Regulating uncertainty: Institutional implications of regulatory mechanisms for temporary accommodations for displaced persons in Germany and Sweden

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Abstract

Regulating uncertainty: Institutional implications of regulatory mechanisms for temporary accommodations for displaced persons in Germany and Sweden

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Regulations exist to provide a minimum standard for quality and delivery of service. However, during times of uncertainty, it is unclear as to how regulations are utilized within the immediate response. This dissertation focuses on the European Refugee Situation in 2015, analyzing the role of regulations amongst stakeholders tasked with providing temporary accommodation for displaced persons fleeing civil conflict. Data were collected and qualitatively analysed through semi-structured interviews with 54 individuals in Germany and 30 individuals in Sweden that represent government agencies, nonprofit organizations and private companies directly involved with temporary accommodations. First, a social network analysis is created to understand regulatory-related interactions between German stakeholders to identify in what ways regulations constrain, facilitate or are neutral in interactions. Second, exemptions and non-compliance of regulations in the Swedish context are analyzed using legitimacy theory and qualitative coding,

finding a tension between humanitarian response (short-term) and developmental priorities (long-term). Lastly, interviews with Swedish enforcement agencies are isolated and qualitatively analyzed to understand types of enforcement that were used and how this relates to meeting the immediate need of temporary housing along with long-term implications to the housing supply. Findings from these analyses practically contribute to improving the efficiency of providing accommodation while ensuring safe living conditions for vulnerable populations. A theoretical contribution is provided through expansion of organizational theory and legitimacy theory by using normative and cultural-cognitive lens to analyze technical challenges.

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Chapter 1. INTRODUCTION

Global displacement has reached an all-time high in the last five years (UNHCR 2016), with numbers exceeding those from after the Second World War. Regardless of the cause, be it civil conflict, natural hazards, or man-made hazards, people experiencing displacement seek refuge in either nearby locations or across country borders. When capacity is exceeded for accommodation, a group of diverse stakeholders come together to mee the need. In an effort to improve efficiency in the operation, preexisting authority frameworks or regulatory mechanisms are not maintained and regulations are temporarily compromised (Thompson 1967). Building regulations provide a baseline for construction and living quality within building, also standardizing the quality of buildings in a community's housing supply. It is critical to have a better understanding of the role that such regulatory mechanisms to ensure consistency across stakeholders providing accommodation and to ensure a safe living situation for those staying in such facilities. This dissertation attempts to provide insight into the question: *what role do regulations play during the provision of temporary accommodation*?

1.1 Dissertation Summary

Limited literature exists surrounding urban temporary accommodations in low-income countries, and even less regarding regulations for such facilities. This dissertation first presents a social network which maps regulatory-related interactions between stakeholders (Chapter 2) to show the degree of agency and power held by stakeholders in providing temporary accommodations. Within this network, specific types of regulatory interactions – exemptions and non-compliance – are analyzed to understand how stakeholders legitimize such use of regulations (Chapter 3), introducing the inherent conflict between humanitarian response (short-term) and development (long-term) priorities. With an understanding of how exemptions and non-compliance are perceived, Chapter 4 focuses on enforcement agencies and the types of enforcement that were used for temporary accommodations. Figure 1-1 visualizes these chapters below.

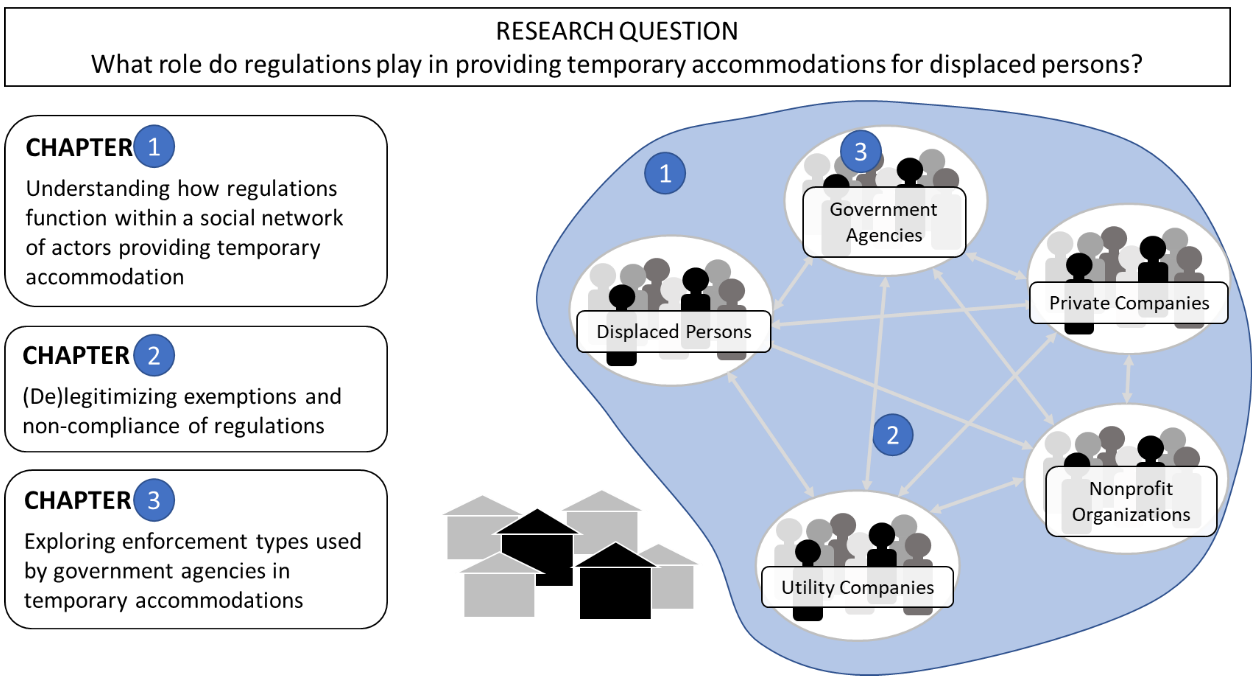

Figure 1-1. Overview of dissertation chapters within the operation of providing temporary accommodation.

1.2 Research Context

In 2015, 28 European countries received over two million applications for asylum, almost three times more than the previous year (UNHCR 2016). Civil conflict in countries such as Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq forced individuals and families to flee their homes seeking safety. Due to the several types of asylum policies and political climate, displaced persons concentrated on specific countries to ensure a better chance of being granted asylum. Two of these EU member states included Germany and Sweden, who received the highest number of applications for asylum in 2015 (UNHCR 2016). Both countries guaranteed accommodation for people seeking asylum during the application process and immediately following approval of a temporary residence permit. Quality of life is guaranteed to displaced persons, but to what extent? And how do these temporary accommodations impact the surrounding communities? Capacity was reached in existing temporary accommodations and both Germany and Sweden were forced to house people in sports halls, industrial factories, abandoned warehouses, office buildings and other facilities were utilized during the fall and winter of 2015.

1.2.1 *Germany*

Germany hosted nearly 750,000 displaced people in the last year and has processed the largest volume of asylum applications in the European Union over the last five years (UNHCR 2016; BAMF 2015). Although the recent migration situation in Germany gained global attention in the last few years, reception of displaced persons has been a part of the country’s history. During the late 1980s, people sought asylum in Germany following the war conflict in Yugoslavia, Romania and Turkey (Solsten 1995). Due to this increase of displaced persons and the welcoming social benefits policy Germany offers, permanent structures have been constructed for use in accommodating displaced persons during their asylum application process. Recent media expressed the demand for housing in German cities due to accommodating asylum-seekers (Debrebant 2016), but this has also been the case in the last two decades (Eisenhammer 1991). Recent literature has presented investigations of health amongst asylum-seekers in German housing accommodations (Niedermeier and Dreweck 2011; Führer, Eichner, and Stang 2016; Kern 2016), concerns about abuse in temporary facilities (Komaromi 2016), social empowerment in reception centers (Safouane 2016) and the role of volunteer engagement in temporary housing accommodations (Karakayali and Kleist 2016). A review of literature produced no studies discussing the built environment and providing temporary accommodation within an urban context. However, one recent study analyzed the preference of community members towards types of refugee housing, showing that a majority of Germans disapproved of refugee for housing in their vicinity- this was stable before and after the peak of “welcome culture” that has been discussed in German media and politics (Liebe et al. 2018). News articles did address challenges with repurposing buildings and constructing temporary facilities in German cities: using container housing to meet demand (Wagstyl 2015) and acknowledging the difficulty due to environmental laws and building regulations (Dauer 2015).

1.2.2 *Sweden*

Like Germany, Sweden has also historically resettled different refugee populations; these waves have dated back to the Second World War. Groups of people included Baltic refugees in the 1940s (Kõll 2015; Matz 2015), Chilean refugees in the 1970s, Bosnian and Somalian refugees in the 1980s (Murdie and Borgegard 1998), and a mixture of refugees from various Middle Eastern and African countries in the 1990s (Sweden Statistics 2018). Reception policy has changed over time, for example up through 1995, displaced persons were accommodated in refugee camps in different cities while their application was processed (Human Rights Watch 1996). It is unclear as to whether these “camps” are similar to present-day living conditions. As a result of these influxes, the Swedish Migration Agency commissioned the construction of permanent buildings for the use of reception and temporary housing. In 2015, Sweden experienced another influx in displaced persons, with 156,400 applications in asylum in 2015 (UNHCR 2016, 38). This is more than twice as many applications from the year before and a greater ratio of asylum seekers to general population than Germany when comparing Sweden’s 9.7 million people to Germany’s 80.7 million. As mentioned in the definitions, the term asylum seeker specifically relates to someone who has applied for asylum with the Swedish Migration Agency. This explains the discrepancy between total asylum seekers and those registered in housing facilities. Existing literature has mainly focused on health-related studies (Wångdahl et al. 2014; Bäärnhielm et al. 2014), experiences of unaccompanied minors in the asylum process (Lundberg and Dahlquist 2012; Hanberger et al. 2016) and understanding the willingness of municipalities to receive displaced persons who have received asylum (Lidén and Nyhlén 2015, 2014). Related to housing and accommodation, studies have examined the factors contributing to residential segregation (Murdie and Borgegard 1998; Borevi and Bengtsson 2015), however this is primarily focused on permanent housing following a positive asylum decision. Other studies have analysed Swedish refugee policy and identified areas of improvement for inter-governmental coordination (Qvist 2016). Articles relating to temporary accommodations during the asylum application process were limited to the privatisation of care for unaccompanied minors (Hanberger et al. 2016) and more recently a study which focused on occupant-driven design for a prototype of temporary accommodations in Malmö, Sweden (Dabaieh and Alwall 2018). This last article was part of an ongoing project to design temporary housing that is built and influenced by Syrian refugees and focused on occupant preference on design details.

