 2020). However, the question remains: Are the community shelters 'more than just a roof'? Do they facilitate the process of making *homes*? Can/Do refugees make homes in these shelters?

While generally, there has been limited research and documentation on Stuttgart's community shelters, this research investigates these shelters from the lens of making homes in forced displacement, where shelter can be a place where making a *home* in a foreign place is initiated. Since *home* is a multi-scalar process and a set of complex practices, this research focuses on the spatial agency of refugees, which is reflected in the appropriation of space. In that sense, it looks into the spatial practice of making *homes* in a demarcated space, the shelter.

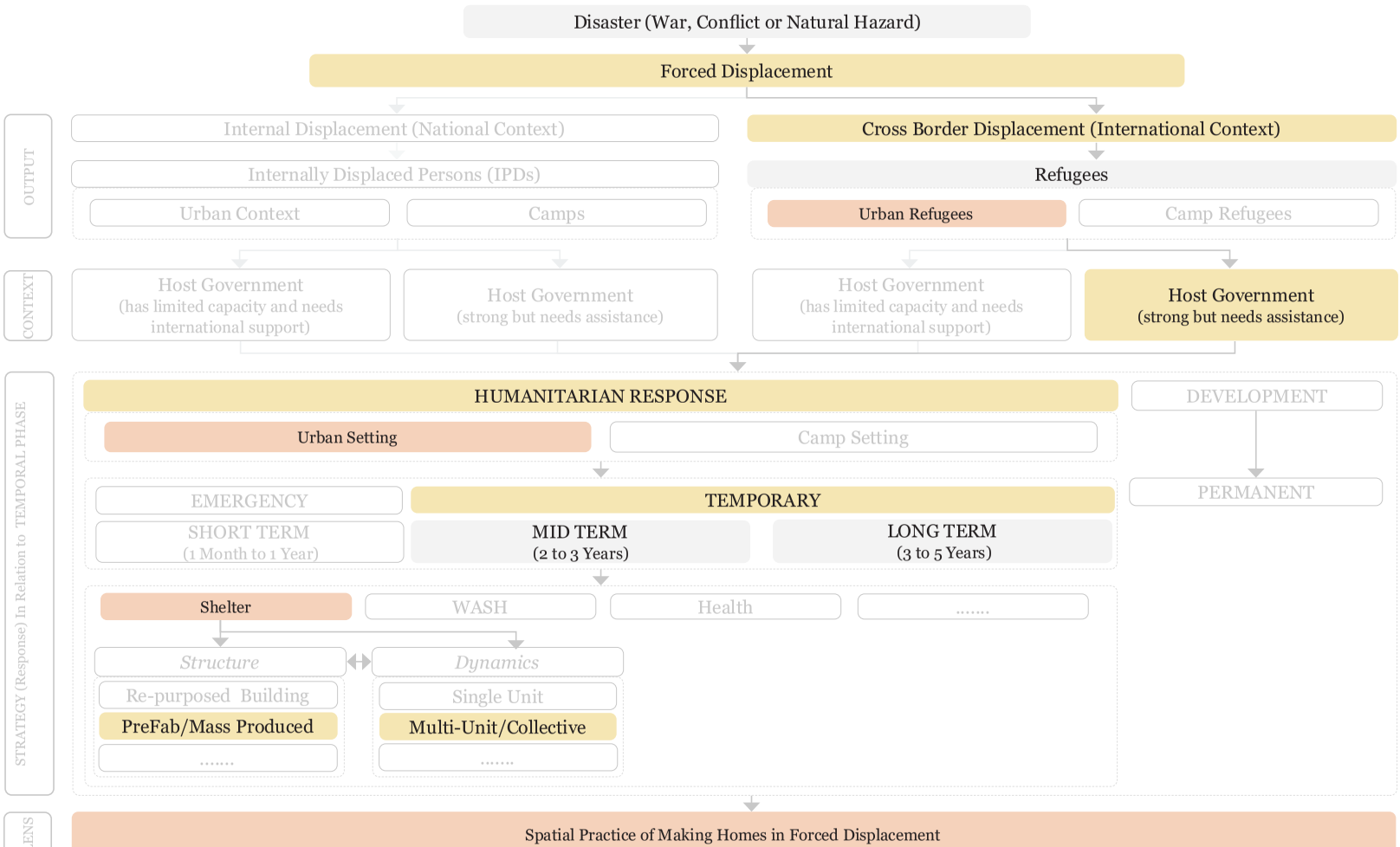

Figure (0.02) Research Focus
Source: Author

0.3 Research Aims, Questions and Objectives

0.3.1 Research Aims

Cumatively, this research mainly aims to contribute to the studies on and the efforts of 'spatialising the process of making homes in displacement', particularly making *homes* in mass-produced, collective urban shelters constructed to temporarily host refugees. In that sense, refugees are placed in the research's centre as this study's prime actors and co-producers.

Consequently, this research includes three sub-aims.

First, this research aims to add to recent debates on the importance of shelter and clear the misconceptions about it. It emphasises the enormous impact of shelter on the lives of refugees.

Second, it aims to bring forward the spatial agency of refugees, who are often associated with powerlessness, and recognise their contribution to and fabrication of the built environment instead of portraying them as 'non-experts'. As a result, it aspires to portray refugees as 'active' urban agents rather than 'passive' recipients of humanitarian aid.

Third, it aims to address what aspects refugees seek in shelters in the context of forced, and usually protracted, displacement and encompass understanding the perspectives of different actors to bring forward the realities of those who tend to stay more at home, like women, children, and refugees with disabilities.

0.3.2 Research Questions and Objectives

As a result, the main research question is:

HOW do refugees dwelling in Stuttgart's community shelters make homes?

Four sub-questions were identified to respond to the main research question. The sub-questions, with their corresponding objectives, are:

1. WHAT is Stuttgart's strategy for sheltering refugees?

- To describe the legal framework and sheltering strategies for refugees in Stuttgart and how it fits within the broader strategy of Germany.

2. WHAT are the spatial appropriations that occur in the various spaces of the community shelters?

- To describe the community shelters and the regulations assigned to managing the refugees in these shelters.
- To describe the appropriations of refugees as spatial agents in the private and shared spaces and the outdoor spaces within the community shelters and WHEN these appropriations occur.

3. WHAT conditions affect the spatial practice of making homes in the community shelters?

- To reflect on the community shelters and HOW their design affects the use of space.
- To examine the root causes of the spatial appropriations to make homes and WHO the refugees negotiate with.

4. WHAT type of responses occurred in the spatial practice of making homes to adapt to these conditions?

- To examine the key responses to the pre-identified conditions the refugees faced during their spatial practice of making homes.

0.4 Research Design

0.4.1 Research Approach

In order to answer the main research question and understand the refugees' perspectives and lived realities, this research followed a qualitative, inductive approach. Cumulatively, grounded theory and spatial/architectural ethnography were used. On the one hand, grounded theory limits presumptions about the research question and attempts to remain open to various interpretations of the findings, allowing for different themes to emerge (Charmaz & Belgrave, 2019). On the other hand, architectural ethnography integrates ethnographic and spatial analysis methods, where the researcher combines participatory observations and interviews, where the interviewees are asked to document their lives in one way or another (Kalpakci, Kaijima, & Stalder, 2020; Low, 2017).

0.4.2 Research Methodology

This approach was applied through three main phases, each with a specific aim and encompassing different research methods, as illustrated in Figure (0.03).

The first phase aimed to build the research background and place the main case study within the practical and theoretical realm. First, it placed the research within the policies and strategies of shelter response to forced displacement and the difference in providing shelter for refugees compared to internally displaced people on a global scale. Second, it placed the research within the theoretical debates on spatial agency, appropriation, dwelling and making homes in forced displacement, particularly in the context of refugees.

The second phase focused on the contextualisation of the case study within the policies and strategies for sheltering refugees in Germany as a whole, and Stuttgart in particular.

The third phase attempted to describe and examine the spatial appropriations done by the refugees to make homes in the community shelters.

Following is the description of the research methods used in each phase.

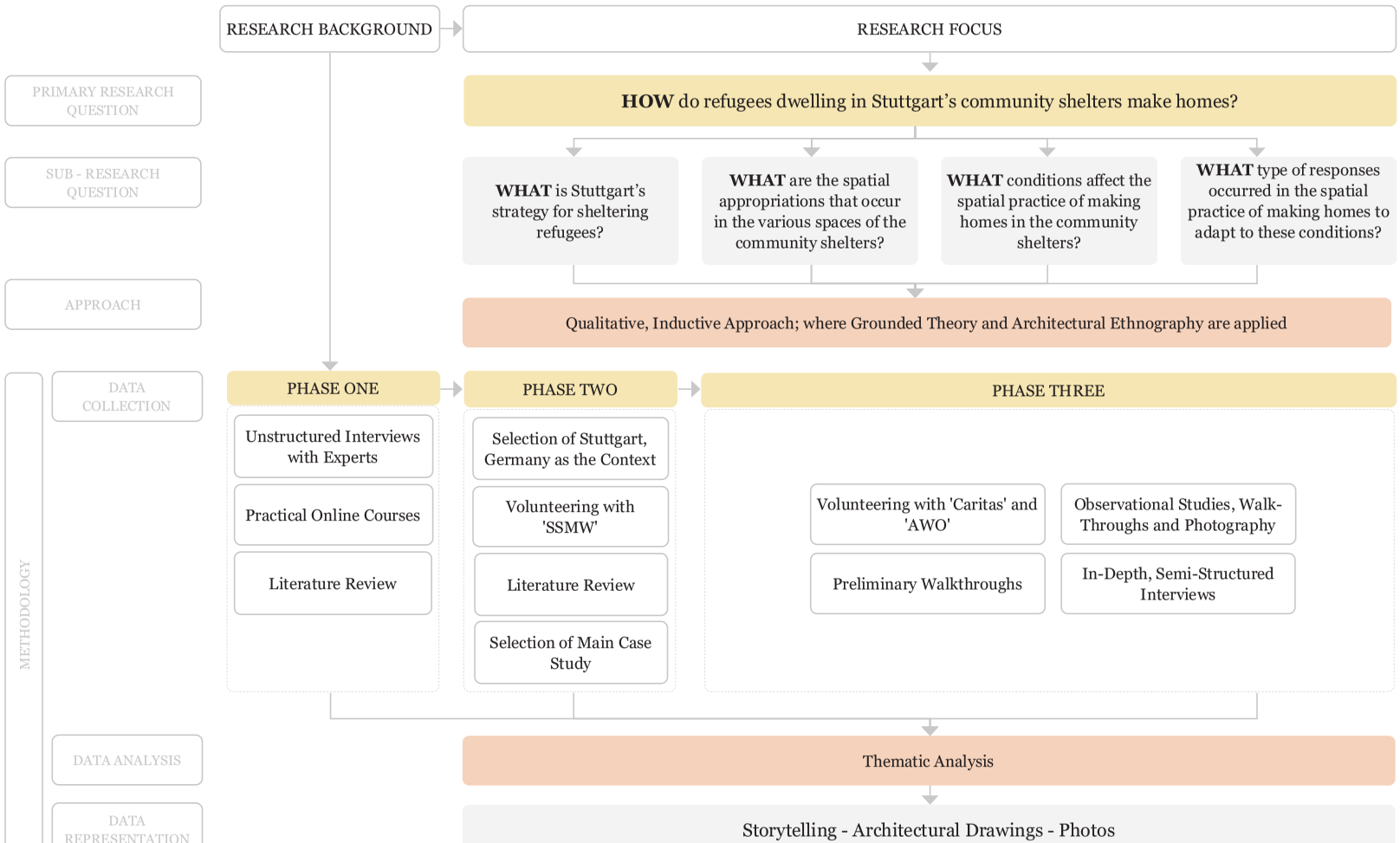

Figure (0.03) Research Questions and Design
Source: Author

0.4.2.1 Phase One
(16 January 2022 - 25 February 2022)

Unstructured Interviews with Experts

Expert interviews were conducted with humanitarian and shelter practitioners working in multiple non-profit organisations. More than twenty interviews were held online using platforms such as Zoom and Microsoft Teams. The practitioners were affiliated with organisations such as International Organization for Migration (IOM), CARE International, Danish Refugee Council (DRC), and the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC). In addition, multiple interviews were held with volunteers. This was a key tool to understanding how the shelter response system works in practice, the stakeholders involved, and the challenges faced by those efforts to accommodate the displaced in different contexts.

Practical Online Courses

The researcher attended the online course "Humanitarian Response to Conflict and Disaster" held by Harvard University to have a more holistic understanding of the conflict that arises from the interpretations of scholars and those outside of the field of what the norm should be and what the situation demands of practitioners.

Literature Review

Following the same path of understanding the perspectives of both scholars and practitioners, the researcher reviewed international documents such as the standards and guidelines followed in shelter response, named 'The Sphere Project' and reports published by non-profit organisations. Simultaneously, academic papers that criticise what takes place in the field were reviewed. Moreover, the researcher examined academic papers published on the key concepts used in this research, such as spatial agency, appropriation and *home*.

0.4.2.2 Phase Two
(25 February 2022 - 20 April 2022)

Selection of Stuttgart, Germany as the Context

Due to the nature of this research and the fact that it lies under enormous political pressure, factors such as accessibility and safety were highly influential, particularly after the Ukrainian-Russian conflict began. For example, while initially the context of Lesvos, Greece was one of the potential case studies, due to political reasons, no accessibility from researchers was allowed on the island as informed by one of the NGOs working there by the last week of February 2022, after negotiating with the government. On the other hand, Germany is considered one of the top arrival European countries, and the context of Stuttgart, where the researcher resides, was accessible and safe, despite the ongoing conflict. Moreover, while the capital city, Berlin, gained academic and public interest in how the city responded to the refugee influx through its various shelter responses, such as the *Tempohomes*, limited studies were carried out in Stuttgart, even though it accommodates more than six per cent of refugees in the state, where they account for more than two per cent of the city's population. This allocation can be traced back to the EASY system used for refugee distribution across the states and its cities, with no regard to space availability. Therefore, the majority of refugees are not allocated to the capital city. In that sense, cities, such as Stuttgart, represent more of a typical case, which is more likely to occur, rather than an exceptional case such as Berlin (See Chapter 3).

Literature Review

The literature review in this phase focused on the context of Germany, particularly Stuttgart. Various literature was examined, including academic papers and newspapers, in addition to national and local policies and strategies for accommodating refugees.

Volunteering with 'Scalabrinian Secular Missionary Women'
(15 March - 10 April)

During this phase, the researcher built initial contacts with various stakeholders

and determined that volunteering with welfare organisations is the most effective approach to collect primary data and assist with the rapid influx of Ukrainian refugees. Following this, the researcher began volunteering with 'Scalabrinian Secular Missionary Women' twice a week, who were informed that the researcher aims to conduct research during their voluntary work. Generally, the researcher assisted with teaching German to refugees, enabled communication between instructors and Arabic-speaking refugees and taught an Afghani woman how to write. This volunteer activity gave the researcher a preliminary understanding of how refugees live in Stuttgart and what kind of shelter typologies are in the city. In addition, the researcher had the chance to visit one of the repurposed buildings in Stuttgart-Mitte, where an unstructured interview was conducted with one of the refugees living there.

Selection of Main Case Study: The *Systembauten* Community Shelters

Following this volunteer opportunity, the *Systembauten* community shelters were selected as the main shelter typology to be examined in this study for multiple reasons. First, the feasibility of accessibility and conducting research seemed promising, as multiple contacts and offline meetings were being conducted with welfare organisations in Stuttgart to introduce the research and offer a helping hand in the current crisis. Second, the community shelters, which lie in an urban context, are temporary shelters, both from a structural (*Systembauten*) and temporal (temporary lease and temporary stay) perspective. Third, as previously stated, the community shelters are collective shelters that are mass-produced and constructed in 65% of Stuttgart's districts.

Four main districts were selected for the in-depth interviews: Stadtmitte, Möhringen, Untertürkheim, and Obertürkheim. The Stadtmitte site is considered the only community shelter site within the inner circle of Stuttgart, while the other sites lie in the outer circle of Stuttgart. The selection of the sites aimed to vary the location in which it lies, and the welfare organisation that manages both the refugees and the shelter, in addition to ease of accessibility and feasibility of conducting fieldwork (See map in Chapter 4: Section 4.2.2.1).

0.4.2.3 Phase Three
(20 April - July 30)

Volunteering with 'Caritas' and 'AWO'
(20 April - Present)

With the acceptance to volunteer with Caritas and AWO and their knowledge and approval to conduct research for academic purposes, the researcher started visiting the community shelters in Möhringen and Untertürkheim, which were the first shelters to be visited. The main tasks were to help refugees with social support and to help children with their homework. This opportunity facilitated the establishment of a relationship with the refugees living in those shelters, easing the data collection process. As the researcher established more connections with refugees and social workers, the possibility of entering the Stadtmitte and Obertürkheim sites was feasible.

Preliminary Walkthroughs

At the start of the volunteer period, the researcher had the opportunity to understand the management within the community shelters and conducted preliminary walkthroughs through the sites and the shelters to have a better understanding of how it is laid out and what sort of relationship exists between the social workers and the refugees, and between the refugees themselves.

In-Depth, Semi-Structured Interviews (20 April - 05 June)

Description

The interviews started at the end of April and lasted till the beginning of June. At the beginning of each interview, the researcher explained how the data from the voice recording would be used and how the pictures of the rooms and shared spaces would be represented. That gave the refugees and social workers a better understanding of how the data will be included in the study and offered the refugees the opportunity to open up more.

A total of ten in-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted with ten

different families, where one to three family members can be present. This was particularly true with families that have been in the shelter for less than one or two years and the husband was not employed yet. Nevertheless, most interviews were held with women. In addition, one interview was carried out with a single man, as the number of single people in the shelters was not high, and it was relatively safer to interview families than single men.

Furthermore, it was important to diversify the ages, nationalities, backgrounds (Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, Nigeria, Ukraine), family structures (single people, families, or women-headed families) and duration of stay (ranged from six years to two months) of the interviewees as much as possible to gain a better understanding of the commonalities and differences in making homes in a community shelter, and get a glimpse of how different people can be making homes together in shared spaces. The nationalities were selected based on the feasibility of communication (language) between the researcher and the refugee. Consequently, the interviews were conducted in Arabic and/or English and lasted between one hour to four hours per interview.

The refugees were generally open to discussing their experiences and expressing their perspectives. They would show the researcher pictures of their previous home, the belongings they brought with them on their journey to Germany, and always offer food and drinks. While conducting the interviews, the researcher was usually hosted in one of the rooms that the family designated as a guest room/reception area. Due to the confined spaces of the rooms, the kids would be playing around where the interview was taking place and would be very keen to understand what the researcher was doing and sometimes were eager to participate.

Moreover, three semi-structured interviews were conducted with social workers, in addition to the information the social workers would inform the researcher during the volunteer period.

The Development of Questions

Questions mainly arose from the literature review, the unstructured interviews held in phase one, and the informal conversations with refugees in phase two. The questions were assembled by the target group and the type of data collected

from the interviewee. However, as this research followed a grounded theory and anthropological approach, the questions were mainly *triggering questions*, leaving the interviewee to describe their journey and lead the researcher to what kind of appropriations they did and what *home* means to them. Moreover, as the spatial practice of making homes is very context-specific and varies with each family interviewed, the questions developed throughout the timeframe of the fieldwork.

Data Sorting and Analysis: Thematic Analysis

Recordings were sometimes edited through voice-enhancing software to remove background noise. They were then transcribed into Microsoft Word files. Following this, data was extracted, sorted and grouped under specific multi-scalar spatial themes in an Excel Sheet. Within each theme, sub-themes emerged as data was being sorted. Each theme was given a specific colour, and data were highlighted based on the theme and its corresponding colour.

Data Representation

Data analysed is presented in the form of storytelling and architectural drawings of the various spaces appropriated and their different scales. Storytelling provides a "site to examine the meanings people [...] ascribe to lived experience" (Eastmond, 2007: 248)

Observational Studies, Walk-Throughs and Photography

During volunteering and conducting interviews with the social workers and refugees, indicators of the spatial practice of making homes were explored through direct observations of the dynamics of usage of the urban spaces, the building, and the rooms. These observations were recorded in the form of photographs and field notes. Moreover, while conducting interviews, the social workers and refugees tended to walk the researcher through the spaces they were explaining.

Data Analysis and Representation

Data collected from the photographs and field notes were grouped by family and the pre-identified themes and complemented the data collected from the in-depth

semi-structured interviews. In further respect of the privacy of the refugees' lives, the actual images of the rooms are not used. Instead, these images are reflected in the architectural drawings.

0.4.3 Research Constraints and Limitations

Methodological

Language Barriers: As the research is situated in Germany, the primary language of the researcher is not German, and not all targeted interviewees spoke English, as a result interviews with governmental authorities and access to documents were hindered due to the language barriers. Accordingly, the researcher conducted some interviews in a written form, where the questions were written in both English and German and sent to the interviewee through email. That was particularly the case with one interview conducted with the *Sozialamt*[3]. The interviewee would answer the questions in German, and the answers would then be translated into English. The downside to written questionnaires and interviews is that it was time-consuming, particularly in the context in which this research was conducted, where the interviewee replied to the questions almost a month later, and by then, some of the questions were answered by other interviewees or sources. Moreover, the German documents were translated using online applications such as Deepl and Google translate.

Willingness to Participate: While some refugees were keen to share their experiences and how they appropriated the space, others were reluctant to share information. In that sense, the amount of data collected varied from one family to the next. Other refugees did not have the will to participate at all, particularly due to stress and time pressure, as some had children or were simply caught up in the paperwork and appointments of the German bureaucratic system.

Variety of Nationalities: Interviewing more than one nationality was important to understand how refugees from different backgrounds and cultural norms live and make homes together, and it reflected the German strategy of distributing refugees across the shelters, with no regard for the refugees' origin, unlike camps in Jordan such as Al Zaatari, which is mainly formed of Syrian refugees. Nevertheless, the voices of each individual/family interviewed in this research can not be generalised to an entire nationality, particularly since each nationality

can have different ethnic groups.

Data Variations: The collected data mainly depended on the refugee's availability and ease of language. For example, interviews with Syrians usually took longer than other nationalities. As a result, the amount and type of data acquired from each interview depended on the time spent with each refugee. Moreover, the observations were limited to the short visits to each family, and the practices and use of space inevitably go beyond what has been presented, as the process of making homes is continuous.

Ethical Considerations: For privacy reasons, no names or photos of the refugees interviewed are being used in the research. Instead, families are referred to as 'Family A' or 'Family B'. Moreover, the refugees' specific location and shelter they belong to are not mentioned.

Practical

Time Constraints and the Ukrainian/Russian Conflict: Since the scope of this research is situated within refugee scenarios and the sheltering process that accompanies them, understandably, establishing connections was influenced and delayed by the Ukrainian-Russian conflict, as all institutions and organisations in Germany were busy responding to the crisis. The researcher was required to wait more than one month for the first volunteer opportunity. With those delays, the fieldwork was finished in the first week of June.

Moreover, the initial goal was to interview stakeholders from governmental authorities to the architects who designed the *Systembauten*, the social workers and refugees. However, it was realised that conducting interviews with governmental authorities was particularly hard as authorities were busy with the sudden conflict in Ukraine and the new influx of refugees. Having the time to discuss a master thesis seemed, understandably, unnecessary. Accordingly, interviews were mainly conducted with the social workers and the refugees.

COVID 19 Restrictions: Due to COVID-19 regulations issued by the *Sozialamt*, using the community rooms available in the shelters for a large group of people was not allowed; thus, meeting with multiple refugees at the same time or conducting focus groups was not feasible.

0.5 Research Structure

Chapter One: The Rationale behind Shelter Response

This chapter summarises how the shelter response is applied in practice for the displaced in general and for refugees in particular. As a result, the chapter places this research in the realm of humanitarian shelter response. The chapter encompasses primary and secondary data collected from phase one.

Chapter Two: Can Shelter become a Home?

This chapter provides a glimpse of the concepts utilised in this research, such as spatial agency, appropriation, dwelling, and, most importantly, home. As a result, the chapter places this research within the current theoretical debates and identifies the key terminologies used throughout the research. The chapter encompasses primary and secondary data collected from phase one.

Chapter Three: Sheltering in Stuttgart, Germany

This chapter introduces the reader to the context of this research. First, it starts by laying out sheltering responses in Europe. Second, it introduces the legal framework and the sheltering response in Germany. Finally, it presents the sheltering response in Baden-Württemberg as a whole and the city of Stuttgart in particular. The chapter encompasses primary and secondary data collected from phase two and answers the sub-research question: What is Stuttgart's strategy for sheltering refugees?

Chapter Four: Sheltered in the *Systembauten* Community Shelters

This chapter describes the *Systembauten* community shelters and presents the appropriations that the refugees made, from the rooms to the shared spaces such as the kitchen and corridor, and finally, the outdoor spaces such as the playground. The chapter encompasses primary data collected from phase three and answers the sub-research question: What are the spatial appropriations that occur in the various spaces of the community shelters?

Chapter Five: Making Homes in the *Systembauten* Community Shelters

This chapter reflects on the conditions that affected the spatial appropriations presented in the previous chapter, such as the community shelters and how their design and management. Then, the chapter discusses the commonalities and differences in making homes and the responses that occurred to respond to these conditions. This chapter answers the sub-research questions: What conditions affect the spatial practice of making homes in the community shelters? and What type of responses occurred in the spatial practice of making homes to respond to these conditions?

Chapter Six: Conclusions, Recommendations and Way Forward

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section concludes on how refugees make homes in the *Systembauten* community shelters. The second section lays out recommendations for different actors, such as the social workers and the architects of future refugee shelters. The third section expands on the potential for further research.

Endnotes and Appendix

The Endnotes are used to include a further explanation of definitions or terminologies that are used in this research but seemed unnecessary to include in the main text, which can be found at the end of the document.

Figure (1.01) IKEA Refugee Shelters next to Makeshift Tents
Source: Lizzie Dearden for Independent

Chapter One
The Rationale behind Shelter Response

1.1 Introduction

As an outsider to the field of shelter response, the researcher had a critical view of how the shelter process is being managed, and as an architect, further had an idealised version of how the situation ought to be. Moreover, a nagging question that did not have an answer was: why are refugees treated differently in different contexts? However, when the researcher began conducting interviews with shelter practitioners to better understand how the humanitarian shelter response works globally, it was concluded that the issue is far more complex and politically charged than previously believed. Furthermore, while some situations look similar from the outside, each context has unique challenges and issues. This chapter is a brief of how the shelter response is operated in practice for the displaced in general and for refugees in particular and accordingly places the research focus within the practice realm of shelter response.

1.2 Migration and Forced Displacement

1.2.1 Overview

Migration[4] is one of the world's twenty-three identified global issues (UN, N.D). Based on recent statistics, more people than ever before reside in a nation different from their birthplace, and one in thirty persons is a migrant. According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), 281 million have migrated internationally by the end of 2020, accounting for 3.5% of the global population. However, migration is not consistent across the globe but is somewhat affected by economic, geographic, and demographic variables, resulting in various migration patterns, such as migration "corridors" that emerge over time. The most significant corridors connect developing economies to larger ones, such as Germany. On the other hand, other corridors can emerge due to protracted war and conflict, such as the second-largest corridor in the world that occurred between the Syrian Arab Republic and Turkey. Consequently, national or international movements are not necessarily out of choice but out of necessity (McAuliffe & Triandafyllidou, 2021).

In that sense, (forced) displacement[5], which is the movement out of necessity, can be interpreted as uprooting individuals from their place of residence or *home* (IOM 2019a). The causes of forced displacement and migration can be due to political (e.g. armed conflicts), economic (e.g. famine), environmental (e.g. natural hazards and climate change), social (e.g. gender-based violence) or individual determinants (Kuhnt, 2019). Out of the 281 million migrants, 89.4 million are forcibly displaced. This number encompasses 26.4 million refugees, 4.1 million asylum-seekers, 55 million internally displaced persons (IDPs) and 3.9 displaced Venezuelans (McAuliffe & Triandafyllidou, 2021). However, by May 2022, another estimated 13.5 million are displaced due to the Ukrainian-Russian conflict, out of which 6.5 million are refugees and more than 7 million are IDPs (UNHCR, 2022). This brings the total number of displaced populations to over 100 million. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) states that as of this moment, "1 in every 78 people on earth has been forced to flee – a dramatic milestone that few would have expected a decade ago" (UNHCR, 2022). Alexandra Bilak, the Internal Displacement Monitoring Center (IDMC), blames the displacement crises nowadays on environmental and climate change, unstable political situations and protracted conflicts (IDMC & NRC, 2021).

1.2.2 Migrant, Refugee or Internally Displaced Person?

While the movement due to war and conflict is considered a type of migration, there is an ongoing debate between the terms *Migrant*[6] and *Refugee*[7]. Jørgen Carling, a research professor at the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), identified two approaches to define a migrant. The first is the inclusive approach, which IOM follows, and considers the migrant as an individual who moved from their place of residence within the national borders or across borders, regardless of the legal status and reason for movement (IOM 2019a). The second is the residual approach which does not include those who flee wars or persecution and is followed by the UNHCR (Carling, N.D).

In that sense, the UNHCR grouped those individuals who do not fit their *migrant* definition as *refugees*. According to the 1951 Refugee Convention, a refugee is someone who, for fear of persecution, has fleed from their country of origin and is unable or unwilling to return (UNGA, 1951). The Convention was only limited to the events after World War II; however, these limitations were removed in the 1967 Refugee Protocol. Accordingly, the definition of a refugee was expanded, but no additional rights were provided. The 1951 Refugee Convention states that refugees shall be treated as nationals in aspects such as freedom to practice their religion (Article 4) or elementary education (Article 22). In contrast, they shall be treated as non-nationals in aspects such as housing (Article 21) or the right to free movement and free choice of residence within the country (Article 26). However, the 1951 Refugee Convention does not state how the refugee status of an individual should be determined. As a result, States party to the 1951 Refugee Convention should establish their own national Refugee Status Determination[8] (RSD) procedures to assess asylum seekers' applications (UNGA, 1951).

However, according to the context that it is being used, the word refugee can encompass numerous connotations. The word "refugee" has been used differently in multiple disciplines such as academia, journalism, and law. Moreover, as more nations realised the gap stated in the 1951 Refugee convention, as it doesn't cover different contexts and scenarios, stating that a refugee can only be someone who fears persecution, new conventions emerged such as the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) Convention in Africa and the Cartagena Declaration in Latin America. In addition, while the European Union (EU) follows the refugee definition provided by the UNHCR, they have adopted a status named "subsidiary

protection". This status provides people with protection from being forcibly returned to their country of origin; however, the standards are lower than that of the 1951 Refugee Convention. This regime has been applied to many Syrians fleeing from the Syrian Civil War (IFRC, 2017).

In 2004, Erika Feller, the former Deputy High Commissioner for Protection at the UNHCR, emphasised why there should be a clear distinction between 'migrants' and 'refugees'. She stated: "If persons are defined as migrants by virtue of the fact that they move from their own country to another, regardless of the reasons and their needs, then refugees are migrants. If, however, the causes of flight are the defining feature, together with the framework of rights and responsibilities within which the flight has to be managed, then there is a clear distinction between the two categories of persons" (Feller, 2004). Nevertheless, recent discussions have advocated expanding the refugee definition to include those fleeing their countries due to climate change. "Forced displacement across borders can stem from the interaction between climate change and disasters with conflict and violence, or it can arise from natural [events] or man-made disasters alone. Either situation can trigger international protection need." stated Filippo Grandi, Commissioner of the UNHCR (Thompson, 2019).

On the other hand, an asylum seeker[9] is interpreted as an individual whose legal status is yet to be determined (UNHCR, 2006). While an internally displaced person[10] (IDP) is not a legal status but a descriptive one, which is interpreted as an individual who was forced to leave their place of residence but chooses to stay within their country of origin (M. Deng, 1998).

1.3 Humanitarian Response to Forced Displacement

1.3.1 Humanitarian Response System and Stakeholders

Regardless of the status that defines a person who was forced to flee their *home*, the consequences of forced displacement are enormous and different from those of voluntary migration. Losing one's *home* can mean a loss of identity, orientation, and the feeling of security and privacy. It constitutes a loss of social ties to friends and family; restricted access to basic services such as water, electricity, education, and healthcare; and loss of livelihood opportunities. The displaced could face

language barriers, legal uncertainty, discrimination, and marginalisation; and has unclear prospects for the future, in addition to mental and physical illness. Those consequences can impact the individual differently depending on culture, age group, gender, or people with disabilities (Becker & Ferrara, 2019; Henrotay et al., 2009). Humanitarian response takes place to attempt to cover the consequences of forced displacement. Unfortunately, each status, whether legal or not, can have enormous implications on how the humanitarian response is delivered.

Based on the interviews with shelter practitioners, the actions in response to forced displacement are generally taken following an assessment of the situation. Forced displacement could be divided into two categories: internal displacement and cross-border displacement (corresponding to IDPs and refugees, respectively). In each category, generally, two different scenarios could take place, as illustrated in Figure (1.02). In the context of internal displacement; 'Scenario A' could include a national government that has limited capacity and needs international support or is unwilling to provide a humanitarian response, in which case the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) takes over the management and coordination of the response through the cluster approach founded in 2005 as part of the Humanitarian Reform Agenda. 'Scenario B' could encompass a strong national government that still needs international or national assistance. In this case, UN agencies and/or international or national Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) can co-lead with the government to deliver the humanitarian response through humanitarian working groups (sectors).

On the other hand, in the context of cross-border displacement; 'Scenario A' could include a host government with limited capacity and needs international support, in which case UNHCR takes the lead on coordination and management. 'Scenario B' could include a strong host government but still needs international or national assistance from UN agencies and/or international and national NGOs, in which case the humanitarian response is co-lead and co-managed. Generally, funding can be acquired from donor agencies, NGOs, or the government.

Moreover, a humanitarian response can be impromptu or pre-planned, depending on the context and cause of displacement. It can be generally divided into three main stages with different response strategies: short-term response

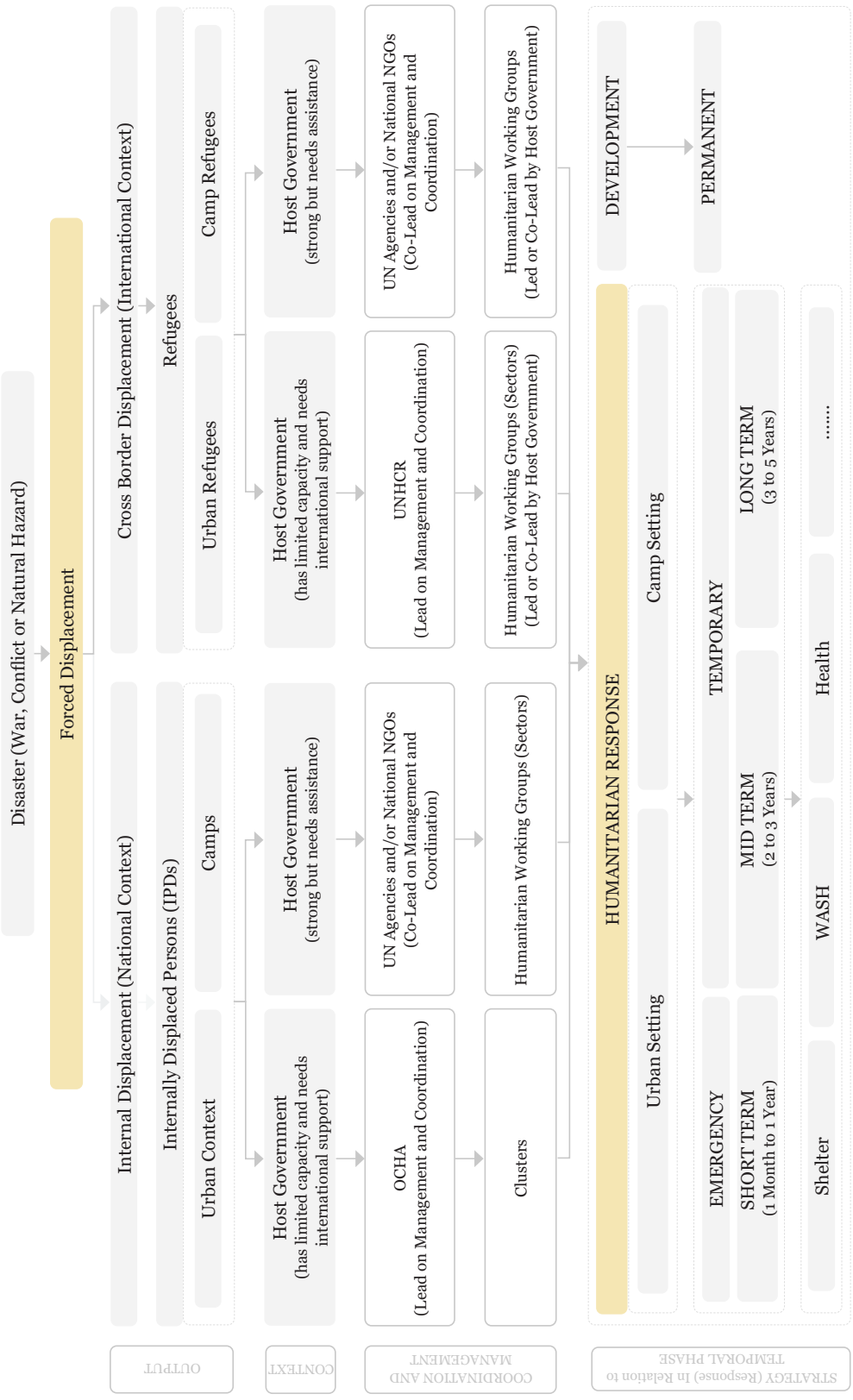

Figure (1.02) Scenarios of Humanitarian Response
Source: Author

(the emergency phase), which can last from one month to a year, and essential services are provided to cover as many people as possible within the available budget and resources; the midterm response which covers the period from two to three years; and the long-term response which can run on till up to 5 years.

