NORDISK ARKITEKTURFORSKNING
NORDIC JOURNAL OF ARCHITECTURAL RESEARCH

1

ISSUE 1 2022

NORDISK ARKITEKTURFORSKNING
Nordic Journal of Architectural Research

1–2022

Nordic Journal of Architectural Research
ISSN: 1893–5281

Editors-in-Chief
Marius Fiskevold
Norwegian University of Life Sciences, NMBU, Norway
Sten Gromark
Chalmers University of Technology, Sweden
Magnus Rönn
Nordic Association of Architectural Research, Sweden

For more information on the editorial board for the journal and board for the association, see http://arkitekturforskning.net/na/.

Submitted manuscripts
Manuscripts are to be sent to Marius Fiskevold (marius.fiskevold@nmbu.no), Sten Gromark (sgromark@bredband.net) and Magnus Rönn (magnus.ronn.arch@gmail.com) as a text file in Word, using Times New Roman font. Submitted articles should not exceed 8 000 words exclusive abstract, references and figures. The recommended length of contributions is 5 000–8 000 words. Deviations from this must be agreed with the editors in chief. See Author's Guideline (http://arkitekturforskning.net/na/information/authors) for further information.

Subscription
Students/graduate students
Prize: 27.5 Euro.
Individuals (teachers, researchers, employees, professionals)
Prize: 38.5 Euro.
Institutions (libraries, companies, universities)
Prize: 423 Euro.

Membership for the association
5.5 Euro (for individuals who get access to the journal through institutions).

Students and individual subscribers must inform about their e-mail address in order to get access to the journal. After payment, send the e-mail address to Trond Haug, trond.haug@sintef.no.

Institutional subscribers must inform about their IP-address/IP-range in order to get access to the journal. After payment, send the IP-address/IP-range to Trond Haug, trond.haug@sintef.no.

Payment
Sweden pay to plusgiro: 419 03 25-3
Outside Sweden pay in Euro to Nordea IBAN: SE67 9500 0099 6034 4190 3253 BIC/SWIFT: NDEASESS

Published by SINTEF Academic Press
P O Box 124 Blindern, NO-0314 Oslo, Norway.

CONTENTS

EDITORS' NOTES 5
STEN GROMARK, MARIUS FISKEVOLD AND MAGNUS RÖNN

DESIGN INTERVENTIONS – REFLECTIONS AND PERSPECTIVES FOR URBAN DESIGN RESEARCH 15
CECILIE BREINHOLM CHRISTENSEN, ELIAS MELVIN CHRISTIANSEN AND ANDREA VICTORIA HERNANDEZ BUENO

BECOMING COSMOPOLITAN CITIZEN-ARCHITECTS: AN EDUCATOR'S REFLECTIONS ON ARCHITECTURAL EDUCATION ACROSS THE NORDIC BALTIC ACADEMY OF ARCHITECTURE 49
MASSIMO SANTANICCHIA

LOST POTENTIALS? UNPACKING THE TECTONICS OF ARCHITECTURAL COST AND VALUE 89
ESZTER SÁNTHA, MARIE FRIER HVEJSEL AND MIA KRUSE RASMUSSEN

THE CONCEPT OF PLACE IN DISPLACEMENT MANAGEMENT 119
HÅVARD BREIVIK-KHAN

PROUDLY REJECTED: THE CASE OF GRAND MOSQUE INITIATIVE IN HELSINKI 147
HOSSAM HEWIDY AND KAISA SCHMIDT-THOMÉ

FORUM

BOOK REVIEW:
ENABLING THE CITY – INTERDISCIPLINARY AND TRANSDISCIPLINARY ENCOUNTERS IN RESEARCH AND PRACTICE 177
REVIEWER: PEHR MIKAEL SÄLLSTRÖM

BOOK REVIEW:
THE NEW URBAN CONDITION: CRITICISM AND THEORY FROM ARCHITECTURE AND URBANISM 185
REVIEWER: DR NAGHAM AL-QAYSI

PHD REVIEW:
CHOREOGRAPHING FLOW: A STUDY IN CONCRETE DEPOSITION 191
REVIEWER: DR. MARCELYN GOW

PHD REVIEW:
LEARNING FOR FUTURE KNOWING NOW: INVESTIGATING TRANSFORMATIVE PEDAGOGIC PROCESSES WITHIN A DESIGN FACULTY IN A SOUTH AFRICAN UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY 195
REVIEWER: DR. ELMARIE COSTANDIUS

Front cover:
Modell of the Viva-housing project in Gothenburg presented by the cooperative Housing provider Riksbyggen.
Photo: Sten Gromark.