1.3 Research Method Overview

Due to the exploratory nature of this work, a qualitative approach was used for data collection (semi-structured interviews) and various mixed-methods approaches were utilized for data analysis (topical coding and social network analysis). This section summarizes these methods and provides aggregated information regarding participants included in the study.

1.3.1 *Data Collection: Semi-Structured Ethnographic Interviews*

During the influx of displaced persons in 2015, quantitative information on temporary accommodations was limited. Therefore, authors reached out to individuals from government agencies, nonprofit organizations, private companies and water utilities to capture their experience firsthand. Ethnographic interviews allow researchers to observe a situation through the participant's own words, often occurring in an informal and naturalistic setting (Allen 2017). Semi-structured interviews allow flexibility in the data collection process and provide general topics and questions to discuss, but avoid rigidity to give the participant the opportunity to express their opinion on topics of priority (Gibson and Brown 2009). Due to the small group of potential participants, a snowball sampling method was used (Crouse and Lowe 2018); at the end of interviews, participants were asked if they knew of any other people that might be useful to contact regarding the subject.

Table 1-1. Distribution of interviews aggregated by employment type and city in Germany and Sweden (City Population 2015).

City	Approximate City Population, 2015	Government Interviews	Water/Wastewater Utility Interviews	NGO/IGO Interviews	Private Company Interviews	Total
GERMANY						
City 1	3.5 million	4	6	12	6	28
City 2	500,000	3	4	5	2	14
City 3	500,000	1	0	0	2	3
City 4	1.5 million	1	0	3	8	12
Total	--	9	10	20	18	57
SWEDEN						
City 5	550,000	10	1	1	1	13
City 6	300,000	6	0	2	1	9
City 7	900,000	3	0	1	1	5
City 8	200,000	5	0	0	0	5
Other[1]	N/A	1	0	0	0	1
Total	--	25	1	4	3	33

Notes: [1]Other cities were visited for interviews, but the cities themselves were not analyzed as part of this study.

Chapters contain different numbers for interviews than what is presented in Table 1-1 based on the specific analysis that was being done. For example, Chapter 4 only uses interviews in Sweden from enforcement agencies; Chapter 3 analyzed excerpts related to exemptions and non-compliance which was represented in a subgroup of interviews conducted with Swedish stakeholders. Additionally, some interviews were conducted with multiple individuals. Efforts have been made to distinguish between the number of interviewees and number of interviews within the specific chapters.

1.3.2 *Data Analysis: Topical Coding*

The authors were interested in topics related to the provision of temporary accommodation and used thematic analysis, specifically topical coding for primary analysis of data. Coding is a "process of closely inspecting text to look for recurrent themes, topics, or relationships, and marking similar passages with a code or label to categorize them for later retrieval and theory-building" (Mills, Durepos, and Wiebe 2010). Interview content was topically coded using Dedoose qualitative analysis software (SCRC 2016). The coding process was iterative as definitions were refined for codes (Saldaña 2011). The initial coding encompassed a variety of topics, including general groupings such as actors (i.e. government, displaced persons, companies), contextual codes (i.e. challenges, positive impacts, culture) and other more descriptive codes (i.e. regulations, buildings, fire safety), provided in Appendix A and B for reference. Using thematic analysis created an open space for themes and patterns to emerge from the data regarding the overall operation of temporary accommodation, more closing aligning with participants' focus during the interviews rather than just that of the researchers. Following an initial primary analysis, data were put through secondary analysis. Chapter 2 used social network analysis and Chapters 3 and 4 used a form of topical coding, but through the theoretical framework of organizational legitimacy theory, which is further described in those chapters.

1.3.3 *Social Network Analysis*

A social network analysis is used to provide a preliminary understanding of how stakeholders within such a network relate to each other through regulations. This approach visualizes actors and interactions using mathematical representation to understand the structure and components of a network (Borgatti, Everett, and Johnson 2013). Social network analysis has shown that "decision-making effectiveness is not so much dependent on the types of behaviors produced within a discussion as it is on the sequencing of these behaviors over time" (Chinowsky and Taylor 2012). However, emergency response to rapid population increase does not have the luxury of understanding the sequencing of behaviors over an extended period. Decision-making is forced outside the conventional regulatory processes. Social network analysis maps the interactions between stakeholders and is useful for understanding agency, power, and density of interactions between people.

1.4 DISSERTATION FORMAT

A journal publication format is presented in this dissertation. Taking such an approach assists in articulating each aspect of the study in a clear and autonomous way while providing tangible results in the academic community. Chapters 2, 3, and 4 are autonomous studies and have been submitted to various journals for publication. The author requests that all reference to work in these chapters use the final journal citation rather than referencing this document. Lastly, supplementary material not included in the main document has been provided in appendices. Material includes topical coding dictionaries for Germany (Appendix A) and Sweden (Appendix B), legitimacy coding dictionary (Appendix C), IRB exemption status forms (Appendix D), interview templates used in data collection (Appendix E), and a copy of the author's curriculum vitae at the end of the document for reference.

Chapter 2. Mapping Regulatory-Related Interactions of Actors Providing Temporary Accommodations

Miriam E. Hacker*[1], Jessica Kaminsky[2], Kasey M. Faust[3]

ABSTRACT

During temporary disruptions, actors across various disciplines form synthetic organizations to react quickly and accomplish a common goal. Germany had this type of disruption during the 2015 European refugee situation when existing temporary accommodations for displaced persons exceeded capacity. Due to the presence of improvised standards and deviation from conventional practice, this study uses a social network analysis to map the various types of regulatory-related interactions experienced between actors during the 2015 provision of temporary accommodations in four German cities. A total of 252 interactions were qualitatively coded for both *interaction* and either *contracts* or *regulations* over 54 interviews with employees in government agencies, nonprofit organizations, utilities, and private companies. These excerpts were categorized by type of interaction, or whether an actor was constrained (98), neutral (65), or facilitated (89), and by whom. Findings provide insight to government agencies about how to expedite the work within a synthetic organization by targeting key, influential actors in the network, leading to quicker, more effective response in future contexts.

KEYWORDS: social network analysis, refugee, regulation, crisis, organization

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2.1 INTRODUCTION

We live in a regulated world. From the food we eat, the clothes we wear, to the buildings we live in, regulations are present in some capacity. For the purpose of this paper, the term *regulation* is used in the broad sense of rule-making or “a form of organized governance” (Brunsson and Jacobsen 2002, 10; Busch 2011). Standards are specific rules and guidelines that are not necessarily required by law (Egyedi 2008, 3) yet social repercussions exist when standards are not met. Participants in the study used both terms interchangeably, as do the authors. Although regulations seek to provide consistency in level of service, it is not well known as to how they function in an environment where extreme uncertainty exists. One such example is the European refugee situation in 2015, where countries like Germany received unprecedented numbers of displaced persons seeking asylum (UNHCR 2015). German asylum law guarantees the provision of temporary accommodation during the asylum application process (BAMF 2015); this system was functional until 2015, when capacity was exceeded in existing housing facilities (UNHCR 2016) and as such, unconventional building types including offices, abandoned warehouses, airports and sports halls were used. Various actors, such as government agencies, nonprofit organizations, utilities and private entities came together to form a *synthetic organization*—i.e. a task force formed in disaster response to meet a common goal (Thompson 1967)—that provided *temporary accommodations* in the form of buildings used to house people during the application process for asylum. However, due to time constraints and the difference in typical usage of the accommodation facilities, it was not possible to follow standard regulatory procedures. Institutional literature has theorized that deviation from standards is a result of individual interpretation and is contingent on an individual’s agency, power, interdependence within an organization (Powell and DiMaggio 1991). As such, this paper analyzes the different ways regulations were involved with engagement between actors, referred to here as *regulatory interactions* in the provision of temporary accommodations using a social network analysis (SNA). Results provide a mapping of interactions that not only assist in understanding the provision of temporary accommodations, but also shed light into the regulatory dependencies that exist in uncertain environments, adding to the larger body of work surrounding synthetic organizations.

2.2 Point of Departure

2.2.1 *Dynamic Environments*

Institutions and organizations are “relatively resistant to change” (Scott 2008, 57; Powell and DiMaggio 1991), and self-stabilizing when faced with uncertainty and disruption (Thompson 1967). For example, when a city experiences a natural disaster, rebuilding efforts begin following initial response to the damaged infrastructure (Mitchell, Esnard, and Sapat 2012). Disruptions are not always long-term, ongoing, nor necessarily natural disasters. For example, Germany experienced a temporary disruption in 2015 with the rapid inflow of displaced persons and subsequent lack of accommodations. Although the inflow of new arrivals was stifled through political processes, impacts of the population influx are still present today. When temporary disruptions introduce uncertainty into a dynamic environment, the resulting organizational response has been referred to as a *synthetic organization* (Thompson 1967).

Related studies have observed the intergovernmental coordination response to dynamic environments, such as natural disasters. For example, in Hurricane Katrina, researchers observed the operationalization of a synthetic organization through governmental and non-governmental response teams, identifying the potential for better utilizing this ‘ad-hoc’ network in future responses (Forgette et al. 2009). Another study focused on the failure of intergovernmental coordination for temporary accommodation, noting that the federal government had attempted to standardize the synthetic organization prior to its necessity, but this standardization inhibited response efforts rather than assisted (Nigg, Barnshaw, and Torres 2006). These contributions are necessary in identifying concrete examples of synthetic organizations within the context of a natural disaster, and highlight the need to better understand the implications of regulations within such an interdisciplinary response. More recent works have extended this discussion of synthetic organizations from within the scope of natural hazards to other dynamic environments, such as rapid population increase. For example, in a related study, utility company employees collaborated with a professional association to clarify existing design standards to improvise for new types of temporary accommodation that did not have existing standards (Hacker, Kaminsky, and Faust 2017). Although, the refugee situation in 2015 created challenges across multiple institutional sectors, this study focuses solely on the synthetic organization formed to provide temporary accommodations.

2.2.2 *Regulatory Deviation within Synthetic Organizations*

While a synthetic organization aims to get the job done, it can also be inefficient and may lack adherence to typical standards and norms. This is in line with the "politics of identity" (Scott 2008, 94) which theorizes that individuals within an organization can deviate from conventional patterns when goals or identities of actors within the organization shift. Agency, power, interdependency and path-dependency contribute to this deviation and are explored in this study (Powell and DiMaggio 1991, 190). Change is precipitated through an individual's interpretation of rules (Powell and DiMaggio 1991, 254), necessitating the need to understand the role of actors in this synthetic organization, including characteristics such as agency and power. Agency refers to the extent that an actor is able to effect change within an organization and is related to the amount of power that they carry in that network (Scott 2008, 94). Power has been represented diversely within literature; from Foucault's definition of power being a network within an organization, to the means by which an organization controls others (Lawrence 2008). For this study, the authors use the definition of power as the ability to satisfy or monopolize certain needs within a network (Thompson 1967, 30). For example, an actor (see Figure 2-1) that is able to initiate types of regulatory interactions may be seen as powerful because of their capacity to constrain or facilitate an interaction with another actor using regulations (interaction types used in this study are more clearly defined in Table 2). To what degree this power and agency exist is reliant on interdependency between actors, and is the basis for using a social network analysis in this research.