While in purely quantitative terms, refugees account for a relatively small proportion compared to the total number of displaced populations (32.9 million out of over 100 million, following the Ukrainian-Russian conflict), they are often among the demographic groups with the greatest need for humanitarian assistance. Common obstacles for refugees include language challenges, unfamiliarity with local systems, and poor access to state protection and aid services. In addition, this forced displacement can disrupt family structures and dynamics, communities and social networks while increasing the vulnerability of specific groups such as women and children, amongst others (Opitz-Stapleton et al. 2017).

1.3.2 Humanitarian Response Principles, Manuals and Guidelines

Humanity, impartiality and neutrality and independence are the four humanitarian principles that guide and provide the foundation of response in the context of forced displacement from natural disasters and conflict (Bagshaw, 2012), while the International Humanitarian Law (IHL), which began with the First Geneva Convention in 1864, and the establishment of the International Committee of the Red Cross, mainly applies in international armed conflicts (VanRooyen, 2016). In addition, in 1997, a heated debate stated that the need to professionalise the humanitarian community is mandatory. A debate which was triggered by the Rwandan genocide in 1994. As a result, the Sphere Handbook emerged, a set of minimum standards and guidelines to enhance the quality of humanitarian response (VanRooyen, 2016). The Sphere Handbook is based on the Humanitarian Charter, which builds on the 1994 Code of Conduct, emphasising the right to an adequate standard of living under the right to life with dignity (Sphere Association, 2018). The Sphere Association (formally known as the Sphere Project) covers the sectors of Shelter and Non-Food Items (NFIs); Food Security and Nutrition; Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH); and Health (Sphere Association, 2018).

1.4 Shelter in Humanitarian Response

1.4.1 Overview

The immediate need that follows after forced displacement, particularly those of high magnitude, is to provide shelter in an exceptionally short time. Providing shelter is one of the humanitarian response's foundations, which is important for reconstructing communities and families. When people are forced to leave their homes, they need shelter at every stage: at the start of the crisis; during their displacement; and as they recover and rebuild their sense of home and community. The shelter can both save and improve people's lives (Global Shelter Cluster, 2021).

1.4.2 Sheltering for the Displaced

1.4.2.1 What is Shelter?

According to the Oxford Dictionary, a shelter is "a place giving temporary protection from bad weather or danger" (Lexico, N.D). However, a "shelter" can only do so much, as it can protect in some ways but not in others, as they expose whoever resides there to more significant aspects (Scott-Smith and Breeze, 2020). In the humanitarian context, shelter is defined as "any physical space that may be inhabited by people made homeless by a disaster or conflict" (Prideaux, 2018: 2.3). Nevertheless, the word "shelter" has both advantages and disadvantages. Initially, a shelter can describe anything from an improvised structure to a house or building. It captures the variety of spaces that the displaced try to fit into, from makeshift structures to living with families or relatives to transforming substandard buildings or repurposing public buildings. On the other hand, the term "shelter" might connote an impermanent state, a temporary structure. However, temporariness in itself is relative. Materially, all structures are bound to degrade and collapse, while the so-called temporary shelters can survive for decades. Socially, it is hard to define when something has become permanent since permanence and temporariness are highly subjective (Scott-Smith and Breeze, 2020).

In refugee contexts, some refugees tend to stay in "permanent" buildings that were repurposed for "temporary" accommodation as their asylum applications are

processed, like the famous Tempelhof or the International Congress centre "the Aluminium Whale" in Berlin. However, refugees can stay decades in structures that were initially meant to be "temporary" but ended up being "permanent", like many of the camps around the world (Scott-Smith and Breeze, 2020).

Generally, shelter is considered to be multi-faceted. Shelter can be a political entity, in which it is a structure but holds notions of political practices within it, and where they can be zones of exile. On the other hand, shelter can be a space for solidarity, where refugees are not passive recipients of political agendas and oppressive policies but wind-up creating their own political acts. Shelters can be an expression of ways to "speak back" to structures of power. Moreover, shelter can be a re-dignification space, where shelter can take the participation of refugees seriously, as they promote dignity[11], and promote equality, recognition and the sharing of power. In that sense, more personal shelters can be founded based not solely on physical needs but taking into account the social dynamics and interpersonal relationships (Scott-Smith and Breeze, 2020).

1.4.2.2 Shelter VS Sheltering

However, in 1978, Ian Davis stated in his book "Shelter after Disaster" that shelter should not be perceived as a 'product' but as a 'process'. Fortunately, it is being advocated that shelter should not be viewed as a 'range of pre-designed products' but rather a process of working with the displaced to meet their needs. Accordingly, shelter*ing* is a process of 'incremental steps' towards living with dignity and fulfilling the various necessities of the affected population (Prideaux, 2018). The shelter can be a continuum between humanitarian response and long-term development if delivered correctly. In that sense, the word "shelter" is dynamic. It is an activity and a process that can be achieved with communities, not just individuals. It illustrates how the displaced can find shelter through social processes (Scott-Smith and Breeze, 2020).

1.4.2.3 Sheltering VS Housing

Almost two decades after Davis's debate, Quarantelli brought forward the inconsistent usage of the terms 'sheltering' and 'housing'. As a result, Quarantelli suggested four main categories: emergency sheltering, temporary sheltering, temporary housing and permanent housing, emphasising on the behavioural

aspect, not just the physical structure. In that sense, housing allows for the continuum of responsibilities and activities that do not take place in sheltering. As a result, housing refers to the structure that the displaced temporarily occupy and then eventually becomes their housing, while sheltering refers to the structure that the displaced will eventually relocate from, such as repurposed buildings (e.g public buildings). Quarantelli (1995) debates that in sheltering, the displaced do not resume their usual daily routines. Finally, the International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) have defined six shelter categories: emergency shelter which provides 'life-saving support' post a disaster; temporary shelter, which is a rapid shelter solution that prioritises restricted costs and time, resulting in a limited lifespan; transitional shelter which is made from materials that can be upgraded to the permanent structure; progressive shelter which allows future upgradations and room for alterations; core shelter which 'one-room shelter' that allows for future extensions, leading eventually to permanent housing (IFRC, 2013).

1.4.2.4 The Impacts of Shelter

The shelter can play a crucial role in the lives of the displaced. First, shelter is essential for protection from the weather and extreme climates. The UN Coordinator for Afghanistan stated: "While starvation occurs over a period of weeks, death from exposure can occur in a single night." The protection does not stop at weather and diseases but also threats associated with gender-based violence (GBV). Moreover, shelter protects the dignity of families and communities; a place where the sense of identity is re-established. Second, the shelter provides a sense of security for possessions and personal safety, as the few things the displaced own usually increase in sentimental value. Third, shelter is crucial for rebuilding the psychological, social, economic, and physical aspects of life, which are the components needed for people to exercise their rights and develop their capabilities. It can help the displaced maintain a sense of everyday life where they can continue practising their daily routines and access livelihoods and community networks. Fourth, the shelter is vital for mental health, as it can help reduce stress and anxiety. Finally, by eliminating the potential for further displacement, shelter can facilitate the provision of other forms of assistance, such as access to healthcare, education, and water and sanitary facilities (Global Shelter Cluster, 2021; Shelter Box, 2017). Argentina Szabados, IOM's Director for Southeastern Europe, Eastern Europe and Central Asia, stated that shelters

provided to the displaced could not be "just good enough to keep them alive in a miserable twilight of half-existence (…) they must also give people an opportunity to develop, to be healthy, to learn." emphasising on the crucial role that shelter plays (MacGregor, 2019).

In the context of refugees, the impact of shelter tends to increase as most refugees live in protracted situations (EU, 2016). The shelter is identified as a place where refugees can exert some control and exercise their agency, particularly if mobility is limited (Adams et al., 2018). As a result, scholars have advocated for a better understanding of shelter and its influence on the lives of refugees (Pascucci, 2021; Baumann, 2020)

1.4.2.5 Sheltering Strategies

Based on Section (3.1), the sheltering process depends on the context in which it is needed, who provides it and to who it is being provided (IDPs[12] or refugees). Generally, the context could be urban, peri-urban or rural, and shelter should not be excluded from the site that it lies in, to ensure access to services and infrastructure such as hospitals and schools, markets and livelihood opportunities. As a result, shelters placed within an urban context can differ from those placed in a rural context (Global Shelter Cluster, 2021). Moreover, shelters can be 'transportable shelters', which are shelters that are built off-site and then transported to the intended location or 'built on-site shelters', which can be built using local materials (Albadra et al., 2018).

In the context of refugees, there is a staggering difference between a camp setting and an urban setting in the protection and humanitarian aid delivery. In a camp setting, where only 6.6 million refugees are sheltered (4.5 million in planned camps and 2.1 million in self-settled camps), emergency, transitional or durable shelters, such as tents, huts, containers, and prefabs, are dominant. While in urban contexts, where more than 20 million are sheltered, the displacement pattern is complex. Refugees can reside in substandard buildings and collective centres or stay with host families, which can be in slums or an informal setting. Moreover, shelter assistance can include plastic sheeting, shelter kits, prefabricated units and containers such as the Refugee Housing Unit (RHU) or cash assistance. In general terms, the end goal of the sheltering process is to return, resettle or reintegrate. In the host community, integration can happen

on various levels: social integration, economic integration, political integration, cultural integration, legal integration and physical integration. It is a process that must happen without losing one's cultural identity. However, in 2016, less than 3% of the refugees found one of these solutions, and they remain in exile average of 10 to 26 years (UNHCR, 2021; UNHCR, 2021; Devictor, 2019; Ferris, 2018; UNHCR, 2016; EU, 2016; UNHCR, 2014; UNHCR, 2013)

Nevertheless, the UNHCR initiated a new "Alternative to Camps" policy in 2014. This policy seeks alternatives to camp settlement wherever possible while protecting refugees. To execute this strategy correctly, UNHCR partners and the host government must work together. The justification for this policy is that refugees have already successfully settled outside of camps throughout the years, whether in rural or urban areas. While camps are important for providing shelter and protection to large refugee influxes and identifying people with specific needs, they may also harm the environment, increase sexual and gender-based violence, increase the possibility of human trafficking, and distort local economies. However, this approach has several obstacles, mainly from host governments' resistance. Host governments might demand the formation of camps for security reasons, to better regulate the movement of refugees, to lessen the likelihood of conflict between them and local residents, and to relieve competition over limited economic possibilities and resources such as water and land. On the other hand, if this policy is implemented, refugees will offer their talents and assets to the host community, boosting local economies and growth. Furthermore, when refugees are integrated, social cohesiveness and xenophobia decrease. Finally, incorporating refugees into national development planning is a sustainable and efficient technique that benefits local infrastructure (UNHCR, 2014).

Generally, it is essential to note that some terminologies are being used interchangeably, such as transitional shelter, temporary shelter, semi-permanent shelter and incremental shelter, which could describe the type of shelter and the assistance timeframe. Other terminologies such as camp planning, site planning and settlement planning can also be used simultaneously, mainly depending on the political context, where allegedly 'camps' are not allowed or with the level of integration with the urban context (Global Shelter Cluster, 2021).

1.4.2.6 Sheltering Standards and Guidelines

The Sphere Handbook

As part of the effort to professionalise the realm of humanitarian response and respond to the crucial role of shelter, the Sphere Handbook devoted a section to Shelter and Settlements, which has evolved since it was first published in 1998. In the latest version, the handbook covers standards like strategic planning, settlement planning, living space, household items and environmental sustainability, technical assistance, and tenure security. Specific guidelines have been laid out for minimum strategies and design criteria for each aspect. First, the handbook defines 45 square metres of usable area/individual in planned settlements if the communal facilities such as cooking areas, health and sanitation facilities, and recreation facilities are within the site area, and 30 square metres if the communal facilities are outside the site area. Second, a ratio of 1:2 or 1:3 is defined for shelter footprint to site size to allow for outdoor activities. Third, for fire safety, 30-metre fire breaks should be allocated every 300 metres, and the distance between the shelters should be twice its height. Fourth, a minimum living space of 3.5 square metres is allocated per individual, and 4.5 to 5.5 square metres in cold climates, excluding cooking areas and sanitation facilities, and a clear ceiling height of 2 metres. Finally, individuals should have adequate thermal comfort, ventilation, and lighting (Sphere Association, 2018). Generally, the handbook has limited, almost absent guidelines on collective shelter, which is defined as: a "pre-existing facility or structure where multiple households take shelter." and does not consider newly built structures.

Urban Shelter Guidelines

The Urban shelter guidelines published by the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) and Shelter Centre aim to be the first step toward a humanitarian response guideline in urban and peri-urban areas. The preliminary guideline addresses scenarios of rapid influx of IDPs and/or refugees inside and outside cities, in addition to steady influxes of migrants and the strategies that can be used to tackle them (NRC & Shelter Centre, 2010), but no specific design criteria have been provided.

1.4.2.7 Sheltering Constraints and Limitations

Despite those efforts, the reality of shelter response is quite different from those stated in the standards and guidelines. Numerous common challenges still face the provision of shelter in various aspects. Most of the time, shelters need to respond to a huge influx of displaced populations, and dimensions like adaptability, ease of production and transportation, performance and architectural quality, amongst others, can contradict. In some cases, managing organisations can be limited by their own strategy, and it further depends on whether the situation is where the organisation operates or if it is in another context. As a result, several constraints and limitations arise within different aspects (which were combined from interviews with shelter practitioners and literature review), as illustrated in Figure (1.03) such as:

Spatial/Technical:

One of the first questions that arise post-displacement is where the shelters should be placed. In some cases, shelters have to be deployed in remote areas (Johnson, 2007), and sometimes shelters need to be constructed in an area with limited resources (Chang et al., 2010). Moreover, the environment in which the shelters are placed can affect the response. For example, one shelter practitioner stated that placing container shelters on top of each other during a response was not feasible as the land was prone to earthquakes, and at the same time, placing any foundations was not allowed.

When it comes to the shelter design, as recommended by the Sphere Handbook (Sphere Association. 2018), a minimum area of 3.5 square metres is to be allocated for each individual. However, while this area has no scientific basis, it is also barely met in practice (Kennedy & Parrack, 2011). Moreover, the shelter's visual, acoustic and thermal performance is not considered (Fosas et al., 2018), most probably because there are barely any architects or recognition of architecture in the shelter sector.

In a recent study, an obvious metric of the presence of the words' architecture', 'architectural' and 'architect' in institutional publications such as *The Sphere Handbook, Shelter after Disaster, and Transitional Shelter Guidelines* brought

A GLIMPSE OF SHELTERING CONSTRAINTS AND LIMITATIONS

SPATIAL/TECHNICAL

- Deployment in remote areas
- Minimum area of 3.5 m^2 set by the Sphere Handbook not met in practice
- No consideration of thermal, acoustic and visual performance
- No recognition of architects or architecture, hence no association with the word 'beauty'

SOCIO-CULTURAL

- Encompassing repetitive units of 'one-room approach'
- Low consideration of cultural needs
- Limited provision of private facilities such as toilets and kitchens
- No emphasis to homemaking and the fulfilment of socio-cultural requirements in Sphere Handbook
- No consideration of interventions introduced by the displaced

ENVIRONMENTAL

- Rarely respond to the local climate conditions
- No attention to climate change in the humanitarian sector
- Demand on natural materials can exceed its availability

LEGAL

- Two to fifteen years to resolve land rights
- Land issues can affect choice of materials, hence the use of unsustainable materials

ECONOMIC/TEMPORAL

- Limited time and funding, hence low quality of shelter
- Lacking economic viability and experience delivery delays
- Local materials can decrease the cost of shelter but increase the construction time

POLITICAL

- Lack of political will
- Rise in security threats on the ground hinders the provision of shelters

PERCEPTUAL

- Fewer organisations are joining the sector of shelter provision since it is complicated, time, money, and energy-intensive, and those in the field have an undeveloped awareness of the topic

Figure (1.03) A Glimpse of Sheltering Challenges
Source: Author

forward that these words are used only once or twice, if not at all. These publications imply that there is no need for an architect in the humanitarian sector but a type of engineer. The architect is only perceived as someone who verifies and applies standards but does not engage in the creative process of reaching an appropriate solution. In addition, there are no specific guidelines of what architecture is in the humanitarian world, and no roles are defined for architects in the shelter sector. Even the UNHCR *Handbook for Emergencies* does not specify any roles for architects (Scott-Smith and Breeze, 2020). At the same time, Pantaleo advocates associating the word 'beauty' with shelter. He states, "With the same materials and the same budget, it is possible to design a place, not just a shelter." He further explains that using colour could break the monotony "Color has a deep impact on our subconscious." In addition, adding something as simple as a tree could make a huge difference and potentially have a healing function (MacGregor, 2019).

Socio-Cultural:

Most often, shelters consist of repetitive units, follow a 'one-room approach' and individuals from different cultures and social groups are obliged to dwell in identical spaces. While the purpose of shelter, originally, is to temporarily accommodate those who fled their place of residence, responding to cultural differences might be insignificant. However, the reality is that shelters are usually used for longer periods than planned, mostly due to limitations in providing permanent housing. In that sense, shelters take low consideration into the cultural needs of the displaced (Karaoglan Cemre & Alaçam, 2018; Félix, 2013). In a recent overview of 'existing shelters' and 'novel designs', the study found that most novel designs (58%) favoured the 'one-room approach', where no private facilities are provided. Private toilets and kitchens were only found in 8% to 17% of 'novel designs' and 'existing shelters'. In many cultures, private facilities are vital, and failure to offer them leads to social, physiological, and psychological issues (Alshawawreh et al., 2020). Moreover, one shelter practitioner stated: "these shelters are quite often looked at on an individual level, without any thought of how they would operate at a community level," referring to the site where the shelter lies. As a result, the site does not foster a sense of community and overall lacks "personality".

In addition, the Sphere handbook mentions that "shelter is necessary to promote

health, support family and community life, and provide dignity, security and access to livelihoods." However, no emphasis has been given to homemaking and the fulfilment of socio-cultural requirements. The priority of refugees, and the displaced in general, is not particularly to have a shelter that follows architectural standards and structural safety. Instead, they need a space where they can exercise their agency, dwell and make a home for their family. Fortunately, this notion is gaining momentum among humanitarian shelter and settlement practitioners (CRS, 2020; NRC, 2019). Accordingly, there is an ongoing debate amongst shelter practitioners that "Homes and Communities" should replace "Shelter and Settlements" to encompass the socio-cultural needs and not stop at the physical aspects of shelter.

However, (Oliver, 1981) cautioned that no shelter design can possibly satisfy most physical demands but can not respond to all cultural requirements. "Cultures do not lend themselves to the design approach; one cannot write a brief for a shelter type that meets the needs of all cultures; it is doubtful if one could effectively define the shelter needs of even one social system"(Oliver, 1981:41).

At the same time, Irit Katz, an architect and a Lecturer in Architecture and Urban Studies at the University of Cambridge, states, "These humanitarian products, created as well-designed fit-all-place-and-purpose emergency kits must be de-fetishized. These are not magic goods that solve disastrous situations." She elaborates on the fear that these products could be a substitute for finding solutions for the root causes of displacement. On the other hand, Johan Karlsson, the managing director of 'Better Shelter' explains the purpose of their shelter, stating, "You use our shelters when you cannot go with a local approach because for example, you cannot find the materials or you don't have the local capacity" (MacGregor, 2019). Generally, practitioners stated that designing the 'perfect' shelter is a waste of time because it tends to be over-engineered and requires special materials and technical skills. Instead, the investments should be directed towards capacity building of the displaced to build their own homes, not into prefabricated shelters.

Nevertheless, decision-makers rarely consider the solutions that the affected population and local communities present (Pomponi et al., 2019) and do not generally know when and how to include the affected population in the design process and facilitate community participation (Davidson, 2007). Moreover, one

shelter practitioner stated: "We don't have the time or resources to interview the affected population and understand their concerns". However, shelter practitioners agreed that a feedback or evaluation system needs to be put in place to bring the voices of the displaced forward.

Political:

The lack of political will is one of the significant challenges facing shelter response. Karlsson confirms that removing political barriers and changing minds take time. "These have been the topics we have been discussing since I came into this sector ten years ago and they have not yet been resolved" (MacGregor, 2019). In the context of refugees, Grandi added to this, stating that "While the 1951 Refugee Convention and the Global Compact on Refugees provide the legal framework and tools to respond to displacement, we need much greater political will to address conflicts and persecution that force people to flee in the first place." (UNHCR, 2021). In addition, the rise of security threats hinders the performance of humanitarian workers on the ground and complicates the evaluation of the affected populations, and hence the provision of shelter (Ashdown, 2011)

In the context of refugees, the situation can become more intense, as the host government does not have the will to design 'good' or 'permanent' structures for the fear of backlash from the local residents, and to generally avoid conflict, as previously stated. Pantaleo stated at the Design for Humanity Summit, "In Iraqi Kurdistan there are two different kinds of refugee camps: One for the Kurdish Syrians who are welcome, and one for the Iraqis who are not welcome". He states, "There was a specific mandate from the local government to leave the people in a bad condition because they want them to go back." He further elaborates, "Quality design works as far as there is a real will to have a quality design" (MacGregor, 2019).

Economic and Temporal:

Shelter practitioners stated that funding and logistics are one of the biggest humanitarian response challenges, especially in emergencies. Nevertheless, the organisations try to do their best with their fund, which is usually less than what they have asked for. As one shelter practitioner stated: "Most of the funding goes into food, water, and health, and shelter is given little attention even though it

is crucial to sustain these other aspects". Consequently, the UNHCR, IFRC, and other NGOs are usually limited in both time and funding, affecting the sheltering quality. Despite the numerous attempts to improve the design of shelters, most decision-makers focus on how fast the shelter can be deployed (Fosas et al., 2018). At the same time, shelters lack economic viability and experience delivery delays (Félix, 2013; Johnson, 2007). Based on the Humanitarian Emergency Response Review, the global economic crisis is one of the major challenges affecting the humanitarian response in general (Ashdown, 2011). Moreover, the Corona outbreak further affected funding as countries tried to sustain their own economies. In addition, while local materials can decrease the cost of shelters, they can increase the construction time, but it is the opposite with industrialised materials (Celentano et al., 2019). At the same time, one shelter practitioner stated that the root cause of these economic and temporal challenges is just political. They stated: "Most of the camps were supposed to be temporary, and then they end up staying there for 20 years. The cost to maintain these shelters and to maintain the site overall is like building it twice or three times. If we built them in the first place with (architecture) standards, it would be better for the people living there and for the donor as well".

Legal:

Land rights and permissions to use certain areas for shelter is yet another major challenge facing shelter response, as stated by one shelter practitioner. In some situations, it can take up from two to fifteen years to resolve land rights, which in turn, can affect the efforts of reconstruction (IOM, 2012). Land issues can also affect the choice of materials. Due to the temporary nature of shelters, permanent shelters are rarely authorised, particularly post-conflict when the land status is a problem. The constraints on allowed materials force organisations to use unsustainable materials that don't provide enough protection, such as plastic and corrugated galvanised sheets (Alshawawreh et al., 2020). Moreover, one shelter practitioner stated that the regulations could change every time they operate in a place, which can affect their shelter response.

Environmental:

Shelters rarely respond to local climatic conditions (Johnson, 2007). While global attention nowadays is shifting toward climate change, the humanitarian

sector has been given little attention, and the cyclic effects of environmental damages and natural hazards have been neglected (Ramboll, 2017). At the same time, while shelters have negative effects on the environment (Félix, 2013), only nine academic papers addressed the issues of sustainability or the environmental impacts of shelters in the past four decades (Albadra et al., 2018). Additionally, one shelter practitioner stated: "Environmental impact is one of the last things on our minds". Moreover, while using natural materials is being advocated to reduce the carbon footprint of shelters (IOM, 2012), the demand can exceed the availability of these materials (Alshawawreh et al., 2020).

Perceptual

Surprisingly, the perceptions of shelter have also been one of the issues that affect the interest in this lego unit. In general, only 60 academic papers were issued on "emergency shelters" or "temporary shelters" in the past forty years, according to a recent literature survey (Albadra et al., 2018). Most crucially, data and concepts available in the global standards are based on the assumption that shelters are non-urban/rural, placed in camp contexts, with 'temporary' materials such as galvanised sheets. Consequently, there is a gap in standardising urban shelters that can be constructed of temporary/semi-permanent materials. In addition, there are limited standards on collective shelters and how individuals can co-live together.

In refugee contexts, while the spatiality of camps has been extensively studied in previous literature (Janson 2018; McConnachie 2016), insufficient emphasis has been given to shelter in refugee studies (Scott-Smith and Breeze, 2020), as can be noticed in this chapter, where most of the data found are on shelter in natural disaster situations, and the Global Shelter Sector does not include scenarios of refuge in their research (Global Shelter Cluster, 2021). "Shelter itself somehow seems too material, too banal, too small-scale and technical to generate a great deal of scholarly interest." (Scott-Smith and Breeze, 2020: 1).

Cumulatively, shelter is barely recognised as a starting point where the displaced can build a future (Brun, 2016), as most humanitarian responses focus on the short term and little attention is given to the past, where the history, local traditions, and people's biographies lie. This might be justified by the fact that the framework for humanitarian response is limited to the emergency, temporary,

and early recovery phases without taking long-term development into account (VanRooyen, 2016). In addition, factors such as funding, usually short-term, and the political agenda further limit the potential for long-term development (Levine et al., 2019). One shelter practitioner stated: "All they want is numbers. Donors need a change of perception". Furthermore, fewer organisations are joining the sector of shelter provision since it is complicated, time, money, and energy-intensive, and those in the field have an undeveloped awareness of the topic (Davis, 2013).

Most crucially, it has been brought forward not to treat refugees as species who need a specific type of shelter. Kilian Kleinschmidt, a German humanitarian expert, noted, "Don't design yet another shelter for refugee (...) There is no need for tech for refugees, or design for refugees, or architecture for refugees. They're not a species." Katz supports that notion, stating, "Refugees are not a generic life form that a certain design could satisfy (...) Refugees are people like all of us, with various needs, skills, ambitions, who inhabit the planet in different circumstances, climates, and with a variety of other different people and cultures." She further elaborates on the importance of shelter "Such dwellings should create rich environments of everyday life" (MacGregor, 2019).

As a result, there has been a lack of an engineered approach to sheltering; "that is more temporally and geographically relevant, and hence more socially, culturally, politically, environmentally and economically engaged" (Smith & Breeze, 2020; Perrucci et al., 2016).

1.5 Chapter Conclusions

Given the limited timeframe and capacity of this research, this chapter was a small brief on how the shelter response works and what kind of challenges the sheltering process face. As a result, the findings identify research gaps, place the research focus on the practical realm of the sheltering response for refugees and open some questions to be answered in the following chapters.

Based on Section (1.2.2), this legal dilemma of crossing borders and defining a migrant, asylum seeker, or refugee immediately impacts shelter and the type of services the displaced person has access to, as each 'category' of individuals has a certain set of rights. While there would be no discrimination between people in need in an ideal world, the reality is more complex and inevitably political. Due to the situation's complexity, this research focuses on cross-border displacement and refugee situations.

Moreover, as previously stated, a refugee can be defined differently in each context. In that sense, Germany, a country in the EU, follows the 'asylum seeker' and 'refugee' definition stated by the UNHCR while giving the option of providing "subsidiary protection". In that sense, the refugee does not have the same rights as a non-national regarding housing and the free choice of where to reside. In addition, Germany determines whether an individual is a refugee or not based on its own RSD system, without intervention from the UNHCR. However, another question arose: Does Germany have any other status to protect those who are seeking refuge? Do these definitions have any implications for the sheltering process? (See Chapter 3)

Based on Section (1.3.1), in a refugee context, Germany lies within 'Scenario B' of the humanitarian response to cross-border displacement. In that sense, Germany is considered to be a strong host community, where the host government provides a humanitarian response instead of humanitarian organisations (See Chapter 3).

Based on Sections (1.3.2) and (1.4.2.6), the Sphere Handbook is considered to be the global standard for humanitarian response, including shelter. This sets the basis for understanding the standards and guidelines that are followed in the context of Germany (See Chapter 3).

Based on Section (1.4.2.1), the misconceptions about shelter are clarified, as the shelter does not just mean a tent or a caravan but any physical structure that is inhabited by displaced populations. Moreover, it is not a product but a process of shelter*ing*.

Based on Sections (1.4.2.5) and (1.4.2.6), multiple terminologies were set based on the research focus on temporary, urban, collective shelters. First, while temporality is subjective, this research defines temporary shelter as a shelter that is structurally designed to be removed after a specific time (e.g. based on a lease) following the coverage of a specific need, despite the real duration of occupation. An urban shelter is defined as a shelter that could lie within a peri-urban or urban context and has access to services and infrastructure. Second, The research uses 'site' instead of 'camp' or 'settlement' to describe a cluster of shelters. Third, the *Systembauten* community shelters fall in the category of container-like, built-on-site collective shelters that are constructed from prefabricated materials. Nevertheless, the definition of collective shelters in this research expands to include shelters that are newly-built, and not pre-existing buildings only (See Chapter 4).

Based on Section (1.4.2.7), the *Systembauten* community shelters will be reflected upon to examine what type of constraints and limitations still prevailed in the context of Germany and how they affected the spatial practice of making homes (See Chapter 5).

Figure (2.01) IKEA Shelter Appropriations
Source: https://regenerativedesign.world/ikea-shelter/?utm_source=rss&utm_medium=rss&utm_campaign=ikea-shelter

Chapter Two

Can Shelter become a *Home*?

2.1 Introduction

Katz says it can, further elaborating that "Homes are places which change all the time; we grow up in them, we leave them, create new ones, and sometimes lose and recreate them (...) Homes could be created in many situations, even if these are ephemeral in nature" (MacGregor, 2019). Refugees tend to leave their previous place of residence, unwillingly, in the search of a new place where they can feel safe and call *home*. In that journey, for the majority of individuals, the shelter is not just a brief stopover. Experience has shown that shelters may have to meet the needs of a permanent *home* and serve a purpose for which they were not made or were not right for. This chapter will further explore the concepts of spatial agency, appropriation, dwelling, and *home*.

2.2 The Architectural Space

Mouris-Hanna (2021: 202, 203) quotes from Norberg-Schulz (1971: 12) that there are three kinds of "experienced spaces". First, the "architectural space which needs to adapt itself to the needs of organic action as well as facilitating orientation (being in the world) through perception". Second, the "expressive space (as in) being the space constructed and created by man". And finally, the "aesthetic space as the theory of architectural space". Norberg-Schulz (1971: 27) further states that this perception of architectural space can occur on several spatial levels. Nevertheless, how is the space produced?

2.3 Space and Spatial Agency

2.3.1 What is Spatial Agency?

Henri Lefebvre's 1974 book "The Production of Space" served as the foundational work in the fight against the dominance of perceiving space as just an abstract and interpreting it as just the void between physical objects. In that sense, Lefebvre stated, "(social) space is a (social) product." (Lefebvre, 1974: 10), and with that, Lefebvre liberates the creation of space from the control of experts, such as architects and planners, and situates it in a much broader social context. In that sense, space is dynamic entity that is coproduced between different actors over time and that is constantly evolving. Most crucially, this production of space is inherently political, in which dynamics of "power/empowerment, interaction/isolation, control/freedom" are present (Awan et al., 2013: 30). Nevertheless, in a globalised world that is facing climate change and pandemics, other dynamics tend to affect the production of space.

In that sense, agency is depicted "as the ability of the individual to act independently of the constraining structures of society; structure is seen as the way that society is organised" (Awan et al., 2013: 30). Giddens (1984) argues that the individuals, or spatial agents, are neither wholly enslaved by structure nor are they entirely free. Spatial agents negotiate with the status quo to partly modify it; they are neither powerless nor all-powerful. Spatial agency suggests that action to engage structure transformatively is feasible but will only be successful if one is conscious of the possibilities and limitations that the structure provides.

2.3.2 Spatial Agency in Forced Displacement

In the context of displacement, Legg (2007) states that the spatial agency of those uprooted from their homes is constantly in conflict with various spatial governmentalities reflected in the power relations and bureaucratic inequalities.

2.4 Appropriation

2.4.1 What is Appropriation?

Therefore, appropriation is an expression of spatial agency. Feldmann and Stall (2014: 184) defined appropriation as "individuals' and groups' creation, choice, possession, modification, enhancement of, care for and /or simply intentional use of a space to make it one's own". However, this transformation of space is not a one-way process, but an interactive process, that it ends up also changing the individuals themselves, as individuals project their self and social form into the space. Modh (1998: 4) followed that notion, stating that "The term appropriation implies to gain something, but also to give something from yourself to the environment".

2.4.2 Appropriation in Forced Displacement

In displacement, shelter appropriation is not a novel concept, as it can be reflected in Palestinian and Syrian camps (Dalal, 2014; Sanyal 2010; Misselwitz 2009) where tents, caravans and built blocks changed from their standarised structures to social spaces. Furthermore, Dalal & Misselwitz (2021) addressed the lack of studies on the appropriation of space in refugee contexts. They concluded that, compared to shelters provided in other contexts such as AlZaatri camp, Berlin's Tempohomes are considered to be well-designed and furnitured shelters; however, this did not mean that shelter appropriations would not take place. Nevertheless, these appropriations are subtle, as they take place within a bounded physical space and are not as visible as appropriations in other contexts. Moreover, the authors advocated that shelters should enable future appropriations and should never replace the refugees' need to dwell. Finally, they stated that appropriations can be a reflection of the negotiations that occur between the regulations, the spatial organization of the shelter, and the need to dwell, more than a response to the problems that arise in the daily needs of refugees (Dalal et al., 2021). During the interviews, one shelter practitioner advocated that notion and stated: "When designing, it has to be kept in mind that refugees will try and gain as much space as possible, have privacy, and control their shelter (...) we have to give them the possibility to express themselves and cover their own individual needs." Moreover, they added that refugees tend to take more care of their shelters when they are given the space to customise it, as it gives them a sense of ownership.

2.5 Dwelling

2.5.1 What is Dwelling?

To dwell is to "live in a place or in a particular way", according to the English Dictionary (Cambridge, N.D). Heidegger (1971) interpreted the relationship between the space (the building) and dwelling, and what it means to dwell. He stated, "the basic character of dwelling is to spare, to preserve... dwelling itself is always a staying with things. Dwelling, as preserving, keeps the fourfold in that with which mortals stay: in things" (Heidegger, 1971: 150-151). In that sense, dwelling is to be in a space, and connect to it, and to what it offers. However, that space does not have to be a physical space, and it does not have to be immobile. It can also be an emotional or mental state. Moreover, Heidegger (1971) states that one builds to dwell, which places dwelling as a existential need. To dwell is a process that evolves as thoughts do, to build at peace, to preserve, to care for.

2.6 Home

2.6.1 What is Home?

Home is an ambiguous and perhaps controversial term that can be interpreted differently in different languages and cultures. For example, in Arabic, *House* and *Home* can imply the same thing when in reality, it is not. In some languages, *home* simply does not exist. Generally, the term *home* can invoke different ideas for different individuals. Boccagni & Brighenti (2017: 5) pointed out that home can have a double meaning. It can be "a bounded place" and "a meaningful and emotionalised kind of relationship with place." In addition, a house, which is built for human habitation, does not automatically become a home. Instead, how a house becomes a home may depend on a mix of its physical features, its symbolic meanings, the experiences of the individuals, and their relationships with the community (Brun, 2015).

When the researcher inquired their circle of friends and family about: 'What is home to you?', different answers emerged: "A place where I can invite and host my friends"; "Any place where I have my sentimental elements, such as my laptop and plants"; "It's where I feel understood both verbally and socially"; "Where I

feel safe to be vulnerable, to be myself"; "Home is a feeling of comfort, safety, familiarity, privacy, family. All of it combined, and we try to create it where we go."; "It is the couch in my parents' house living room. It is where I feel safe."; "Its just a feeling between some places, and moments around me. At Christmas, when my children gather, it feels like home. When I visit the rubble of what's left of my dad's house, I feel at home". One person answered, "I think, I don't have a home now", as they were moving soon, and that instability, somehow, took away that feeling of home.

In that sense, home does not have one basic definition, 'it depends', as Mallet (2004) concluded in her critical review of literature on what *home* is. Furthermore, as Beeckmans et al. (2022) reviewed literature associated with home, they concluded that home had been associated with: emotions and sentimental attachments (Easthope, 2004); with family (Rykwert, 1991); with the community (Massey, 1994); with migration (Ahmed et al., 2003); and with dwelling (Young, 2005; Heidegger, 1971); in addition to gender identities and their relations (Baydar & Heynen, 2005). Home can also be associated with violence, power relations, and oppression (Arnold, 2004; Said, 2000; Sibley, 1995; Honig, 1994). In the end, there is always a gap between the ideal and desired *home*, and the real *home*.

On the other hand, Tucker (1994) perceived home as a multi-level structure where self-fulfillment can be achieved. He states that the 'actual home' is the result of the efforts to reach the 'ideal home'. At the same time, Brun (2015) interpreted *home* as a multi-scalar process and a set of complex practices. In that sense, *Home* can be 'a dwelling, a community, or a nation', where one scale cannot be understood in isolation. Based on the literature, Beeckmans et al. (2022) further advocated that notion, and stated that home involves more than just appropriating and transforming residential spaces; it also involves gaining access to a community, whether rural or urban, citizenship, and legal and political representation. Home is where a sense of security, freedom, control and creativity, or identity can be translated into one space or multiple spaces. The spatial and material processes involved in making home seem to be an essential component in its development. Furthermore, Beeckmans et al. (2022) deliberately pluralised home(s), to reflect the 'materiality' of the process. This process can range from making subtle appropriations to the space to a complete reconstruction of it.

2.6.2 Making Home in Displacement

Making *home* is universal. In some sense, everyone does it in one way or another. However, this phenomenon is not usually associated with the term 'forced displacement', as some may perceive these two concepts as contradictory and view *home* as more rooted and immobile. While migration and forced displacement are as ancient as homo sapiens, displaced individuals are still viewed with distrust and hostility. Despite its prevalence, many politicians, policymakers, and researchers find it hard to understand that homes can be formed in displacement (Beeckmans et al., 2022). Nevertheless, in displacement, there is always something between 'being at home' and 'being without it'. In fact, *home* can be mobile (Meier & Frank, 2016). Moreover, Brun (2015) states that making homes or homemaking can take place in 'temporary' dwellings, while Beeckmans et al. (2022) cautions that homes made in the context of displacement are usually under multiple 'spheres of influence' such as social, political and economic and different 'regimes of power'. When Hart et al. (2018) investigated how syrian refugees make homes in the refugee camps in Jordan, they concluded that the process of making homes is influenced with by the individuals' perception of the 'ideal' home; and the constraints that are imposed by decision-makers such as the site managers and funders.