NORDISK ARKITEKTURFORSKNING
NORDIC JOURNAL OF ARCHITECTURAL RESEARCH

THE CONCEPT OF PLACE IN DISPLACEMENT MANAGEMENT

HÅVARD BREIVIK-KHAN

Abstract

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

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

Introduction

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

Methodology and structure

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

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

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

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

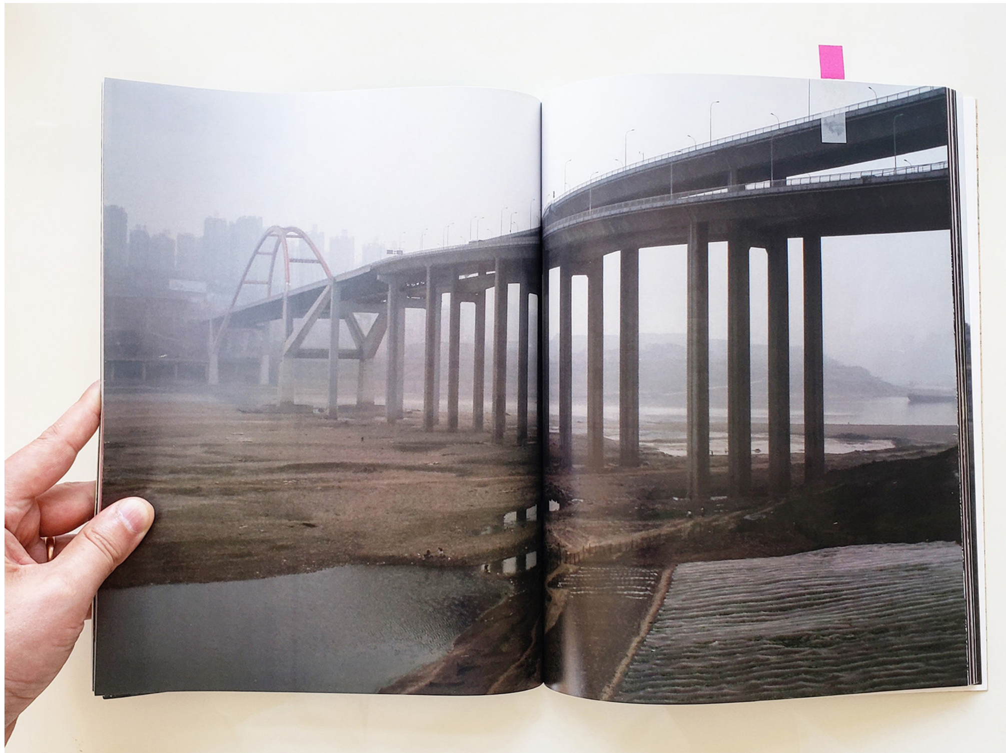

Figure 1
Non-place or place? Chongqing, China (2009).
© TANJA BERGQVIST & HÅVARD BREIVIK-KHAN

Non-Place as site selection criterion?

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

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

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

"Place" in displacement management literature

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

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

3 Location and place are used interchangeably in this section.

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

Three dimensions of a cross-disciplinary place framework

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

(i) Site as location as place

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ii) Constructing the social

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

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

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

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

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

Architecture as generator of place

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

Place as placemaking

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(iii) Mobility, longevity and permanence

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Building and the terror of time

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

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

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

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

Concluding reflections

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

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

Acknowledgements

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

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

References

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

of the Western Sahara. Zürich: Lars Müller.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

List of illustrations with captions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PHOTO: MARIAN JADE

Biographical information

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

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