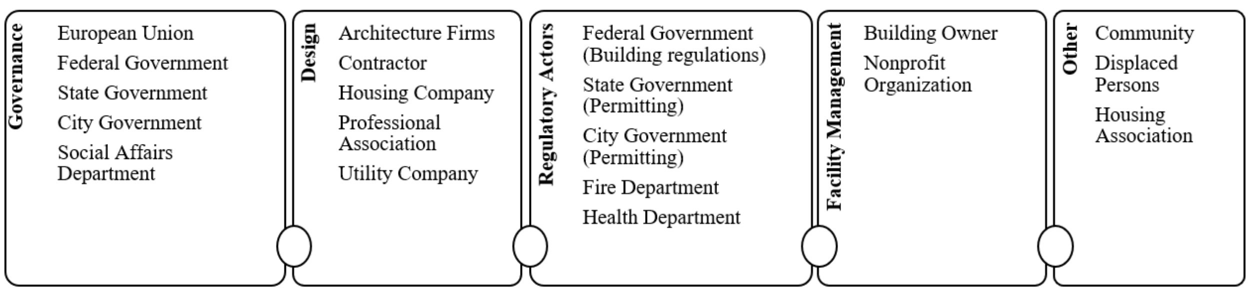

Figure 2-1. Actors involved with temporary accommodations for displaced persons.

2.2.3 *Regulations and Standards*

Regulations provide criteria for consistent levels of service and depending on their specificity, reduce the need for decision-making and interpretation by individuals involved with the process (Lampland and Star 2009). For example, the Sphere Project provides minimum standards for humanitarian relief, such as the proportion of individuals with access to sanitation services and the quality of drinking water provided (Sphere Project 2015). The social network analysis for this study includes actors mentioned in interviews as well as German federal building regulations. Although regulations are not a group of individuals, they have the potential to serve as a carrier of rules for other actors (e.g. a permitting department might use federal building regulations to constrain a building owner from new development), they are also able to influence as an actor in the synthetic organization (Thompson 1967). Allowing federal building regulations to act as an actor in the social network provides elaboration on the role they have and how other actors interact with them.

A conflict exists following the European refugee situation in 2015, as building regulations existed for new and renovated development but were not always applied to the temporary accommodations being provided due to the unconventional facilities used. Combined with the pressure of time to provide shelter for displaced persons, decision-makers were put in a position of improvising standards (Hacker, Kaminsky, and Faust 2017). Although exemptions for temporary accommodations designated for refugees were introduced into German federal building laws (Baugesetzbuch 2014), it is unclear as to how these exemptions and the conventional regulatory process impacted efforts to provide housing in a short period of time. Therefore, this study analyzes the types of regulatory interactions between actors in an effort to better understand the assistance or encumbrance of standards in a dynamic environment.

2.2.4 *Research Questions*

Regulations can be used to constrain or empower social behavior (Scott 2008) and perception can influence the power or centrality of an actor within a social network (Choi and Kim 2007; Busch 2011). This social influence of regulations extends to the legitimacy of a synthetic organization in its ability to provide a consistent delivery of service (Scott 2008). The combination of factors, including usage of unconventional buildings for temporary accommodations, the engagement of actors across typical disciplines in situational response, and the lack of standardization in the accommodation process has led to a gap of understanding in this synthetic organization. Mapping actor engagement through regulatory interactions provides insight as to what contributes to (or hinders) the effectiveness of the synthetic organization and how regulations are involved with delivery of service. To bridge this understanding gap, this study addresses the following research questions regarding the three types of interactions that are mapped:

RQ1. ***Do actors in regulatory agencies, such as federal building regulations, city and state permitting, and the social affairs department have more constrained interactions with other actors in the social network?*** Synthetic organizations function within a preexisting hierarchical structure intended for status quo conditions, meaning regulations and regulatory agencies will constrain other actors' efforts to respond quickly in an extreme situation.

RQ2. ***How does the frequency of neutral interactions compare to constrained and facilitated regulatory interactions in this context?***

The existence of extreme conditions/event reduces conventional protocol and causes improvisation in response to the situation. Neutral interactions represent standard operating procedure; therefore, it is expected that fewer of these interactions are expressed by actors.

RQ3. ***Which actors experience a greater number of facilitated interactions?*** Although standard procedure may be disrupted due to the extreme event, it is expected that since architects and building owners (actors involved with design component of the provision process) more directly interact with regulations through the permitting process and in development of contracts, they will experience facilitated interactions, such as waiving inspections or expedited review process for permits.

2.3 METHODOLOGY

2.3.1 *Social Network Analysis*

To understand the types of regulatory interactions involved with providing temporary accommodations, this study uses a social network analysis. This method visualizes actors and interactions using mathematical representation to understand the structure and components of a network (Borgatti, Everett, and Johnson 2013). Social network analysis has shown that “decision-making effectiveness is not so much dependent on the types of behaviors produced within a discussion as it is on the sequencing of these behaviors over time” (Chinowsky and Taylor 2012). However, emergency response to rapid population increase does not have the luxury of understanding the sequencing of behaviors over an extended period. Decision-making is forced outside the conventional regulatory processes.

2.3.2 *Data Collection*

Fifty-four (54) interviews used in this study were conducted between June and September 2016 with individuals from four German cities involved with various aspects of providing temporary accommodations for displaced persons. Interviewees represent government agencies, nonprofit organizations, design firms, utilities, and private companies (Figure 2-1). An ethnographic approach was used to facilitate hour-long interviews (Spradley 2016), including questions about the interviewee’s involvement, responsibilities and interactions with other actors associated with temporary accommodation. Additionally, participants were asked about the conditions in the temporary accommodations and factors impacting procurement, design, construction, maintenance and daily management of the facility, depending on the participant’s area of involvement.

Interviews were conducted in either English, French or German based on the individual's preference, then transcribed and translated by a native-German or French speaker prior to analysis.

2.3.3 *Data Analysis*

Primary analysis was completed through an iterative topical coding process using the Dedoose software (SCRC 2016). The initial coding encompassed general groupings such as actors (e.g. *government, displaced persons, companies*), contextual codes (e.g. *challenges, positive impacts, culture*) and other more descriptive codes (e.g. *regulations, buildings, fire safety*). To create the social network, excerpts coded for *interaction* with a code co-occurrence of either *regulations* or *contracts,* as defined in Table 2-1, were isolated (252 excerpts).

Table 2-1. Social network analysis, topical code definitions.

Code	Definition
Interaction	Communication or direct involvement with someone or something[1]. Example: if someone described their involvement with another actor as, *"We did this… because…"* or *"They told us to… because…"*
Regulations	Statements talking specifically about rules, regulations, standards relating to providing accommodation to refugees. Example: *"…the rules were relaxed/too strict…"*
Contracts	Statements related to contracts between various parties. For example, housing contracts stipulating responsibilities and reimbursement between government agencies and for-profit/non-profit organizations providing temporary housing. Example: *"…our contract states that we need to…"*

Source: [1]Oxford University Press 2018

Within this subset of excerpts, interactions were categorized by type (*constrained, neutral,* or *facilitated*) as defined in Table 2-2, and direction (which actor was creating interaction, such as the state government facilitated a regulatory interaction with the city government).

Table 2-2. Social network analysis, definitions for interaction types.

Interaction Type	Definition
Constrained	To severely restrict the scope, extent, or activity of. In this case, interactions that limited the actor's ability to engage with the temporary accommodation process. Example: *"…we had to follow the rules, which slowed our work…"*
Neutral	Not engaged on either side[2]. Specifically, interactions between actors that neither inhibited or empowered the actor's ability to engage with the temporary accommodation process. This would follow the what is perceived as the "status quo" in actor interactions. Example: *"…it was just like any other building project…"*
Facilitated	To make (an action or process) easy or easier[3]. Example: *"…it was easier for us because…"*

Sources: [1]Oxford University Press 2017a; [2]Oxford University Press 2017c; [3]Oxford University Press 2017b

For example, one interviewee described how they used the state standards required for temporary accommodations:

> *"We [**the city government**] had at the beginning of this situation, we had for example the standard that 7.5 m^2 per each refugee is obligated to have; it was only in the [city]. [**The state government**] only has 6 m^2 per refugee and we also had the standard of maximum two people per room without families. But now we change to the standard of [the state] and we can use room for four or five people. But that, we will not do in the next months. We will use the rooms with*

> *less people and then we have the possibility if in three or four months again a lot of people will come we can fill up the rooms." (Interview, City Government Employee, 08.03.16)*

In this example, the state regulations were less strict than the city's requirements, allowing them to reduce the living space to design for more people. This would be considered a facilitated interaction directed from the state government to the city government. The list of actors in Figure 2-1 were included based on their emergence from the data as it was analyzed for interactions.

These interactions were organized into three one-mode, directed matrices and analyzed using UCINET, an SNA software (UCINET Software 2017) for structural characteristics, including betweenness and degree, as defined below:

- *Betweenness.* Having power within a network through accessibility and an actor's location within the structure of the network. A higher factor of betweenness represents a greater number of interactions that would travel through that actor (Hanneman and Riddle 2005). Other sources describe betweenness as the potential to assume the role as gatekeeper in a network (Borgatti, Everett, and Johnson 2013). In this study, betweenness might represent an actor who is not necessarily initiating or engaging directly with a regulatory interaction but might be indirectly involved, as visualized in the figure below (Figure 2-2). For example, the state government in general might be a gatekeeper because the health department may be required to provide them with a copy of inspection results from water facilities in temporary accommodations.

- *Degree.* Accounts for the number of incoming and outgoing ties for each actor within the network. The general concept of degree represents the power of an actor through available alternatives (Hanneman and Riddle 2005). A high in-degree is considered to represent a prestigious actor, or one that other actors in the network regularly interact with (Figure 2-2). This could be an actor who repeatedly feels like they are benefitting from facilitated interactions with other actors using regulations (e.g. building owners being given leniency from various phases of the accommodation process, see Figure 2-1). A high out-degree can potentially represent an influencer in the network, or an actor with power who initiates interactions (Figure 2-2). For this study, power and prestige varies depends on the type of interaction (Borgatti, Everett, and Johnson 2013). Such a case might be an actor who is repeatedly initiating constrained interactions using regulations (e.g. the permitting department delays opening a temporary accommodation), they would have a high out-degree. An actor on the receiving end of a constrained relationship does not represent prestige, but more likely a lack of power in that interaction. Consequently, an actor with high out-degree in facilitated interactions may represent influence or the ability to use regulations for the benefit of others.