As a result, Brun & Fábos (2015) suggested an analytical framework to understand the concept of home in the context of displacement. The framework is a triadic constellation of home that helps to explore home both as an idea and a practice. First, home; as in the day-to-day practices such as the spatial appropriations and social relationships within and beyond the shelter. Second, Home; as in the ideal home that is sought through values, traditions, and past experiences, in addition to current trends. Finally, HOME; as in how home is interpreted by the decision-makers, which is then reflected in policy and practice, and how the displaced are managed, all which lie within the current global order.

However, in this globalised and highly political world, this gap between the terms' making home' and 'displacement' remains unresolved, and needs to be tackled. This complex practice of making homes where the experiences and lived realities of those forced from their *home* has to be brought forward. Making homes can be affected by spatial, socio-cultural, temporal, economic, and political factors. In this sense, it is advocated to intersect the concepts of 'making home' and

'forced displacement' from a spatial and architectural perspective, as it is largely neglected in literature (Beeckmans et al., 2022).

The spread of Covid-19 has changed and advanced global understandings of the material dimensions of making homes. Indeed, anti-Covid measures, such as lockdowns (or stay-at-home orders), social distancing and curfews, shed light on and magnify existing socio-spatial inequalities and conditions of precariousness related to the material aspects of everyday life. The pandemic has not only thoroughly reshaped domestic regimes and homemaking practices, a fact which can be seen in the pressures exacted on our abilities to secure physical and mental well-being (Beeckmans, 2021b; Usher et al., 2020)

Moreover, from a feminist perspective, Brun (2015) argued that Heidegger (1971) interpretation of dwelling as mainly constructing deprives the women of their roles as caretakers of the home, and advocates for including both notion of construction and caretaking in the context of displacement. In fact, displacement tends to tighten the gender divide. Women living in displacement are bounded to care for others under the hard conditions, and are expected to survive and maintain a sense of dignity at the same time (Beeckmans & Oosterlynck, 2021). Brun (2015) advocates, following Iris Marion Young's critical values of home, that these values should be a set of minimal requirements for satisfying home values in the context of shelter provision in forced displacement. The values are safety, where an individual should feel safe; individuation, where an individual would have their own space that they can arrange and reflect their identity on; privacy, where an individual would have a space that others do not have access to; and finally preservation; where an individual can protect the things that are important to them and in which they see their own stories.

2.7 Chapter Conclusions

This chapter briefly overviewed some of the key concepts used in this research. Accordingly, the findings introduce the concept of spatial appropriations and the spatial practice of making homes in displacement.

Based on Section (2.2) and Section (2.6), this research interprets the architectural space of the shelter and the spatial practice of making homes on various levels: the

shelter; including the private space; the semi-private/shared space, the cluster of shelters (the site); including the public space, and touching upon the shelter as part of the urban context and city at large.

Based on Section (2.3), a social space is produced without experts' intervention. A space is co-produced and so political by definition. Spatial agents engage with the status quo to produce the space, and in the context of displacement, spatial agents must negotiate with 'spatial governmentalities' shown in 'power relations' and 'bureaucratic inequalities.'

Based on Section (2.4), to appropriate a space means to use it to make it one's own, and in doing so, the spatial agent obtains something while simultaneously giving something back. The appropriations can be subtle or stark, reflecting the ongoing negotiations with the space.

Based on Section (2.5), to dwell is to be in a space, and to connect to it, which can be a physical, emotional or mental space. Moreover, to dwell is to build at peace and have the ability to preserve and care for.

Based on Section (2.6), home is a controversial term and does not have one definition but can be interpreted differently. Nevertheless, home is the sum of the physical features of the structure where it is attempted to be made, its symbolic meaning, the experiences of the individuals and their relationship with the community. It is a place where one can have a sense of safety and security; freedom, control and creativity over the space; privacy; preservation; and having one's identity reflected in the space. As a result, generally, making homes can start with the appropriation of the space, which can be subtle or stark, and having social relationships within and beyond the shelter, Nevertheless, it also includes having an access to a community and legal and political representation.

Cumulatively, Since *home* is a multi-scalar process and a set of complex practices, as illustrated in Figure (2.02), this research focuses on the micro-scale, reflected in the community shelter and the site it lies within, and particularly on the spatial practice of making homes reflected in the appropriation of space, which can be subtle or stark, and renders the refugees as the spatial agents.

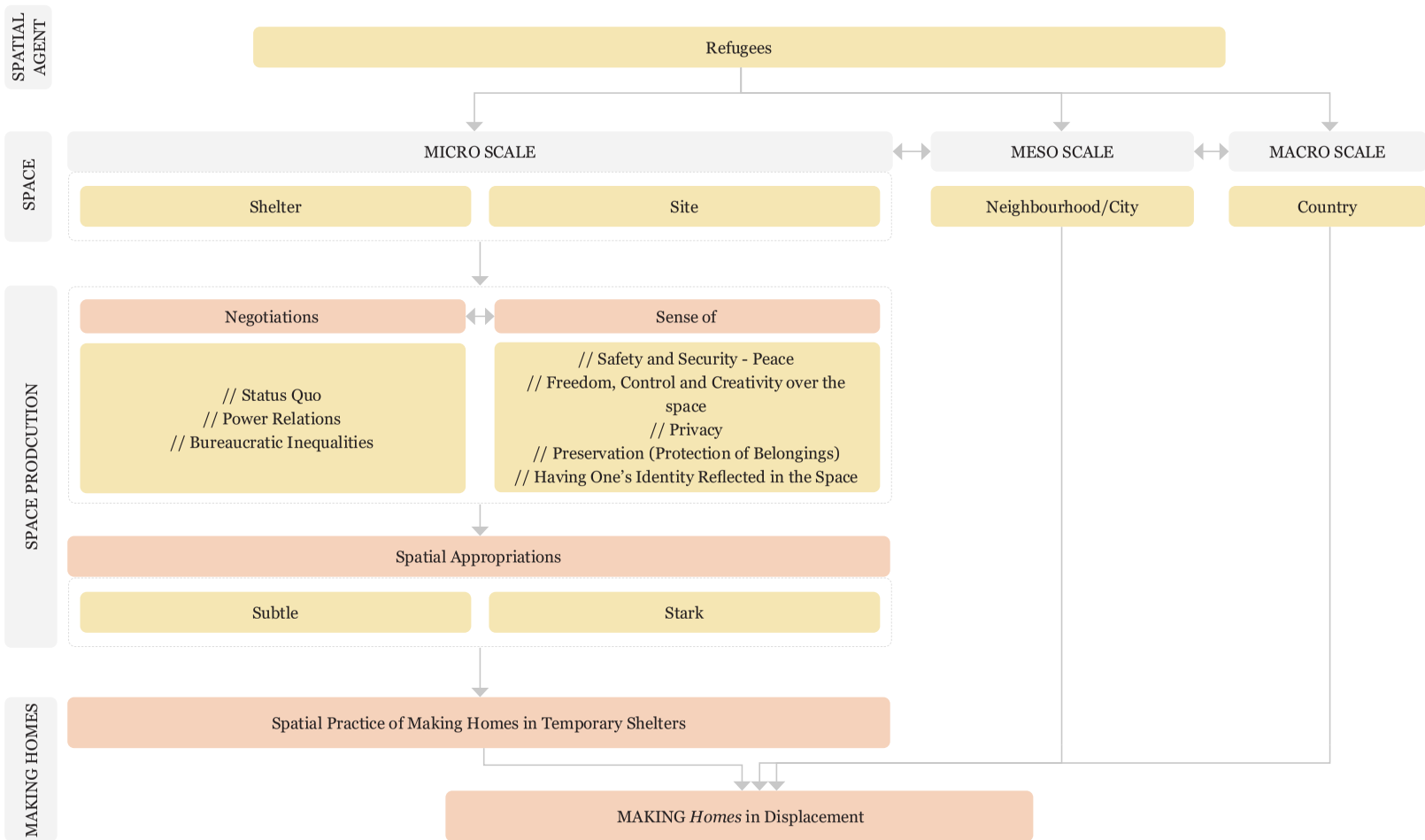

Figure (2.02) Conceptual Framework
Source: Author

Figure (3.01) Berlin's Tempelhof Airport Re-purposed as an Emergency Shelter
Source: Gordon Welters for The New York Times.

Chapter Three
Sheltering in Stuttgart, Germany

3.1 Introduction

This chapter situates the research focus in its context and builds on the conclusions of chapter one. It first gives a quick overview of sheltering in Europe, then takes a deeper look at sheltering in Germany, and finally focuses on sheltering in Stuttgart. In that regard, this chapter answers the sub-research question: WHAT is Stuttgart's strategy for sheltering refugees?

3.2 Sheltering in Europe

3.2.1 Facts and Numbers

The First World War and the 1917 Russian Revolution produced the first refugee crisis in Europe. By the Second World War, there were more than 40 million refugees in Europe, producing the second crisis. The third refugee crisis in the 1990s was due to the division of the Soviet Union, the war in the former Yugoslavia, the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and the events of 9/11. Then by 2014-2015, another refugee influx hit Europe stemming from the civil war in Syria, the instability in Libya, Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia, Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo. This influx created the migration 'corridors' of the Balkans and Eastern Europe towards destinations like Germany and Denmark (Bundy, 2016). By the end of 2020, Europe hosted 6.7 million refugees (UNHCR, 2021). However, in 2022, the war in Ukraine produced the fifth refugee influx, with

more than 6 million refugees (UNHCR, 2022). In that sense, it was realised that the issue of processing and accommodating a large number of people was not a challenge in developing countries anymore that could be ignored by others; however, it quickly became an issue in the so-called developed world (Scott-Smith and Breeze, 2020).

3.2.2 Sheltering Strategies, Standards and Guidelines

In response to the multiple refugee influxes in Europe, the European Union follows a set of guidelines[13] for the reception of refugees. Generally, the standards and guidelines available at the EU level are for the initial reception of refugees. Based on the European country and the situation's intensity, the reception facility could vary from transit centres to planned or repurposed reception centres, semi-planned and self-settled camps, and rental subsidies and host family programmes (NRC, 2016). In theory, transit centres are short-term sheltering that should not last more than three weeks, while reception centres are medium-term sheltering that can last up to three months.

3.3 Sheltering in Germany

3.3.1 Facts and Numbers

According to the *Ausländerzentralregister* (AZR), by the end of 2020, 1,856,785 people seeking protection were registered and living in Germany. Of the 1.8 million, 1.4 million have completed their asylum procedure and are allowed to stay in Germany, 215,960 people still await a decision, and 243,140 have a rejected asylum procedure. In 2020 alone, the AZR registered 68,000 persons. From 2015 to 2019, an average of 27,200 children were born each year seeking protection (LpB BW, N.D). This ranks Germany as the second-largest hosting country in Europe and the only western industrialised nation of the top ten refugee hosting countries (UNHCR, 2021; MacGregor, 2019). Since the outbreak of the Ukrainian-Russian conflict, federal police have recognised over 360,000 Ukrainian refugees in Germany (as of mid-April 2022), the majority of them being women, children, and the elderly. However, the figure is likely to be substantially higher because there are no established border restrictions (LpB BW, N.D).

While Germany is praised for its efforts with asylum applications and the integration of refugees, when comparing the number of refugees to the population size, only 1.3% per cent (one in every hundred) is a refugee. While in Sweden, 2.5% are refugees, and refugees in Lebanon account for 16% of the population. In addition, Germany hosts few refugees relative to its economy and GDP (Gross Domestic Product), placing it at number fifty-eight, while countries like South Sudan, Uganda and Chad host the most refugees compared to their GDP (MacGregor, 2019).

Much like the uneven distribution of refugees in the world, there is an uneven distribution of refugees in the federal state of Germany, who are allocated according to the *Königsteiner Key*[14]. The western federal states accommodate more refugees (2% to 3% or more) to the population than eastern federal states (no more than 1.5%). For example, refugees in regions around Hanover and Cologne account for more than 3 per cent of the population (LpB BW, N.D). However, this formula does not consider the availability of space.

3.3.2 Sheltering Strategy and Legal Framework

There are four tiers of seeking protection in Germany:

1. The first tier is those who have applied for asylum, and have not received a decision yet about their application.

2. The second tier is those who received a decision on their asylum application, which could be either a right to asylum, a refugee status, or subsidiary protection. A right to asylum (*Asylberechtigung*) is granted when a person is politically persecuted or is at risk of human rights violations. It provides the person with a three-year residence permit, where they can work and bring their families. A refugee status (*Flüchtlingsschutz*) is granted when the person is being prosecuted by 'non state actors'. It provides the person with a three-year residence permit, where they can work and bring their families. Subsidiary protection (*Subsidiärer Schutz*) is granted to the person who is threatened with serious danger in their country of origin. It provides the person with a one-year residence permit, with a possible extension of two years, where they can work but are not allowed to bring their families.

3. The third tier is named 'Ban on Deporation' (*Abschiebungsverbot*) and applies to those who do not fall under the second tier but are allowed to stay in Germany for the time being, for example, in case they are ill. It allows the person to stay for one year, with a possibility of an extension.

4. The fourth tier is whose asylum application has been rejected and are required to leave the country. In general, asylum may be granted for various reasons, including civil war, discrimination, war, or state persecution. The asylum application is rejected for those forced to flee their own country due to poverty or natural disasters (LpB BW, N.D). The Regional Council of Karlsruhe (Regierungspräsidium Karlsruhe, RPK) is responsible for executing nationwide measures to end the stay of rejected asylum seekers and their family members who lack a right of residence, even if they have not filed an asylum application (Regierungspräsidien BW, N.D).

According to the Dublin procedure, the asylum procedure must be carried out in the EU country that the refugees entered first. Therefore, refugees from unsafe countries such as Syria and Afghanistan can be refused admission to Germany and sent back to the EU country they first entered, which is currently applied to all EU countries except Greece (LpB BW, N.D).

Generally, refugee management and sheltering in Germany is divided among four administrative divisions: Bundes-Ebene (federal level); Länder-Ebene (state level); Kreis-Ebene (district level); and Gemeinde-Ebene (municipalities). Refugees in Germany are regulated under the Asylum Act (AsylG) and the Asylum Seekers Benefits Act (AsylbLG). First, the federal government oversees the asylum procedure through the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge, BAMF). Second, the federal states are responsible for providing adequate shelter and care for those applying for asylum by providing the overall building code and materials codes. Third, the administrative districts are responsible for aspects such as fire codes and environmental regulations. Finally, the municipalities are responsible for multiple aspects such as building permissions and waste management (DRK, 2016; Regierungspräsidien BW, N.D; LpB BW, N.D).

3.3.3 Sheltering Standards and Guidelines

The standards and guidelines available in Germany are mainly towards emergency sheltering, which were adapted from the Sphere Handbook (See Chapter 1: Section 1.4.2.6) to the German context through field visits and interviews with different actors to respond to the summer of migration in 2015. These guidelines were developed by the German Red Cross (Deutsches Rotes Kreuz, DRK). Generally, in the context of Germany, only collective shelters and planned sites are legally accepted. The three main typologies are: short-term sheltering (*Aufnahmeeinrichtung*), where the duration of stay is no longer than three days and is managed by the federal government or federal states; medium-term sheltering (*Aufnahmeeinrichtung, Erstaufnahmeeinrichtung, Notunterkunft, Übergangseinrichtung*), where the duration of stay is up till three months and is managed by the federal states; and long term sheltering (*Kommunaleinrichtung, Gemeinschaftsunterkunft*), where the duration of stay is more than three months and is managed by the municipalities. These typologies can differ from one state to the other and generally differ from what the government decides to implement, which will be noticed in the next sections. The following illustration, Figure (3.02), shows the basic standards in each typology (DRK, 2016).

Moreover, the security arrangements for refugee accommodation are claimed to protect the refugees. According to a recent news article, at least one attack on a refugee accommodation takes place each week in Germany, but the number of attacks has been decreasing steadily in general since 2015. The decrease is reported to be mainly due to the decrease in the number of asylum seekers arriving in Germany and fewer are living in refugee accommodations (Bathke, 2021).

	SHORT TERM SHELTERING	MEDIUM TERM SHELTERING	LONG TERM SHELTERING
ASSIGNED AREA	20 square metres of usable area/individual (including basic communal facilities)	At least 30 square metres of usable area/ individual (including or excluding necessary communal facilities)	45 square metres of usable area/individual or 30 square metres (including or excluding adequate communal facilities, respectively)
MINIMUM LIVING SPACE	3,5 m^2 per person	5 m^2 per person	6 m^2 per person
DENSITY	Individuals are provided with privacy using screens or partitions	Individuals are provided with privacy using partitions or separate rooms with a maximum of 8 beds	Individuals are provided with privacy using lockable rooms with 2-4 beds
ACCESS	Corridor 1.5 m wide	Corridor at least 1.5 m wide	Corridor 2 m wide
ADDITIONAL FURNITURE	-	Wardrobe or Locker/Individual	Wardrobe or Locker/Individual
SANITATION FACILITIES	Maximum distance of 50 m - One tap per 250 individuals - One tap per 5 toilets - One toilet per 50 individuals - One showerhead per 100 individuals	Maximum distance of 50 m - One tap/ basin per 100 individuals - One tap per 5 toilets - One toilet per 20 individuals - One showerhead per 50 individuals - One laundry facility per 100 individuals	Maximum distance of 50 m - One tap/basin per 8 individuals - One tap per toilet - One toilet per 8 individuals - One showerhead per 8 individuals - One laundry facility per 12 individuals
WASTE MANAGEMENT	At least one wheelie bin (240 litres) per 30 people	At least one wheelie bin (240 litres) per 30 people - Individuals should be informed of local waste disposal and separation	At least one wheelie bin (240 litres) per 30 people - Individuals should be informed of local waste disposal and separation
NFIs	Access to adequate bedding materials	Access to adequate bedding materials	Access to adequate bedding materials and cooking and eating utensils

Figure (3.02) Sheltering Standards and Guidelines in Germany
Source: Author, Based on (DRK, 2016)

3.4 Sheltering in Baden-Württemberg

3.4.1 Facts and Numbers

Baden-Württemberg (BW) is the third largest state in Germany, with an area of 35,751 square kilometres and a population of 10.8 million. It is in the southwest corner of Germany, next to three other German states. It is in the middle of Europe and shares borders with three other European countries, as shown in Figure (3.03). The state operates on a three-tier system: the ministries, the regional districts acting as intermediate authorities (Stuttgart, Karlsruhe, Freiburg and Tübingen); and finally the lower administrative tier, which consists of the 35 rural districts, 9 urban districts and 1,101 local authorities and municipalities, as shown in Figure (3.04) (BW, N.D). The number of refugees seeking asylum in the state has fluctuated since its peak in 2015. The figures range from 98,000 in 2015; 33,000 in 2016; 16,000 in 2017; 10,126 in 2018 and 10,272 in 2019. By the end of 2020, around 210,100 asylum seekers lived in BW, out of which 149,000 were granted temporary or permanent protection status. In 2021, a total of 14,442 asylum applications were filed. Most of the people who sought protection in BW in 2021 came from Syria (around 4,600 people), Iraq (1,700), Afghanistan (1,700) and Turkey (1,400) (LpB BW, N.D).

Since the Russian attack on Ukraine began in February 2022, the number of persons seeking refuge in BW has increased once more. The situation has lately improved slightly after the influx of displaced people and those seeking asylum in BW peaked at the end of 2015. According to a press statement issued by the State Ministry, towards the end of April 2022, more than 84,000 Ukrainian refugees had sought asylum in BW, where around 81,000 Ukrainian refugees are allocated to urban/rural districts, and approximately 3,000 are in initial reception centres. Ukrainians can stay in Germany without a visa for 90 days, which can be extended to 180 days. Accordingly, around 8,000 Ukrainian children attend school as stated by the Ministry of Education (LpB BW, N.D).

3.4.2 Sheltering Strategy and Legal Framework

In BW, as illustrated in Figure (3.05), the reception, accommodation and distribution of refugees are regulated by the Refugee Admissions Act (FlüAG), in addition to the AsylG and the AsylbLG on the national level (Regierungspräsidien

Figure (3.03) Federal States of Germany
Source: https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Datei:Germany,_administrative_divisions_-_de_-_colored.svg

Figure (3.04) Governmental Districts of Baden-Württemberg
Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:BadenW%C3%BCrttemberg,_administrative_divisions_%28government_districts_%2Bdistrictsborders%29_-_de_-_colors.svg

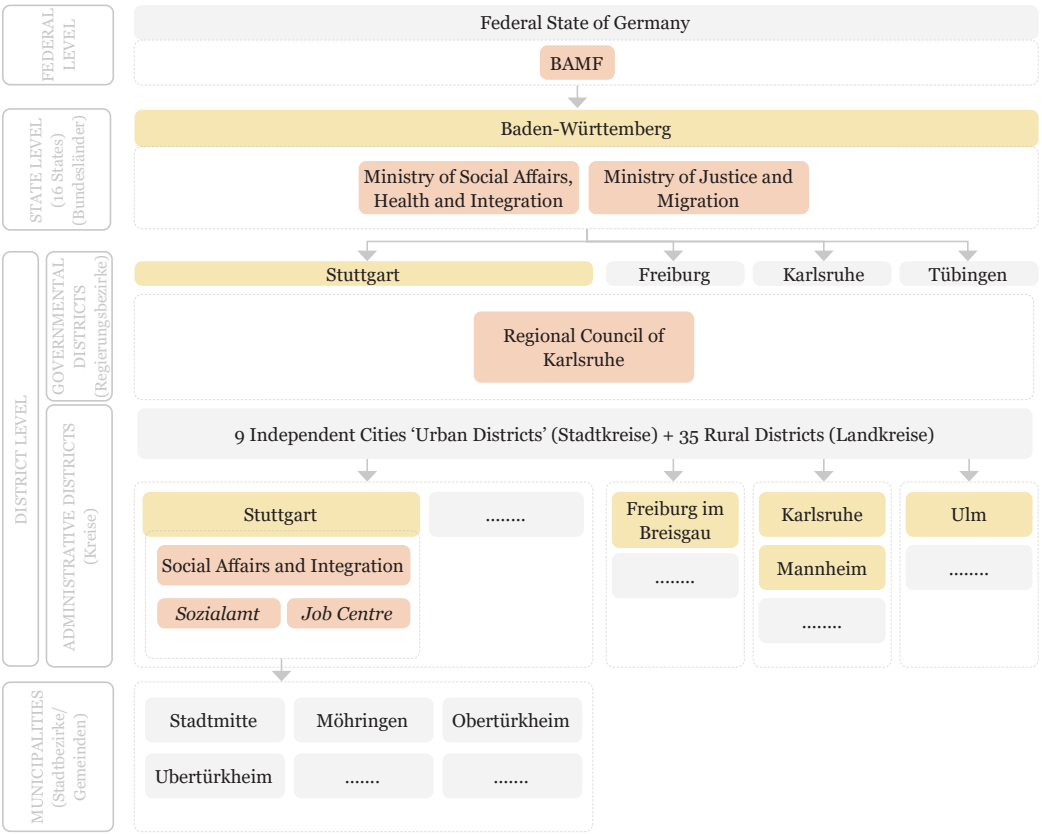

Figure (3.05) Refugee and Shelter Management in Germany's Administrative Divisions (Baden-Württemberg)
Source: Author

BW, N.D). The Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Social Affairs and Integration are primarily responsible for refugee policy and law. Moreover, the Ministry of Interior is responsible for being in charge of the right of residence and the law on asylum procedures (LpB BW, N.D). In BW, the distribution of refugees is also carried out according to a fixed distribution key to all municipalities and districts in the state, which is determined by the RPK.

In general, the sheltering system consists of three phases, as illustrated in Figure (3.06):

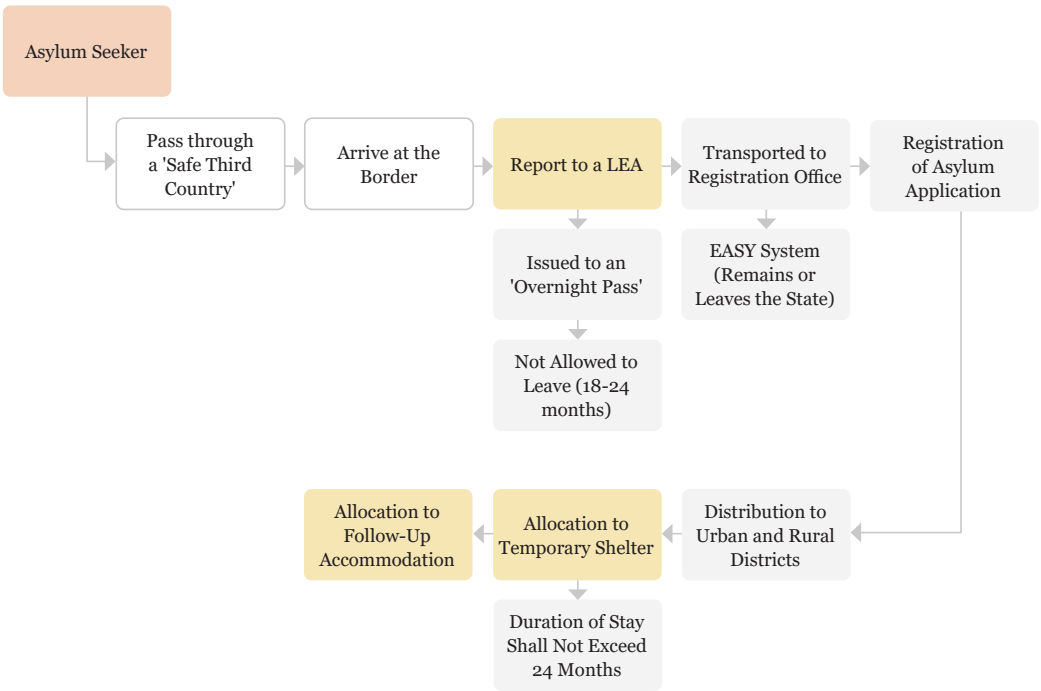

Figure (3.06) Sheltering System in Baden-Württemberg
Source: Author

3.4.2.1 LEA

(*Landeserstaufnahmeeinrichtungen*, Initial Reception Facility)

The asylum seeker's first point of contact is the initial reception facility. In BW, refugees arrive at the Heidelberg arrival centre and are then admitted to a LEA. The initial reception facilities are located in Karlsruhe, Sigmaringen, Ellwangen, Freiburg, which is shown in Figure (3.07), and Mannheim, which is now closed. When an asylum seeker arrives at a LEA, they are given an "overnight pass"

(*Übernachtungsausweis*) at the gate. This provides them with a place to sleep, food, and any required medical attention and clothes. The initial reception centres are managed by the regional councils, who are in charge of property management and administration and the organisation of transfers (Regierungspräsidien BW, N.D). Asylum seekers are sometimes overloaded with information and deadlines. Many asylum seekers find it difficult to name crucial vulnerabilities, such as food intolerance, health or religious concerns, and gender-specific or sexual identity or sexuality-related features. This information could be important in allocating the rooms (Fluechtlingsrat BW, N.D). Generally, the asylum applicant is transported to the registration office the following working day. In this case, the EASY[15] system determines whether they may remain in the state of arrival or must move to another federal state. If the EASY system indicates that they must be allocated to another federal state, he is brought to the railway station and given a ticket to the appropriate federal state's LEA (Regierungspräsidien BW, N.D).

Figure (3.07) LEA in Freiburg
Source: https://rp.baden-wuerttemberg.de/rpf/service/presse/pressemitteilungen/artikel/regierungspraesidium-baut-kapazitaet-der-landeserstaufnahmeeinrichtung-fuer-fluechtlinge-in-freiburg-aus/

The asylum seeker has to remain in the initial reception centre until the health certificate is issued and the asylum application is submitted to the BAMF. At the same time, they are not allowed to leave the initial reception centre until they have been assigned to a specific district within the federal state, mainly because it would be easier to reach the asylum seeker for the initial procedures. In addition, the asylum seeker is not allowed to leave the district in which the initial reception centre lies. As a general rule, the asylum seeker must remain

in the initial reception centre for 18 months and some states can extend that period to 24 months. However, exceptions are made for example, in the case of families who are only allowed to stay in LEA for 6 months (Fluechtlingsrat BW, N.D; Regierungspräsidien BW, N.D). Generally, there is a social and procedural consultancy for all asylum seekers by welfare organizations in the initial reception facility to ensure a smooth asylum application. However, since 2019, the BAMF is also responsible for carrying out part of that consultancy, which tends to be viewed critically (Fluechtlingsrat BW, N.D).

Moreover, the RPK carries out refugee regulation tasks such as the admission in the initial reception facilities and the allocation of refugees to urban and rural districts for their temporary shelter according to the Asylum Procedure Act (*Asylverfahrensgesetzes*, AsylVfG). The allocations are determined by the district's allocation quota. The allocation quota is determined by the percentage of the relevant urban or rural district's population in the overall population of BW. It makes no difference where the asylum seeker was initially sheltered within the state (LpB BW, N.D; Regierungspräsidien BW, N.D).

3.4.2.2 Temporary Shelter
(Vorläufige Unterbringung, VU)

Following the LEA, the asylum seeker is allocated to a temporary shelter in the respective city or district, and the responsibility is transferred to the district. The asylum seeker remains in the temporary shelter until their asylum procedure is completed. However, the duration of stay shall not exceed 24 months, whether the asylum procedure is complete or not. In rare situations, a three-month extension is available. If a person with a residence permit can stably secure their own livelihood, they may request to have the residency restriction removed. Otherwise, they have to pay rent for their place in the shelter. The application for the removal is filed with the local immigration office (Fluechtlingsrat BW, N.D; Regierungspräsidien BW, N.D). Since January 2018, due to legal changes in the FlüAG, refugees are entitled to 7.0 square metres instead of 4.5 square metres. It further states that the shelters should be located where social life can be enabled, where the site includes outdoor areas, one common room, and one children's room. The shelter also includes social counselling, which is carried out by welfare organisations (Fluechtlingsrat BW, N.D).

3.4.2.3 Follow-Up Accommodation
(Anschlussunterbringung, AU)

Following the temporary shelter, refugees are assigned to the municipalities in charge of their follow-up accommodation. However, the refugees can also search for private accommodation (LpB BW, N.D). Because no minimum requirements have been established for the follow-up accommodation, living circumstances in BW are quite diverse. For example, it is not uncommon for refugees to reside in the same accommodation or in the same room that has previously functioned as temporary. People are sometimes housed in homeless shelters or decentralised dwellings (Fluechtlingsrat BW, N.D).

3.5 Sheltering in Stuttgart

3.5.1 Facts and Numbers

The city of Stuttgart, the capital of Baden-Württemberg, is located in the south of Germany, and is located in the governmental district of Stuttgart. It has a total area of about 250 square kilometres (CLIP, 2009). With a population of 613,000, Stuttgart is considered the sixth-largest city in Germany (CLIP, 2009; BW, N.D). One of Germany's most important industrial areas is located in Stuttgart. The city is a major center for science, technology, and automotive industries (CLIP, 2009). Moreover, Stuttgart is noted for a topographical feature known as the "Kessellage", as in it is bordered on all sides by hills. As a result, the construction of new houses is extremely challenging. Accordingly, there is a significant disparity between available home supply and housing demand. Housing demand has expanded dramatically in recent years in this city, as it has in many others, but the housing supply has not been able to keep up with this growth. As a result, housing is becoming increasingly scarce and costly.

Stuttgart has experienced waves of migration since the middle of the 1950s when people from southern European countries like Turkey began coming to Stuttgart as "guest workers." In the 1970s, it became clear that Stuttgart's migrant workers were not returning to their home countries as expected. Instead, they stayed in Stuttgart and brought their families to live with them. When the Balkan war

started in southeastern Europe at the beginning of the 1990s, refugees from that area also moved to Stuttgart (CLIP, 2009).

Nowadays, there are over 170 nationalities living in Stuttgart (Benneweg, 2020) and refugees account for 2.4% of the population (LpB BW, N.D). By the end of April 2022, 7,695 refugees are accommodated in Stuttgart, of which 3,468 are refugees from Ukraine. A total of 5,278 refugees are families (69%) and 2,417 are single (31%). Among Ukrainian refugees, 2,489 are families (72%) and 979 are single (28%). The number of refugee children under 18 is 2,876 (37%). Within Ukrainian refugees, 1,266 children are under 18 (37%).

Stuttgart's strategy to accommodate refugees and integrate them within the city is named "*Stuttgarter Weg*", where refugees are protected, supported in various ways, and integrated into the society to enable a good coexistence between the different nations. The "*Stuttgarter Weg*" strategy embodies that integration is a two-way process, aimed at both the refugees and the host community, meaning that everyone living in Stuttgart is a "*Stuttgarter*" (Benneweg, 2020).

3.5.2 Sheltering Strategy and Legal Framework

In general, the city of Stuttgart follows the legal framework set by the state of BW. To respond to the legal change in the FlüAG, by the end of 2020, 73% of the targeted places were converted according to these regulations. Further changes can only be made when there are accommodation vacancies, which depend on the declining number of refugees (Benneweg, 2020). Due to the Ukrainian-Russian conflict, this challenge became more complex, where three people could be accommodated in one room due to the lack of space.

Within Stuttgart, the *Sozialamt* is responsible for managing and distributing refugees across the available refugee accommodation throughout the city. In general, the municipalities are responsible for identifying the new possible locations for refugee sheltering and then proposing these locations to the municipality council for the final decision. Due to the current situation with the Ukrainian refugees, the city of Stuttgart is concentrating on increasing the availability of follow-up accommodation to enable the refugees to find a permanent residence. That would allow for more space in the temporary and emergency shelters. When refugees move out of the temporary shelters into the

follow-up accommodation, it gives them more privacy and contributes to the social peace in the shelters as it becomes less crowded. Moreover, it cannot be anticipated that temporary and emergency shelters will no longer be needed in the future (Benneweg, 2020).

Refugees living in temporary shelters receive support and assistance from the integration management and the house management. These are services offered by welfare associations such Arbeitsgemeinschaft für die eine Welt e.V.; Arbeiterwohlfahrt Stuttgart e.V.; Caritasverband für Stuttgart e. V.; Deutsches Rotes Kreuz Stuttgart e.V.; Evangelische Gesellschaft Stuttgart e.V.; Israelitische Religionsgemeinschaft Württembergs; Malteser Hilfsdienst e.V. The welfare organizations' responsibilities are governed by the contract they have with the city of Stuttgart. Each social worker is responsible for an average of 110 refugees for integration management and 136 refugees for house management. However, there is a high fluctuation of change in the social workers, as they get assigned where they are needed the most. If a new shelter opens, then the team can change. Generally, the social workers remain with their assigned refugees for another year after they move out of the temporary shelter.

The funding of the services delivered by the welfare organisations is divided between the state of BW and the city of Stuttgart. The city of Stuttgart receives a subsidy from the state of BW to finance the integration management and social care of refugees, while the house management is financed completely by the city of Stuttgart. In some instances, the lump sum given does not cover all the costs required, and the welfare organisations cover part of the costs themselves.

3.5.3 Temporary Sheltering Typologies

In Stuttgart, refugees are sheltered in a decentralised manner, spread over all districts in newly built temporary shelters such as the *Systembauten* community shelters, repurposed buildings, and rented or municipal housing. Mass shelters are generally avoided in Stuttgart to prevent riots and conflicts. Due to the current Ukrainian-Russian conflict, emergency shelters such as halls are being utilised again since they were last used during the summer of migration in 2015 (Benneweg, 2020).

In principle, all shelters in Stuttgart follow the same rules and regulations, which

are put in place by the *Sozialamt*. That includes the tasks defined for the house management, mostly related to fire regulations, and integration management, the house rules (*Hausordnung*), and the hygiene plans (*Hygienepläne*). However, based on each situation, the social workers can set new regulations in the shelter they are assigned (See Chapter 5: Section 2.2).

3.5.3.1 *Systembauten* Community Shelters

The Systembauten community shelters, which are the main focus of this research, were mass-constructed across Stuttgart's districts in 2015-2016 in response to the summer of migration (See Chapter 4: Section 4.2 for a detailed description).

3.5.3.2 Repurposed Buildings

In April 2022, a field visit was conducted to one of the repurposed buildings in Stuttgart, where a hospital building has been converted into a refugee shelter. The shelter is located in the city centre, in a residential neighbourhood, allowing instant access to various types of infrastructure and services. From the outside, one could not tell that this is a shelter with people living inside, but simply an abandoned building. The shelter is relatively large and old, and one can see the paint worn out in the corridors or drawn on by children who are living there (such as drawings of national flags). In that shelter, two persons shared one room; following the new regulations. As each room was once a hospital room, one can still see the hospital lights above the beds and the switches on the wall. Each room also included one sink. The kitchen, bathrooms, and laundry rooms were communal, but no one was allowed to leave their belongings in either the kitchen or the bathroom, allegedly because theft is common in the shelter, and to avoid conflicts, this rule was put into place.

An unstructured interview was conducted with a climate refugee from Sri Lanka who has been living there for two years and is still waiting for a response to his asylum application. As the interviewee shared his room with another refugee, one could notice that minimum appropriations were made to the room. When asked if he perceives this shelter as a home, he simply answered: "You are not allowed to leave your things in the kitchen or the bathroom, so we have to put them in the room. This is one of the reasons I can not call this place home". He further explains that he only calls this shelter 'heim'. In addition, refugees in

this shelter are not allowed to bring used electronic devices, only new ones. The refugee only tried to make small changes to the room, as seen in Figure (3.08), such as constructing a small shelf for his German books and a hanger for his headphones.

Figure (3.08) Room Appropriations
Source: Author

3.5.3.3 Special Shelters

In addition, Stuttgart has special shelters for specific groups of refugees, for example, women who have experienced abuse, refugees who show signs of violence, and unaccompanied minor refugees[16]. While other shelters do not have police or security presence, these special shelters do.