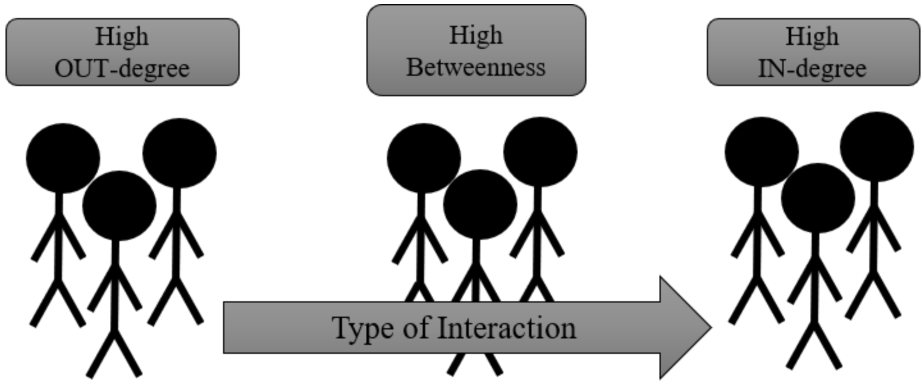

Figure 2-2. Visualization of betweenness and degree metrics used in social network analysis.

2.3.4 *Limitations*

Several key limitations exist in this exploratory study, including perception bias and inconsistent use of terminology amongst participants. Perception can be subjective and is not always consistent across individual experience. However, the use of perception assists in better understanding the role of regulation to improve regulatory interactions and engagement for future instances. For example, if a federal government wanted to introduce new regulations, it is essential to understand the perception of actors impacted by regulations to ensure effective implementation and coordination with others. Inconsistent application of regulations and standards were expressed by actors as part of the interviews conducted. In an effort to capture the greatest extent of involvement, all excerpts were included that related to regulations, standards and contracts without distinguishing between the specific definitions. The use of these three terms all relate to some level of service and are considered appropriate for this analysis, as the focus centers around the type of interactions rather than the type of specification. Future work is recommended to directly address these differences.

2.4 RESULTS

Secondary topical analysis of the data resulted in 252 excerpts containing regulatory-related interactions between actors. Of these, 98 interactions were **constrained**, 65 were **neutral,** and 89 were **facilitated**. These 252 excerpts underwent a social network analysis using UCINET (UCINET Software 2017). Network analyses in UCINET calculated Freeman betweenness values and degree of the data (Borgatti, Everett, and Freeman 2002). Normalized metrics were calculated through the software and trends are presented in Table 2-3; predominant actors with the highest metric are listed in descending order. In the following sections, results from Table 2-3 are described, specifically the actors with high out-degree, high in-degree, and high betweenness values. As previously defined, these metrics are visualized as in Figure 2-2, where high out-degree represents actors initiating types of interactions, high in-degree represents actors predominantly being engaged or on the receiving end of the interaction, and high betweenness represents actors who play an intermediary role in the interaction.

Table 2-3. Actors with the highest normalized values for betweenness and degree, by interaction type

Type of Interaction	Freeman Betweenness		Degree			
			In		Out	
CONSTRAINED 98 excerpts	City government	25.24	Architecture firm	0.099	Federal building regulations	0.138
	Building owner	20.95	City government	0.092	Social affairs department	0.118
	State government	11.50	Displaced persons	0.086	City government	0.066
	Social affairs department	9.21	Nonprofit organizations	0.079	Federal government	0.059
NEUTRAL 65 excerpts	Building owner	5.40	Building owner	0.17	Health department	0.118
	Utility company	4.82	Architecture firm	0.088	State government	0.078
	Architecture firm	4.35	Nonprofit organization	0.088	Utility company	0.059
	Social affairs department	3.58	Contractor	0.069	Social affairs department	
	Housing company	3.39	Housing Company	0.049	Federal building regulation	0.049
			Displaced Persons		City government, permitting	
FACILITATED 89 excerpts	State government	14.13	Architecture firm	0.18	City government, permitting	0.137
	Social affairs department	10.72	Displaced persons	0.13	Federal building regulations	0.126
	Utility company	10.48	Building owner	0.12	State government	0.12

2.4.1 *Constrained Interactions*

Ninety-eight (98) of the 252 excerpts represent constrained interactions; interactions associated with regulations where one actor was constrained in their role by another (Table 2-2). One example of a constrained interaction is a conversation with an individual within city government who was describing the expectation and subsequent delay in providing accommodations due to needing to meet standards:

> *"We have standards provided by the [**social affairs department**]. Since the plan first was to build the houses and then rent them to the government, of course **we had to provide those shelters according to the standards**. We built them according to the standards, but we realized it takes quite a long time to finish them in that way" (Interview, City Government Employee, 09.29.16).*

Federal building regulations and the social affairs department, who was responsible for creating contracts for temporary accommodations, had a high out-degree (Table 2-3), meaning that they were more frequently initiating constrained regulatory interactions. On the other hand, architecture firms, city governments, displaced persons, and nonprofit organizations had high in-degree (Table 2-3), meaning that these actors were more likely to experience regulatory constraint by another actor. Both city government and building owners had the highest levels of betweenness (Table 2-3), indicating that an actor such as the federal building regulations, or the social affairs department is more likely to constrain other actors through mechanisms associated with city governments and building owners. One example of this is the renovation of temporary accommodations. In one interview, a nonprofit employee expressed the inability to upgrade a sports hall due to contract with the building owner:

*“The [**social affairs department**,] they run these places and **for sure we are not allowed** to make here another new bathroom or a kitchen or something like that. Because the contract, like I think, I didn't read the contract, but I think we take this place for a short time, like 6 months or however how long. And after that they will get it back” (Interview, Nonprofit Organization Housing Manager, 06.15.16).*

In this example, the social affairs department (high out-degree) is constraining the nonprofit organization’s (high in-degree) ability to make improvements to the building due to contractual obligations with the building owner (high betweenness).

2.4.2 *Neutral Interactions*

Sixty-five (65) of the 252 excerpts represent a neutral regulatory interaction between actors. This neutral interaction is a reflection of “business as usual” or the status-quo (Table 2-2). One example of this was when an architect responsible for designing a temporary accommodation facility was asked about any differences they noticed in the permitting process:

“No. It's completely the same forms, completely the same plans. It even goes not faster. It was the same like another building” (Interview, Architect, 09.15.16).

These excerpts described interactions that took place, but without emphasis as to whether or not actors benefited or were encumbered through the interaction. Within the social network analysis, the health department and state government have a high out-degree (Table 2-3), indicating that they initiated most neutral regulatory interactions. Building owners had a noteably high in-degree from the other actors (Table 2-3), implying their predominant inclusion in neutral interactions. One fourth of the actors had high values for betweenness (Table 2-3), including: building owners, utility company, architecture firm, social affairs department, and housing companies. One example of this was in a conversation with a government official from the health department, discussing monitoring water quality in temporary accommodations:

> *"This all is according to [**the state government's**] drinking water regulation according to which every **owner of a property of a certain size is responsible** for having their water treatment plant tested by an independent institute and to let us, the [**health department**], know should it be tested positively for Legionnaire's disease" (Interview, Health Department Official, 08.12.16).*

This is a neutral interaction coded between the state government and building owners because it was made clear that this was a standard procedure that did not depend on the dynamic environment. In this case, the government official described their indirect involvement (high betweenness) with the state government (high out-degree) regulating building owners (high in-degree) to submit water test results to the health department.

2.4.3 *Facilitated Interactions*

Facilitated regulatory interactions represent 89 excerpts of the 252 total. These excerpts describe an interaction where one actor empowers another actor in their role for temporary accommodations through the use of regulations (Table 2-2). The city government permitting department, federal building regulations, state government, and the social affairs department had the highest out-degree (Table 2-3), indicating they initiated facilitated interactions. An example of this is in an interview with the head of a construction company, an interviewee described the difference between projects for temporary accommodations and typical construction:

> *"**We are much faster** with the projects for refugees because on the **federal level they changed some of the rules** so that we can be much faster with the plans" (Interview, Construction Company CEO, 7.28.16).*

In this example, the federal building regulations (high out-degree) facilitated an interaction with building companies (high in-degree) by providing exceptions specific for temporary accommodations. Actors who experienced higher amounts of facilitated regulatory interactions include architecture firms, displaced persons and building owners with the highest in-degree (Table 2-3). The state government, social affairs department and utility company had high betweenness (Table 2-3), meaning that other actors predominantly travel through these actors in facilitating interactions. One example of this from the previous quote might be that exemptions in federal building regulations might have expedited the contract process through the social affairs department, resulting in quicker procurement processes with construction companies. The following section explores the meaning of these relationships between types of interaction, out-degree, in-degree, and betweenness to follow emergent themes from predominant actors in these social networks (constrained, neutral, facilitated).

2.5 Discussion

The resulting social network analysis conveys a representation of how regulatory interactions occur within a synthetic organization for the purpose of providing temporary accommodations. The following discussion sections focus on the measure of degree and betweenness from Table 2-3 in each type of regulatory interaction through the lens of the research questions posed in the point of departure.

2.5.1 *RQ1. Do actors in regulatory agencies, such as federal building regulations, city and state permitting, and the social affairs department will have more constrained interactions with other actors in the social network?*

Both the federal building regulations and the social affairs department had the highest out-degree values (Table 2-3), indicating their role in using regulations to constrain other actors; thus, confirming the research question. This high out-degree indicates influence, a form of power in the social network (Hanneman and Riddle 2005), an understandable characterization of both actors from other regulatory agencies (Figure 2-1) seeing as one is the rule itself (federal building regulations) and the other actor is responsible for creating and implementing standards associated with contracts for temporary accommodations (social affairs department). A position of power and influence in relation to regulations can therefore result in constrained interactions with other actors. An example of this constraint was expressed by a city government official,

> *"I think that **our standards** for building apartments are very, very high. We have a very high quality, but I think we need to cut down a bit in order **to responsibly create affordable living space**" (Interview, City Government Official, 08.12.16),*

In this example, the federal building regulations (high out-degree) encumbers building owners in the construction phase through strict standards. This example was in the general context of city development, but in the process of providing temporary accommodations, strict standards could inhibit actors such as architects and nonprofit organizations through slowing the design and construction/renovation process with strict regulations for a dynamic context that requires quicker response. As discussed in the point of departure, the social department's role in creating contracts lends itself to monopolizing standards within temporary accommodations (Thompson 1967), either expediting the process, or in this case, hindering the overall synthetic organization. These results are similar to previous findings from intergovernmental coordination to Hurricane Katrina, in which regulations constrained other parts of the synthetic organization from delivering much needed supplies (Nigg, Barnshaw, and Torres 2006). Actors who were impacted by these constrained regulatory interactions (high in-degree) represented all areas but regulatory actors in the accommodation process (Figure 2-1), including: architecture firms (design), city government (governance), displaced persons (other/occupants), and nonprofit organizations (facility management).

Although federal building regulations and the social department have power through the initiation of constrained regulatory interactions, the betweenness metric indicates actors who serve as intermediaries in the encumbrance. Betweenness represents actors who are positioned in the path of the social network, through which actors travel in interacting with others (Borgatti, Everett, and Johnson 2013). This intermediary position is indicative of increased agency in the network, another indication of power (Scott 2008). One example of this role might be that to meet federal building regulations (out-degree), a city government (betweenness/gatekeeper) might institute specific standards for building owners (in-degree), or architects (i.e. other actors involved with design of accommodations). The social network analysis for constrained interactions resulted in the following actors with high betweenness values (Table 2-3): city government, building owner, state government, and the social affairs department. All of these actors interpret regulations, whether on a governance level or through a facility management capacity. Their power exists in the indirect involvement in these constrained regulatory interactions. The regulations themselves have a power to hinder the accommodation process at all levels, and gatekeepers (high betweenness) are privy to this hinderance through interpretation of said regulations and standards, highlighting the important role that gatekeepers play in the social network.

2.5.2 *RQ2. How does the frequency of neutral interactions compare to constrained and facilitated regulatory interactions?*

Of the 252 excerpts describing regulatory interactions, only 62 were neutral; or what the participant considered to be a standard interaction between actors. The health department and state government both had the highest out-degree, indicating that they are initiating neutral interactions more often than other actors in the social network. Examples of these interactions include water quality inspections, as one participant described:

> *"And they [**the health department**] have free access to the housing facility. They can come and go when they want to. And I believe the health department comes regularly and does tests – probably also for the water quality" (Interview, City Government Employee, 08.23.16)*

If the health department is most likely to initiate a typical, or neutral, interaction, it is understandable that the building owner would have a high in-degree since they would be responsible for coordinating and responding to inspections of the facility. The health department is regulatory (Figure 2-1), regularly conducting environmental inspections of facilities, and yet participants regarded these types of interactions as normal, rather than constrained or facilitated. This could possibly be due to the perception of water services during temporary disruptions as a human right rather than a service (Kaminsky and Faust 2017); if water is considered a right, then actors may perceive that inspection of facilities is part of standard operating procedure, rather than a provided service such a permitting and inspections for specific types of buildings. More research would be necessary to confirm this explanation of the observed data, specifically analyzing the perception of regulations across various types of regulatory agencies.

The path dependence of set procedures (neutral interactions) due to the benefits of familiarity outweigh the benefits from flexibility that is provided within a synthetic organization (Powell and DiMaggio 2012, 192). More work is needed to understand how these specific actors interpret regulatory processes and what specific aspect of the temporary housing accommodation process requires their involvement.

2.5.3 *RQ3. Which actors experience a greater number of facilitated interactions?*

Architecture firms, displaced persons, and building owners experienced more facilitated interactions than other actors (high in-degree, Table 2-3). Similar to constrained interactions, actors impacted, or benefitting from regulatory interactions span multiple aspects of the accommodations process, including design (architecture firms), occupants (displaced persons), and facility management (building owners) (Figure 2-1). One example of such an interaction was expressed by an architect, who described the regulations used to complete a housing project for the social affairs department:

> *"There are a lot of regulations… But the main important point was that everybody was open for new solutions and for easier solutions. Also, the fire brigade or the fire men who are involved in this* ***has the order to go down with the standards****…And that's actually what made this project* ***very interesting for us****. Because you had more freedom with thinking." (Interview, Architect, 09.15.16)*

The standards were lowered for building projects in order to expedite the process (high out-degree), which in turn helped architects feel freedom in the design process (high in-degree). The city government permitting department, federal building regulations, and state government all had a high out-degree in the social network (Table 2-3), indicating that these actors facilitated regulatory interactions which helped other actors be more successful in their roles. One example of this is demonstrated in an interview with an architect expressing the major differences between their typical interaction with permitting departments in comparison to during the refugee situation:

> *"It was **quite fast the permitting process** for the refugee housing. As it's or at least it was a priority, this area…" (Interview, Architect, 09.20.16)*

The city government's permitting process prioritized refugee housing, which empowered the architect to finish their project more quickly than otherwise. Similar to constrained interactions, this high out-degree is representative of power in the social network. In this case, actors who create regulations (federal building regulations) and those who interpret them (city government permitting department and state government) both have power through using standards to empower other actors. Decision-makers have a better grasp on the ways in which regulations are used to expedite the accommodation process.

There was some overlap between actors initiating facilitated interactions (high out-degree) and actors indirectly involved with these same interactions (high betweenness). State government, social affairs department, and the utility company all had high betweenness (Table 2-3), indicating indirect power in facilitated regulatory interactions and increased agency in the social network of the synthetic organization. Again, similar to constrained interactions, these actors all function in a role of interpreting regulations. For example, the water utility company interpreted design regulations to determine appropriate size connections for temporary accommodations (Hacker, Kaminsky, and Faust 2017). The state government functions as a governance mechanism and the social affairs department creates standards in association with its responsibility over contracts for temporary accommodations. Whether indirect or direct involvement in facilitating interactions using regulations, actors who create and interpret these guidelines hold an essential position in the synthetic organization and their actions have the power to negatively or positively impact other actors across the various aspects of the accommodation process (Figure 2-1). More work is needed to understand how these actors (creating and interpreting regulations) perceive the regulations themselves to expand the understanding of how standards are being operationalized to benefit or encumber the accommodation process.

2.5.4 *Agency of Displaced Persons in Regulating Temporary Accommodations*

The inclusion of displaced persons in this social network and their high out-degree was an unexpected observation, as displaced persons were not interviewed for this study but were still referred to by other actors in the process. A high out-degree represents prestige or receptivity; in the context of regulatory interactions, this could also represent importance in interactions. An example of this type of involvement was given by one of the same architects:

> *"And always two apartments share one toilet and the bathroom. And so that's the thing. And I think that's quite humane. I mean it's OK" (Interview, Architect, 09.20.16).*

This statement expresses support for regulations because they provide a humane quality of living within the facilities. Displaced persons had a high in-degree for both constrained and facilitated interactions (Table 2-3). This shows that other actors consider the involvement of displaced persons in the role of regulations. However, their perspective is not always solicited. Out of all 54 interviews, only one participant mentioned that they reached out to people seeking asylum to capture their needs in designing temporary accommodations. The results in Table 2-3 show that displaced persons are involved with regulatory interactions – they are impacted by regulations and standards, yet do not have as much agency in the regulatory process which might be due to their asylum status, and possibly limited access or awareness of this resource. As Scott has described, "all actors, both individual and collective, possess some degree of agency, but the amount varies greatly among actors as well as among types of social structures" (Scott 2008, 95). For logistical and ethical reasons, displaced persons were not included in interview participants for this study. However, it is strongly recommended for future work, as evidenced by the inclusion of displaced persons in regulatory interactions (Table 2-3). Results may show how directly connected displaced persons are with federal building regulations (typical development standards) and standards given by the social affairs department (situation-specific guidelines for contracts associated with temporary accommodations).

2.6 CONCLUSION

In synthetic organizations, actors come together to achieve a common purpose in an unusually uncertain and dynamic environment. The social network analysis provided in this study maps the regulatory dependencies within this synthetic organization whose goal is to provide temporary accommodation for displaced persons. Federal building regulations and the social affairs department hold the most direct power in this network of regulatory interactions. Given their high out-degree in both constrained and facilitated interactions (Table 2-3), they are able to influence other actors through constrained or facilitated regulatory interactions which supports the theory of the power gap that exists between standard writers and those implementing such standards (Lampland and Star 2009, 118). This suggests that regulations and those who are responsible for creating standards hold power in their impact to other actors. Government agencies and building owners had high measures of betweenness in both constrained and facilitated regulatory interactions (Table 2-3), indicating their role as intermediaries in these interactions between other actors. This betweenness is indicative of increased agency in the social network through an indirect form of power; although these actors are not necessarily initiating these interactions, they are indirectly involved. Additionally, actors responsible for regulatory enforcement (e.g. fire department, health department, permitting department) had varying metrics in the social network. The health department had a high out-degree for neutral interactions, while permitting department had a high out-degree for facilitated interactions. This might be due to the perception of the services each of these regulatory actors are responsible for enforcing, a result which prompts further investigation. And finally, displaced persons had high in-degree for both constrained and facilitated interactions but were not necessarily engaged by actors in the temporary accommodation process. This indicates the consideration of displaced persons in regulatory interactions but lacks representation by this community; a suggestion which is strongly recommended by the authors.

These results better describe the organizational relationships of agency, power and interdependence in an environment faced with extreme uncertainty, with the unique opportunity to observe the function of a synthetic organization in action, contributing to the body of literature associated with synthetic organizations. The extent of these characteristics are dependent on the positioning of actors within the network as well its social structure (Scott 2008, 94). These findings help identify aspects of regulations which were waived during the provision of temporary accommodations and provides some analysis as to the motivation for this interpretive flexibility, but the authors acknowledge that regardless of perceived regulatory interactions, the resulting implications could include subpar buildings in addition to the benefits of expedited systems in responding to uncertainty. Results also contribute to the body of literature surrounding regulatory interactions and preempts additional work with how regulations function with the introduction of extreme uncertainty. Applications from these findings are twofold: understanding how regulations are impacting a synthetic organization's response and through which actors these impacts are occurring. For example, the regulations themselves have the ability to constrain or assist, which indicates the need for policymakers to reassess the specific impacts of regulations before any attempt to standardize a situation. Additionally, actors with high betweenness indicate areas where further analysis is needed to better understand these types of interactions due to their role as gatekeeper in the constrained, facilitated or neutral regulatory interactions. This study has mapped the social structure of the synthetic organization and identified key actors in the network, but future work is needed to understand how specific actors perceive regulations in these interactions to better adjust for regulatory deviation in similar contexts as well as begin to integrate long-term impacts into temporary response. Knowing this information equips societies and governments in responding to extreme uncertainty and informs decision-making regarding regulatory processes to ensure the safety and dignity for those occupying temporary accommodations.