3.5.3.4 Relocation of Refugees

The main goal when relocating refugees from one shelter to another for reasons such as the closure of the shelter or due to maintenance is to ensure that the refugees remain in the same social environment that they are used to, if possible. However, the relocation does not always bring satisfaction with it, especially if the living space that the refugee was dwelling in is shrinking. The discontent does not stop at just the size of the space but also the loss of social relationships and familiarity with the neighbourhood. For example, in the summer of 2016, when the *Sozialamt* decided to relocate 2,400 refugees and move out of the collective shelters such as schools and gym halls, some refugees exhibited signs of discomfort and unwillingness to leave[17] (Volland, 2016).

3.6 Chapter Conclusions

This chapter laid the basis for the sheltering strategies in Germany, particularly in Stuttgart. As a result, the conclusions placed the research focus in the context of Germany.

Based on Section (3.2.1), this research refers to the persons that lie within any of these legal tiers as 'refugees', regardless of their specific legal status, as refugees sheltered in the community shelters have different asylum application statuses.

Based on Section (3.3.4), the community shelters lie within the third phase of emergency sheltering; however, the duration of stay in BW differs from what has been stated in the guidelines (24 months instead of three months). Moreover, these guidelines will be used to reflect on the community shelters while describing them in Chapter four.

Based on Section (3.4), the sheltering strategy in BW encompasses three phases, which are the LEA (maximum duration of stay of 24 months), the temporary shelter (maximum duration of stay of 24 months), and the municipal housing. Accordingly, community shelters are considered to be the second tier of the sheltering system.

Based on section (3.5), the city of Stuttgart is responsible for delivering the second and third tiers of the sheltering strategy. Within the typologies of temporary shelters in Stuttgart, the community shelters are considered to be the dominant shelter typology.

Figure (4.01) *Systembauten* Community Shelters
Source: Author

Chapter Four
Sheltered in the *Systembauten* Community Shelters

4.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a detailed description of the *Systembauten* community shelters and introduces how the refugees sheltered in these structures appropriate their private and shared spaces. Based on the conclusions section in chapter two, the appropriations are presented on the shelter scale (private and shared spaces), and a cluster of shelters (the site), in addition to touching upon the implications of the neighbourhood and the city on the refugees and the shelter as part of the urban context. In that sense, this chapter answers the sub-research question: WHAT are the spatial appropriations that occur in the various spaces of the community shelters?

4.2 The *Systembauten* Community Shelters

4.2.1 Description

4.2.1.1 Overview

The *Systembauten Gemeinschaftsunterkünfte,* translated into *Systembauten* community shelters, are a modern, German approach to containing refugees that emerged in Stuttgart and lie within the second tier of sheltering refugees before reaching their permanent *home*. At first glance, the shelter looks like a big container. They function to isolate refugees but at the same time link them

to the urban infrastructure. As Baumann argues (2020:15) "shipping containers act as an infrastructure that facilitates the movement and redistribution of people across space", and in this case, the community shelters distribute the refugees across fifteen districts in Stuttgart, most of which are located in the city's northern districts. Two or three sites can be found in seven of the fifteen districts, as illustrated in Figure (4.02). The built structure of the shelter is designed based on the *Systembauten*, which is argued to be more beneficial than containers. The *Systembauten*, which is a method of construction in which the building is assembled from prefabricated components or modules, introduce the flexibility to shelter people when needed and, at the same time, facilitates the possibility of moving them to another place or removing them completely. One social worker stated: "We always have the feeling they're trying to put them away as possible from other people."

Figure (4.02) The Districts of the City of Stuttgart
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/21/Stuttgart_Subdivisions_districts.svg

As Katz (2015, 2017) argues, sites can be used for concentrating or spreading displaced populations. The spatial position of the refugees can be influenced by the position of the container shelter, or in this case, the *Systembauten* shelter, and the site within which this shelter lies within the city. On the one hand, if the shelter is placed in an isolated setting, on the periphery of the city, then this shelter/site acts to contain its occupants. On the other hand, if the shelter/

site is placed within the city, it could act as a first step to integrating; first, the shelters within the larger urban fabric, and second, the occupants themselves with the new context they live in. However, the nature of this shelter within the city implies that it can be removed if local policies change, which could hinder integration (Baumann, 2020). One social worker stated on the Stadtmitte community shelter: "Even if they are in the city, they are not actually integrated. They are in the heart of Stuttgart, but they are not inside. They are not really included. It is good maybe for one or two years. But then you need to move out. Some people live here for six or seven years." In that sense, the *Systembauten* community shelters are justified as fast fixes. They show a lower commitment to a long-term settlement that would include physical/spatial integration and a possibility for a housing solution. The shelters are transitional zones; spatially, politically, and temporally. Its materiality is enough to protect those who occupy it, but at the same time flexible enough to be removed when not needed anymore (Baumann, 2020).

The shelters were designed by the architecture firm 'Siegloch and Partners' according to specifications provided by the *Sozialamt*. Due to the capacity of the German government, these shelters are considered to be more advanced, better equipped and integrated within the city than other temporary shelters in other contexts. The shelters were built between 2015 and 2016 to serve as *Vorläufige Unterbringung* (temporary shelter) in response to the influx of refugees during the summer of migration, and are managed by the *Liegenschaftsamt* and *Sozialamt*[18].

The community shelter is formed from load-bearing walls mounted to a light steel frame, while the inner walls are plasterboard. The floors are precast prestressed floor slabs that were used from Elbe Delcon GmbH, which allegedly have sound isolation properties. The precast floors helped in reducing the construction time and in return, the construction cost as well. Each shelter was constructed in a span of four months (BFT International, 2018). The facade is plastered so no joints of the modules are visible. This makes the shelter look solid and durable. The shelters have had only been approved for five years - with an option for an extension of another five. Right now, all sites are within this five-year extension. The community shelters are planned to close between 2025 and 2026. Nevertheless, one social worker added that the shelters are not constructed to last that long: "10 years is already too much. They were only meant for five years, and

you can see that it is not stable enough to last that long." referring to cracks and holes in the walls, windows breaking down and appliances that stopped working.

4.2.1.2 The Site

As a general rule, each site can contain a maximum of three shelters. The site is provided with green landscapes and facilities such as children's playgrounds, bicycle racks, waste bins, and stroller lockers. In the immediate vicinity of most sites, there is a subway (*Untergrundbahn*, Ubahn) station and/or a bus stop, and a supermarket. Since most of the shelters are on the outer districts of Stuttgart, they are usually surrounded by main roads. The shelters are usually placed in an L-Shape or U-Shape manner, to allow for outdoor courtyards. The playgrounds are usually placed on the outskirts of the site.

Each shelter is two-storey high and can accommodate up to 54 refugees. Depending on the number of shelters on site, a single site can accommodate up to 264 refugees. Each site is occupied by around 70 per cent of families and 30 per cent of single people, as a general rule, and can be occupied by 10 to 15 nationalities such as Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, Sri Lanka, Cameroon, Turkey, Nigeria, Cambia, Algeria, Suriteria, Pakistan, India, Genya, Romania, Ukraine, North Macedonia, and Somalia. Their legal status (See Chapter 3: Section 3.3.2) could vary and is not limited to those who are waiting on a decision on their asylum application, despite how it was originally planned (See Chapter 3: Section 3.4.2.2).

Figure (4.03) An Example of the Community Shelters' Site
Source: Author

4.2.1.3 The Shelter

The 33.11 m long community shelter is divided into two equal sections, separated by a fire door. The ground floor is accessed from two doors on each end, while the second floor is accessed through stairs that are placed outside of the building. These doors lead to a 1,4-metre wide corridor where rooms and services are placed on both sides. The ground floor contains diverse rooms to cover the different needs of the refugees. It contains one big room (covering four modules) as a multi-purpose room, one medium room (covering two modules) as a kindergarten or a playroom in general, a laundry room containing three washing machines and three dryers, a storage room, a handicapped bathroom, and a technical room. Each section can include eight 14.6 square metre rooms used as the main shelter unit, one kitchen, and two bathrooms. An example of the spatial composition of the community shelter can be seen in Figure (4.04) and Figure (4.05)

The standard allocation comes to two people per room. A second or third room is allocated if a family has more members. For example, three rooms would be allocated to a family of six. Each room has standardised furniture: two metal beds, two metal wardrobes, a table, two chairs, one mini refrigerator and a small rubbish bin. If the family has a baby, they are also assigned a cradle. Each kitchen has two islands, one for every four rooms. Each island has four sections, one for each room, in addition to a sink and a stove. Moreover, it usually contains a flyer on how to separate the waste. Each bathroom on the first floor has one shower, two toilets and three sinks. One bathroom is assigned for every four rooms and eight people. While bathrooms on the ground floor can vary. When fully furnished, the room is left with only 6.2 m2 (before 2018) as seen in Figure (4.06), and 7.8 m2 (after 2018) of space to move as seen in Figure (4.07) and Figure (4.08). This gives the refugees very limited space to live and share with others. With the current situation, three or four Ukrainian refugees can be sheltered in one room due to the unavailability of rooms and lack of space in general. One social worker stated "One room is around 14 square metres. Three people is a lot. Already two people is a lot." In that sense, the community shelters cover most of the most basic standards set by the DRK (See Chapter 3: Section 3.3.4) such as the minimum living area and the sanitation facilities, while failing to adhere to other standards such as the corridor width.

Figure (4.04) Community Shelter Ground Floor Plan
Source: Author

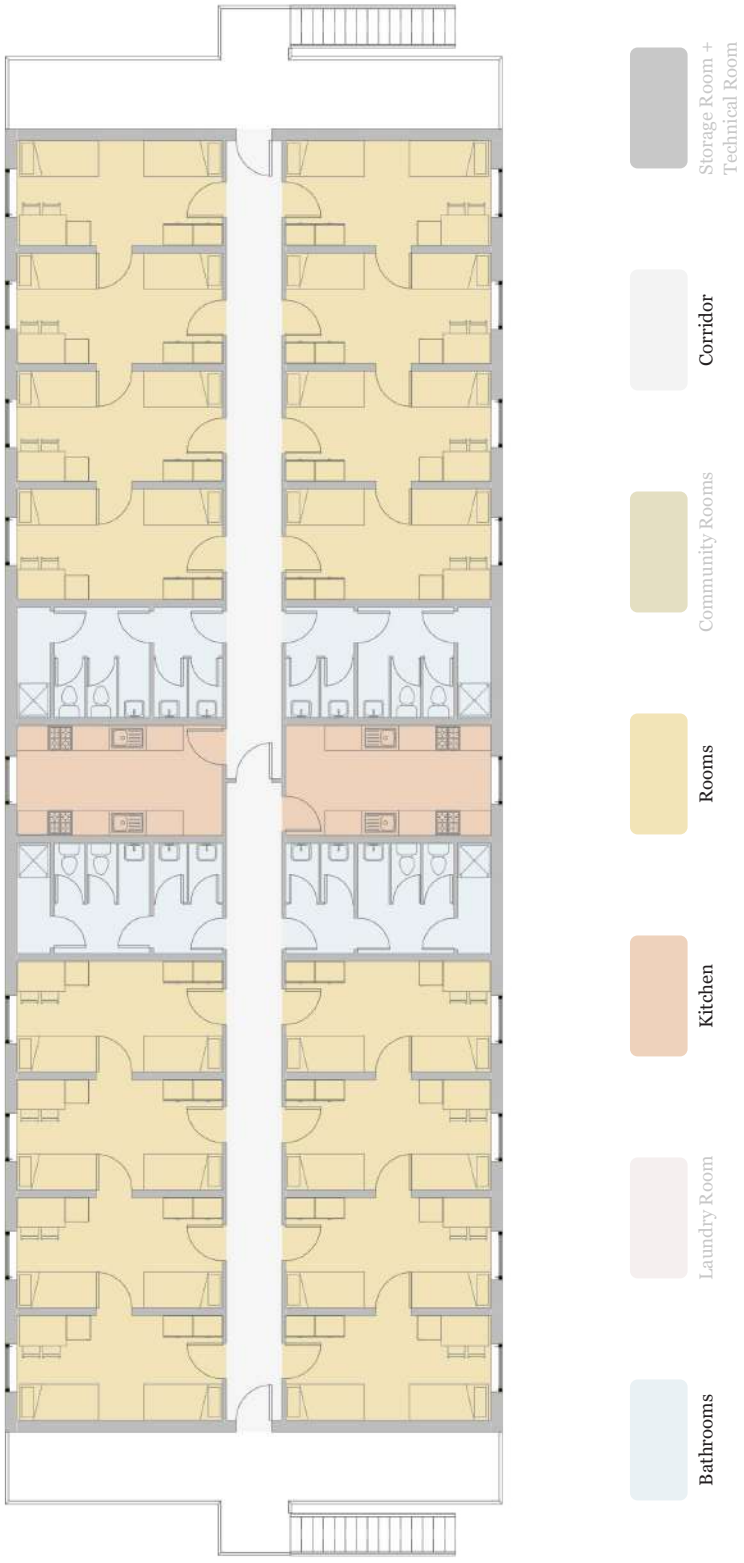

Figure (4.05) Community Shelter First Floor Plan
Source: Author

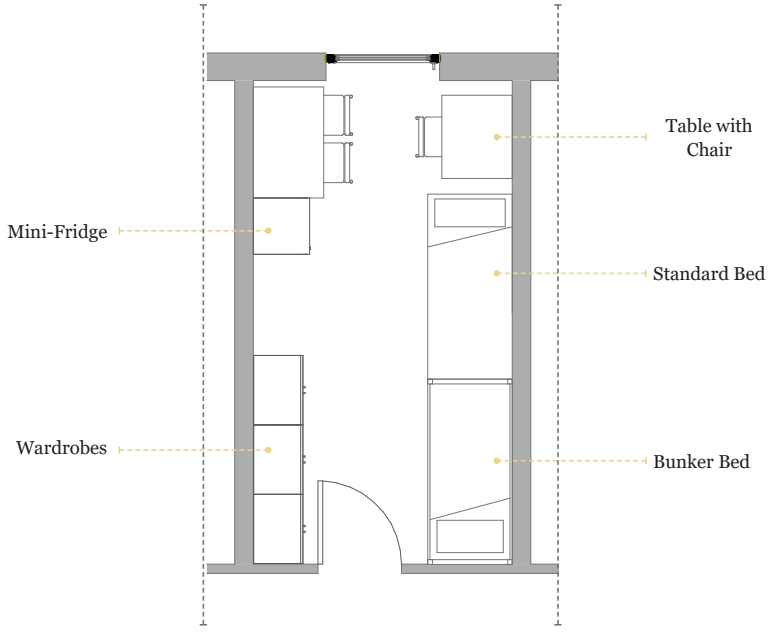

Figure (4.06) Standard Room Before 2018 - Floor Plan - Scale (1:100)
Source: Author

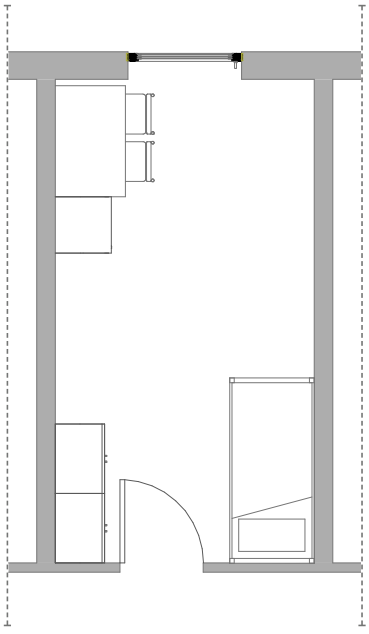

Figure (4.07) Standard Room After 2018 (Variation 1/
With Bunker Bed)- Floor Plan - Scale (1:100)
Source: Author

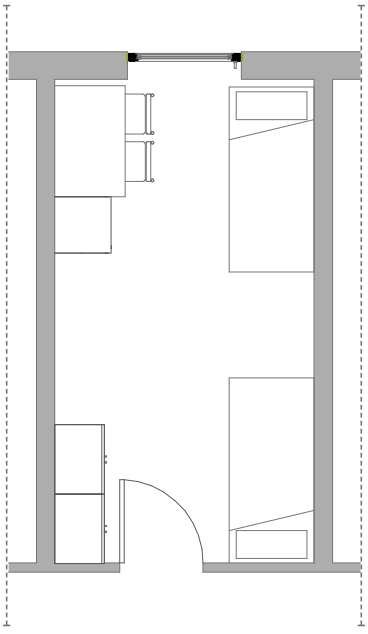

Figure (4.08) Standard Room After 2018 (Variation 2/
With Two Separate Beds) - Floor Plan - Scale (1:100)
Source: Author

One key feature of the community shelters is that the rooms are connected by doors. Stefan Spatz, head of the *Sozialamt*, clarifies that the connecting doors between the rooms are meant to ease the life of families, particularly those who have children. That way, the parents do not have to cross the corridors to reach the children. Moreover, one room could be used for sleeping while the other room could be used for living. This corresponds to the fact that the majority of refugees that Stuttgart receives are families (Volland, 2016). However, not all rooms can have connecting doors.

4.2.2 Refugee and Shelter Management

4.2.2.1 Moving-In Regulations

In general, the *Sozialamt* assigns refugees to specific shelters with no regard to nationality or cultural background, following the decentralised approach. However, social workers try to place the same nationalities together, to create some sense of community. As an alternative, if not enough refugees from the same nationality are present, then refugees who speak the same language. When a refugee first moves in, they receive one mattress, one pillow, one fitted sheet, one pillowcase, one duvet, one blanket, and basic kitchen appliances such as utensils and cooking pots. If a mattress has bed bugs, they are not allowed to get a new mattress from the *Sozialamt*, but they can buy their own. In addition, refugees can be given 50 euros to buy groceries, which is then deducted from their first instalment.

4.2.2.2 Occupancy Regulations

Generally, the *Hausordung* published by the *Sozialamt*, which can be slightly different from one site to the other depending on what the social workers encounter, places specific regulations on the refugees. First, refugees are not allowed to paint their rooms any colour other than white, and they have to do it themselves. As stated by one of the social workers: "They can apply for it, but it is very unlikely that it will be accepted. The situation has to be very bad, like the entire wall falling apart." Refugees are not allowed to put any screws on the wall or hang any frames or clocks. Second, Refugees are not allowed to take the furniture given by the *Sozialamt* out. However, the social workers tend to allow refugees to give back the beds or tables if they do not want them, as they take up

much space. But they tend to insist on keeping the cupboards and the mini-fridge. After the change in the FlüAG, refugees are allowed to have their own furniture. Nevertheless, refugees are not allowed to bring their own fridges, even though the one that they receive from the *Sozialamt* is relatively small, particularly for families. Moreover, fridges are not allowed to be placed in the kitchen but have to stay in the room. Third, refugees need to follow the cleaning plan that the social workers set up, which includes the corridors, kitchen and bathroom, and they are not allowed to use the site fence to dry their carpets or clothes. Moreover, refugees need to place the waste in its designated waste bins. Fourth, due to Covid-19, refugees are not allowed to have more than one visitor, and the maximum allowed time is till 10 PM. At some points, there was security to control if visitors were in the shelter. If visitors stay over, they are only allowed to stay for a maximum of three days, and it must be reported to the social workers. Moreover, refugees have to wear masks in shared spaces. Finally, Refugees are not allowed to express any signs of verbal or physical violence, and they need to inform the social workers if they stay out of the shelter for more than two days or when they are moving out. Additionally, refugees are not allowed to have pets.

Following the fire safety regulations, another set of rules is in place. First, refugees are not allowed to place microwaves, water boilers, electric cooking appliances or electric heaters in the room and are generally not allowed to cook in their rooms. Second, refugees are not allowed to place any curtains on the windows. However, some social workers tend to ignore that rule, realising how important it is for the refugees. In addition, nothing inflammable is allowed in the kitchen, including plastic and wooden cupboards. Even though refugees use these extras to organise their belongings in the kitchen, such as the spices, some social workers ignore it to allow the refugees some room to feel comfortable. Third, refugees are not allowed to place anything in the corridors or on the balconies that might hinder escape routes. Accordingly, refugees are not allowed to place shoe racks especially if they are made of plastic or wood. However, metal ones are allowed, and only ones that do not hinder the movement in case of an emergency evacuation. In addition, no bicycles are allowed inside the shelter. Similarly, refugees can not place any furniture in front of the doors and windows. They should open 90 degrees with no obstacles. Moreover, doors are used to slide the post of each refugee underneath. In shared spaces, refugees must keep the kitchen and hallway doors closed and not place anything that might prevent them from closing. Finally, refugees are not allowed to smoke cigarettes or *Shisha* inside the rooms, and no drugs are

allowed. Cumulatively, refugees are not allowed to take out the fire detectors from their rooms or tamper with them for the sake of smoking. Another 'invisible' regulation in place is the kitchen switch that refugees need to press every twenty minutes to keep the stove working while they cook.

Additionally, to keep track of the refugees, a list of their names and nationalities is usually printed out so that the social workers can monitor them. However, one social worker stated that it is important to maintain a good connection with the refugees, and not just perceive them as names on paper. In that sense, if a conflict arises, it would be easier to manage it. Generally, refugees do not pay rent in the community shelter. However, refugees start paying rent if they have a full-time job (See Chapter 3: Section 3.4.2.2). One social worker explained: "When you have a full-time job and you're a single person who is using one place in a room, you have to pay 606 euros, and when you can apply for a reduction then you pay 300 euros but only for a maximum of 18 months." They further stated: "It's maybe a trick because they want the refugees to search for apartments outside, but at the same time, usually, they do not find an apartment that is cheap enough for them."

4.2.2.3 Moving-Out Regulations

When refugees find private accommodation and decide to move out of the community shelter, they need to inform the social workers and give the keys back as the social workers have ten days to send an email to the *Sozialamt* to inform them about the vacancy.

4.2.2.4 Warnings

Regular inspections take place by the social workers to ensure that all regulations are being followed. If refugees do not follow any of these regulations, the social worker has the power to issue a warning to the refugee that must be sent to the *Sozialamt*. If the refugee receives a second warning, the *Sozialamt* relocates the refugee to another shelter. However, one social worker stated: "The worst thing that could happen to you is getting relocated. Because if you have kids going to school here or if you have a job around here and you are being relocated to another district, it would be a very long way to go. Refugees also have their social community here". Nevertheless, the social workers acknowledge the conflict

between the regulations and the refugees' need to live normal lives. One social worker stated: "We see the needs of the refugees, but we also have to make sure the rules are followed (...) Even the rules that we do not see any sense in, like the fridges". They further stated: "Refugees are just trying to live their normal life".

4.3 The Appropriation of the Community Shelters

4.3.1 Overview

This section is divided into two main scales; the shelter and the site; and three main parts.

Part I is "The Rooms", which showcases the appropriations done by families from different nationalities, family structures, and backgrounds and locations within the site and the city; in addition to the single man. This is in order to have a better understanding of the type of appropriations, conflicts and negotiations that take place within the boundaries of the rooms. First, a description of "The Family" and its dynamics is stated. Second, a description of "The Rooms" that is allocated to them is laid out, and then a description of the appropriations is explained within each room through a set of architectural drawings (a ground floor plan and an isometric), representing the refugees as the spatial agents of the community shelter. However, it is important to keep in mind that the furniture used in the drawings is just a representation of the actual furniture and is not the exact furniture that is being used. Finally, "The Intangible" touches upon how the space of the shelter has emotional and mental implications. It shows how aspects such as safety or privacy affect their perception of space and how they appropriate it.

Part II is "The Shared Spaces", which describes how the refugees appropriate or behave in the shared spaces such as the corridors, the kitchen, and the bathrooms, in addition to the community rooms.

Part III is "The Outdoor Spaces", which describes how the outdoor spaces are being used by the different refugee groups, from adults to children. It covers the balconies, the green areas and open spaces, the playground, and the fence placed around each site.

4.3.2 The Rooms

4.3.2.1 Family A

The Family

Family A is a Syrian family of six; husband, and wife, with four children (twelve-year-old triplets and a nine-year-old boy). The family fled the Syrian war in 2013 and settled in Lebanon, where the husband worked in construction. Unfortunately, due to a work accident, he shattered his leg and is now in a wheelchair. In response, the wife filed an appeal with the UNHCR to be resettled in Germany so the husband could have better medical care. In August 2021, the family flew from Lebanon to Germany with 300 refugees. When they first arrived in Leipzig, they stayed in a collective shelter for fourteen days before getting allocated to Stuttgart.

The interview was conducted over two days and varied from talking to the wife alone to speaking to the entire family. It was usually held between the kitchen and the rooms as the wife moved between spaces. Throughout the span of the interview, the family got their three-year residence permit. While the husband does not work, the children go to school, and the wife has a special teacher for the German language in the community shelter, as she cannot leave her family alone to attend German classes assigned by the government. Generally, the family is not planning to go back to Syria.

The Rooms

As a family of six members, the family were entitled to three rooms. In the beginning, the family was allocated in a different shelter within the site. As the wife explained, the first room acted as a sleeping room for her and her husband, which included two beds, a table, two wardrobes and two mini-fridges. The second room acted as a dining room/living room where a table and six chairs were placed, along with one mini-fridge. Finally, the third room was the children's room, where two bunker beds, four cupboards and a study table were placed.

However, for this family, having an accessible bathroom for the husband, where his wheelchair can fit, was more critical than having three rooms and more space.

The wife further explained: "I had to come all the way here (from one shelter to the other) to be able to take my husband to the bathroom or for a shower, and then I would have to take him out again in the cold." As a result, the family negotiated with the social workers to move next to the accessible bathroom, where only two rooms were available, which are placed on the ground floor next to the social workers' offices. Nevertheless, the family can keep their third room in the other shelter (within the same site) and use it however they see fit. With only two adjacent rooms, the family tried to maximise the use of the space as much as possible.

Figure (4.09) Family A - Room Appropriations - Floor Plan - Scale (1:100)
Source: Author

The first room acted as the main entry point to the family's private space. When first entering the room, one can notice that it is covered with carpets that are slightly shifted from the door so that the family can have a place to take off their shoes before entering. According to the wife, adding carpets was one of the family's first changes as they are not used to wearing any shoes inside their home, so they needed to have carpets on the ground.

Next to the door, a small table is placed, where the shoes are stored underneath. The same table sometimes serves as a second dining table for guests. Next to it, a TV is placed on a table to entertain the children during the night when they can

no longer play outside. However, as the family realised that watching TV on the wooden chairs was not comfortable, they took a couple of couches from another family that was moving out. At first, the family was negotiating how they would place them, as there is no space, meaning they would have to get rid of one of the beds. "So we kept one bed, and I sleep on the couch. In the beginning, my husband did not like it. So I move the bed next to the couch every night so we can sleep next to each other." At the same time, the bed acts as an additional place to sit during the day. In addition to the couches, a chair was placed in front of the window, disregarding the fire regulations, as the family is not left with many options.

Moreover, as the curtain attached to the window broke, the family decided to add a fitted sheet to the window to have some privacy. The husband further explained the importance of the curtains: "Putting curtains is just in our culture. I can not leave the window without it being covered. My wife wears a scarf, and having the window covered is crucial." Even though the family offered to fix the window curtain, the social workers refused. When the researcher visited the family, the curtains were never open, and the windows were mostly kept closed. Only the top of the window can be left open for circulation. In addition, three wardrobes were placed in the corner of the room, and their top is used for storage. In the other corner of the room, one can notice an internet router in place. According to the family, the internet in the shelter is either not working or has a very bad signal, so they decided to have their own internet. The family uses the internet to connect to their previous home by calling their families, watching their national TV series, or listening to their national music.

Generally, this room acted as a multi-functional room and is used as a sleeping area, for receiving guests, a dining area, and a living area. The function of the room changes depending on the part of the day. At night, the couch and the bed act as a sleeping area for the husband and wife. During the day, it acts as a living area and during eating, it acts as a dining area.

The second room is entered through the connecting door, while the main door usually remains closed. The family did not place any furniture in front of the door, following regulations, but simply a moveable mattress. Nevertheless, the family refrained from following the same regulations when it came to the window, where a bunker bed was placed. In general, the room has two bunker beds, and

their bottom is used for storage. Moreover, the bed corners are usually used to hang clothes or school bags. Next to one of the bunker beds, one of the mini fridges is placed, and a laundry basket is placed on top of it. As the mini-fridges were too small, the family decided to buy an extra freezer, which they placed in the corner of the room. The top of the fridge is used for storage, in addition to the top of the three wardrobes placed in the other corner of the room. Moreover, the table given by the *Sozialamt* is used as a study table for the children. Much like the other room, this room is completely covered with carpets.

Generally, this room acted as the children's room. Since the family is staying in two rooms instead of three, they prefer more space than more furniture. In that sense, the wife stated that she wanted to give the bunker beds back to the social workers or put them in the room they use as storage and put all the mattresses on the floor, mainly for two reasons. The first reason is that the beds make squeaky sounds at night, and the children usually fight for that one mattress on the floor, and the second is that the children will have more space to play. The wife further explained: "That way they will also have a big space to play if they want. We used to have a room like that, an Arabic living room, and the kids used to use that room as their playroom."

The third room was allocated in a different shelter within the site, where it was used as a storage room. Nevertheless, when the single man (See Section 4.3.2.7) did not want to share his room with another person, family A gave their extra room to the new refugee, and in that sense, leaves the single man in a private room, without sharing it with anyone.

All rooms had relatively dirty walls, and as a result, the family asked if they could have them painted. However, the social workers informed them that they could either paint the walls themselves (only white) or file an application to have it painted, which can or can not be approved. Moreover, the family elaborated on how thin the walls were. "The sound insulation here is not good. In our previous rooms (within the same site), we lived next to Africans; they have loud voices by nature. If they are speaking on the phone, you can hear them. It is like you are sitting with her. We only had this door between us, and to help with the sound isolation, we put one of the wardrobes in front of the door." In addition, the wife stated that it is thermally comfortable in the shelter, but was astonished that there were no fans. However, the researcher learned later that during the months

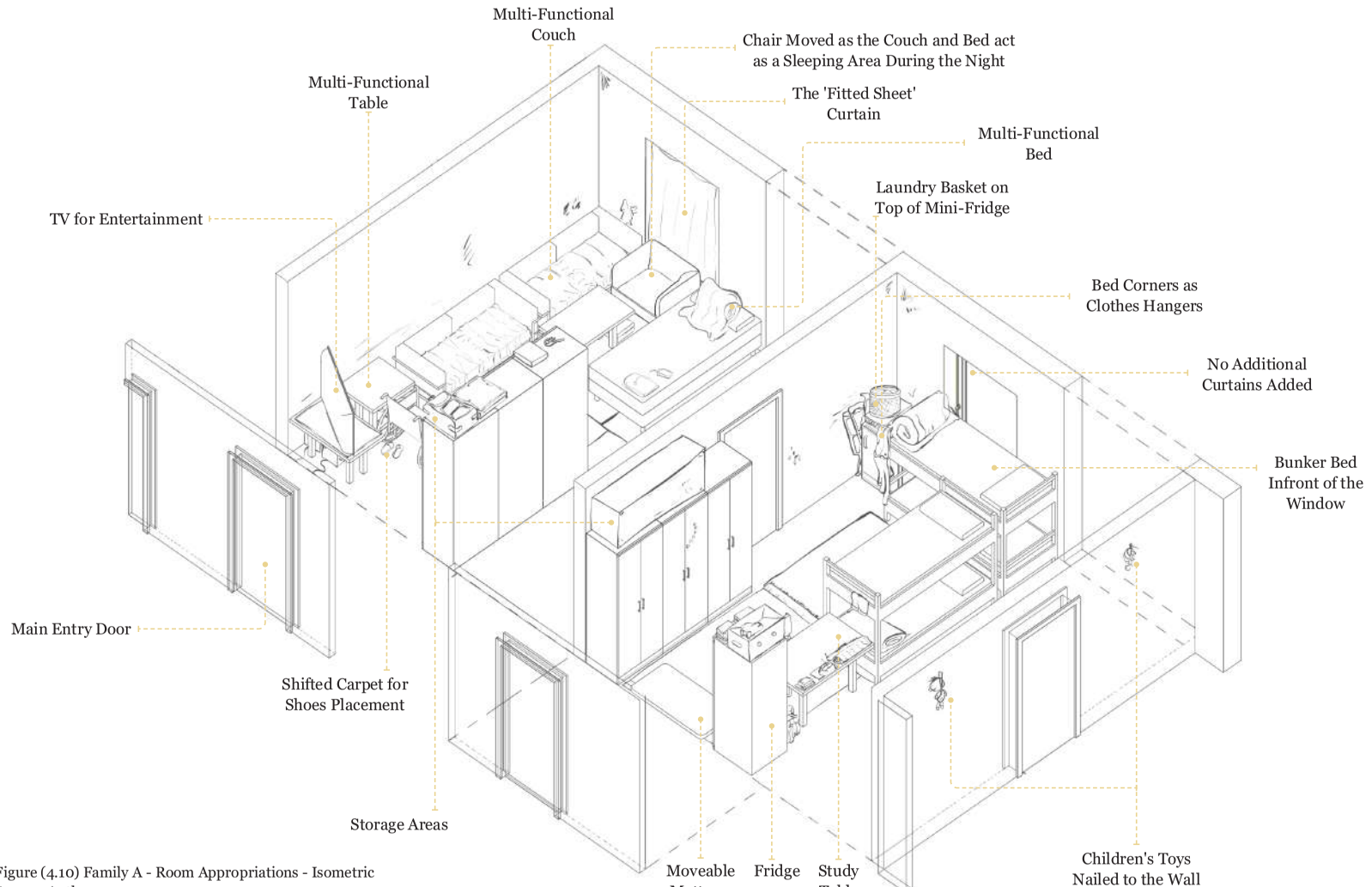

Figure (4.10) Family A - Room Appropriations - Isometric
Source: Author

of Summer, the rooms get uncomfortably hot due to their position in comparison to the sun path.

Moreover, the family hopes they can have the option not to use the doors at all and instead use the windows as their main point of entry. In that way, they would not have to go through the corridor if there was also a door that goes straight to the bathroom. The husband explained: "It would be good to have the option to change a bit in the room." Generally, the family likes to change the space every now and then. They explained: "It also helps with your mental health." They further elaborated on why having the capability to change the space is important: "When you start changing the space as you like and adding your own things, you feel like it is yours and you feel connected to it. Once you close the door, you feel safe." The husband stated, "The stay (in the shelter) is not comfortable but we are trying to adapt as much as possible." For example, the wife has to wear the scarf almost the whole day as she moves between the rooms and the shared spaces as she passes by the corridor.

The Intangible

When the family first arrived at the community shelter, they did not feel safe because they could not communicate with anyone due to language barriers and conflicts with the neighbours before they were allocated to the new rooms. However, during the interview, the family felt relatively safer when they moved to the new rooms and also met a single man from Syria (See Section 4.3.2.7) who helps them with the translations. The wife stated: "That is how we met him. And then he became part of the family." The wife then further explained why she feels safe in the shelter, and why it is home: "I feel safe here. Every time I go outside, I can't wait to go back. I just got used to it, the place where I can take off my scarf, pray, and sleep."

Nevertheless, the family states that the shelter is not safe for children. As the husband explained, sometimes drunk refugees roam the corridors at night, making it unsafe for children to use the bathroom for example. He further stated: "My brother was staying in a shelter where some people would smoke weed and inject heroin in the bathrooms, and there are kids there." He added: "You can not control whom your child is talking to, he can go out and speak to anyone." Yet, in general, the parents stated that the children in Germany are more social,

and the parents were proud that the children can go grocery shopping or meet their friends on their own. From the children's perspective, when asked if they like Lebanon or Germany more, they said Germany. One kid said: "Here it is cheaper.", referring to the price of chips.

The family generally stated that they are mentally stable but not comfortable because they do not know how long this 'temporary' state will last. The husband explained "You do not know when you will move out (.....) It could be one year, two years, or even six years (....) If they tell us you will stay here in this shelter and not move again, the situation will be completely changed.", as they are waiting for municipal housing. As a result, the family stated that they are not buying anything of their own because this is not their 'end destination' but just a stopover. Nevertheless, the wife is still looking forward to adding extra decorations to the rooms in the shelter. She elaborated: "I saw a lot of beautiful things in the Euro shop, like wallpapers, and picture frames and I am planning to buy some of those. I was telling my husband we should add a couple of shelves here and put some vases and flowers, like how we were used to it in Syria. We will make more changes in the future." Nevertheless, the family still tries to look for a house on their own, but due to the housing market in Stuttgart, it is challenging. From the wife's perspective, moving out of the shelter could be more of a burden than a relief. She further explained: "The responsibility of my husband and children all lies on me, I cannot do all of this by myself. Here at least they (the social workers) help me with the papers and the translation."

4.3.2.2 Family B

The Family

Family B is a Syrian family of five; husband, wife, and three children, all under three years old. This family was formed on their journey to finding a home from Syria to Greece to Germany. The husband first came to Germany in 2015, while his then-seven-month-pregnant wife arrived in 2020 with her eldest daughter from Greece. Finally, the third son was born in Germany. When the husband arrived in Germany, he stayed in a rented apartment. However, after the rent got higher, he was reallocated to a repurposed building (a hotel) where he stayed for one year. When his wife arrived, the family was allocated to another repurposed building (a former hospital), where they were entitled to two rooms. Finally, they were allocated to the community shelter in September 2021 after their former shelter closed down. Generally, the family stated that they are more comfortable in the community shelter than in their previous shelter, as it was more crowded and not clean.

The interview was conducted over two days mainly with the wife (in the presence of the children), while briefly speaking to the husband as he is either at his mini-job or his German course. On the other hand, the wife stays at home to take care of the children. As a result, she does not have access to German courses and does not feel integrated within the community. The wife stated: "I got used to staying inside all day. Being with the kids, cooking, cleaning a bit, doing some laundry and the day is gone." However, the wife appreciates her husband who helps her with daily chores.

While the husband has a three-year residence permit, the wife and children do not have a residence permit yet. However, the wife does not understand why. She explained: "Even though two of my children were born here, they do not have a residence permit. I am worried." The family plans to stay in Germany, particularly the wife, who is traumatised by the war and scared ever to go back, stating that it will never be the same: "We do not have any houses there anymore. There is nothing to go back to." She further stated: "There is nothing that I want to put in the shelter that reminds me of Syria."