Chapter 3. The Humanitarian-Development Nexus and Regulatory Exemptions in Temporary Accommodations

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ABSTRACT

Across the globe, displacement has reached record highs, with the forced migration of vulnerable populations. Host countries receiving displaced persons are faced with the challenge of quickly providing housing within their preexisting infrastructure and built environment capacities. Such was the case for Sweden in 2015, a country that had the highest proportion of asylum applications per capita in all of Europe. When preexisting temporary accommodations designated for the asylum process reached capacity, unconventional housing was used, including schools, hostels, abandoned warehouses, psychiatric wards and other buildings not intended for residential use. This study explores how regulations functioned within this unconventional context by analyzing how decision-makers from government agencies, nonprofit organizations, and private companies legitimize exemptions and non-compliance to regulations and standards. Using organizational legitimacy as a theoretical framework, interviews with 19 individuals were qualitatively analyzed to understand how subtypes of legitimacy were related to humanitarian response and development mindsets in the context of providing temporary accommodation. Results show that although 'temporary' may be defined in formal regulations for temporary accommodations, it is not always accepted by stakeholders, leading to regulatory exemptions or non-compliance. Additionally, findings show that principles from the humanitarian-development nexus are relevant in countries

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with high socio-economic status, such as integrating approaches to immediate response with existing infrastructure to avoid parallel delivery of service. The boundary between providing humanitarian response while understanding developmental implications of regulatory exemptions to the host community's housing stock needs to be more clearly distinguished in coordination between stakeholders involved with providing temporary accommodation. These implications inform decision-making that impacts both the quality of life for displaced persons while staying in temporary accommodations as well as preventing the introduction of sub-standard buildings into host communities.

KEYWORDS: legitimacy, asylum seeker, building regulations, exemption, humanitarian-development nexus, compliance

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Global displacement reached a historical record in 2015, with unprecedented numbers of individuals and families fleeing civil conflict from countries such as Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq (UNHCR 2016). The European Union (EU) received over one million applications for asylum during this forced migration; in Sweden over 160,000 applications were submitted for asylum from men, women, children and unaccompanied minors during 2015. This was the largest number of applicants per capita in the EU (Swedish Migration Agency 2018). In correspondence with Swedish asylum law, temporary services such as accommodation (housing) and infrastructure (e.g. water, sanitation, electricity) were provided for those displaced and seeking asylum in the country (Swedish Migration Agency 2017). However, existing buildings intended for temporary accommodation exceeded capacity, forcing government agencies to procure new and unconventional accommodations which did not always comply with building regulations. This creates a potential gap in delivery of service by providing living conditions not consistent with building regulations, affecting the quality of life within buildings.

Regulations not only provide consistency in standards, but also contribute to the *legitimacy*, or a "generalized perception that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions," of what is being regulated (Suchman 1995, 574). This study analyses the legitimization of exemptions, or non-compliance of standards associated with temporary accommodations for displaced persons. While exemptions enable faster delivery of a service in an emergency, this priority to meet temporary needs may conflict with long-term development goals in communities. For example, using buildings zoned for commercial use in a residential capacity may lead to segregation of communities and sub-standard buildings in the long-term by isolating low-income populations from resources made available in areas zoned for residential use (Sorensen, Gamez, and Currie 2014; Durst and Wegmann 2017). Two mindsets are observed within this context: humanitarian response and development. *Humanitarian response* prioritizes immediate needs and is focused on providing "assistance, protection and advocacy actions" for (ReliefWeb 2008) while *development* focuses on "long-term structural and societal transformation" (Sumner and Tribe 2008, 9). This study analyzes the ambiguity of the boundary between these two mindsets through an organizational legitimacy theoretical framework to better understand how they may affect the both the quality of living within temporary accommodations as well as the housing stock in the host community.

3.2 POINT OF DEPARTURE

3.2.1 *Temporary Accommodations in Sweden during 2015*

Swedish asylum law guarantees accommodation for people seeking asylum in two major forms: *asylum accommodation* (Figure 3-1) provided during the application process by the Swedish Migration Agency and *migrant accommodation* provided by the social affairs department in municipalities upon receiving a temporary residence permit, colloquially known as "refugee" status (Swedish Migration Agency 2017) For the purpose of this study, we use *temporary accommodation* to refer to all of these terms (i.e. asylum accommodation, migrant accommodation) due to the fact that both municipalities and the Swedish Migration Agency used exemptions in arranging housing or experienced non-compliance. *Exemptions* were instances where governing bodies gave allowances in interpretation or implementation of existing regulations and standards. *Non-compliance* is deviation from these regulations without permission from regulatory authorities. Both were present in the procurement of temporary accommodations in 2015 and are the focus of this study.

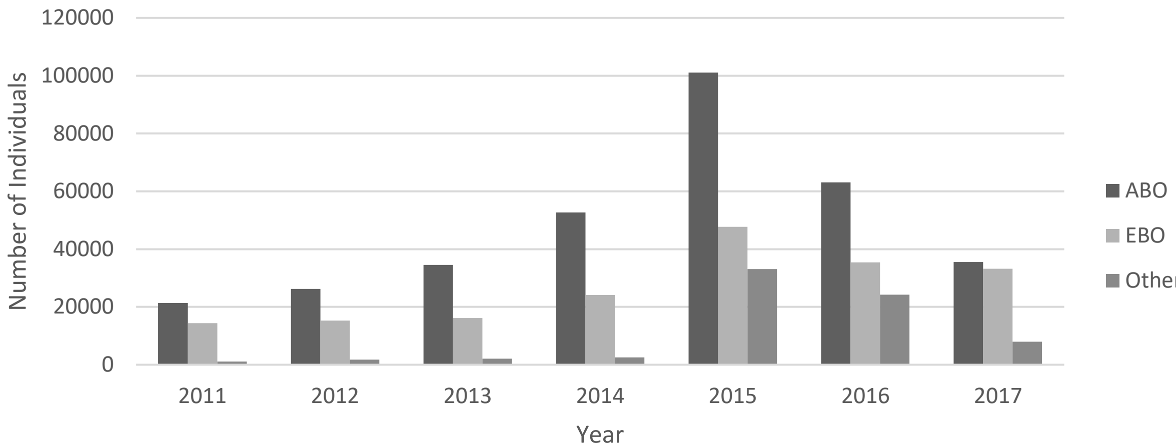

Figure 3-1. Number of individuals enrolled in temporary accommodations through the Swedish Migration Agency from 2011 to 2017, arranged by type of accommodations[7].

3.2.2 *Transitions from humanitarian response to development*

A transition occurs in the crossover between providing immediate response and the situation stabilizing, allowing other actors to address long-term response. For example, temporary accommodations were provided in non-residential buildings (immediate response) while more permanent buildings were added to the temporary accommodation supply of the Swedish Migration Agency to buffer exceeding capacity in future instances (long-term response). This transition has recently gained more attention from the international aid community as they seek to improve efficiency and coordination, but has been largely limited to lower and middle income

[7] Swedish asylum law guarantees accommodation for people during their asylum application process in two forms: asylum accommodations (abbreviated as "ABO") which are collective centers provided by the Swedish Migration Agency and also private housing arrangements arranged by those seeking asylum (abbreviated as "EBO") (Swedish Migration Agency 2017). Asylum accommodations were distinguished by type of building and contract (private vs. public) and had various names used, such as evacuation accommodation and emergency accommodation; in Figure 3-1, 'Other' represents these unconventional accommodations. These values do not include the number of unaccompanied minors that were accommodated by municipalities. Sweden received over 35,000 applications for asylum from unaccompanied minors in 2015 (Swedish Migration Agency 2018). These numbers also exclude the number of displaced persons who were provided accommodation in transit to other countries.

countries which receive those fleeing their countries of origin (Nyberg-Sørensen, Van Hear, and Engberg-Pedersen 2002; Spiegel 2017; OCHA 2017). Terms such as 'linking development and relief,' 'developmental relief' or more recently, the 'humanitarian-development nexus' have been used to describe this transitional phase of an uncertain environment (White and Cliffe 2000). Studies have found multiple existing links between various forms of aid; for example, human rights are connected to the need for providing development aid (Nelson and Dorsey 2003) and to the relationship between providing developmental aid to countries of origin and subsequent migration by its citizens (Nyberg-Sørensen, Van Hear, and Engberg-Pedersen 2002). Recent reports have more directly discussed the need for emergency relief agencies and development organizations to increase interaction and improve coordination in crisis-affected countries (Council of the EU 2017), and acknowledged the complexity of financing development projects in countries experiencing political and environmental instability (Nyberg-Sørensen, Van Hear, and Engberg-Pedersen 2002).

In some cases, development aid for low and middle-income countries hosting displaced persons is discussed as a means of reducing forced migration to the European Union (Nyberg-Sørensen, Van Hear, and Engberg-Pedersen 2002). Examples of development activities in host countries include Lebanon, where unions of municipalities collaborated with both humanitarian (UNHCR) and development (UN-Habitat) organizations to upgrade infrastructure in response to the reception of refugees (Boustani 2015), and UN organizations express difficulty in coordinating with local Lebanese governments for providing infrastructure (e.g. education, transportation, water) for Syrian refugees (Mitri 2015).

We contend that the humanitarian-development nexus should not be limited by the socio-economic status of a country, but rather that the improvement of aid efficiency and sustainable practices to benefit the long-term development goals of host communities is relevant to all countries. Whether it is the lack of immediate response, the post-disaster rebuilding, or challenge of integrating humanitarian actors with existing governmental system, the need to understand this tension is real and present. Minimum requirements are present for both humanitarian action and development activity and set a baseline for acceptable practices and outcomes (e.g. ensuring a certain quality of living in accommodations). As such, this paper isolates the area of regulations and standards, a source of legitimacy through a form of governance (Busch 2011; Brunsson and Jacobsen 2002), to further understand how the Swedish government managed the functionality of the humanitarian response to provide evacuation housing for people seeking asylum.

3.2.3 *Regulations and Standards*

Regulations are defined broadly as a form of governance (Brunsson and Jacobsen 2002). *Standards*, or voluntary guidance about the "generally desired qualities of a product, an activity, or a document," (Brunsson and Jacobsen 2002, 127) are included as a form of regulation. For example, temporary accommodations contracted with the Swedish Migration Agency were inspected for eligibility through a series of mandatory requirements and standards which were not necessarily required but improved the standing of the contract with the building owner. Standards help maintain a minimum level of service, but they also 'structure our expectations' (Busch 2011, 32), resulting in a taken-for-grantedness associated with standards (Busch 2011, 33). The minimum level of service and consistent standards for housing infrastructure is representative of the pre-existing development goals. Busch articulates that this taken-for-grantedness in standards is aligned with a sense of empowerment when standards are in play, and a converse sense of disempowerment when deviations are present.

Deviations and non-compliance are considered inevitable for multiple reasons: insufficient resources to support uniform enforcement (Sparrow 2011), the creation of laws for symbolic use rather than practical application (Sparrow 2011), and the transitioning from enforcement to voluntary compliance frameworks (Ager and Strang 2008), to name a few. Institutionally, this acknowledged gap in compliance lends itself to understanding both how the system adjusts to humanitarian response in providing accommodation, but also long-term implications from this short-term response. Implementation of standards relies on translation of the standards provided, or fitting existing practices into the form of what is being enforced (Brunsson and Jacobsen 2002). A third option is non-compliance. Some work has been done to articulate the culture of organizations in which deviations are the norm, such as a case study of building permits in Lebanon (Fawaz 2017). This is an example of decoupling, where a secondary and unspoken organization exists within the framework of the established permitting system. Other studies have focused on the impacts to coordination due to standardization or creation of standards specific for the response (Nigg, Barnshaw, and Torres 2006). In contrast, this paper builds on these studies to better understand the legitimation of exemptions and non-compliance in providing temporary accommodation and discover the implications of such exemptions for Swedish communities.

3.2.4 *Organizational Legitimacy Theory*

Researchers have argued that in dynamic situations such as mass population displacement, institutions rely heavily on commonly accepted actions, or Procedural Legitimacy, to maintain legitimacy (Powell and DiMaggio 2012, 169). An organizational legitimacy lens is necessary to capture these normative and cultural-cognitive influences that ultimately contribute to project outcomes. In humanitarian response, there is a common, typically pragmatic goal: providing resources in a short period of time. These resources are provided through decision-making motivated by normative and cultural-cognitive influences (Scott 2008; Powell and DiMaggio 2012; Deephouse and Suchman 2008). For example, former Swedish Prime Minister Fredrik Reinfeldt appealed to Swedish citizens to “show patience and open their hearts” in response to the increasing number of people seeking asylum in the country (The Local 2014). This is an example of Procedural Legitimacy or doing the right thing as a basis for receiving refugees. Moral and legal implications are deeply intertwined in regulatory logic (Edelman and Suchman 1997). One way to understand this is the means by which stakeholders justify actions, also known as *legitimacy*. Legitimacy has been defined in various ways throughout literature; from the justification for authority in using power (Weber 1924) to understanding how an entity remains relevant in society (Tyler 2006). *Legitimacy* is defined as "a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions” (Suchman 1995, 574). This definition organizes legitimacy into three major types (Pragmatic, Moral, Cognitive) and nine subtypes (Exchange, Influence, Dispositional, Consequential, Procedural, Structural, Personal, Comprehensibility, Taken-for-Grantedness), all shown in Table 3-1.

Table 3-1. Types and subtypes of organizational legitimacy, defined using theoretical framework from Suchman (1995).

PRAGMATIC	**Exchange** Support for an organization based on the direct benefit to the respondent or people/group that the respondent is in direct contact with.
	Influence An organization being responsive to larger interests. These larger interests benefit people/a group that the interviewee is not in direct contact with (i.e. the city).
	Dispositional Usually the organizations which are granted legitimacy are personified and must have “our best interests at heart" (Suchman 1995, 578).
MORAL	**Consequential** Organizations are judged on what they accomplish and answers the question: What benefits are provided to others?
	Procedural Organizations are judged on what they accomplish and answers the question: What benefits are provided to others?
	Structural The judgment of structural characteristics within the organization
	Personal The charisma of individual organizational leader(s).
COGNITIVE	**Comprehensibility** A mix between daily experience of the respondent and the larger belief systems (cognitive chaos).
	Taken-for-Grantedness When “an alternative is literally unthinkable” (Suchman 1995, 583) for the respondent.

In this study, legitimacy was operationalized as statements justifying actions related to providing temporary accommodations for displaced persons. For example, one government employee said the following:

> *"…we've accommodated people in places where they [maybe] shouldn't be accommodated, but we did it because there was no other option." (Interview, Government Employee, 10 February 2017)*

This statement is justifying the use of temporary accommodations in unconventional spaces because an alternative was unthinkable ("there was no other option"), therefore this statement expresses Taken-for-grantedness Legitimacy. Study participants can either provide support (legitimacy) or a lack of support (de-legitimacy) in their statements; the methodology for distinguishing between these statements is described further in the Data Analysis section.

3.2.5 *Research Question*

This paper analyzes the types of legitimacy expressed towards exemptions and deviations from existing regulations and seeks to answer the following question: *how are exemptions or deviations from conventional regulations and regulatory systems legitimized in the context of humanitarian response?*

Theoretically, this paper contributes to the literature on organizational legitimacy theory by analyzing the ways in which individuals legitimize the use of regulatory exemptions and non-compliance in temporary accommodations. Practically, results provide a better understanding of how exemptions and non-compliance are used during humanitarian response, which informs decision-making that impacts the quality of living within temporary accommodations and the built environment of countries that host displaced populations.

3.3 METHODOLOGY

Ethnographic interviews capture key insights from participants using their experiences and insight through interviews (Spradley 2016). Legitimacy can be subconsciously expressed rather than directly, for example, someone may not say whether or not a certain type of accommodation was 'legitimate', but rather, may express justifications for their decisions subconsciously in a conversation (e.g. the housing was good because it provided shelter; Consequential Legitimacy). Therefore, an ethnographic approach was used for this study by selecting participants based on their involvement with temporary accommodations and conducting semi-structured ethnographic interviews to hear about their experience during the process (Spradley 2016).

3.3.1 *Data Collection*

From October 2016 through June 2017, 19 interviews were conducted employees from various levels of government agencies (state, municipal), nonprofit organizations, and private companies (Table 3-2) with experience ranging from 2-30 years' experience in their respective fields (working in municipal government, humanitarian aid, etc.). Participants were selected based on their involvement with the temporary accommodation process and a snowball method was used to solicit interviews from people most directly involved with decision-making (Crouse and Lowe 2018).

Table 3-2. Distribution of interview participants by employer.

Employer	Number of Interviews
NGO	4
Private Company	1
Municipal Government	12
State Government	2

Questions included participant's professional responsibilities associated with the provision of temporary accommodations, general observations about the response to the influx of displaced persons during 2015, whether exemptions were made in the process, reasons for exemptions, and what went well along with recommendations for future events. An interview template is included in the supplementary materials for reference. During the time of interviews, the use of emergency accommodations had been discontinued; local and state government agencies were in the process of either constructing temporary accommodations for displaced persons who had received a temporary residence permit and reassessing private contracts for buildings. Interviews were recorded in English with occasional Swedish verbiage, which were transcribed and translated as needed using professional services.

3.3.2 *Data Analysis*

A qualitative analysis of interview transcriptions was conducted using Dedoose software (SCRC 2016) through two iterations: first, isolating excerpts (de)legitimizing exemptions and non-compliance, and second, determining whether these instances of (de)legitimacy were aligned with humanitarian response or development mindsets. Instances where participants express support (or lack of support) for exemptions or non-compliance followed by a reason for this sentiment were coded for (de)legitimacy. Subtypes were ascribed based on the type of justification according to a coding dictionary. For example, when discussing the necessary permits and regulations in accommodations provided for displaced persons, one government employee said,

> *"We had the agreement with the fire department that in one month, it's okay [not meeting all fire regulations]." (Interview, Municipal Government Employee, 8 Feb 2017)*

This is coded for Procedural Legitimacy; the municipal government's actions were appropriate because they made an agreement with the fire department allowing not all building regulations (usually related to fire and safety) to be met for that month.

In the secondary analysis, the authors identified whether the legitimization was in the context of providing temporary response (*humanitarian response*) or grounded in maintaining regulatory status quo (*development*). Excerpts for humanitarian response were statements that suggested the response to the operation at hand was the main focus. Excerpts for development were statements that prioritized other factors outside of the immediate response to the population influx (e.g. impact to local communities or long-term affect to municipalities). For example, a municipal employee with the fire department expressed their opinion on temporary accommodations:

> *"The fire safety should be at the same level." (Interview, Municipal Government Employee, 25 April 2017)*

The level of fire safety is aligned with appropriate outcomes, or Consequential Legitimacy, and is also coded for *development* because the emphasis is less on responding to the immediate need and more focused on maintaining existing regulations.

3.3.3 *Limitations*

Key limitations exist in this exploratory study, including perception bias and inconsistent use of terminology amongst participants. Perception can be subjective and is not always consistent across individual experience. However, the use of perception assists in better understanding the role of regulation to improve regulatory interactions and engagement for future instances. For example, if a federal government wanted to introduce new regulations, it is essential to understand the perception of regulatory actors towards these regulations to better coordinate enforcement, avoiding a primarily symbolic regulation (Sparrow 2011). Inconsistent use of regulations, standards, exemptions, non-compliance, as well as types of accommodation were expressed by interviewees. In an effort to capture a more holistic understanding of the situation, all excerpts were included that related to regulations and standards without distinguishing between the specific definitions; this was similarly done for exemptions and non-compliance and the specific types of temporary accommodations.

Another limitation is the number of interviews captured. At the time of interviews, emergency accommodations had been discontinued. Due to confidentiality, contact information for private companies and building owners who had contracts with the Swedish Migration Agency were not accessible. The authors recommend a larger inclusivity in data capture for future work to confirm or challenge the findings presented here. Although not statistically significant, a small sample size still provides analytical generalizability through its exploratory nature (Daniel 2012; Rapley 2014; Bennett 2018; Lepenies 2018).

Finally, some respondents may be predisposed to discuss certain aspects of their work in more detail than others, possibly producing emphasis on certain topics more than others. For example, if an employee was responsible for inspecting fire safety in a building, they are likely to mention more examples regarding fire cells than water facilities. To address this, the authors provide relative frequencies of legitimacy subtypes across types of employer to show concentration by interview in primary analysis. However, relative frequency is not used in the secondary analysis. The authors acknowledge the predominant subtypes of legitimacy in the results but focus on emergent themes related to temporary and development mindsets as they relate to (de)legitimacy for exemptions and non-compliance.

3.4 RESULTS

Analysis of 19 interviews resulted in 112 excerpts expressing legitimacy (67 excerpts) or the lack thereof (45 excerpts) towards exemptions and non-compliance in providing temporary accommodations. Emergent themes were analyzed for patterns between legitimacy subtype and mindset (humanitarian response vs. development) across various descriptors such as location, employer and level of government (Figure 3-2 and Figure 3-3). A pattern emerged: excerpts expressing legitimacy were predominantly associated with humanitarian response (64 excerpts) while excerpts expressing de-legitimacy were aligned with development (48 excerpts). Twelve excerpts did not follow this pattern; seven excerpts legitimizing exemptions had a development mindset and five excerpts de-legitimizing exemptions had a humanitarian response mindset. Comprehensibility Legitimacy was used most frequently when legitimizing exemptions related to humanitarian response and Procedural Legitimacy was used most frequently for de-legitimizing exemptions with a development mindset, as described in the section below.