The Rooms

This family was entitled to three rooms (two adjacent rooms and one room on the other side of the corridor) placed on the ground floor next to a community room and a storage room.

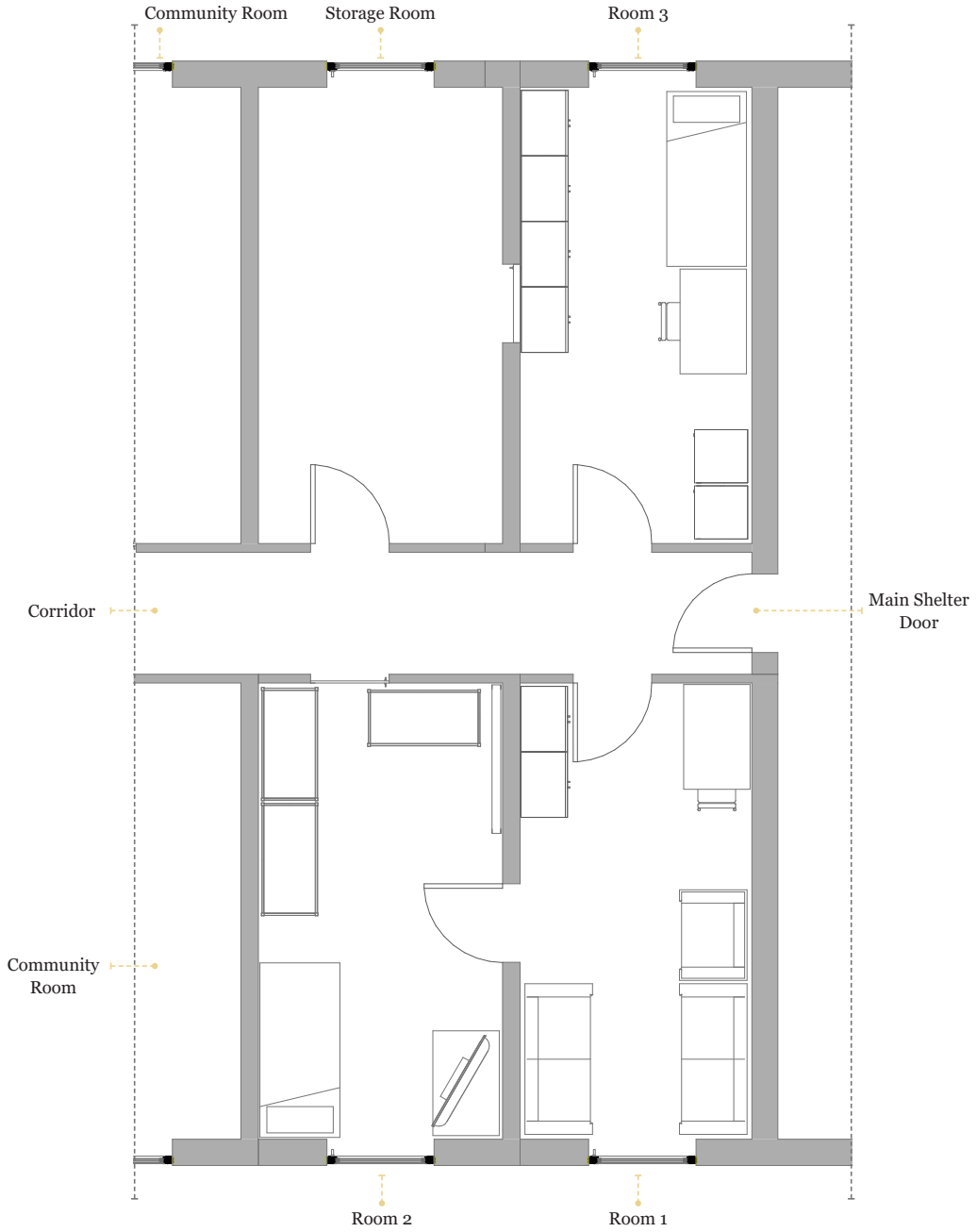

Figure (4.11) Family B - Room Appropriations - Floor Plan - Scale (1:100)
Source: Author

The first room was the entry point to the family's private space. When first entering the room, one can notice that room is completely covered with carpets, so that the floor is not cold for the children, as explained by the wife, which was the first appropriation they made. However, following cultural norms, the family tends to leave their shoes and slippers in the corridor for easy access or directly places them in the room which acts as storage. Next to the door, two wardrobes are placed, whose top is used for storage. On the other side of the wall, a table with some basic kitchen appliances such as the water boiler are set on top of it.

In addition, the room contains two big couches, which they got from a Turkish man who was changing his home furniture. However, the family stated the dimensions of the rooms are too small. The husband added: "You can not even put a table between the two couches", referring to how small the space would be then. Instead, the family usually moves one of the tables back and forth when they want to eat, or when they have guests over. Moreover, the windows were covered with a curtain that is nailed to the wall from each side. Two pictures are hung on the wall, along with a bag with a "Quran" inside it. Generally, this room acted as the living/dining room.

The second room is entered through the connecting door, while the main door usually remains closed. Much like the other room, this room has a carpet that covers the entire floor. The room contains one single bed, three cradles, and one moveable mattress. As one of the cradles is placed in front of the doors, it is moved away from the door when there is an inspection, as to not be seen disregarding regulations and get a warning, as the wife stated. A table with a TV is placed in the corner of the room, where the children can be entertained. A watch is placed on the wall. Generally, this room acts as a sleeping room for both the parents and the children.

The third room, at a glimpse, has one bed, three mini-fridges, four wardrobes, and a table with a chair. Since the children do not use this room or play inside it, no carpets are placed on the floor. However, a curtain is still pinned on the wall for when the husband sleeps in that room. The room is used as storage, an occasional sleeping room, and for drying the clothes on a drying rack. Moreover, it can be noticed that no carpets are placed in this room, as the children do not usually use it.

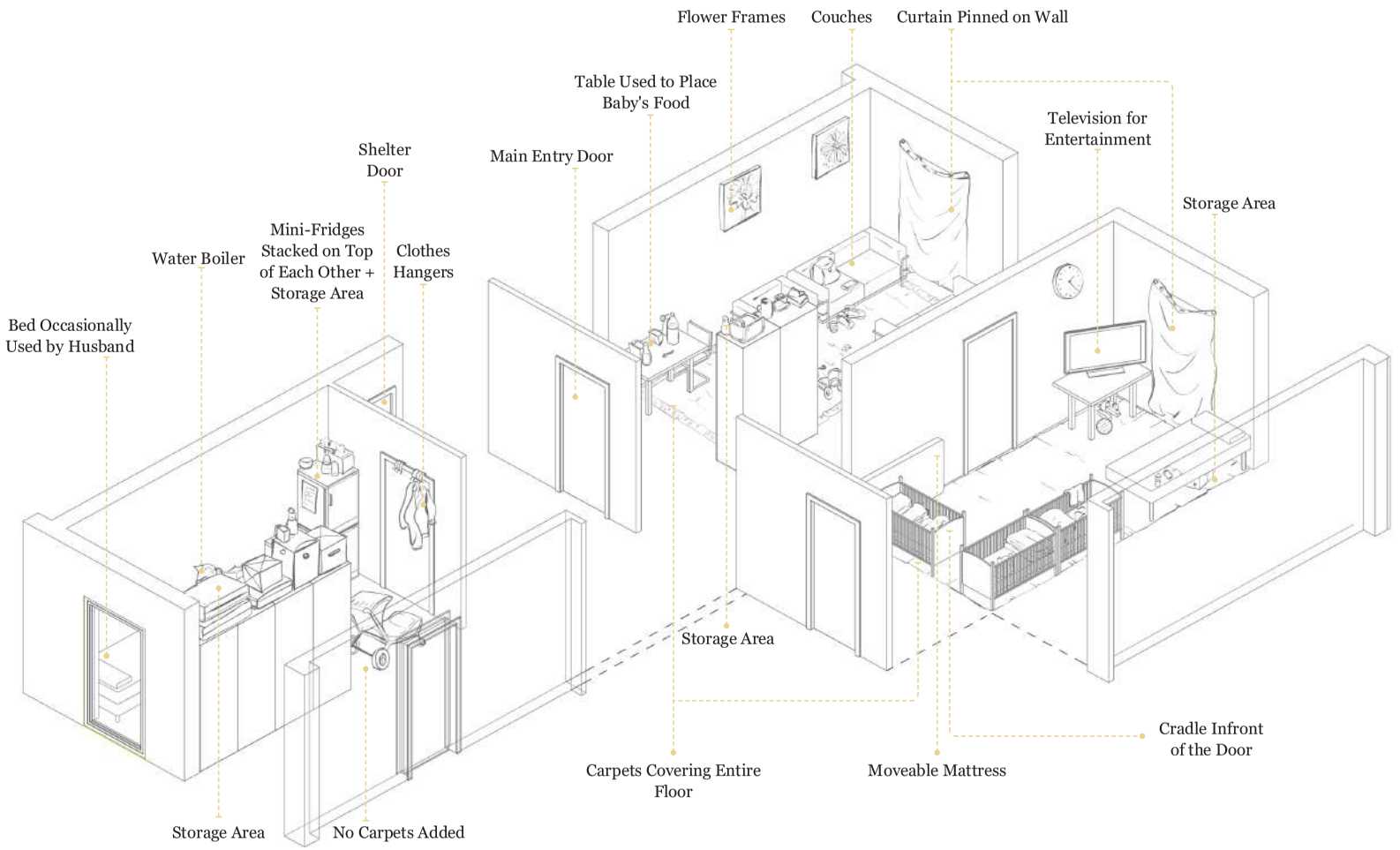

Figure (4.12) Family B - Room Appropriations - Isometric
Source: Author

In general, the family does not complain about how thin the walls are or about any noise, only occasional children playing. This could be because they are located in a part of a building that does not have many families and next to one of the community rooms, which is only used for a few hours a week and only with a few people inside. In addition, the wife explained that they make small changes every now and then, mainly for the children's sake. She stated: "We are doing it little by little. Every two to three months we get something. We are doing this for the kids so that they do not feel that they are missing something." Moreover, the family has their own router, which they use to call their families in Syria and Turkey. Furthermore, the husband is using a Facebook group for Syrians.

The Intangible

According to the wife, the family feels safe in the shelter. However, they stated that there are a lot of conflicts, particularly because many nationalities live under the same roof. As a result, the family prefers not to engage with anyone, not even refugees of the same nationality. The wife elaborated: "I do not have friends here. Just my family. I only say greetings to my neighbours." The family does feel more mentally stable now than they did at their prior shelter when they were unable to let the kids go outside alone for fear of being hit by other kids. However, this shelter has a playground where they can go and play. In that sense, the wife feels like this shelter is her home because she feels comfortable. From the husband's perspective, Germany will never be like home. He elaborated: "Especially during Eid and Ramadan when you are supposed to be with family and friends. And you cannot frequently travel four to five hours to meet your brother, who is in another city in Germany." The parents feel that the children are happy but still wish they could attend school and kindergarten. The wife stated: "I wish that my 3-year-old kid would start going to school, but there is no place for her yet. She is also not speaking yet." In addition, the family is not eager to move out of the shelter, and like other refugees, are still waiting for municipal housing.

4.3.2.3 Family C

The Family

Family C is a Nigerian family of four; a mother with three children. The mother fled Nigeria to protect her children, particularly her daughters. She first went to Italy, where she was not treated well. She then decided to come to Germany in December 2020. The family first arrived in Heidelberg before being allocated to the community shelter.

The interview was held with the single mother but was brief due to time limitations. This is because the single mother takes care of everything herself, which includes having a mini-job as a janitor in the community shelter, where she cleans the laundry rooms and the bathrooms, in addition to doing home chores and taking care of the children who go to kindergarten from nine to twelve.

The Room

As a family of four members, the family is entitled to two rooms, which are placed on the ground floor.

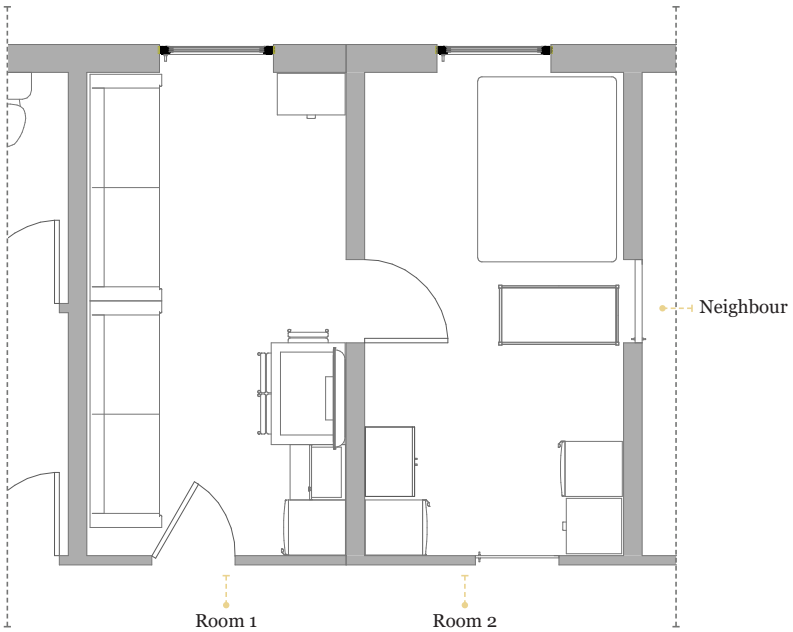

Figure (4.13) Family C - Room Appropriations - Floor Plan - Scale (1:100)
Source: Author

The first room is used as the main entrance to the private space. When first entering the room, one can notice the curtains that cover almost the entire wall of the room, in an attempt to make it feel more comfortable and to cover, for example, the connecting door between rooms. The curtains are held up using nails on the wall. In addition, the room contains two big sofas that cover one side of the wall. The other side of the wall has a TV that is mounted on the wall. She got the TV mainly because she lives alone and enjoys watching movies or occasionally the news. A dining table is arranged under the TV, and one fridge. Almost every room corner is utilised for something, such as storing cleaning supplies and adding the microwave on a table next to the fridge. Even though keeping a microwave in the room is not allowed, she elaborated that she had another one before in the kitchen, but other refugees used it and broke it down, so she had to buy another one.

Moreover, the floor is completely covered with carpets. The mother added that she bought the carpets from a second-hand shop specifically for the children because her children always play and sit on the floor. A clock, photos and decorations are placed on the wall. In addition, she does not use the main light in the rooms but has her own light strips so that the room temperature does not get any hotter. As the room size is small, the mother does not use the heater too much, as the air gets dry and is not good for the children.

The second room is entered through the connecting door, and the room's main door is not used. In one corner of the room, one bed is placed which the mother rearranges the bed area every night, to accommodate her, and her two children, while one child sleeps in a cradle that she bought from Amazon. She bought her bed from a second-hand shop, and gave the bed provided by the *Sozialamt* back to the social workers, as they make squeaky sounds at night. The wardrobes are used to store both the clothes and kitchen appliances, along with the bike and the stroller that are located in front of the door. The room acts both as a sleeping room and a storage room. It also contains a fridge that the mother bought.

Moreover, the mother bought her own fridges so that she can have space to store the food for her children, and as she is a single working mom, she cooks only twice a week and needs space to store the food, which the mini-fridges can not accommodate. On one side of the wall, the mother puts her wigs and a curtain is placed on the window to completely cover it.

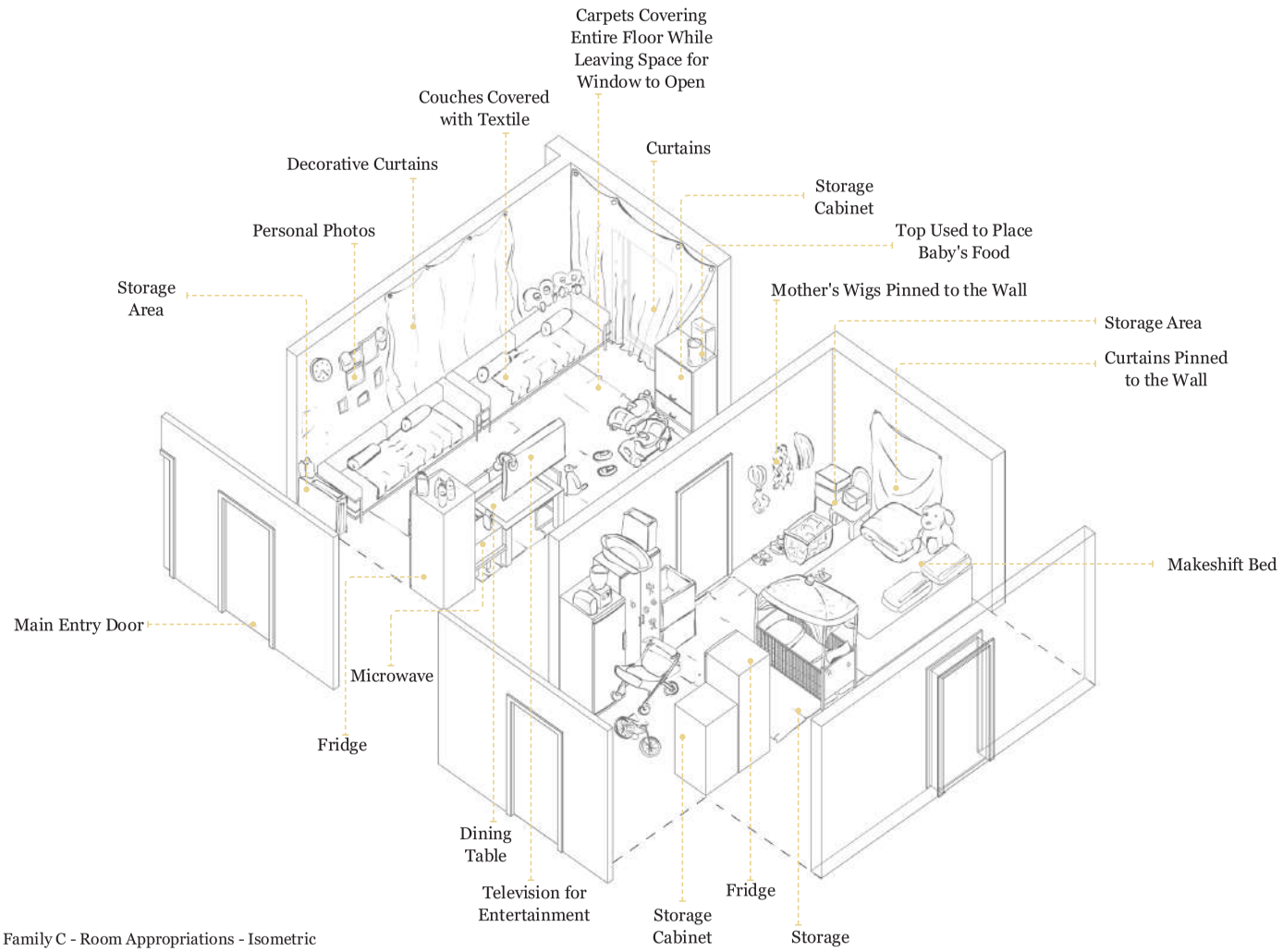

Figure (4.14) Family C - Room Appropriations - Isometric
Source: Author

According to the single mother, the two rooms are not enough space, particularly because of the children, and she had to throw a lot of things away. Moreover, for her, the girls and boys have to be separated, and they cannot keep sleeping in the same bed. Sometimes she lets her boy sleep on the couch.

The Intangible

The mother stated that she generally like the shelter, however, complained about the noise from the neighbours, who could always be shouting and sleep late. She particularly stated that Arabs usually sleep late, and can be in the kitchen at two in the morning. As the walls are thin and not insulated, it is easy to hear everything.

Nevertheless, she stated that the children are happier and calmer in Germany compared to how aggressive they were in Italy. However, the mother made friends with another Nigerian mother, and their children usually play together. she further stated: "If the weather is good, I take my children outside, or we go shopping."

The mother perceives the shelter as her home, stating, "I sleep, I eat, and I am good and healthy. Other people are sleeping under a bridge or in the Hauptbahnhof." In general, the mother would like more privacy and would like to move to another place. However, she does not know how the system works and is waiting to be allocated elsewhere.

4.3.2.4 Family D

The Family

Family D is an Afghani family of eight; a single mother, two sisters, two brothers, a daughter-in-law, and two grandchildren. The family was allocated to Germany by the government after the Taliban invasion, as one son worked for a German company. They flew from Afghanistan to Germany and arrived in Frankfurt. First, they stayed in Karlsruhe for three months. Next, they were allocated to Heidelberg, where they stayed for one month, and one of the grandchildren was born. After that, the family was allocated to Freiburg and then finally to the community shelter in December 2021.

The interview was held with the two sisters in their room, who feel somehow stuck in time, and tied as the family is still waiting for their residence permit, their place in the German course, permission to do volunteer work or have a mini-job, and for the children to go to school or kindergarten. As the family cannot use their education as a doctor, or teacher, or lawyer, they somehow feel they have lost part of their identity. One sister said she could not even put her knowledge to use for voluntary purposes. To break that limbo, the sisters started working in the shelter, cleaning the corridors and the community rooms. However, it is still very hard for them to accept. One sister stated: "We are an educated family, I am a teacher, my sister is a doctor, and my brother is a lawyer, but here we are cleaning rooms. It is very difficult for us to accept this. They pay us 64 euros per month."

Generally, the family wants to stay in Germany and rebuild their lives as they do not see any hope of returning to Afghanistan. One sister stated: "We have the right to choose what to wear and where to go". However, the family is not planning to stay in Stuttgart but to move to the city where their relatives reside. However, they do not know how long that might take, it could last up to two years or more.

The Rooms

As a family of eight members, the family is entitled to four rooms, which according to the daughter, is sufficient enough. The rooms are placed on the first floor and take up one side of a section. As the family is very diverse, almost every room is

entered through its own door, to give some privacy to the other family members.

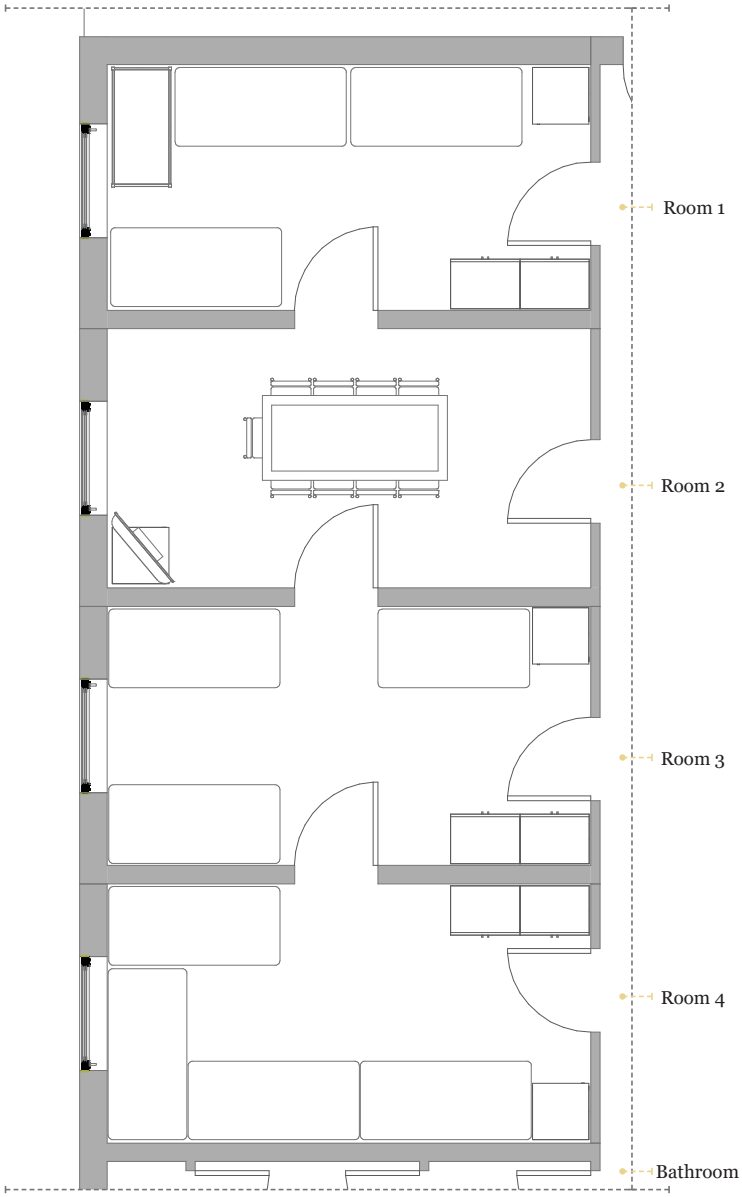

Figure (4.15) Family D - Room Appropriations - Floor Plan - Scale (1:100)
Source: Author

The first room, which is occupied by the two sisters is entered through the main door. Next to the door, two wardrobes are placed. According to one sister, the wardrobes are insufficient to store their belongings. The sister stated: "Everything is almost bursting to the outside." Moveable mattresses and carpets cover the floor, with no beds. As the beds made a lot of noise during the night, they gave

them back and put the mattresses on the floor instead. They sewed the moveable mattresses themselves. In addition, they bought some extra blankets, which were then distributed in all the rooms. As the rooms were getting hotter, the family bought a fan, which they placed in the doorway between room 1 and room 2, so that both rooms can be ventilated simultaneously. In addition, on the walls, one can notice a curtain pinned, a couple of pictures hung, and a mirror standing by one of the walls. The two sisters also added some ornaments on the door, both from the inside and the outside. In the corner of the room, one can see the family fermenting food as they used to do it back home. During winter, the heat radiator broke down, and the social workers gave the sisters a portable heater instead, which technically, according to the rules, is not allowed to be placed in the rooms. Nevertheless, the social workers took it again to give to another family.

The second room is occupied by the mother and her single son. The family enters this room through the main door or the connecting door. Like the first room, this room also encompasses moveable mattresses, two wardrobes and carpets covering the entire floor. This room changed by the second visit, as the researcher noticed when passing by to give regards. One of the daughters had already found a bed for her mother, who due to medical conditions, cannot sleep on the floor anymore. Signs of the Islamic culture can be found in this room, such as a small frame of "Allah" on the wall, and a Quran placed in the corner on top of the mini-fridge. According to the sisters, the mother held the Quran in her hand until they reached Germany.

The third room is accessed through the main door or through the connecting doors. One big table is placed with eight chairs around it, serving as the main dining table for the family, in addition to being a guest room. One mini-fridge is placed in the corner. A TV that does not work is mounted in the corner, mainly used for aesthetics. A table with some basic kitchen appliances such as the water boiler is placed in the other corner. In addition, curtains are pinned to the wall. This room mainly acts as the dining room and occasional guest room.

The fourth room is occupied by one son with his wife and two children. The family enters this room mainly through the main door. This room contains two wardrobes, whose top is used as storage, moveable mattresses, a cradle, and one mini-fridge. In addition, one mirror is taped to the wall, and another picture is placed on the other side. Another set of curtains is pinned with nails on the wall.

Generally, the family got some of their furniture from friends and family. The family also relies on the Facebook group where refugees give away things that they do not need anymore. For example, the family got their carpets, extra mattresses, and vacuum cleaner through that group. In addition, the family bought a baby stroller and a bicycle for the small child. Moreover, as the walls were dirty, the family desperately needed to paint the room, and the social workers informed them to do it themselves. Furthermore, one sister stated that the sound insulation is not good enough and that they can hear their neighbours, and then they cannot sleep at night. It is particularly hard for the newborn baby, who needs sleep. Another critical point for the family is the lack of internet accessibility in the shelter, and tend to rely on their mobile data.

The Intangible

In general, the family feels safe in the shelter. They are content just to be together. However, the family does not interact with other refugees or do activities with them. Their interaction is only limited to saying hello to other Afghan families. Other than that, they tend to visit their relatives in other cities. Moreover, the family is having a hard time accepting the fact that they are staying in a shelter and the fact that they are always sitting in their rooms and not doing anything is also not helping. Nevertheless, they try to learn German online, using Duolingo. One sister stated: "All day we are praying that we move out of this shelter and have our own place."

Furthermore, the family expressed frustration with how they are treated unfairly in Germany. For example, they are frustrated that Ukrainian refugees can have more amenities and access to free transportation while they can not when both nations have war in their countries. Moreover, one sister elaborated: "A German woman hit me on the U-Bahn because I was wearing a scarf during the month of Ramadan." The other sister expressed her frustration with the governmental institutions "During our governmental appointments, they tell us: You are in Germany now, you must speak German.", but how can they learn German if they do not have access to German courses? The family also explained how they got a fine on the U-Bahn when they first arrived, as they did not know how to buy a ticket.

Generally, the family does not have a constant perception of the shelter. One

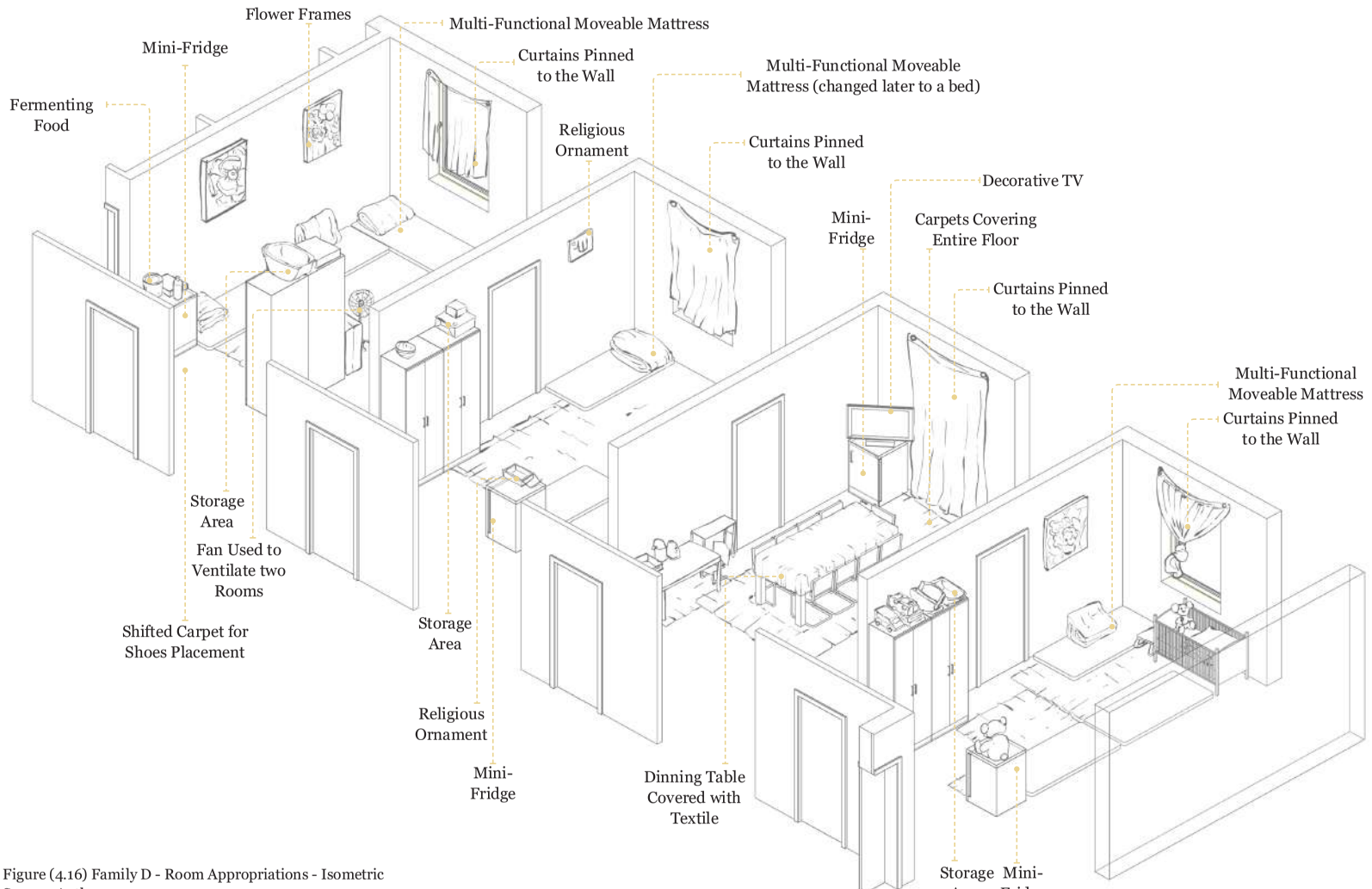

Figure (4.16) Family D - Room Appropriations - Isometric
Source: Author

sister elaborated: "Sometimes we call this place home and sometimes not. For us, wherever the family is, it is home. The four-year-old child is always asking to go back to Afghanistan." Nevertheless, to be reminded of their previous home, the family only have pictures and some authentic clothes from Afghanistan.

4.3.2.5 Family E

The Family

Family E is an Afghani family of nine; husband, and wife, with seven children. The family came to Germany in 2016. The family's journey started when they decided to flee first to Iran and then to Turkey, where they were detained and had to spend one to two weeks in a camp. After being smuggled out, the family travelled from Turkey to Greece by sea. With assistance from the UNHCR, the family then travelled in two weeks from Athens to Germany. First, the family stayed in Heidelberg for one month. Then, the family moved to Stuttgart and was allocated to a repurposed building (a school) for eight months, where each room accommodated three families. Following it was yet another shelter, but each family had one room. Finally, the family moved to the community shelter.

The interview was held with the husband, as he speaks English. Later, one of the daughters was also available for the researcher to speak with. The parents went about their daily activities while the kids were at school when the interview began in the kitchen and then moved to the rooms. However, it is very hard for the husband not to be working. He added: "I wanted to work as a mechanic, but they said I was too old." Instead, he works part-time with AWO as a driver for the elderly. On the other hand, the wife does not have a job, as she has to care for seven children. Generally, the family is not planning to return to Afghanistan, even though the family has their own house and land in Afghanistan (as the husband has shown in some pictures) and some family and friends because it is unsafe.

The Rooms

As the family arrived before 2018, the family was assigned a different number of rooms, but following the change in the FlüAG, the family got allocated to a different building within the site, where they can be given their assigned five rooms on the first floor, as a recent family of nine members. The family recently received the fifth room after the baby was born.

The first room is perceived as the guest room, which they used to host friends during Eid (a celebration after Ramadan in Islam). As a result, the room contains

a sofa collection, with carpets covering the entire floor, some frames on the wall, a small table, artificial plants, a mounted TV, a small curtain on the window, and a clock on the wall. Moreover, this room can be accessed through the main door (for receiving guests), or the connecting doors (for just the family).

Figure (4.17) Family E - Room Appropriations - Floor Plan - Scale (1:100)
Source: Author

The second room is accessed mainly through the connecting doors, while the main door remains closed. When first entering the room, one can notice that it is

completely covered with carpets, moveable mattresses, and a small cupboard in the corner. Moreover, a couple of frames are mounted on the wall, in addition to a TV. A small table can be noticed in the other corner of the room. The family uses this room as a living room and a dining room. At night, this room transforms into a sleeping room for the male members of the family.

The third room acts as the main entrance to the family's private space. When first entering the room, wardrobes are placed on both sides of the wall and a cupboard with a mirror mounted on top of it can be seen next to the connecting door. A table with chairs is placed on the other side, and two mini-fridges stacked on top of each other are located next to it.

The fourth room acts as the main sleeping room, where two bunker beds are placed, and one cradle for the recently born baby. In addition, two mini-fridges stacked on top of each other can be seen on the other side of the wall. Moreover, two wardrobes are placed on different sides of the wall, whose top is used for storage. While the microwave is not allowed to be placed in a room, this family decided to refrain from following that regulation because it is simply more functional, particularly because of the new baby who sometimes needs milk at night, and in that way, the wife would not have to wear her scarf to go to the kitchen. When the social workers come, the family stated they just hide it. This room is mainly accessed through the connecting doors.

The fifth room is used as a study room for the teenage daughter, who could not focus before with her brothers and sisters always running between rooms and making noise. As this room is on the other side of the corridor and not connected to the other four rooms, it is better now for the daughter to concentrate. The room is also used as a storage room, and a place to put the drying rack. As this room was relatively messy, the researcher was not allowed to take a photo of it.

Generally, the husband stated that the children have trouble sleeping sometimes due to how thin the wall is. In addition, the family placed nets on all the windows to prevent insects from entering the room. While in the beginning, the social workers disapproved of placing nets on the windows, they later understood that it is essential. Another challenge for the family is the mini-fridges. They stated that the mini-fridges are not practical, very small, and insufficient for nine people. The family has five mini-fridges with five rooms, but as they elaborated, they

need at least one big fridge. "You forget what you put where." referring to the food in the fridge. Moreover, the family bought most of the furniture themselves, such as the wooden wardrobes, or simply found them on the street, while the wife sewed the moveable mattresses and cushions herself, in addition to adding all the decorations. The family stated that the space is 'okay' for them, but they have a problem with storing all of their things. The husband stated: "We have nine of everything." He added, "You have to be very clever when you are arranging the rooms", referring to how one can accommodate all their daily and cultural needs. They further stated that the rooms get too hot in the summer and that they had to buy fans. Like most families in the shelter, the family has their own internet.

One of the major challenges that the family is facing is the sleeping arrangements. For example, the mother cannot sleep in the same room as her teenage son, or the two teenagers cannot sleep in the same room, so usually, the men sleep in one room, and the women sleep in the other. However, this had unpredicted implications for the children, when they are astonished if their father is sleeping next to their mother. The children do not understand something as basic as the husband sleeping next to his wife because they usually have another sleeping arrangement.

The Intangible

After almost six years in the shelter, the family only recently (around a year) started feeling comfortable. The husband stated: "We feel like this is an apartment. We have nice neighbours. We feel good now." He further elaborated, "We only found peace and stability a year ago. Our neighbour is from Turkey. He is very neat and educated, he is very polite. Our other neighbour is from Iran and he is also very polite. Before this neighbour, we had an Afghani family living next to us. We did not get along well with them. Their children used to burn our food. But now they are finally in another building. The husband of this family also made other problems with me last year. He would tell other Afghan people to tease me. He was not working or anything. Just sitting outside and doing sports." Moreover, sometimes they babysit each other's children, and with that, "Now I feel it a bit more like a home". The wife explained: "At home, we speak our language. We pray. It is an Afghani Muslim home." referring to the shelter.

As a family of nine members, it is relatively hard to find an apartment with at least

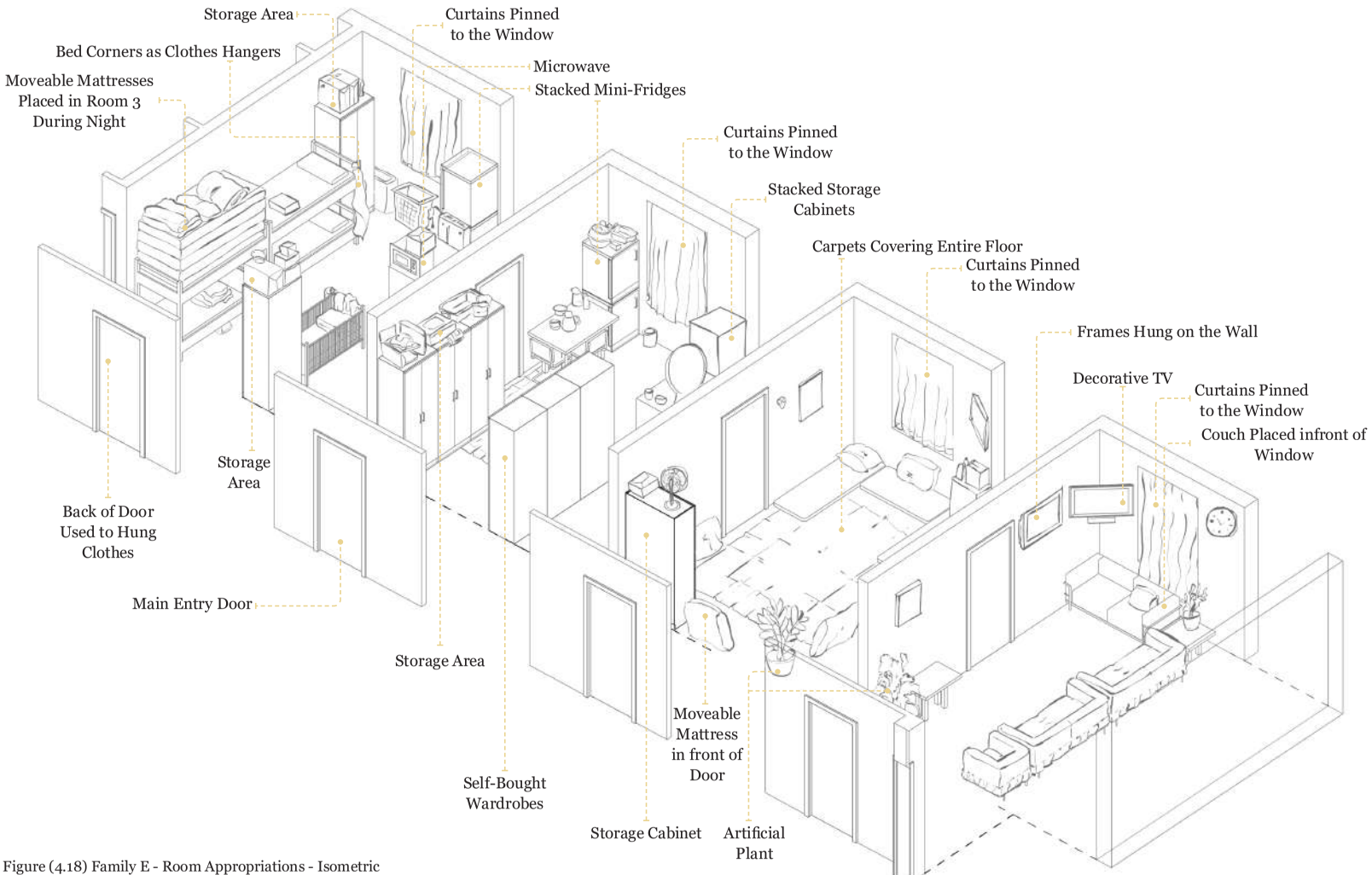

Figure (4.18) Family E - Room Appropriations - Isometric
Source: Author

five rooms, as they have in the shelter, that can accommodate all of the family members: the parents, the teenagers, the children, and the guests. The husband further elaborated: "The social workers told us that they found an apartment with three rooms for us, but right now we have five rooms. It is not fair. We can not move into a three-room apartment. We have 7 children."

From the husband's perspective, he does not feel safe all the time and, with that loses his sleep, as sometimes he does not feel support from the social workers or the police and lost his trust in them altogether. This stemmed from two incidents when the police did nothing when another refugee hit him with a broomstick after their children fought. He further explained how this affected him: "After that, I do not want to speak to people in general, and I do not trust anyone. Not even the social workers helped us. They should have kicked them out of the camp based on the rules. This happened last year in the summer. I feel unheard. They did not listen to me." Another incident was when the social workers did nothing when one of his youngest daughters got hit by an older Syrian girl. These conflicts between the children also led to conflicts between the families "So now I cannot talk with this family." He added, "People from Syria are very aggressive and discriminate against us. They also hit our children." As a result, he prefers to be with his children outside all the time, if he is not at work. Nevertheless, the husband stated the children are generally happy in Germany.

One of the reasons for feeling unsafe is the family's conflicts with their previous neighbour. Due to that conflict with their neighbours, the family received a warning letter. Now the husband is scared to interact with anyone, fearing getting another warning letter and being allocated from the shelter.

When talking to the daughter, she expressed her perspective on the shelter: "This is not a home. When we go to the kitchen or the bathroom, everybody sees us. And I also have to wear my scarf all the time." She further expressed her frustration that her friends refuse to come to the shelter because they hear many conflicts occur. While she understands their perspective, she can not help but feel that she still wants to show her friends where she lives and have sleepovers. "It is not so bad here, but I do not feel like this is home. When I talk to my friends, I tell them I am going home, but it does not feel like home." However, the teenage girl feels happy in Germany because her family and relatives are here.

4.3.2.6 Family F

The Family

Family F is a Pakistani family of four; husband, wife (with one prosthetic leg), and two children. The wife flew to Germany on her own in 2016 and met her husband there. She added: "I wanted to come to Germany because women have more rights here." When she first arrived, the wife stayed in Karlsruhe for three months. Then she was allocated to the community shelter, where she gave birth to both of her children.

The interview was mainly held with the wife, which started in the kitchen as she prepared lunch and then moved to the rooms. As the wife does not check all the boxes in Germany to gain refugee status, her application was under processing till 2021, when she finally received permission to stay in Germany. Currently, the husband has a full-time job in a restaurant, and as a result, both husband and wife are no longer entitled to social money, but the children still do. At the moment, as the children can go to school, the wife has the opportunity to go to her German course.

The Rooms

In the beginning, the family was only entitled to one room, which they stayed in for four years. The family was given the second room when their second child was born two years ago. However, the family has to pay rent of 600 euros because the husband is working a full-time job, as per regulations. The wife stated: "We are paying now, we deserve to be more relaxed."

The first room acts as the main entrance to the family's private space. When first entering the room, it can be noticed that is covered in carpets, with a big patch cut out of it near the connecting door, presumably to leave space for the door to open. On one side, a line of wardrobes along with a table and chairs are allocated. On the other side, a fridge is placed, even though it is generally not allowed. This room acts as a living room and a sleeping room for the husband, where he sleeps on the couch, particularly because there is not much space in the other room. In one corner of the room, a TV is laid on a table that is covered in textiles. The family bought the TV for their children, mainly to watch German

animation and learn German. Moreover, the wife stated that the table provided is too big for her children to study on. Instead, it would be better to have a smaller table.

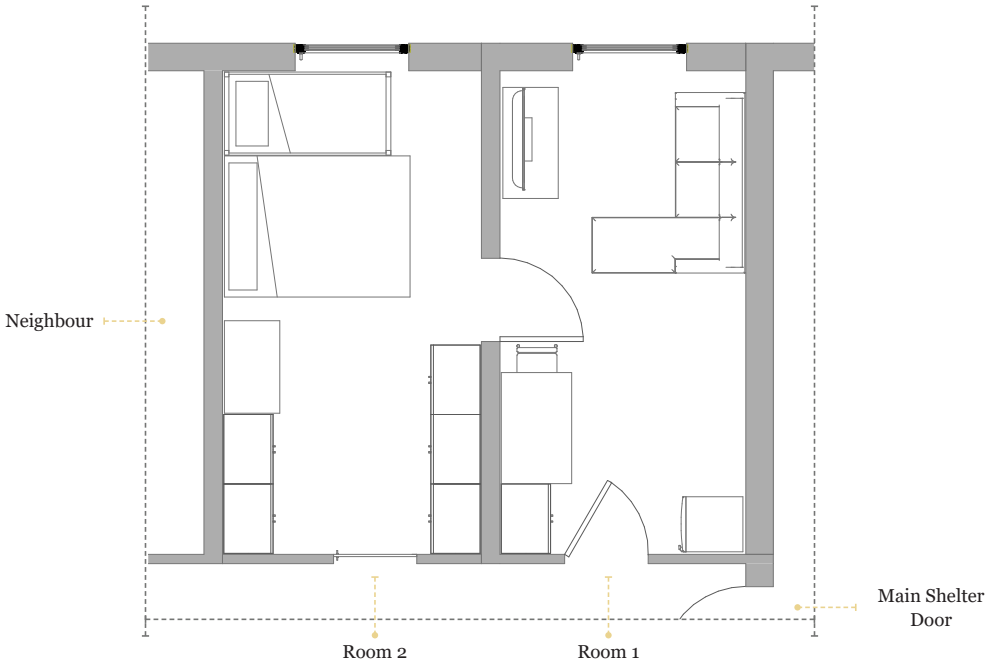

Figure (4.19) Family F - Room Appropriations - Floor Plan - Scale (1:100)
Source: Author

The second room, which is mainly accessed through the connecting doors, acts as the main sleeping room. Right in front of the connecting door lies a queen bed, as the wife has problems with her back, she can not sleep on a metal bed. However, with the previous regulations, she had to, as the furniture was not allowed to be changed. "But I have problems with my back, I cannot use the metal bed given to us." Next to the queen bed is a children's bunker bed which is placed in front of the window. The bed is rarely used for sleeping but mainly as a storage area The other half of the room is laid out with wardrobes and a makeshift dresser where the wife can place her personal belongings. This room is completely covered in carpets as well.

Generally, the family have not bought anything new but got most of their furniture second-hand from Facebook groups. As the wife explained: "I have not bought anything new, because, in the end, this is not my place." The wife wanted to paint

the walls differently and put some frames and a clock, but as per the regulations, she could not. She tried to put curtains on the windows but was told by the house management they have to take them down.

Moreover, the wife complained about how thin the walls are and how bad the sound insulation is, which affects their daily routines such as studying or midday rest and sleep quality at night. "You can hear everything". Moreover, as the family lives on the ground floor next to the washing machines, the family can hear when the washing machines' door closes due to the mechanism of the doors. As she described it: "As it closes, it goes tuck, tuck, tuck." The same problem exists with the main door of the shelter, as due to its mechanism, it creates a big shutting noise when it closes. She further added: "The neighbours are very loud. Sometimes they speak to each other loudly in the corridor." As the family is paying rent, affording to have Wifi was unfeasible, and as a result, they only have mobile data on their phones.

For this family, having two rooms is not enough with two children, as they have a lot of toys, and they have to accommodate all of their belongings in these two rooms, including their shoes, which are not allowed to be put in the corridor. The wife further explained that the rooms become thermally uncomfortable in the Summer due to bad air ventilation. She further explained that the kitchen is a problem. However, the winter is thermally okay.

The Intangible

Generally, the wife does not feel safe in the shelter, mainly because of intruders and drunk individuals who can come into the shelter as they want due to the shelter's location in Stadtmitte. While the main door can be closed, another refugee can leave it open. She explained: "Anyone can go in (...) I told my husband if I spend more than 10 minutes in the toilet, he should come and check on me." She added, "One time, I opened my room door, and someone was lying there. I was very scared to go to the bathroom." In addition, the wife stated that one could not have a private life in the shelter, and she could not wear what she wanted. "Sometimes you want to wear something different, but everyone keeps looking at you.

Moreover, the wife further explained the discrimination she feels from other

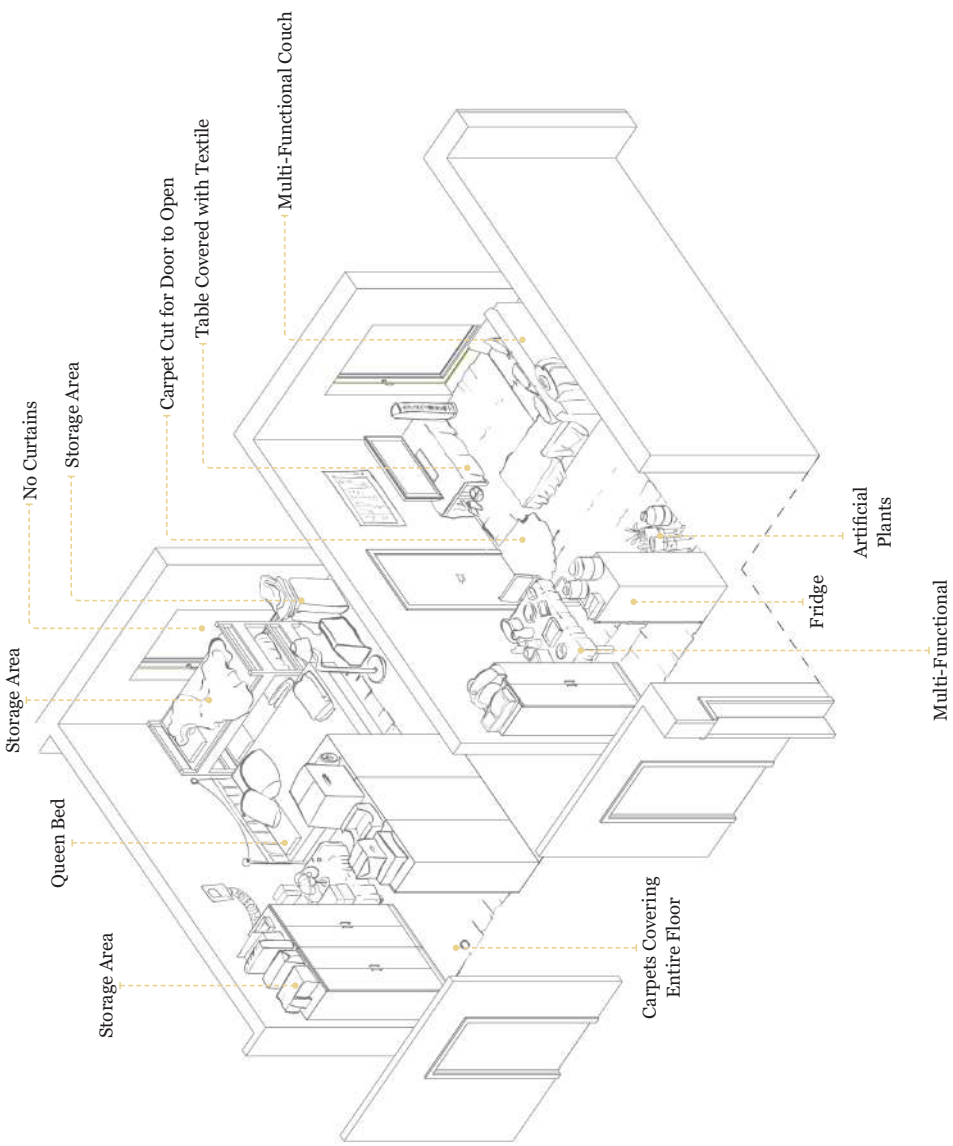

Figure (4.20) Family F - Room Appropriations - Isometric
Source: Author

refugees and the sense of community in the shelter. She stated: "I am the only one from Pakistan here. Arabs are not friendly with us. Only with Ukrainians. Their children only play with Ukrainian children. Arabs only like to speak to Arabs, and Afghanis only like to speak to Afghanis." Nevertheless, she has some friends in the shelter whom she sometimes does grill parties with. She further added: "There are many activities here, but not everyone likes to join, especially the Arabs."

Despite all this, the wife still perceives the shelter as her home. According to her: "It is where my children were born. It is where we have better rights than Pakistan. It is where my children will have a good education." The wife also explained that her children had never seen Pakistan and that Germany and this shelter are their home to them. However, children sometimes express their desire to visit Pakistan. Generally, the wife does not want to move from her neighbourhood as this is where her children's school and her husband's job are.

4.3.2.7 Single Man

The Man

The Syrian Single Man's journey started in Turkey, as he did not want to come to a European country. However, after the unfair and discriminatory treatment he received, where his employer could refuse to pay him at the end of the month. He then decided to follow his brother's advice and come to Germany. As a result, he took a boat from Turkey to Greece. After that, it took him five days to come to Germany, where he arrived first of February 2016. He was first allocated to a shelter for two months, then to a repurposed building (a hall) for six months, where he expressed how intense the situation was. He added: "As a single man, it is not as intense as it is for families, especially for women." Finally, he moved to the community shelters at another site, then, due to a received warning, he got reallocated again to another site.

The interview lasted over the span of two days, which started as a hybrid between the interview with Family A, and then another one in the refugee's room, which is placed on the first floor.

The Rooms

The man’s room condition fluctuated from having two roommates before 2018 to having one roommate after 2018 to living alone. He explained: "I lived with my friend, but now he got married, and I am living alone. Someone was assigned to my room, but they (Family A) had an extra room, so we put him there so that I could remain alone." One can notice when first entering the room the dirt marks and writings on the wall from previous occupants. However, as the researcher learned later, the family needed their room, and the man is back to having a roommate.

During the interview, as the man was living alone, one bed was assigned for sleeping, while the other bed was used as an occasional couch when his friends are visiting. The man further explained that he does not add carpets on the floor because he tends to live with other people, and the others may not take their shoes off when they come in. Moreover, no curtains were added to the window. As the man tends to share his room with others, he bought locks for his wardrobes so

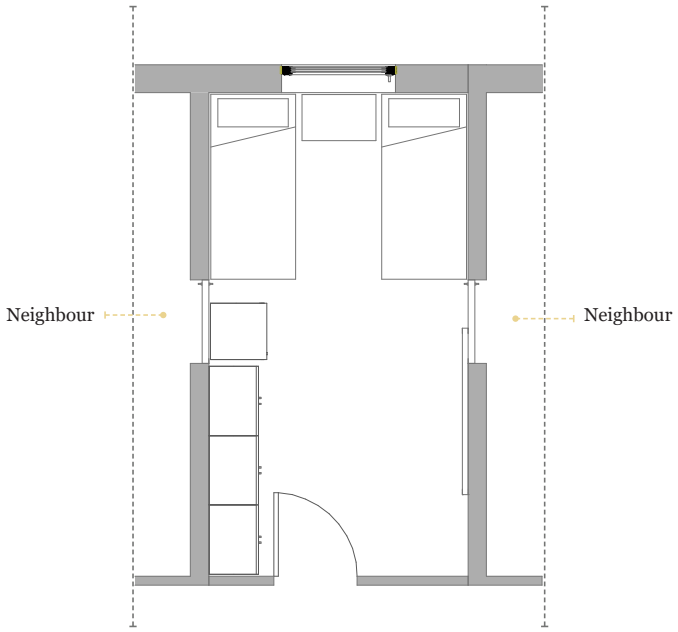

Figure (4.21) Single Man - Room Appropriations - Floor Plan - Scale (1:100)
Source: Author

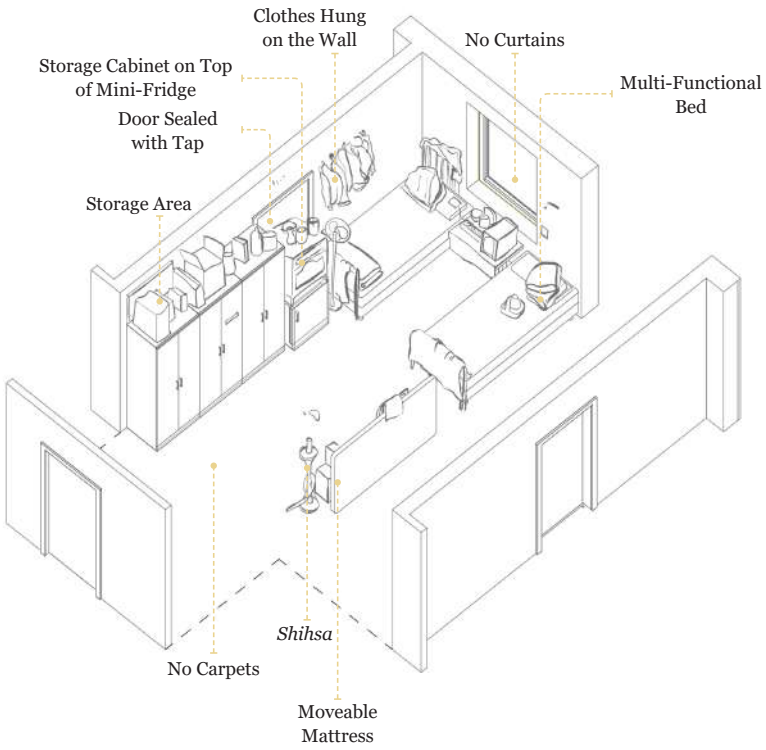

Figure (4.22) Single Man - Room Appropriations - Isometric
Source: Author

that he can have more privacy. In front of the connecting door, the man placed his mini-fridge, with a storage cabinet placed on top of it. In addition, he sealed the connecting door with a tap, as his neighbour tends to smoke weed, and the smoke goes from one room to the next. The man uses the bottom of his bed as a storage area, where he can also store his heater and hide it away during inspections. In one corner of the room, a Shisha can be seen, and to accommodate smoking in the room, the man added a bag to the fire detector so that it does not make a sound when he is smoking.

The Intangible

The man stated that the main disadvantage of this shelter is the lack of privacy. The fact that one has to share the bathroom, kitchen and laundry room with other people from different cultures who might or might not have the same values and principles.

As with most refugees, the man has his own Wi-Fi, as the shelter's internet does not work. He then explained that the management fixed the internet when the Ukrainian refugees came, but it was too late because they do not need the internet provided by the shelter anymore. Like most refugees, the man uses Facebook groups to connect with others: "We have a Facebook group for Syrians where we help each other with finding a house, documenting stuff, needing something like translators etc." Furthermore, he uses the internet to connect to his previous home through family calls.

The man expressed that he does not want to get allocated again to another shelter or move out of Stuttgart because he will feel like he has been displaced again and will have to get used to everything again. He further told a story about a friend who moved out of the shelter: "One friend moved out, and now he is saying I miss the old days in the shelter when we used to spend time together, in the garden outside." He explained that when one moves out of the shelter, they lose their sense of community. However, he refers to the times when the community shelters were mainly Syrian refugees.

4.3.3 The Shared Spaces

4.3.3.1 Corridors

The corridor acts as the main transitional feature between the private space and the other shared spaces like the kitchen and the bathrooms. When first entering the corridor, it was apparent that the majority of the refugees had shoe racks made of plastic, wood, or metal or left their shoes on both sides of the corridors. Additionally, baby strollers, bikes, or children's toys were left in some corridors. On the doors, one can see how some refugees added ornaments on the door, or placed a small plant next to it. Moreover, as part of the refugee and shelter management, a paper is placed on the room doors stating who accommodates this room. Following the cleaning plans, some doors might also be tagged to indicate that this particular room is in charge of cleaning this week. Some of these appropriations can be seen in Figures (4.23) to (4.26).

The corridor door is often kept open by using broomsticks or other similar objects, probably for better air circulation. Much like the rooms, the corridors are painted plain white, making patches of dirt easily visible. In addition, some children use the corridor walls as their drawing canvas. Generally, the corridor can be a space for an occasional chat between the neighbours, but also a space where conflicts arise.

Furthermore, the corridor is usually full of flyers such as Covid regulations, safety precautions for children, fire hazard regulations and what to do in case of fire, and the numbers for the police and hospital, in addition to some announcements from the *Sozialamt*. For example, one of the flyers directed to the safety of children stated not to leave children alone in the kitchen, not to place a chair next to the window, not to let the children jump on the beds, and to lock any cleaning chemicals away from the children.

Figure (4.23) A Small Plant Pot in a Corridor
Source: Author

Figure (4.25) Shoe racks and Toys Scattered in a Corridor
Source: Author

Figure (4.24) An Ornament Placed on the Door
Source: Author

Figure (4.26) Main Door Kept Open Using a Metal Rod
Source: Author

4.3.3.2 Kitchen

There are several circumstances in which the kitchen may be shared and appropriated, as shown in Figure (4.27). As planned, the kitchen, in each section, is shared by eight rooms and sixteen people, where each four rooms can have a section of the kitchen. Depending on the kitchen's location and the rooms' occupancy, a family can have the entire kitchen for themselves, such as (Family A), which is next to the social workers' office, or (Family B), which is located next to a community room. On the other hand, (Family E) and (Family D) are allocated one section of the kitchen but still share it with other families.

For some refugees, particularly mothers, the placement of the kitchen away from the rooms creates many challenges. One wife (Family F) stated, "My room is on the corner (the beginning of the shelter), and the kitchen is at the end of the section. It does not work well for me (because of her prosthetic leg)." She added that she wanted to add a chair in the kitchen, but she was not allowed. Moreover, she explained that she had problems with her previous neighbour from Afghanistan when her children were still younger. The Afghani family prevented the wife from putting the baby stroller in the kitchen when she was cooking, and the wife explained: "But where will I leave my child? The room is far from the kitchen and I will not hear him." As a result, she tends to keep the kitchen door open by a broomstick so that she can hear her children while playing. For the same reason, another wife (Family B) tied the door knob to the kitchen counter, and generally, the wife constantly has to run back and forth from the kitchen to the rooms, especially if the children are awake. The same problem prevailed with (Family E) but extended to how hot the kitchen becomes in the summer. Nevertheless, with some negotiations with the social workers, the family was allowed to keep the door open.

Generally, refugees tend not to place everything in the kitchen if they share it with others. For example, one mother (Family C) keeps all of her kitchen appliances in her rooms, as she fears that someone will steal or break it, like what happened with her microwave. Nevertheless, if they are not sharing the kitchen, they tend to be more relaxed and open with putting their belongings there. However, regardless of the kitchen status, some basic appliances such as the dish drainers can be found in almost all kitchens. For (Family A), one side of the kitchen was used to

Figure (4.27) Variations of the Kitchen's Appropriations
Source: Author

store shoes and bike helmets. (Family B) placed their microwave, in addition to a *Shisha* in the kitchen. In addition, to keep the medicine away from the children, the family bought a metal first aid box that locks with a key and placed it on the kitchen counter.

Moreover, the appliances that are placed in the kitchen depend on how long the family perceives its stay in the shelter. For example, (Family D) elaborated that they are not planning to buy anything more for their kitchen, which only contains basic appliances because they are waiting for their residence permit. One sister stated: "We are waiting, maybe we will move to another place, and then we can buy the nice things." On the other hand, another family who have been living in the shelter since 2016, have completely transformed the kitchen.

Furthermore, one wife (Family A) added how having shelves in the kitchen is important: "A very crucial element that is missing in the kitchen is some shelves where you can put your stuff, such as cups and coffee mugs (*Finjan*). There are open shelves at the bottom, but the top ones are even more important. Moreover, the bottom shelves are not closed, and here it is full of insects due to the nearby gardens."

Generally, the kitchen is one of the shared spaces where a handful of negotiations and conflicts occur. The negotiations tend to be linked to the furniture/appliances placed in the kitchen. For example, (Family A) who is not sharing the kitchen, was allowed, after negotiating with the social workers, to move one of the wardrobes and two mini fridges to the kitchen, where she stacked them on top of each other. In that way, the wife would not have to go to the rooms for all the food. The top of the fridges and the wardrobe were also used as storage. Further negotiations take place on the material of the dish drainer placed, or if the refugees have organisers for their spices and food in general on their shelves. According to the social workers, if they are made of plastic, they have to be removed. To keep the kitchen walls clean, refugees tend to place a waste bag on the wall around the waste bins so that the walls do not get dirty from throwing the waste in.

Further negotiations and conflicts take place based on cleaning standards. One mother (Family C) complained about how other refugees tend to make a mess in the kitchen and do not follow cleaning plans. She added: "They do not follow the rules of the shelter, which puts other people under stress." However, the mother

feels a sense of ownership of the space: "They have given me this space and I have to take care of it." In addition, one wife (Family A) elaborated how she cautioned her neighbour from using the same cleaning sponges as other refugees. She added: "They could be using this sponge to clean plates that had pork in them, or cups that had alcohol." Moreover, one social worker stated: "We had refugees call the police because someone was using the wrong side of the kitchen." They further added that usually, single men do not care which side of the kitchen they use which stems conflicts because families want to keep the spaces clean for their children.

In that sense, the dynamics in the kitchen and the type of conflicts that happen depends on the people who are using it, and how informed they are about the cultural norms. The single man added: "If I was married, I won't feel good for my wife, who would have to wear her scarf every time she goes out of the room. Right now, an African can go out of his room with his underwear and his beer in his hand to cook in the shared kitchen. How would an Arab woman go into the kitchen? (...)It depends on your luck with your neighbour." Another challenge is how the spaces are always being used: "The kitchen is always busy. Whenever you go in, there are at least two to three people there." the single man stated.

In addition, refugees have different perceptions and experiences with the stove switch that has to be pressed every 15 to 20 mins. On the one hand, one wife (Family A) explained her experience with the kitchen switch: "When I first moved in here, I left the food on the stove to cook, and I came back an hour later and it was not cooked. I then learned about this switch." On the other hand, one wife (Family F) elaborated on how she appreciates the switch in the kitchen, as it can help prevent fires. She added: "Because sometimes people put something in the kitchen and then they forget about it, particularly when there are kids involved. It is not the best option but it is for our safety." The social workers tend to appreciate the switch as well, as they stated some refugees do not know how to use the stove, and they have to explain to them how to use it. In that case, having an automatic switch is safer. They further stated that having hood filters was a huge problem that contributed to more fires, so the filters got removed from all shelters.

4.3.3.3 Bathrooms

Much like the kitchen, sharing the bathroom depends on the structures of the families and single people assigned to a specific section. According to the social workers, the refugees tend to divide the available bathrooms by themselves. For example, one bathroom is assigned to women and families, while the other bathroom is assigned to single men. However, one social worker raised concerns about how sixteen people use only two showers.

Bathrooms usually contain primary products such as shampoo and a cup with toothbrushes. In addition, in families with a Muslim and/or Arab background, a jar is placed next to the toilet for cleansing after using it as part of the tradition, such as (Family B). Other families, such as (Family E), were astonished by the lack of essential features such as the floor drain. In (Family's A) accessible bathroom, the back of the toilet and window sill are used as shelves. Nevertheless, going to the bathroom through a shared corridor renders difficulties for the wife, particularly at night. She added: "It is also hard to take my husband to the bathroom every night, and I would have to wear my scarf, so I got him a (Bed Toilet)." Generally, families such as (Family A) and (Family E), aspired for a door that opens to the bathroom from the rooms, and in that sense, the family would not have to go through the corridor to use the bathroom. The teenager in (Family E) also stated her frustration that she has to wear the scarf to use the bathroom.

Figure (4.28) Variations of the Accessible Bathroom's Appropriations
Source: Author

The bathroom continues to stress other families, mainly regarding hygiene. For example, one mother (Family C) worries for her children, particularly her daughter. She explained: "I have children, and I have a daughter; I have to make sure the toilet is always clean so that my children can safely use it. Other people do not clean after themselves."

As someone who has been living in the shelter for a long time, the single man is informed by the different conflicts in the bathroom. He elaborated: "There are two families sharing a shower, and they are always fighting about having to remove the hair after showering. And now one family closed the bathroom so that the other family does not use it." To keep his bathroom clean, the man removes the door handle of his toilet stall.

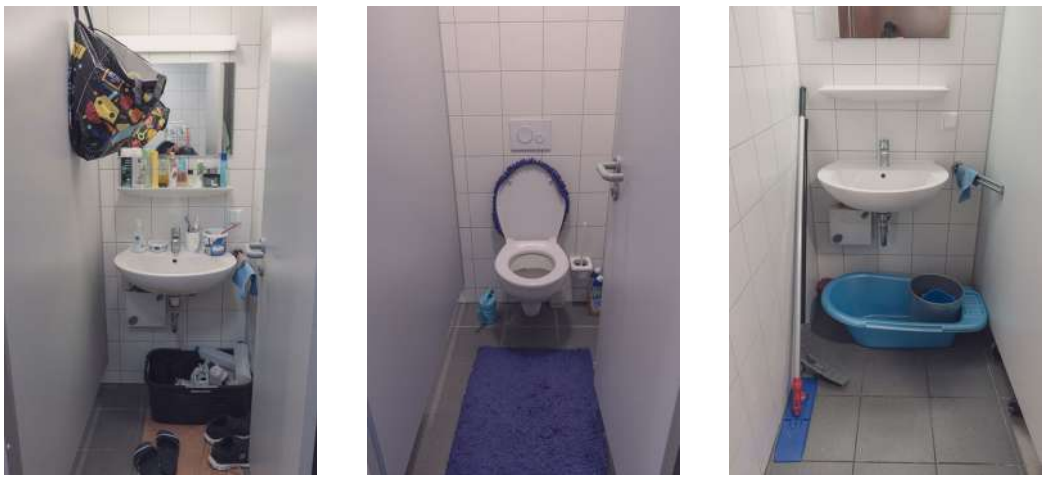

Figure (4.29) Variations of the Bathroom Stalls' Appropriations
Source: Author

4.3.3.4 Laundry Rooms

According to the social workers, the laundry room is one of the main places where conflict arises. The washing machines and the dryers are used almost 24/7, and at some point, they break down. As a result, some refugees tend to wash their clothes in the shelter next to theirs or even use two washing machines simultaneously. "Conflicts can escalate to screaming and yelling, and someone can get hit", one social worker stated. As a result, one site had a schedule of when each family could use the washing machine.

One wife (Family B) described the situation in her shelter "Right now, there is only one washing machine working, and there are more than 7 families using that. Some families use the washing machine way too much. They do not give the space for other people to use it." Moreover, (Family D) added to that debate in their shelter: "There are only 3 washing machines for the whole building, and it closes at 10 PM, and it is always busy." The single man explained why many washing machines tend to break down: "Some people would wash things that should not be washed in the washing machine, such as carpets. They do not have a sense of belonging and care for the things in the shelter. It is not theirs so they do not care." One wife (Family F) added to her frustration regarding the misuse of the washing machines: "Sometimes people wash their shoes in the washing machine, and that is not good, because I have children. It is not hygienic, but you cannot talk to everyone."

In addition, some refugees tend to stop the washing cycle of another refugee or throw their clothes out of the washing machine, as one mother (Family C) explained. However, the problem does not stop at throwing the clothes but also stealing them. In one shelter, On the door of the laundry room, a sign placed by the social workers states, "*Wenn nochmal Kleidung geklaut wird, werden wir den Raum abschließen*", which means 'If clothes are stolen again, we will lock the room'. Other families, such as (Family E), are scared to pick fights with anyone in the laundry room, as they does not want to receive another warning and get allocated from the shelter: "Some would take out our clothes from the washing machine and just through it outside. But I cannot do anything now."

Some refugees, especially families, like to use drying racks to dry their clothes.

They tend to place the drying racks in their 'storage' rooms such as (Family B) and (Family E), or they place the drying rack on the balconies, like most families. The use of drying racks is not a problem in the summer because refugees can put them outside, but it is not feasible in the winter. At the same time, using the dryers, in general, can create some tension. One wife (Family F) stated she had some conflicts with her neighbour, who shuts down her drying cycle because "it smells". However, the social workers usually leave notes on how to use the drying machine properly. The unwillingness to use the dryers did not stop there. One social worker stated: "We have a guy from Srilanka who is still not using the washing machine and washes his clothes manually. He is an old guy and not used to this."

In some cases, the social workers give the keys to one of the refugees, such as (Family A). As the family's rooms are in front of the laundry room, the wife can close the door at 10 PM, as per regulations. However, the wife stated: "Somtimes I use it at night, or give the key to someone who might need it urgently."

Figure (4.30) The Washing Machines and Dryers in the Laundry Room
Source: Author

4.3.3.4 Community Rooms

Community rooms can have activities like homework assistance for the children, playing board games, or simply communicating with others. According to the social workers, the community rooms are allowed to be used only when the refugee asks for the key so that they would know who is accountable for the cleanliness of the room. Other than that, the community rooms remain closed. One social worker stated: "Before the pandemic, it was used only two or three times a week, because sometimes people would leave the room unclean, so we had a lot of conflicts with this. The next person would use it and then we would not know who left it like that. Then we have to close it for a few days." Since COVID-19, the community rooms are not allowed to be used anymore, and if used, a maximum of two people can be in the room at the same time. The single man explained: "I wanted to use it in Ramadan for a friends' gathering but I was not allowed to take the keys due to COVID regulations." In addition, the community rooms are kept locked so that no furniture is stolen, and nothing gets broken.

Figure (4.31) The Community Rooms in the Stadtmitte Site
Source: Author

Generally, most of the community shelters do not facilitate any social activities, as the social workers are normally busy with consultation work and helping refugees with their paperwork. Activities in the community rooms are usually facilitated by volunteers because the social workers do not have the time. With the high fluctuation of volunteers, in addition to the pandemic, the activities in the community rooms are inconsistent. For example, kindergarten is only used

when there is someone there to be with the kids, which is not often. The activities taking place in the community shelters also depend on the refugees' willingness to participate, as stated by one social worker. Nevertheless, the social workers try to direct the refugees to activities outside the shelter so that they can better interact with the German culture. Astonishingly, the community rooms in the Stadtmitte community shelter are more taken care of, and aesthetically 'beautiful' than those in other locations in Stuttgart, as shown in Figure (4.31). As explained by one social worker: "This shelter gets a lot of attention because it is in the heart of Stuttgart. We often have politicians here when the Sozialamt wants to show how good Stuttgart is with the refugees. So we have a lot of pressure because it must be very clean. When the *Liegenschaftsamt* approved this acoustics project, they said this will only be here, we donot want this project to be anywhere else."

4.3.4 The Outdoor Spaces

4.3.4.1 The Balconies

The balconies, which are naturally formed from the stair landing, are often used as storage space for the children's strollers and bikes or as a space to place the drying racks. Even though stroller lockers are placed on site, most of them are not working. Moreover, some families tend to put their extra furniture there, such as the beds, which they cannot give back to the social workers. The balconies are also used as an outdoor seating area as most refugees temporarily or permanently allocate some of their furniture outside to have a place to sit, such as (Family D). Balconies are also a common place for the occasional smoke of a cigarette or *Shisha*, mostly for men, while the women tend to have small gardening pots. Moreover, the railing of the balconies is used as hangers to dry carpets or bed sheets or just simply to put them out in the sun during the summer. The railing is sometimes also used to dry clothes. Generally, they are only used by refugees who are living on the first floor.

Underneath the stair landing is used almost in the same manner as the balconies themselves. For example, (Family B) tends to bring a couple of chairs and a small table outside where they can smoke *Shisha* around sunset while the children are playing in the playground or sleeping in the room. In addition, (Family F) uses that space to dry the clothes on the drying rack. Other families use it to store their strollers or bicycles or put out the furniture that they do not need.






Figure (4.32) Variations of the Balconies' Appropriations
Source: Author

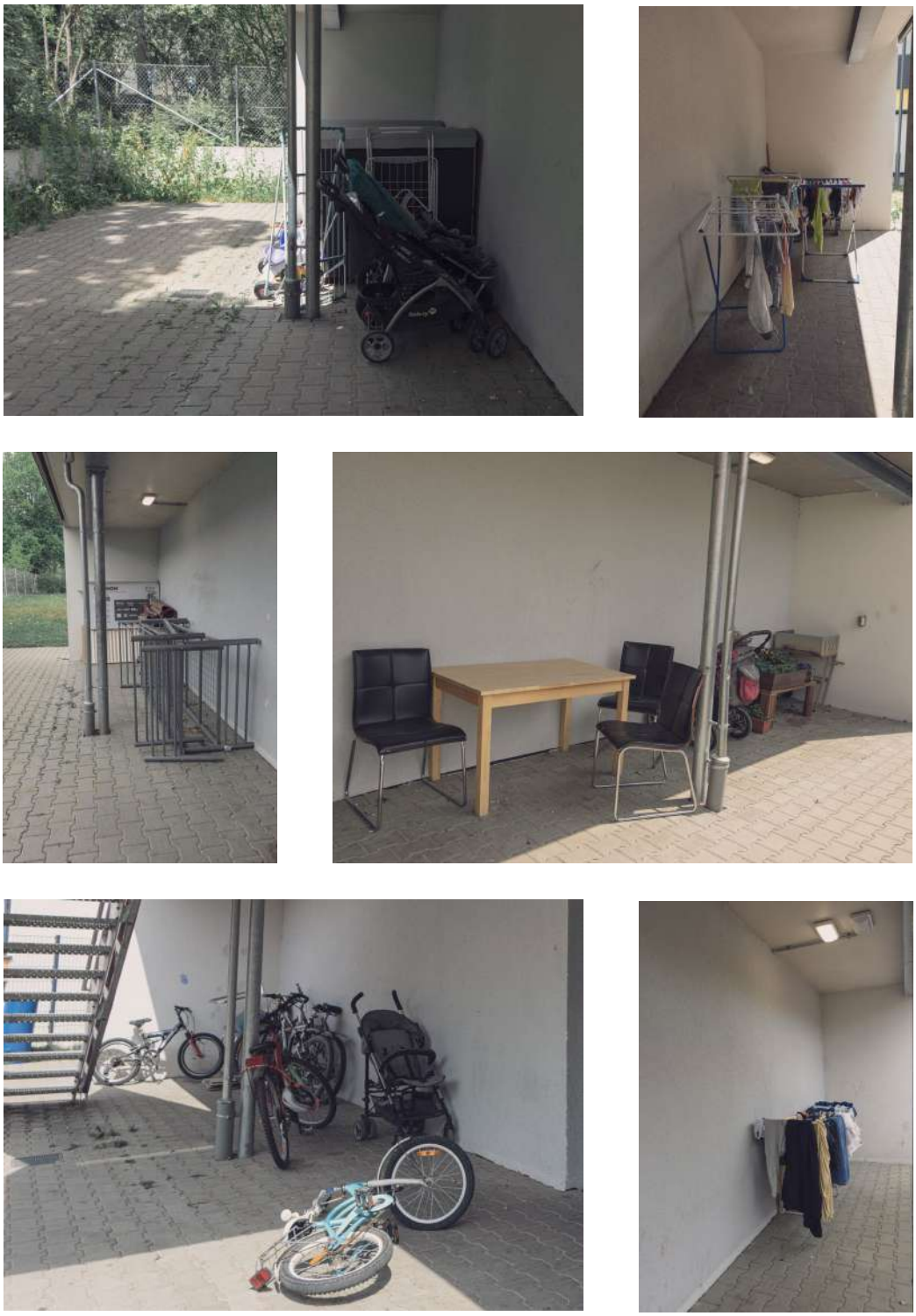

Figure (4.33) Variations of the (Lower) Balconies' Appropriations
Source: Author

4.3.4.2 The Green Areas and Open Spaces

Generally, as the children go to school and kindergarten, the rooms are relatively empty in the morning, and the shelter is very quiet. However, the shelter starts coming to life again when the children come back, and everyone goes outside to play if the weather is good in the summer. The asphalt around the shelter usually acts as a drawing canvas for the children, while the green areas are generally used by the refugees for small gatherings or birthday parties on weekends. Moreover, the green areas around the rooms on the ground floor act as a chilling area for some families, such as (Family A).

There is usually no difference in the dynamics of the shelter from weekdays to weekends, as almost all refugees do not work. They tend to use the outdoor areas and sit with their kids in the playground or the gardens available within the site. If there are any birthdays for the children, they are usually held at the weekend, in the rooms or outside. The events are usually held at the weekend because the social workers are not present, and with Covid-19, gatherings of people are not allowed.

Figure (4.34) *Dumb* Area in One Site
Source: Author

Figure (4.35) Asphalt as the Children's Canvas
Source: Author

All sites have a parking lot; however, they are usually not used as intended. For example, some children tend to play in the parking lot instead of the designated place for playing football because, according to them, the grass is not straight to play well. Moreover, the area presented by the parking lot acts as a big playground

for the older children who play with their bicycles or scooters. Surprisingly, in one site, part of the parking lot was perceived as a 'dumb site' where neighbours tend to throw its unwanted furniture.

Moreover, all sites have a drying rod where refugees can hang their carpets or clothes to dry. However, refugees and sometimes social workers do not know what this metal rod placed in the middle of the open space means.

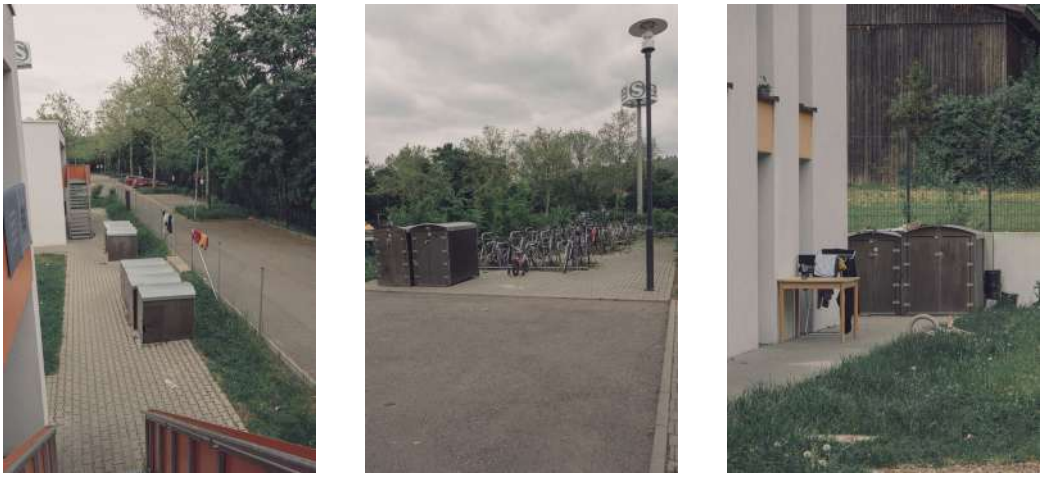

Figure (4.36) Variations of the Open Spaces
Source: Author

Figure (4.37) The Drying Rod
Source: Author

4.3.4.3 The Playground

A little playground is available on the site of any community shelter, which can be used by all families in the shelter, and is mostly located on the outskirts of the site. However, not all families feel safe for their children to go outside and play. One mother (Family C) never lets the children go outside on their own, as they are still not old enough and for the fear of them being hit, particularly from Arabs. She elaborated: "They do not like to play with black people. They only want to play with other Arabs." She then generally stated: "We cannot live well with Arabs". As one social worker stated, no children from outside the shelter use the playground, unlike a typical playground, which should be inviting for all children. In addition, one wife (Family B) stated how her children can easily run to the main roads around the shelter, and that it is not safe enough for them. Another mother, who was briefly spoken to, stated that the playground should be fenced with an access door so that it is safer for the children.

Figure (4.38) Variations of the Playground
Source: Author

4.3.4.4 The Fence

A fence is placed around all sites of the community shelters to mark its territory, as it belongs to the city of Stuttgart. Some refugees occasionally use the fence as a drying rack for their carpets or clothes in general. However, one social worker stated that this notion has received complaints from other neighbours, or from citizens in general. Complaints can also be received due to the waste around the fence. He added: "Whenever you don't agree with anything in Stuttgart, you may write a yellow card and send it to the city's central office. We tend to have one once a year because of the waste around the fence and outside the fence from the children".

Figure (4.39) A Variation of the Fence's Appropriation
Source: Author

4.3.5 A Closing Remark

When refugees first arrive at the community shelter from the LEA, they aspire for a better life, but when they arrive and see what the room looks like, where at least 100 individuals have lived there before with no fresh paint, they get depressed. "Sometimes it's really hard to see their faces when they come here." one social worker stated. Moreover, they usually have no prior knowledge of the German language, sometimes, they can not speak English as well. Accordingly, refugees usually rely on other family members in the country, friends, or simply google translate. Sometimes refugees feel lost and left out as they usually can not understand what is happening with their paperwork. The social workers can only explain so much. "You speak a lot with your hand, and that's like international, and that's how you make it works somehow." Simultaneously, one social worker stated that affects the quality of social work because you can not genuinely communicate with the refugees. Language barriers can also lead to misunderstandings between the refugees and each other, which can cause frustration, increasing the conflict in the space.

In addition, the social workers commonly agreed that the conflicts that arise are not because of nationalities and cultural differences but are more related to each individual. One social worker stated: "I never saw a good positive example for when a corridor is full of Syrians, it has really the same problems compared to a mixed corridor. Same with Nigerians. It’s not a problem of nationalities, it's a problem of how to live in such close proximity." In that sense, most of the conflicts happen because someone did not follow the house rules, not because of cultural differences. Another social worker confirmed that the biggest problem is cleanness and hygiene because each individual has a different standard of how clean a space should be.

Furthermore, as stated by one of the social workers, the asylum status is one of the strongest reasons one room could look different from the other. "When you enter a room you can recognize they feel at home or they're just in movement. Because some families arranged their rooms in a very nice way. They put out the metal beds, they buy their own, they buy their own wardrobes and things like this. That means that they are satisfied here, and they don’t want to move out tomorrow. I think it is from how the room looks like." one social worker stated. Moreover, according to the social workers, single men from Africa, such as Nigeria, usually

have a small chance of getting their asylum application approved, and they get a Duldung, which is only for six months, and then another six months, and another six months. They only live in that time frame, and their room reflects that. They tend not to buy anything or decorate their room.

Moreover, the implication of the shelter tends to be more critical in the case of children. One social worker stated: "It is especially not good for children. It is not safe for them". Further explaining that sometimes these shelters are assigned to people who were previously convicted and can be assigned to a room next to a family. However, that does not happen very often. In addition, there are also many shared places where adults and children are in the same space, which can be dangerous. This is particularly valid with drunk individuals. "I cannot leave my kids alone anymore because he's so drunk he doesn't even know which room he sleeps in and he's opening all the doors." as one refugee complained to a social worker. Moreover, refugees are supposed to stay in temporary shelters for only a maximum of two years. But that is not the reality; children tend to grow up there. One mother stated, "I have been in this shelter for six years. Now the children are growing up, and there is no space for them".

It can be noted that children perceive a German house as a 'home', as most do not recall their previous homes. Through drawings that were found on the wall, on the ground using chalk, on previous workshops that were held in the community rooms, or when the researcher asked children to draw a 'house/home', children tended to draw houses that mimic the German typical house/building, with the slanted roof, and wooden windows.

Additionally, an expected divide was the "Ukrainian Refugees VS Other Refugees". One social worker stated: "Sometimes we get calls from people saying they have an apartment and they can offer it, but only for Ukrainian refugees (...)"We even get sports programs, but only for Ukrainian refugees". They further added: "Refugees are getting frustrated. They say 'You have war in your country, I also have war in my country. Why do I have to pay for transportation and you do not". Another social worker further elaborated on this divide: "Ukrainians have free access to many cultural events, and Syrians do not have this. They are also prioritised going into the integration courses." Moreover, Ukrainian refugees are also allowed to have pets because they have already brought their pets with them, while other refugees are not allowed to buy pets.

Figure (4.40) A Child's Drawing of a 'Home' on Asphalt
Source: Author

Figure (5.01) *Systembauten* Community Shelters
Source: Author

Chapter Five

Making Homes in the *Systembauten* Community Shelters

5.1 Introduction

Refugees rarely have a say in where and how they live. Instead, they get assigned to a specific shelter based on national policies, and then they should adhere to certain regulations when they arrive. While these shelters are meant to be temporary, both from a spatial and temporal perspective, the reality proves different. As a result, refugees express their spatial agency by appropriating their rooms and shared spaces and attempting to make *homes*.

This chapter reflects on the literature and answers the sub-research questions: WHAT conditions affect the spatial practice of making homes in the community shelters? In addition, WHAT type of responses occurred in the spatial practice of making homes to adapt to these conditions?

5.2 Conditions affecting the Spatial Practice of Making Homes

There were certain patterns of how the refugees, regardless of their background and family structures, collectively perceived and appropriated the space. These patterns were due to a group of interlinked general conditions that triggered or hindered their processes, such as the shelter design or the management of the shelter. Other appropriations were related to specific characteristics related to the family dynamics or cultural values.

5.2.1 The Community Shelters

One of the first and most important conditions affecting the spatial agency of refugees reflected in the appropriation of space and, consequently, the spatial practice of making homes, is the structure where these homes are attempted to be made and how it interacts with the context it lies within.

5.2.1.1 Reflections

Much like all refugee situations, and even in a strong host community, the lack of political will to design the community shelters as shelters that are responsive to the refugees' needs and the environment has led to the provision of a one-design-fits-all approach, which stems from the trending perception that shelters are 'temporary'. This perception was consequently reflected in the budget allocated for the sheltering response and led to the provision of an alien design to the urban fabric with low-quality materials and furniture. This strategy had various implications on the shelter, its design, and how refugees appropriate the space.

Site Location

Most shelters are located on the city's periphery, potentially due to the limited availability of land and, as previously stated, to 'contain' the refugees. Generally, the social workers claim that the more distant the shelter is, the less likely they are to get complaints about noise or cleanliness since there are no neighbours nearby. As almost all refugees do not own a car, apart from Ukrainian refugees, the main way to reach basic amenities around the shelter is through public transportation, which can be found around all shelters. Depending on the district, some refugees have stated that all basic amenities such as grocery stores are near while others stated that some of the amenities are far, particularly 'Arabic' stores or 'Turkish' stores, where they might need to buy their national food. As a result, some refugees would need to buy what they need every now and then, and store it in their room and in the extra fridges they bought.

Urban Design

Reviewing the community shelter site reveals that the parking lot and waste bins areas are emphasised more than the outdoor seating areas, which are typically

absent; or the playground, which is located on the site's outskirts rather than in the centre. At the same time, most of the shelters are located around the main roads. This particularly has raised concerns with some parents, who stated that the playground needs to be fenced with a door access. Moreover, as the playgrounds are placed on the back of the site, it is difficult for the parents to keep an eye on their children, particularly the mothers who cook in the kitchen. As a result, some children are not allowed to play outside and have to stay in their rooms till their parents have the time to take them outside.

Shelter Design

While the *Systembauten* should allow for easy adaptations and a variety of modules, this advantage point was not used, and all community shelters had almost the same design, with minor differences on the ground floor where the community rooms, accessible bathroom and the offices of the social workers are placed. In addition, the rigid design only allowed for 'soft' adaptations, where only furniture can be added but no 'hard' adaptations, where wall separators or section separators for families can be added, for example. It also introduced spatial restrictions, where no expansions can be made.

From a socio-cultual perspective, the community shelters consist of repetitive units and follow a 'one-room approach', taking no consideration of socio-cultural needs. As no private bathrooms or kitchens are provided, this has led to social issues such as the constant conflict between refugees. Moreover, the lack of private facilities puts more pressure on the refugees who have daughters and are anxious about their safety.

Furthermore, the placement of room doors in front of each other has contributed to the lack of privacy, in addition to the placement of relatively large windows on the ground floor. As a result, it was rare to find a ground-floor window that was open or not completely covered with curtains or textiles, while refugees on the first floor opened their windows and left their curtains open or did not place curtains at all. In addition, due to fire safety regulations, where all the doors and windows need to be clear, leaves no room for the refugees to add any furniture. As a result, refugees tended to disregard some of these regulations as they appropriate the space and place some furniture in front of the window. Nevertheless, the connecting doors were relatively useful in connecting more

than one room together in larger families. However, as they are placed in the middle of the wall, it further limits the space where refugees can adapt and utilise for their needs.

As the quality of the furniture and machines provided by the *Sozialamt* is relatively low, this resulted in a variety of responses. On one hand, due to the low quality of the beds, and the squeaky noises they make at night, most refugees gave their beds back to the social workers, which in return resulted in an overload in the storage rooms. Consequently, some refugees placed their beds on the balconies in the first floor or outside of the main door on the ground floor. On the other hand, as washing machines and dryers are constantly breaking down, or making too much noise, some refugees refrain from using the dryers and instead use drying racks. However, the high demand on barely functioning washing machines has led to more conflict and tension among the refugees. In addition, while some social workers praised the stove switch in the kitchen that has to be pressed every 15 to 20 mins as it helps with preventing fire, particularly with refugees who do not know how to use a stove, some refugees were uninformed that the switch existed in the first place, and with that left their food uncooked.

From a technical perspective, multiple points need to be brought forward. First, when looking at the shelters, one can tell that they are out of context and alien to the urban fabric of the districts they are placed in. Cumulatively, some neighbours perceive the shelter as a dumb site where it throws unwanted furniture or gives 'the right' for some citizens, usually drunk, to enter the shelter and use its facilities, affecting the sense of safety to the women and children.

However, it gets worse when one is to enter the shelter, where grey doors are placed on both sides and wet spaces are marked with red or yellow doors. For painting the walls, no colours other than white are allowed. In that sense, Pantaleo's advocacy for associating "beauty" with shelter is not present. However, in the community shelter situated in the Stadtmitte district, one can notice how adding a bit of colour can completely change the space. Second, when entering the shelter, one can sense how dense and unwelcoming the air is, where no effective air circulation occurs, as the main doors and fire doors automatically shut due to fire regulations. This resulted in shoving the doors with broomsticks to keep them open. Third, due to the selection of highly opaque doors for the corridors, no natural light can enter, giving it a very unwelcoming feeling, and

only automatic fluorescent lights are used. Fourth, as the researcher usually only stays in the shelter for a couple of hours and walks from one family to the next or spends time with the children, no problems were noticed with the acoustic performance of the shelter. However, most families have complained about how thin the walls are and how the connecting doors are not completely sealed, which gives more room for insufficient acoustic performance and for smoke from weeds or cigarettes to move from one room to the next. This has led some refugees to place wardrobes or cupboards in front of the door to seal it, or to add a tap to the door frame. Finally, as the interviews were conducted between May and early June, the researcher felt thermally comfortable in the shelter. However, families who have been sheltered there long enough have experienced both winter and summer and have agreed that the shelter is thermally comfortable in the winter, and it is warm enough that sometimes the refugee does not need to turn on the heat radiator for long. However, it became problematic in the summer, and some had to buy fans. That can be attributed to how the small size of the room affects the thermal comfort of the refugees, particularly during the summer. "I barely get complaints that the heater is not working. It's more like it's too hot." a social worker stated.

From an environmental perspective, despite Germany's climate potential, the shelter does not use rainwater collection techniques or solar panels. Moreover, the shelters do not respond to the sun paths or wind directions which further contributes to thermal comfort and air circulation. In addition, according to the social workers, waste management is not handled as in the rest of the city. Some shelters separate only the paper, and others separate paper and plastic. However, bio-waste generally does not work. This is due to the lack of awareness of the importance of separating waste.

5.2.2 The Management

The second most important condition in space appropriations is how the refugees are managed in the shelter and the city at large.

5.2.2.1 Reflections

The Welfare Organisations

The shelter's management by the various welfare organisations is generally similar; what differs is more connected to how each social worker approaches the situation, and how strict the social workers want to follow the regulations, and this reflects on how the refugees will appropriate the space, such as adding curtains. Generally, refugees tend to appreciate the support they get from social workers and how they contribute to their feeling of safety. Nevertheless, due to the large number of refugees that each social worker has to consult, some information gets lost in translation, as social workers forget to inform the refugees, or simply due to language barriers, where communicating everything to the refugees is not feasible. In some cases, this leads to a loss of trust in the social workers, leading to less care for the space.

The 'Temporary' State

The feeling of temporariness and instability does not only stem from the community shelter itself, but also from how the country as a whole, the city, and consequently the shelter management perceives the refugees. First, it has been noticed that the blind policy of mixing refugees from different nationalities usually only leads to conflicts. At the same time, the social workers believe that putting refugees together from the same nationality does not work either. In some regard, that is also true, as each nationality can incorporate different tribes and ethnic groups. This was reflected in how the refugees used the shared spaces. Second, refugees usually are not informed about the legal framework in Germany, and they tend to worry about their and their children's legal status, which leaves them unsure of what happens in the future. Refugees can also have uncertain refugee status, such as single men from Africa. Third, the presence of the 'warnings' system, and the possibility that the refugee can be kicked out of the shelter. Finally, as the housing market in Stuttgart presents difficulties in

easily finding a private apartment or easily being located to municipal housing, refugees usually do not know how long they will stay in the shelter, where some refugees have been in the shelter for more than six years. In some cases, the families do not want to move out as long as they are moving out to something better, for example, an apartment that has the same number of rooms as they are assigned in the shelter, or to move out in the same neighbourhood where their shelter is allocated.

As a result, the feeling of instability and temporariness affects their perception of the space and how they appropriate it. On one hand, if the refugee knows they will stay in the shelter for longer times, it triggers them to invest their time and money in it. On the other hand, since refugees know that this is a 'temporary' place and not their end destination, the level of appropriation they make to the space is just enough to get them through the days, for example, it can hinder the refugees from buying their own furniture and appliances, as they are waiting for their *ideal* home. In some cases, when refugees feel unstable, they start caring less about the space and tend to have less sense of ownership of the shelter. This sense of ownership is further affected by how refugees are perceived as passive recipients rather than active agents where refugees are not allowed to fix anything themselves, even if they have the skill and the capacity to do it. With that, refugees also start to not follow shelter regulations, which can affect the spatial practice of other refugees.

The state of temporariness is further affected by the Wifi connection, which in almost all shelters does not work, and refugees have to buy their own internet. However, refugees who still cannot buy a SIM card or simply can not afford to pay for one have to go and sit next to the welfare organisation's office, which is usually located in one of the shelters, to have a temporary connection to their families and the world.

5.2.3 The Dynamics

The third condition affecting the spatial appropriations is more 'internal', in the sense that it is more related to the refugees' cultural background or set of values. It can be related to family structures or the differences between men and women as men usually go to work and German courses, while the women stay in the shelter to take care of the children, which affects their process of learning German and

getting integrated into their new context. It can also be related to how different families and single people perceive and appropriate the space. Moreover, aspects such as the feeling of safety can differ from the parents to the children, and from men to women, and accordingly to how they appropriate and use the space. These dynamics can eventually stem conflict between the refugees as well.

5.2.4 Section Conclusions

In that sense, it can be concluded that the conditions that affected the spatial appropriations done by the refugees can be both tangible and intangible. Tangible conditions encompass spatial aspects such as the allocated number of rooms, the spatial configuration of the shelter, and its location within the neighbourhood and the city. Intangible conditions encompass political aspects such as the sheltering strategy, in addition to the conflicts taking place within the shelter; legal aspects such as the legal status of the refugee or issued warnings; socio-cultural aspects such as the lack of private facilities; economic aspects such as the family's economic status, in addition to the housing market in Stuttgart; and finally temporal aspects such as how long the refugees have been in the shelter, and how long they are planning to stay.

5.3 Making Homes in the Community Shelters

5.3.1 Overview

In that sense, the commonalities and differences in the space appropriations to make homes, as noticed in the previous chapter, were made to respond to these tangible and intangible conditions in place.

5.3.2 The Response: How Refugees Make Homes

Generally, how the families perceive the private space has an implication on the shared space and vice versa. On the one hand, if the refugees believe that their rooms should not include shoes, they will place shoe racks in the corridor, which is a public space. On the other hand, if the refugees believe that the shared space is not 'safe' enough to place their belongings, such as the kitchen, they will place most of their kitchen appliances in the rooms. Moreover, conflicts do not only happen in shared spaces, it also happens in private spaces due to the design limitations that the shelter renders, such as the acoustic performance. For example, as some families explained, a lot of conflict happen when some families, due to the presence of children, are too loud, and the others need to sleep or study.

In addition, it was no surprise that single people have a different perception of the space and how they change it to make homes than families, who familiarise and give meaning to the space through incremental acts, mostly for the sake of their children. The main practice observed in families was adding carpets, which was commonly the first appropriation that they made. Another common appropriation was adding curtains, particularly for those dwelling on the ground floors. On the other hand, as observed through the interview with the single man and through conversations with the social workers, single people tend not to add carpets in their rooms, due to the different perceptions of that act, as two individuals are sharing the room. Moreover, no curtains are added to the room. It can be implied that it is harder to make the place feel like home when you are living with other individuals from a different background. Nevertheless, commonalities between all refugees is using the top of wardrobes or the bottom of the beds as storage, in addition to exchanging the beds with moveable mattresses. These commonalities were noticed regardless of the cultural background. One the other

hand, most common things found in the bathrooms, which is more related to the cultural background, is a jar used for cleansing after using the bathroom, as German bathrooms are not usually equipped with a bidet, and in the kitchen, a dish drainer can be found.

Furthermore, temporal appropriations were noticed. During the day, some beds or moveable mattresses were used as couches, tables were moved to be used as dining tables. Other practices were related to the time when guests come such as combining tables or opening doors that are usually closed. The beds and moveable mattresses are used at night as sleeping areas.

The temporal appropriations also extend to the shared spaces. For example, appropriations in the community rooms where the refugees, whether adults or children, can move tables or chairs, or in the case of the children, toys around to accommodate their needs and place them back before leaving the room. It can also be noticed in the kitchens and the bathrooms, as refugees tend to not leave all their personal belongings in the space, and constantly move it when they need it, such as kitchen appliances.

Moreover, some common regulations were being disregarded as it conflicted with some of the refugees' basic needs. For example, adding furniture in front of the door was generally attempted to be avoided, while refugees refrained from following the same regulations when it came to the windows, due to the limited space. Other disregarded regulations included adding curtains, buying a fridge, and using plastic appliances in the kitchen and the corridor. Additionally, one family, who wanted to buy pets for her children, found a middle ground and got a fish tank and a couple of birds. Generally, refugees who have been living there long enough, and particularly those whose rooms are next to the bathroom, have expressed aspirations to have direct access to the bathroom through a door.

Cumulatively, the spatial practices to make homes can be grouped under six categories that are considered to be subtle appropriations: practices to enhance the functional quality of the space, practices to cover basic needs, practices to respond to daily routines, practices to respond to socio-cultural needs, and practices to fulfil aesthetic needs. The following sub-sections will describe the appropriations made under each section.

5.3.3.1 Practices to Enhance the Functional Quality of the Space

Refugees appropriated the space to respond to some of the shelter's main constraints and limitations, such as the limited space, and insufficient thermal comfort and air circulation.

'One Door' Entrance: If refugees are assigned more than one room, they tend to use only one door as their main access point while keeping the other doors closed. This room is usually the room assigned as their living room. In that sense, refugees have more space to appropriate, even though they can not put permanent furniture in front of the doors.

'Multi-Functional' Furniture: Due to the limited space, some furniture acted as 'multi-functional'. This was particularly noticed where the beds acted as a sleeping space at night and as a living space in the morning, such as (Family A). Moreover, mini-fridges acted as a cooling appliance, and their top was used as a shelf for placing personal belongings, such as (Family D). In addition, the bottom of some tables acts as storage.

Returning Furniture: While the furniture provided by the *Sozialamt* was meant to ease the settling of refugees, it left little room for mobility and space appropriation and instead provided a static spatial arrangement that neglects the refugee's needs for multi-functional spaces, provided how small the rooms are. Accordingly, most refugees tend to give the furniture back to the social workers, particularly after the change in regulations. Most families tend to give back the beds to create more space in the room, and if they have children, would give more space for the children to play.

Stacking Furniture: Refugees tend to place furniture on top of each other to save space, such as adding two mini-fridges above each other or adding two cupboards to respond to the limited space.

Blocking Connecting Doors: As the connecting doors are not completely sealed, they amplify the insufficient acoustic performance. Consequently, some refugees added their wardrobes in front of the door, such as (Family A). In some cases, the doors would let the smoke from the adjacent room (where some

refugees smoked weed) into the other room. As a result, refugees tend to close the door frame with a tap, such as the (Single Man).

Moveable Mattresses: In general, the refugees preferred to have 'soft' furniture which is easily moveable than 'hard' furniture which is hard to move within the limited space. This can be noticed in exchanging the beds given by the *Sozialamt* with just the mattresses on the floor.

The Light Strips: The single mother in (Family C) responded to the insufficient thermal quality of the space, as it gets uncomfortably hot, by adding light strips in both of her rooms. In that way, she does not have to use the fluorescent light provided in the shelter and increase the temperature of the rooms.

The Fans: Some refugees added fans to their space to respond to the shelter's insufficient thermal comfort and air circulation.

The Door 'Openers': Refugees tended to open the corridor doors and kitchen doors with broomsticks to allow for better air circulation in the shelter and enhance thermal comfort.

5.3.3.2 Practices to Cover Basic Needs

Refugees tend to appropriate the space to cover their basic needs, including physiological needs such as food, sleep, and water; and safety needs such as privacy, security, stability and predictability.

Adding Curtains: Refugees adding curtains to their windows is one of the most common practices, even though it is against regulations. For refugees living on the ground floor, adding curtains completely covering the window was crucial for their privacy. The curtains can be pinned to the wall or the window. Moreover, some refugees added mosquito nets on the window.

Adding an extra Fridge: The mini-fridges provided by the *Sozialamt* were not sufficient, and as a result, families tended to buy an extra fridge to accommodate their food. This could be due to the family structure, such as a big family of five members or more, or due to the family dynamics, such as the single mother in (Family C), who needs a place to store the cooked food for the week.

Empty Space = Storage: One of the refugees' biggest challenge is storing their personal belongings. As a result, refugees tend to use any space they might have as storage, such as the top of the wardrobes, under the beds (if they kept it), and corners born from the furniture allocation, as noticed in the majority of families.

Kitchen Door 'Ties': For the safety of their children, most mothers would find a way to keep the kitchen door open, such as tying the door knob to the kitchen counter or using a broomstick.

5.3.3.3 Practices to Respond to Daily Routines

Refugees appropriated the space to respond to how their daily encounters, such as sleeping arrangements or chores such as drying their clothes or draining dishes.

'Multi-Functional' Rooms: Most refugees, particularly those with a limited number of rooms, tend to use a room for more than one purpose. One room can be used as a sleeping area, a living area, a dining area, and a guest area, such as the first room in (Family A). For single people, all these functions are confined to half a room. Moreover, in some families, separating men and women is essential. As a result, one room, where the beds or moveable mattresses are allocated, is used as a sleeping room for women, while the 'multi-functional' room is used as a sleeping room for men, such as (Family E)

'Moveable' Furniture: In some families, as the space changes from day to night, furniture is moved to accommodate that routine, such as moving the couch next to the bed in (Family A), or adding mattresses to the ground to act as a sleeping space. Another challenge for families is gathering around one table, which gets harder if they have guests over due to the limited space. As a result, they tend to move tables around, such as (Family B) and/or allocate more than one table together, such as (Family A). Other families, particularly those with more than five members, tend to eat on the floor, such as (Family E).

The Drying Rack: The drying rack is one of the most common pieces of furniture found inside and outside the shelter, where families can use the drying rack in their rooms, the bathroom, the balconies, or in front of their windows to dry their clothes instead of using the dryers.

The Clothes Hanger: On most doors, refugees tend to place clothes hangers where they can put their clothes, and in some instances, especially in big families, it is the only way to store their clothes. Other refugees used the connecting doors as clothes hangers.

Dish Drainers: As refugees tend not to leave their appliances in the kitchen, dish drainers were still one of the most common things in the kitchen, in addition to some cook pots.

5.3.3.4 Practices to Respond to Socio-Cultural Needs

By responding to their socio-cultural needs, refugees give themselves to their environment by bringing their culture into this 'foreign space'.

Adding Carpets: In some families, carpets were added to respond to the cultural norms, where wearing shoes inside a home is not common, but are taken off before entering the space, such as (Family A) and (Family D). In that sense, the carpets tend to be shifted from the door to leave space for taking off the shoes. Nevertheless, in other families, the main reason for adding the carpets is the presence of the children, where the mothers did not want their children to be playing directly on the floor.

Adding a Television: Buying a new television or a second-hand one was a practice that refugees did to entertain their children, or watch national TV shows or listen to music, such as (Family A), or to watch movies or the news such as (Family C). Other refugees try to connect to their current home by using the television to learn German, particularly for their children, such as (Family F)

Adding Couches: In some families, such as (Family E), couches were added to the room that is allocated for receiving guests. In that way, guests would have a place to sit when they come. In other families, adding a couch was associated with Television, such as (Family A) and (Family F), where the family can comfortably watch it.

Adding Mirrors: In some cases, such as (Family D), refugees tend to place mirrors in their rooms, either by placing them on the wall or taping them to it. This can be because mirrors can only be found in the bathrooms, and no mirrors

were allocated to the rooms.

Adding an Internet Router: It was commonly noticed that having an internet connection is crucial for refugees, as they use it to connect to their previous homes by talking to their families. In addition, during COVID, the internet was the only possible way for refugees to go to school or work online.

Adding Cultural/Religious Features: In some rooms, one can notice some ornaments on the wall that is related to the refugee's religion, such as the Quran placed on the wall in (Family B), or the frame that stated "Allah" in (Family D).

Cooking National Food: Most refugees cook their national food, and as such, the different ingredients can be found in the rooms and the kitchen, such as (Family D), who was fermenting food in their room.

Adding Shoe Racks: As it was culturally normal for most families not to enter their homes with their shoes, shoe racks filled most of the corridors in the shelter.

Placing a 'Toilet' Jar: As bathrooms in Stuttgart, and western cultures in general, do not include bidets, families of Muslim and Arabic backgrounds tend to place a jar next to their toilet to use for cleansing themselves after using it.

'Outdoor' Furniture: As refugees were eager to enjoy the outdoor spaces, but no outdoor seating areas were available, refugees tended to temporarily or permanently place one of their tables and chairs outside.

5.3.3.5 Practices to Facilitate/Avoid Dialogue

Refugees tend to facilitate dialogue with other refugees, social workers, and the city. Through that dialogue, they attempt to respond to the code of respect for other refugees or to respond to shelter regulations such as fire regulations, house rules and cleaning plans. Nevertheless, some dialogues were aimed to be avoided or prevented (to avoid conflict) than to facilitate it.

'Temporary' Furniture: As refugees attempt to find ways around the regulation of keeping doors and windows clear, they tend to 'temporarily' place some furniture there, due to the limited space, which they then remove when there

is an inspection, such as the cradle in (Family B), or the moveable mattresses in (Family A), and (Family E). Other refugees put their shoe racks in the corridor and remove them during an inspection.

'Temporary' Kitchen Appliances: As some refugees try to avoid conflict with others in the kitchen, for example, by stealing or breaking down their appliances, they add most of their kitchen appliances and utensils in their rooms. At the same time, adding water boilers or microwaves in the rooms is not allowed due to regulations. As a result, refugees tend to hide their appliances or put them back in the kitchen during an inspection. This was noticed in most families, in addition to the single man.

Buying 'Pets': While refugees, except Ukrainian refugees, are not allowed to have pets, some refugees bought fish tanks or birds instead. In that way, they found a loophole in the regulation, while keeping their children content.

5.3.3.6 Practices to Fulfil Aesthetic Needs

'Aesthetic' Appliances: some refugees found televisions or fans that are not functioning. Nevertheless, they decided to add it to their space as an aesthetical feature rather than a functional one. A feature that can possibly remind them of their previous home.

Adding Curtains: In other instances, curtains were more of an aesthetical feature rather than creating a sense of privacy, such as (Family C) and (Family E).

Hanging Frames and Clocks: Most refugees tended to hang frames or clocks on the wall and tap some of their family photos or calendars on the wall.

Real/Artificial Plants: In some corners of the rooms, or just lying in the corridor, or placed on the balcony, real or artificial plants can be found.

5.4 The Journey to '*Home*'

As refugees have been dwelling in the community shelters for more than six years, what was initially meant to be a temporary structure, quickly became permanent, and the gap between humanitarian response and long-term development in Stuttgart became evident. Nevertheless, these shelters can be perceived as a structure of protection where it provides basic protection, but it does not necessarily protect the physical and mental health of the refugees. This can be seen in how the shelter left some refugees feeling physically and mentally unsafe, particularly their children, as they lost their privacy or were blindly obliged to co-live with refugees from different cultural backgrounds and values. Moreover, it further affects the health of the refugees through the stress of insufficient sound isolation. Furthermore, the community shelters can be perceived as a political entity, as refugees constantly negotiate with their fellow refugees, the shelter management, and the conflicts that stem from those interactions. It was also noticed in the difference between the Ukrainian refugees and other refugees. Additionally, these politics can also be perceived in the dynamics between men and women; and how depending on the family, men can be more caring than constructing, and in that sense, help the women with the daily chores and taking care of the children, particularly men who do not have a job yet. Finally, through these politics, the shelter was also rendered as a space for solidarity. This was reflected in how the refugees adjusted and adapted to the conditions presented to them, and how it shows in the spatiality of their private and shared spaces.

Nevertheless, while one cannot generalise how refugees perceive the shelter as home, as it stemmed from multiple reasons, such as "I feel safe"; "The place where I can take off my scarf, pray, and sleep", "Where family is", there are still commonalities in how individuals perceive the space and appropriate it and what type of responses stems from the conditions they are placed in. There were also connections between their previous home, their current home, and their ideal home. First, refugees connected to their previous home through mothers cooking their national food to their families, which is home to them, where the mother usually passes down pieces of their previous home in their current home. Others brought traditional clothes with them or kept pictures of what their previous home looked like. Others try to keep up the tradition of taking the shoes off before entering. Second, refugees connected to their current home by using the television and internet connections to learn German and adapting

to some conditions, such as the absence of a bidet in the toilet, and hence using a jar. Finally, refugees' aspirations for their ideal home were reflected in the appropriations they invested in the space.

However, the notion of *home* goes beyond the physical boundaries of the shelter, and the site it lies within. In a sense, a *Virtual Home*, which stems from an internet connection placed in a corner of a room. For some refugees, home is simply the social media connections they have with their families, who are, in most cases, spread over Germany, if not the world. Whatsapp family groups and scheduling calls with family members were common among the refugees.

While some aspects were pre-identified and written on paper to be analysed as the researcher conducted the fieldwork, some aspects were unpredictable. It is when the researcher felt to be at a 'home'. Something as simple as offering drinks and food whenever the researcher enters the private space of the refugee, a gesture that is usually done in one's home.

Cumulatively, the refugees' attempt to produce the private and shared spaces of the shelter to make homes can be traced back to: first, their negotiations with the space to enhance its functional quality and adjust it to their needs; second, their negotiations with other refugees, whom they share a space with, in addition to the negotiations with the social workers and management in general; and third their negotiations with time, in the sense that they are in a 'temporary' state, waiting on a decision on their asylum application, or waiting to find a private apartment or municipal housing; and finally, their negotiations with their traditions and values, and how it can be reflected in space.

Figure (6.01) *Systembauten* Community Shelters
Source: Author

Chapter Six
Conclusions, Recommendations and Way Forward

6.1 Conclusions

6.1.1 A Shift in Perspective

Despite the fact that shelter is considered to be the foundation of humanitarian response, and has huge impacts on the displaced in general, and refugees in particular, shelter response still faces numerous challenges, and, surprisingly, has gained little academic interest. Moreover, the perception of shelter as a non-urban/rural structure further contributed to the limited studies on urban shelters. Furthermore, no global standards are available on collective shelters, which can be traced back to the definition of collective shelters as pre-existing buildings. Most crucially, shelter is not recognised as a space where the displaced can start rebuilding their homes, but is perceived as a temporary structure, a notion that one should know is barely close to the truth.

Cumulatively, the research aimed to spatialise the process of making homes in displacement while mainly focusing on the *Systembauten* community shelters, which are temporary, urban, collective shelters. The community shelters are located in Stuttgart, the sixth largest city in Germany, which follows a decentralised approach to sheltering refugees. The study aimed to answer the primary research question: How do refugees dwelling in Stuttgart's community shelters make homes? A qualitative inductive approach using grounded theory and architectural ethnography was used to answer the research question.

Through the first preliminary walkthroughs, one of the first impressions of the community shelters from the outside is that nothing much is happening, in the sense that, even though they are out of context and rendered alien to the urban fabric, looked surprisingly 'peaceful', and it was assumed that refugees are dwelling, peacefully. Nevertheless, throughout the volunteer work and interviews with the social workers and the refugees, the first assumptions were proven completely wrong. It was concluded that the community shelters are just a facade to a reality of 'camp-like' conditions and constant conflict. However, refugees continued to find ways to make their space feel familiar, to humanise it, and make it feel more like *home*.

6.1.2 The Final Interpretation

Based on this shift in perspective, one final interpretation can be made. The *Systembauten* community shelter may not be a place the refugees would want to perceive as their permanent and ideal *home*, and the conditions in the community shelter can hinder their spatial practices rather than trigger them. However, the interplay between the materiality of the shelter; the attempts at physical and mental health protection; and most significantly, the refugee's dialogue with the space, other refugees, and management, and their experiences and dynamics within the shelter indicate how shelters will inevitably be changed into *homes*.

Finally, it is possible to conclude that the spatial practice of making homes in Stuttgart's community shelters resulted from an interplay between the sum of *spatial*, *political, temporal* and *socio-cultural* negotiations that occurs within the various spaces of the shelter, which are a result of responding to both tangible and intangible conditions, and connections to their *previous* and *ideal home*. In that sense, a shelter can be interpreted as more than just a structure that is provided by those in power. It can go beyond its physical form and hold within it notions of *home*.

Consequently, throughout this journey, the research contributed to the growing debate on the role and impact of shelter on refugees while utilising the lens of the spatial practice of 'making homes' in the context of displacement. First, the research clarified some of the misconceptions about shelter and emphasised its importance while filling the research gaps on temporary, urban, collective shelters. Second, it added to the limited research on shelter in refugee studies,

particularly space appropriation, and as such, showcased refugees as spatial agents. Cumulatively, this research added to the growing debate about interpreting shelter as "more than just a roof". Moreover, it advocates for giving refugees the right to appropriate, dwell, and make homes, as refugees need a shelter that gives them the chance to plant the first seeds of rebuilding their *home*.

6.2 Recommendations

As a result, the efforts and the will for a change are crucial to all actors involved, not just the decision-makers. As a result, this section is a combination of recommendations that stemmed from the researcher, social workers, and refugees combined. As previously stated, the refugees are co-producers in this research, and their recommendations should be brought forward.

6.2.1 Refugees and Host Community

The behaviour of refugees towards each other, whether they are from the same nationality or not, and the behaviour of the citizens towards the refugees stems mainly from how informed they are about such complex dynamics. While some recommendations can be directed towards them, they will not be effective without a higher level of awareness and education. In that sense, the first seed needs to come from a higher level, such as the city government or federal government, through awareness programs that can be applied through welfare organisations. With that first seed, refugees and citizens can start initiating their own activities to create a sense of community and be more understanding of each others' differences and perspectives.

6.2.2 Welfare Organisations

The role of the welfare organisation is highly crucial, as they are the implementers of national policies and keep a peaceful environment in the shelters. However, the load on the social workers is usually huge, and they tend to burn out fast. As suggested by one social worker, organisations need to separate the 'integration management' and 'house management', as they tend to get overwhelmed. Nevertheless, integration management, even if separated from house management, tend to be drowning in paperwork and getting appointments for refugees, particularly during COVID-19. The integration is mainly focused on the bureaucratic side of the integration process, rather than the social aspect of it. In that sense, a sub-section of integration management could be devoted to creating a sense of community, not just outside the shelter and the borders of the site, but within the site and the different refugees as well. More than 'managing' the community, it is 'creating' a community. In that sense, this subsection can include 'Community Activities', 'For Her', and 'Conflict Management' segments.

'Onboarding Sessions'

There should be an onboarding session for the refugees when they arrive in the shelter to introduce them to the different regulations and the technical aspects of the shelter. The house management can carry out these sessions to explain what regulations are in place and why they are important. The reason why most refugees do not follow certain regulations is because they do not understand the reason behind it, or it simply just does not make any sense to them.

'Community Activities'

The policy behind the integration process and developing that sense of home and belonging has to start from the shelter. While it is believed that the integration process starts 'the right way' when the refugees start living with Germans, that logic might not be completely correct. In an era of globalisation and migration, most cities are a mix of more than one nationality, particularly in Stuttgart, which has more than 170 nationalities. If refugees are not educated about how to accept the other, whether German or not, and the same applies to the host community, this integration process is not going to work. Moreover, as refugees are staying in the shelter and waiting for their asylum application, they can not work or study, which increases their anxiety. In that sense, community activities are essential to get the refugees to go out of their rooms, learn something new, and get introduced to new cultures.

'For Her'

Mothers usually stay at home, i.e. the shelter, to take care of their children, particularly if they are young or do not have a place in kindergarten yet. As a result, mothers also have difficulties attending German courses or interacting with the neighbourhood where the shelter lies. Some mothers do not have any former education, so they might need to start from scratch. In addition, some children are traumatised from their journey to reach Germany, where some, for example, can not speak yet or have difficulties interacting with other children. Therefore, 'For Her' can include programs for stay-at-home refugees and their children. In that sense, social workers specialising in daycare can help women in taking care of their children. Consequently, women would have the opportunity to attend their classes and quickly get familiar with their new context, and not

fall behind as men go to work or German courses. At the same time, this will teach the children how to socialise with others from different nationalities and cultures.

'Conflict Management'

Intercultural communication could be one of the ways to tackle the constant conflicts taking place between refugees who could be or could not be from the same nationality or ethnic group. Techniques such as communication games and conducting workshops on active listening could be one of the ways to break down the defence walls refugees might have. In addition, intercultural communication could yet be another way to teach refugees to accept the differences in each other, and in the new context they are in. ' SOFIE', a program funded by Erasmus+, is one of the efforts to bring forward the importance of intercultural communication.

Nevertheless, some complementary efforts will need to take place in the shelter to reduce some of the conflicts that might arise in the shared spaces. Some of these management features were present in some shelters but absent in others; such as placing tags in each section of the kitchen and assigning it to its respective room; or creating cleaning plans, where each family/room is assigned a week to clean the shared spaces; or most importantly, creating a schedule for when each family/room can use the laundry room.

6.2.3 Humanitarian Architects

While there is no mention of the role of architecture or architects in the shelter sector on a global level, their role is highly crucial in the design of shelters. However, an architect can never fully predict how a space will be used and needs to comprehend that a space needs to be co-produced. As a result, further efforts will need to be made to include the refugees in the design process, and in that way, the space will be co-produced with not just experts, but with the users as well. Furthermore, the potential of a modular system like the *Systembauten* needs to be better utilised, and these modular units need to be assembled to address the different needs. For example, modular categories can be designed to fit different needs and family structures. In that sense, one site can have a variety of spaces where refugees can dwell and make homes. Moreover, other elements of flexibility need to be introduced within the shelter itself, such as moveable

walls and extensions which can be allocated when needed, and in that way, help the refugees produce a 'home' out of a 'shelter'.
Nevertheless, some specific elements can be changed in the current design, that can help refugees live with more privacy, dignity and a sense of safety, and facilitate their spatial practice of making homes:

The Rooms
First, the main doors of the rooms can be shifted from each other; that way, when a refugee opens their door, they would not be completely in front of the other refugee. Another way could be tilting or shifting the modular unit, which could increase the level of privacy even more. Second, the connecting doors need to be placed in the sense that they would not take more space from the already small room. For example, sliding doors could be used. Third, placing relatively large windows on the ground floor hinders the refugees' privacy. Fourth, sound insulation was one of the major issues brought forward, and using more acoustically efficient walls can inevitably ease the daily lives of the refugees and reduce conflict.

The Shared Spaces
Corridor: As previously noted, there is no accessibility to natural daylight, and the corridors are generally poorly ventilated, as the doors are highly opaque and are not allowed to be kept open. Using doors that facilitate the accessibility of daylight and air ventilation can hugely impact the perception of the space. Moreover, as it has been showcased, corridors are usually full of shoe racks, as refugees usually prefer not to take their shoes inside their private rooms. In that sense, embedded racks/shelves in the wall can ease that spatial practice, and at the same time, it will not hinder evacuations in case of fire.

Kitchen: Various refugees brought forward that having shelves in the kitchen is crucial. In addition, finding a better mechanism for the doors to open and close while still adhering to fire safety regulations could ease the daily lives of mothers who need to keep the door open to hear their children.

Bathroom: When it came to the bathroom, various refugees, particularly families, aspired to have direct access to it, particularly if they were not sharing it. In that regard, a connecting door could open directly from the rooms to the bathroom.

Laundry Room: It has been noticed in various shelters that refugees prefer to use the drying rack rather than the dryers provided. In that sense, if the laundry room encompasses a space where refugees can place their drying racks instead of providing dryers, it could better respond to their needs.

The community rooms: Ideally, the private and community rooms should not be placed together. If these rooms are being used all the time in a perfect scenario, it does not make sense to have them placed next to the private rooms.

The Outdoor Spaces

On the site level, as refugees tend to give away or sell their things, or instead of the community dumbing their unneeded furniture on the streets, a place could be designated in the shelter where these things could be displayed, such as a small warehouse, instead of thrown away, and in that sense, when someone new moves in, they can have an inventory of things that they can pick from. In addition, as noted by various refugees, having a fenced playground area and placing it within sight of the refugees would increase the safety of their children. Furthermore, more outdoor seating areas should be incorporated into the site's design.

6.2.4 Decision Makers

Awareness

Refugees need to be informed about the legal framework in Germany. Some refugees do not understand their legal process and what they should expect through their application. If refugees are well-informed, it will give them better control over their mental status and their lives. However, it could be understood that a major challenge is human resources. In addition, usually, the information regarding the process the refugees need to go through is scattered and not comprehensive, as noticed after quick internet research.

Accordingly, this could be done in two ways. First, refugees should have a printed welcome guide once they arrive in the country, and another sub-guide when they arrive in the shelter, to better understand how the system works in Germany and the rules they must adhere to. The guide can be in their native language and contains infographics for easy understanding. While some of these guides are available online, not all refugees have access to the internet, particularly when

they first arrive or do not speak German or English.

Second, while there could already be existing apps, an analysis of these apps should be done first, identify their strengths and weaknesses, and then carry on with a new app where a comprehensive set of information can address different refugees. For example, to learn about the system, to book their appointments with the social workers, to post furniture they do not need, to get informed about the culture, to post social events, to have a frequently asked questions section, or a map that shows where different events can be taking place in the city. Moreover, the app needs to be interactive and with visuals, and sound narrations, as some refugees do not know how to read and/or write. This app could be a way to make the load on social workers less intense.

Refugees as Active Agents

Moreover, the capacities of refugees should be utilised. Their academic and professional skills should be brought forward instead of suppressing them. Instead of cleaning the community shelters, refugees could be the ones that are giving classes to other refugees or taking care of the children, and instead of imposing more rules on how the shelter can be managed, the skills that the refugees have in maintaining the shelter should be utilised. Furthermore, refugees who are willing to learn can be trained to live and sustain themselves and the spaces they dwell in.

Policies and the Bureaucratic System

A revision of the ongoing policies needs to take place to identify the gaps, such as the gap between the legal status of a refugee and their sheltering opportunities, or the gaps between humanitarian response and long-term development. As previously stated, even though some refugees can have a residence permit, they might not be able to find private housing or get allocated to a municipal housing due to the unavailability of apartments. In that sense, policies need to move towards durable solutions, where a temporary shelter, such as the community shelter, can be transformed into permanent housing. In order to move towards such as change, a post-occupancy evaluation system needs to be put in place to understand how the community shelters were appropriated and as such, better understand how they can be transformed. While this research was a first step

towards achieving that, more research needs to be done.

6.3 Way Forward

6.3.1 Shelters and Notions of Home

This research was merely a starting point to understanding the spatial practice of refugees to make homes in displacement. However, more in-depth research and mapping needs to be done on more shelters in Stuttgart and within Germany, and with that, start finding patterns and connections between 'shelters' and 'making homes'. In that sense, one would have a solid and scientific basis for integrating notions of 'home' in sheltering strategies locally, nationally and globally. The perception of shelter as a process rather than a product is one of the first steps toward an effective response strategy, in which shelter can be a place where the first seeds of making homes in forced displacement can be initiated. Consequently, a multi-lingual research team would be ideal for further investigating the distinctions between various refugees and how their backgrounds impacted the use of space and how they make homes.

6.3.2 Guidelines on Collective Shelters

In addition, there are almost no global guidelines on collective shelters such as the *Systembauten* community shelters. While not all contexts could have a modular system like the *Systembauten*, the community shelters could be a starting point toward national and global guidelines on collective shelters and how refugees and displaced populations, in general, could co-live and make homes, where addressing socio-cultural needs can become more crucial.

6.3.3 Shelters and Sustainability

Climate change might lead to another influx of refugees with the escalation of global warming. A climate tipping point refers to a point "where a changing climate could push parts of the Earth system into abrupt or irreversible change" (McSweeney, 2020). Based on a recent UN Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) report, the world has an average of 10 years to switch the current discourse of greenhouse emissions that cause global warming before any of the pre-identified tipping points are reached (Allen et al., 2018).

Within the global agenda for responding to climate change, and as more

organisations, such as IFRC, are moving towards advocating for more sustainable shelters, further research must be done to tackle how shelters can be climate responsive and more sustainable; economically, socially, and environmentally. As noted in Chapter one: Section (1.4.2.7), shelters have a huge environmental impact. While Germany is considered to be one of the leading countries in sustainability, no consideration of the use of solar panels or water collection techniques was introduced in the community shelter, as noted in Chapter Five: Section (5.2.1). Moreover, community shelters rendered specific challenges such as poor air circulation, higher temperatures due to the number of people that share one space, and the orientation of the shelters in general.

Endnotes

1 A method of construction in which the building is assembled from prefabricated components or modules

2 Since each federal state has its own shelter response, the terms used in this research are applied in the state of Baden-Württemberg

3 The Social Welfare Office; An office situated under the department of Social Affairs and Integration in the city of Stuttgart, which is responsible for the social support and assistance of persons with economic or personal emergencies, including the refugees

4 According to IOM, Migration is defined as "the movement of persons away from their place of usual residence, either across an international border or within a State" (IOM 2019a)

5 According to IOM, Forced Displacement is defined as "the movement of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters" (IOM 2019a)

6 According to IOM, a Migrant is defined as "Any person who is moving or has moved across an international border or within a State away from his/her habitual place of residence, regardless of the person's legal status; whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary; what the causes for the movement are; or what the length of the stay is" (IOM 2019a)

7 According to UNHCR, a Refugee is defined as "someone who: (i) has a well-founded fear of persecution because of his or her race, religion, nationality, political opinion, or membership in a particular social group; (ii) is outside his or her country of origin; and (iii) is unable or unwilling (because of the fear of persecution) to rely on the protection of that country, or return there" (UNGA, 1951: 152)

8 According to UNHCR , Refugee Status Determination, or RSD, is defined "as the legal or administrative process by which governments or UNHCR determine whether a person seeking international protection is considered a refugee under international, regional or national law. States have the primary responsibility to conduct RSD, however, UNHCR may conduct RSD under its mandate when a state is not a party to the 1951 Refugee Convention and/or does not have a fair and efficient national asylum procedure in place."(UNHCR, N.D)

9 According to UNHCR, an asylum seeker is defined as "someone whose claim has not yet been finally decided on by the country in which the claim is submitted. Not every asylum seeker will ultimately be recognized as a refugee, but every refugee was initially an asylum seeker" (UNHCR, 2006)

10 An Internally Displaced Person is defined as "Persons or groups of persons who have been forced or (IDPs) obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalised

violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognised state border" (M. Deng, 1998: 5)

11 Dignity: "having one's claims recognized by others, having their respect, having some measure of control over one's life, having a say in decisions, and having the responsibility of one's choices" (Ober, 2009: 2)

12 In the case of IDPs, the settlement could vary depending on the situation, from returnees (owner-occupied or rental) to dispersed displaced populations (rental, host families, self-settled) to communal displaced populations (collective centres, planned settlements, unplanned settlements). Accordingly, the shelter assistance types may differ, ranging from emergency shelter, temporary/ transitional/semi-permanent shelter, host family support, rental support, core housing, housing repair/retrofit/rehabilitation, and permanent housing. In general terms, the end goal of the sheltering process is to return, resettle or reconstruct (Global Shelter Cluster, 2021)

13 Available at: http://legilux.public.lu/eli/etat/leg/loi/2015/12/18/n15/jo

14 Or Königsteiner Schlüssel; is a quota system constituted of tax revenue (two-thirds) and the population of the federal states (one-third)

15 Or Erstverteilung der Asylbegehrenden; is a computer-based system, utilized to determine whether an asylum seeker may remain in the state of arrival or must move to another federal state. This system is allegedly used to ensure an appropriate and fair distribution among the federal states. The Königstein key serves as the foundation for this system, as it is used to decide in which federal state the asylum seekers must submit their application and wait for the decision (Regierungspräsidien BW, N.D)

16 Unaccompanied minor refugees are refugees that have crossed borders alone or in small groups. A 10-year-old was the youngest refugee to arrive alone in Stuttgart. For these refugees, the Child and Youth Welfare law apply. In 2014, 260 minor refugees were registered. In 2015, the number rose to 1,000 refugees. The minor refugees are looked after around the clock and attend German language courses (Brand, 2016).

17 A man who lived in the Schleyerhalle did not want to leave the shelter where he lived with another 450 people. That man then asked to at least be relocated in the same neighbourhood, but the social welfare office could not fulfil such requests. In another instance, a single mother from the Gambia that was relocated to one of the *Systembauten* community shelters in Bad Cannstatt stated that the move was difficult for her, the room was much smaller, and that she did not understand why the water in the shower turns off automatically quickly, and why she has to press a button in the kitchen every few minutes (Volland, 2016).

18 The Properties Office; An office situated under the department of Economic Affairs, Finances and Public Undertakings in the city of Stuttgart, which is responsible for the management of the city's properties, including refugee shelters

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Appendix

Appendix 1 - Interviews' Questionnaire

1. Refugees' Questionnaire

These questions are designed to trigger the refugees' to demonstrate how they attempt to make homes in the community shelters. The main objective was to provide the refugees with complete freedom to express their opinions without the researcher's interference. Therefore, the questions evolved with each family depending on how much they were willing to share about their lives.

That Home?

(Background Story - Arriving in Germany)

1. How long have you been in Stuttgart?
2. How did you arrive in Germany?
3. Was Germany your first choice?

These questions should also cover: Reasons for leaving - Countries crossed.

Towards A Home?

(Occupation - Journey to Occupying this Shelter)

1. Do you already have refugee status?
2. Are you allowed to work? Are you studying German?
3. When did you come to this shelter?
4. What did you take with you when you left home?

These questions should also cover: The process of arriving in this shelter - Was it the first shelter? - Impact of other shelters

This Home?

(Men VS Women (The Feminist Perspective) - Old VS Young (The Child's Perspective)

Concept

How do you perceive the shelter? Is it a pre-arrival place? Do you feel like you are in Germany? Or you haven't arrived yet?

Materiality

1. Is the space of the room enough for you?
2. Is there enough furniture?
3. Do you have enough space to store your personal belongings?

Protection (Physical/Mental) - Well Being

1. How are you with (thermal comfort, energy, water, food, waste, sound isolation)?
2. How's the shelter during summer/winter/Covid-19?
3. Are you comfortable in this shelter?
4. Do you feel safe?
5. Can you sleep well?

Social Comfort

1. Do you feel connected to other people living on this site?
2. Do you feel integrated into the community and within the city?

Politics

Shared Spaces

1. Did you have any clashes with the residents before?
2. How is it to share the bathroom/kitchen/washing machines?

On Women

How do you take care of the family? Are the tasks divided between all of you?

On Children

1. What is the children's mental health? Did you notice a behaviour change?
2. Do they go to school? Do they have a place to study?

Appropriation of Space

1. How did you change the space from when you first moved in till now?
2. How did you change the space throughout the day? Do you move any furniture around?
3. What kind of restrictions do you have on changing the space?

Concept of Home

1. Do you call this shelter home?
2. Do you want to make your home here? Would you call Germany home?

Virtual Home

1. Do you have access to the internet?
2. Can you connect to other family members?

Aspirations for That Home?

1. Do you want to go back?
2. What do you miss most about That Home?
3. How do you connect to your past home?

2. Social Workers' Questionnaire

These questions are designed to trigger the social workers' opinion on refugees' attempts to make homes in the community shelters. The main objective was to provide the social workers complete freedom to express their opinions without the researcher's interference. Therefore, the questions evolved with each social worker depending on the situation.

On Operation and Management

1. How many people are needed to get the shelter up and running?
2. Do social workers and volunteers communicate their knowledge back to each other?
3. Is there anything that you could have done differently from an operation and management perspective?
4. Do refugees pay rent in this shelter?
5. What are the safety and fire regulations?
6. Are there any rules that the refugees need to follow?

On Sheltering and Refugees

1. How do the surrounding residents perceive the site?
2. What is the population of the shelter?
3. What are the nationalities of the refugees living there? Do you think having many nationalities living together is a good idea?
4. How do you communicate with the
5. How long have the refugees been living here?
6. What is the furniture provided? Are they allowed to give some furniture back?
7. What kind of difficulties did you face during the COVID-19 pandemic?

8. Can the refugees be given a chance to furnish their rooms?
9. What are the changes that refugees can make in the room? What are the changes that are not allowed?
10. Are there any conflicts in this shelter? What are the most common conflicts?
11. Do you notice a behaviour change when the refugees first arrive and later?

12. Do the refugees use the community rooms?

13. Are there any activities done with the refugees?
14. Do you feel discrimination between receiving Ukrainians and receiving others from other nationalities?

15. How does the neighbourhood perceive the shelter?
16. Do you get any complaints?

3. Sozialamt's Questionnaire

Rethinking Shelter*ing* for the Displaced
How Refugees Make Homes in Stuttgart's Community Shelters

(If there are any recent documents that can support these questions, that would be great!)
(Wenn es aktuelle Dokumente gibt, die zur Beantwortung dieser Fragen beitragen könnten, wäre das großartig!)

1. ***Facts and Statistics (After Ukraine Crisis - Changes since the latest Refugee Report?)*** *(Fakten und Statistiken (Nach der Ukraine-Krise - Veränderungen seit dem letzten Flüchtlingsbericht?)*

a. What is the number of refugees currently in Germany/Baden Wurttemberg/ Stuttgart with the current Ukraine refugee crisis? (Wie hoch ist die Zahl der Flüchtlinge in Deutschland/Baden Württemberg/Stuttgart durch die aktuelle Flüchtlingskrise in der Ukraine?)

b. What is the number of families VS single people? (Wie hoch ist die Zahl der Familien im Vergleich zu Einzelpersonen?)

c. What is the percentage of children? (Wie hoch ist der Anteil der Kinder?)

2. ***Humanitarian Aid System (Policy and Management)*** *(System der humanitären Hilfe (Politik und Management)*

a. Germany

   i. What is the role of UNO in Germany? Do they only work outside of Germany? Who is responsible for refugees in Germany? (Was ist die Rolle der UNO in Deutschland? Sind sie nur außerhalb Deutschlands tätig? Wer ist in Deutschland für Flüchtlinge zuständig?)

   ii. How does the humanitarian aid system work in Germany? Is it different in each state? (Wie funktioniert das System der humanitären Hilfe in Deutschland? Ist es in jedem Bundesland unterschiedlich?)

iii. What are the shelter typologies in Germany? (Welche verschiedenen Arten von Unterkünften gibt es in Deutschland?)

b. Baden Wurttemberg

i. How are the refugees distributed within the state of Baden Wurttemberg and then within the city of Stuttgart? (Wie werden die Flüchtlinge innerhalb des Landes Baden Württemberg sowie innerhalb der Stadt Stuttgart verteilt?)

ii. Who is responsible for the management and distribution of refugees? (Wer ist für die Verwaltung und Verteilung der Flüchtlinge zuständig?)

iii. Are the refugees disproportionately allocated in Baden Wurttemberg? (Werden die Flüchtlinge in Baden Württemberg überproportional verteilt?)

iv. What are the shelter typologies in Baden Wurttemberg? (Welche Unterbringungstypen gibt es in Baden Württemberg?)

c. Stuttgart

i. Why did Stuttgart follow a decentralised approach to accommodating refugees? (Warum hat Stuttgart einen dezentralen Ansatz für die Unterbringung von Flüchtlingen gewählt?)

ii. Who are the organisations that work with refugee shelters? (Wer sind die Organisationen, die mit Flüchtlingsunterkünften arbeiten?)

iii. How do the organizations get assigned a specific camp/site? Do they all follow the same rules? (Wie bekommen die Organisationen ein bestimmtes Lager/einen bestimmten Standort zugewiesen? Befolgen sie alle die gleichen Regeln?)

iv. Are the rules followed in the Systembauten different than those followed in the Repurposed buildings (such as hospitals that became

shelters)? (Gelten für die Systembauten andere Regeln als für die umgenutzten Gebäude (z. B. Krankenhäuser, die zu Unterkünften umfunktioniert wurden)?

v. Who decides on where the shelters are going to be built? Why were these locations chosen? (Wer entscheidet, wo die Notunterkünfte gebaut werden sollen? Warum wurden diese Standorte ausgewählt?)

vi. What are the shelter typologies in Stuttgart? Are there new typologies being introduced? (Welche Arten von Unterkünften gibt es in Stuttgart? Gibt es neue Typologien, die eingeführt werden?)

vii. What are the policies that are followed in shelters? (Such as Minimum area per Person) (Welche Richtlinien werden in den Unterkünften befolgt? (z. B. Mindestfläche pro Person)

viii. Is there a guide that organisations follow when managing shelters? (Gibt es einen Leitfaden, an den sich Organisationen bei der Verwaltung von Unterkünften halten?)

ix. What is the plan for refugee shelters in Stuttgart? Especially with the Ukrainian conflict? (Wie sieht der Plan für Flüchtlingsunterkünfte in Stuttgart aus? Insbesondere im Hinblick auf den Ukraine-Konflikt?)

x. What are the challenges of the current private rental housing market in Stuttgart? (Was sind die Herausforderungen des aktuellen privaten Mietwohnungsmarktes in Stuttgart?)

xi. Has there been any recent attacks on the shelters in Stuttgart? (Gab es in letzter Zeit irgendwelche Angriffe auf die Unterkünfte in Stuttgart?)

xii. What type of local initiatives emerged in Stuttgart to make the refugees feel more at home? (Welche lokalen Initiativen sind in Stuttgart entstanden, um den Flüchtlingen das Gefühl zu geben, zu Hause zu sein?)

3. About the Systembauten Community Shelters in Stuttgart *(Is there any documents about it?)*

a. Is there any documentation about these systembauten shelters? Are there architectural plans for it? Site Plans? Would it be possible to have a copy of it for educational purposes? (Very Important) (Gibt es eine Dokumentation über diese Systembauten? Gibt es architektonische Pläne für sie? Wäre es möglich, eine Kopie davon für Bildungszwecke zu erhalten? (Sehr wichtig))

b. The legalislations behind the Systembauten sites, who owns the land? Is it state-owned? (Welche Rechtsvorschriften stehen hinter den Systembauten, wem gehören die Grundstücke? Ist es Staatseigentum?)

c. What are the primary functions (objectives) of the Systembauten community shelters? Who designed the systembauten shelters? (Was sind die Hauptfunktionen (Ziele) der Gemeinschaftsunterkünfte der Systembauten? Wer hat die Systembauten entworfen?)

d. Who built the systembauten shelters? (Wer hat die Systembauten gebaut?)

e. Who designed the site plan of each of the shelter locations across Stuttgart? (Wer hat den Lageplan für die einzelnen Standorte der Unterkünfte in Stuttgart entworfen?)

f. What is the housing situation in Stuttgart? Then, will the systembauten shelters be integrated into the Stuttgart property market when they are not needed anymore? Do the authorities have a plan to repurpose the shelters after? (Wie ist die Wohnsituation in Stuttgart? Werden die Systembauten dann in den Stuttgarter Wohnungsmarkt integriert, wenn sie nicht mehr benötigt werden? Haben die Behörden einen Plan für die nachfolgende Nutzung der Notunterkünfte?)

g. How much money was invested in establishing the Systembauten shelters? How does Stuttgart get the fund? (Wie viel Geld wurde in die Errichtung der Systembauten investiert? Wie kommt Stuttgart an das Geld?)

h. With the Ukrainian crisis, Are you trying to develop new solutions for shelters, or will you replicate the exact design of the systembauten shelters? (Versuchen Sie angesichts der Ukraine-Krise, neue Lösungen für die Unterkünfte zu entwickeln, oder werden Sie das genaue Design der Systembauten wiederholen?)

i. What happens to the refugees with shelters that have limited contracts? (Was passiert mit den Flüchtlingen in den Unterkünften, die befristete Verträge haben?)

j. How are the refugees informed about their situation in this shelter? Do they know that it is temporary? (Wie werden die Flüchtlinge über ihre Situation in dieser Unterkunft informiert? Wissen sie, dass es sich um eine vorübergehende Unterkunft handelt?)

k. What are the regulations that refugees have to follow in these shelters? Especially their rooms, Can they change anything? For example, are they allowed to hang anything on the wall? (Welche Vorschriften müssen die Flüchtlinge in diesen Unterkünften einhalten? Vor allem ihre Zimmer. Können sie etwas verändern? Dürfen sie zum Beispiel etwas an die Wand hängen?)

الملخص

إعادة التفكير في إيواء النازحين
كيف يصنع اللاجئون منازلهم في ملاجئ شتوتغارت المجتمعية

يارا المغربي

المنزل مصطلح غامض وربما مثير للجدل. "أين منزلك ؟ ما هو موطنك ؟ هي أسئلة يصعب الإجابة عليها، خاصة في حالات النزوح. ويميل المشردون إلى مغادرة ديارهم والتماس الحماية في أماكن أخرى، داخل حدود بلدهم أو خارجها. يبحثون عن مأوى في أماكن مختلفة، من الإقامة مع الأصدقاء أو العائلة إلى تحويل المباني دون المستوى إلى بناء ملاجئ خاصة بهم. يمكن أيضًا توفير الملاجئ من قبل المنظمات الإنسانية أو المؤسسات الحكومية، والتي يشار إليها عادةً باسم الملاجئ «المؤقتة». وبينما يأمل المشردون أن تكون الحالة مؤقتة في الواقع، نادرا ما تكون كذلك. وبالتالي، لا يُعترف بالمأوى كنقطة انطلاق حيث يمكن للمشردين إعادة بناء منازلهم، وبشكل عام، لم يكتسب المأوى سوى القليل من الاهتمام الأكاديمي. وفي سياق اللاجئين، ساهم تصور المأوى كهيكل غير حضري/ريفي في الدراسات المحدودة المتعلقة بالمأوى الحضري. وعلاوة على ذلك، لا توجد معايير عالمية متاحة بشأن الملاجئ الجماعية.

يهدف هذا البحث إلى معالجة هذه الفجوات ويركز على ملاجئ *Systembauten* المجتمعية في شتوتغارت. تم بناء هذه الملاجئ الجماعية الحضرية في ألمانيا في ٢٠١٥-٢٠١٦ لإيواء اللاجئين مؤقتًا أثناء معالجة طلبات اللجوء الخاصة بهم. تحقق الدراسة: كيف يصنع اللاجئون الذين يعيشون في ملاجئ *Systembauten* المجتمعية في شتوتغارت منازلهم ؟ وعلى هذا النحو، اعتمد نهجا استقرائيا نوعيا من خلال النظرية القائمة على الأساس والإثنوغرافيا المعمارية. وعند تطبيق هذه المنهجية، ومن خلال التحليل المواضيعي لمختلف المقاييس المكانية (المأوى مع مساحاته الخاصة والمشتركة بالإضافة إلى الموقع)، ظهرت ظروف مختلفة باعتبارها المؤثر الرئيسي في تخصيص الأماكن، وبالتالي، حدثت مجموعة من الممارسات المكانية استجابة لهذه الظروف. وأخيراً، استُنتج أن الممارسة المكانية المتمثلة في إنشاء منازل في الملاجئ المجتمعية في شتوتغارت ناتجة عن تفاعل بين مجموع المفاوضات المكانية والسياسية والزمنية والاجتماعية - الثقافية التي تجري داخل مختلف أماكن المأوى، والتي هي نتيجة للاستجابة لكل من الظروف الملموسة وغير الملموسة، والصلات بمنزلهم السابق والمثالي. بشكل تراكمي، أضاف هذا البحث إلى البحث المحدود حول دور وتأثير الملاجئ المؤقتة والحضرية والجماعية على اللاجئين مع استخدام عدسة الممارسة المكانية المتمثلة في «صنع المنازل» في سياق التشرد.

الكلمات الرئيسية: *Systembauten*؛ الوكالة المكانية؛ الاعتمادات؛ المأوى الجماعي؛ المأوى الحضري

إقرار

هذه الرسالة مقدمة في جامعة عين شمس وجامعة شوتجارت للحصول على درجة العمران المتكامل والتصميم المستدام. إن العمل الذي تحويه هذه الرسالة قد تم إنجازه بمعرفة الباحث سنة 2022.

هذا ويقر الباحث أن العمل المقدم هو خلاصة بحثه الشخصي وأنه قد اتبع الإسلوب العلمي السليم في الإشارة إلى المواد المؤخوذه من المراجع العلمية كلٌ في مكانه في مختلف أجزاء الرسالة..

وهذا إقرار مني بذلك،،،

التوقيع:

الباحث: يارا المغربي

التاريخ:08/15/2022

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مقدمة للحصول على درجة الماجستير في العمران المتكامل والتصميم المستدام

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جامعة شتوتجارت

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