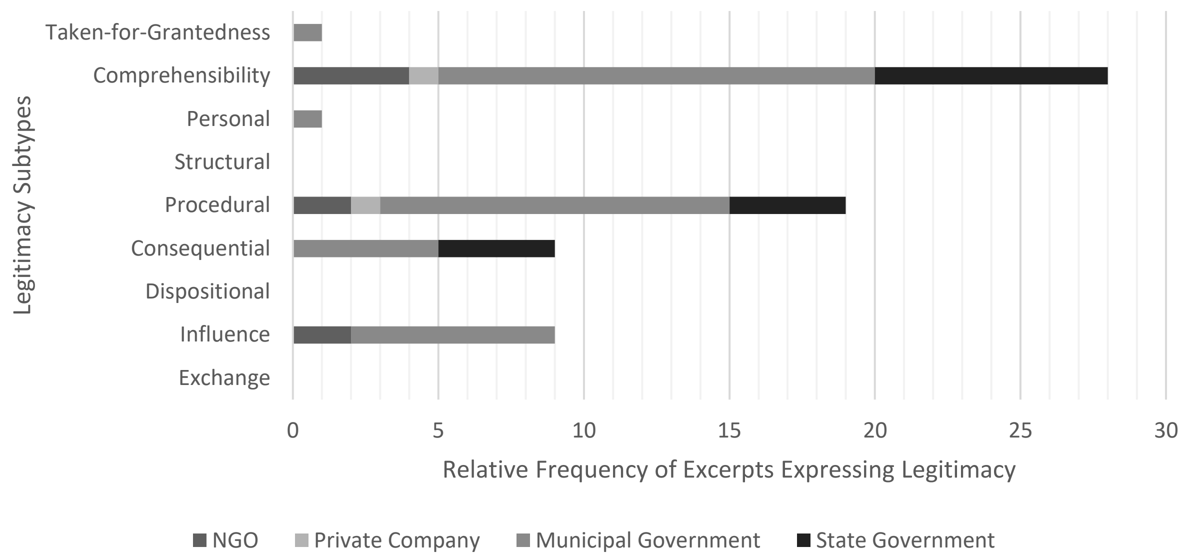

Figure 3-2. Distribution of excerpts legitimizing exemptions.

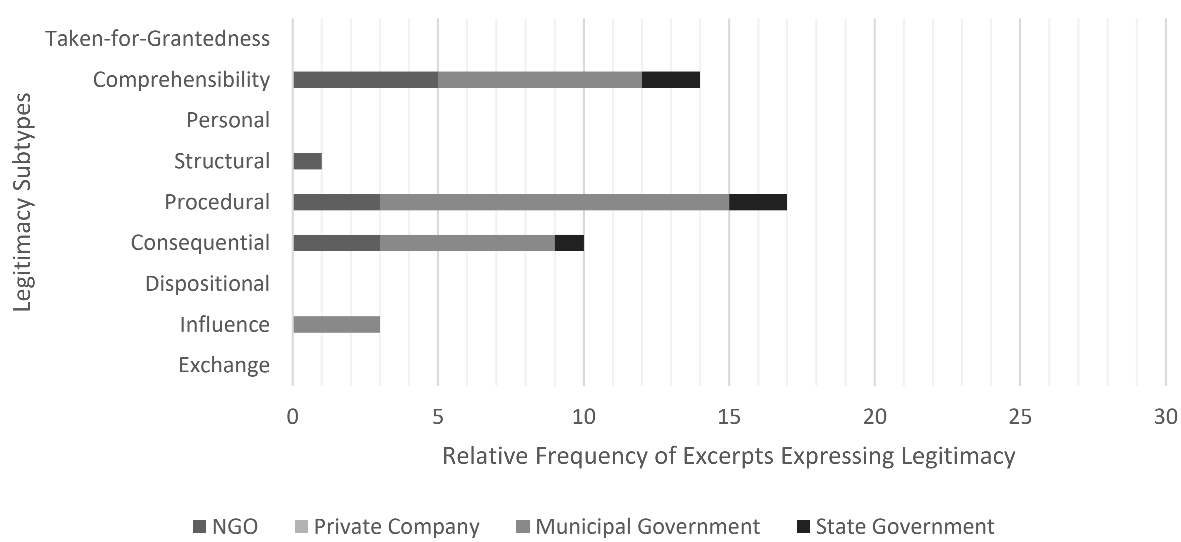

Figure 3-3. Distribution of excerpts de-legitimizing exemptions.

3.4.1 *Humanitarian response usually legitimizes exemptions*

Humanitarian response prioritizes immediate needs and is focused on the task at hand. It is intuitive that efforts to provide accommodation quickly would result in legitimizing exemptions in order to accomplish this goal. This intuition was validated in the results. Excerpts (64) legitimizing exemptions and non-compliance were also predominantly associated with humanitarian response due to reasons which include reducing barriers for individuals and organizations to provide accommodation, providing housing quickly to minimize negative impacts to displaced persons, and the reasonableness in reducing standards because of the temporary nature of the situation. For example, a facility manager for a temporary accommodation expressed appreciation for flexibility in regulation:

> *"So, then we got, kind of a long period where we could do it without having the proper permits, which was good." (Interview, Nonprofit Employee, 7 March 2017)*

This statement expresses the direct benefit to the nonprofit organization to provide temporary accommodation without providing 'proper permits,' which is a type of Influence Legitimacy. Of the nineteen interviews, only one was with a private company employee. As the head of a social housing company, they expressed legitimacy for exemptions in two excerpts. In both instances, exemptions were legitimate because of their temporary nature. For example, in one statement, the interviewee explained their reasoning for being open to lower building standards:

> *"I can understand that you have to be very sure about is it right to build a building here if it's going to be there for 100 years or forever, but since we're in this situation and maybe it's just going to be there for 10 years, I mean 10 years, sure, it's a long term, but 10 years is not much when you think about a building." (Interview, Private Company Employee, 17 May 2017)*

Comprehensibility Legitimacy was used to justify not following conventional building regulations because typical buildings being regulated are intended to last longer than those being used for temporary accommodations. Similarly, this same individual used Procedural Legitimacy to justify the exemption as an acceptable approach to the situation:

> *"These are not supposed to be there forever, so maybe you could short it down for some [reason]." (Interview, Private Company Employee, 17 May 2017)*

In both cases, exemptions were seen as legitimate because they were considered necessary for responding to the immediate situation. Comprehensibility Legitimacy was also used to understand the need for exemptions. In some instances, people compared alternatives such as people sleeping in a non-compliant building versus having to sleep in a park or on the street. One employee with the Swedish Migration Agency expressed the following:

> *"During the worst peak, it was better to have a roof over your head and maybe be 15 people to have to share a shower." (Interview, State Government Employee, 10 February 2017)*

The urgent need to provide accommodation superseded the need to follow pre-existing standards to a certain extent, as expressed using Consequential Legitimacy. In another example, a municipal employee explained the use of lower standards during the situation:

> *"Which is just not here, it's been the entire country. Rules are being broken all the time." (Interview, Municipal Government Employee, 24 January 2017)*

Non-compliance was occurring regularly, making it understandable that they would not always comply or use existing regulations (Comprehensibility Legitimacy). The majority of excerpts expressing legitimacy for exemptions and non-compliance aligned with humanitarian response, prioritizing the immediate need as a rationalization for not following building regulations. Whether the motivation was personal benefit in avoiding fines or having flexibility to respond, to providing urgently needed shelter, this theme was prevalent across all categories of interviewees. Regardless the legitimacy used, these exemptions and non-compliance added a sub-group of buildings to the housing supply that were either not up to minimum regulatory standards or were not intended for residential use. In the immediate timeframe, this created an inconsistent quality of living for people residing in the temporary accommodations and in the long-term, positioned the cities for having sub-standard buildings in the housing supply.

3.4.2 *Development mindset usually de-legitimizes exemptions*

Conversely, excerpts that de-legitimized exemptions and non-compliance in temporary accommodations usually aligned with a development mindset; priorities are centered in long-term structural transformation (Sumner and Tribe 2008) or maintaining status quo for the larger community. Forty-eight (48) excerpts de-legitimized exemptions for reasons including that building use would change, sub-standard buildings would be introduced into society, or that building regulations were not being followed. In one case, a nonprofit employee did not consider their building as a place to live, but rather shelter from the elements:

> *"Because then you have changed the purpose of the house from a church to a hostel." (Interview, 3 April 2017)*

Using Procedural Legitimacy, the interviewee perceived exemptions as compromising the long-term function of a temporary accommodation due to humanitarian response. Building use was also a discussion between temporary accommodations provided by the Swedish Migration Agency versus municipalities. Accommodations managed by the Swedish Migration Agency were different in that they were eligible to use official exemptions for temporary accommodations

(Boverket 2016), but a different perspective was taken with accommodations managed by municipalities:

> *"Then they should have just a normal apartment or something." (Interview, State Government Employee, 24 March 2017)*

The municipalities were in a unique situation where some of their departments were responsible for maintaining standards through regulatory agencies, while other departments were responsible for providing accommodation to unaccompanied minors and displaced persons who had received a temporary residence permit through the Swedish Migration Agency. In one example, a regulatory employee expressed de-legitimacy for a temporary accommodation managed by a nonprofit organization:

> *"They didn't really accept that they were doing something not according to the building laws." (Interview, Municipal Government Employee, 23 March 2017)*

This was an example of Procedural (de)Legitimacy because the nonprofit organization did not conform to existing regulations. Although more excerpts expressed legitimacy rather than de-legitimacy, the distribution of both were consistently distributed across the subtypes. While it is important to understand the type of legitimacy associated with exemptions, it is also critical to understand what aspect of exemption was (de)legitimized. Whether it was legitimizing non-compliance due to the temporary nature of the situation or the withholding of legitimacy due to the permanent impacts from non-compliance, the discussion of temporary (humanitarian response) versus permanent (development) was a key theme for interview participants. The following section will look more closely into the implications of these findings.

3.5 DISCUSSION

The legitimacy of non-compliance and exemptions to regulations in the provision of temporary accommodations hinged on the temporal perceptions of those responding. A tension exists between an appropriate humanitarian response and the permanent infrastructure that exists after the situation has stabilized. The following sections aim to address these differences by discussing how *temporary* is defined and the need for both a humanitarian and development mindset when providing temporary accommodations.

3.5.1 *Defining temporary and permanent*

The term *temporary* and *permanent* have varying interpretations across actors involved with providing temporary accommodation. According to Sweden's National Board of Housing, Building and Planning – Boverket – a temporary permit is allowable for up to ten years (Boverket 2016). However, various actors from regulatory authorities interpreted *temporary* differently, ranging from a few days up to a few months. Understanding the scope of what is considered temporary affects the type of exemptions that are allowed. For example, one permitting employee expressed the difficulty in what constituted a formal building permit:

> *"That was really the first question. To really need a building permit, how short term can it get, or how long can the short term be before you're required a building permit. [And we were in this discussion] I think we land at something like four weeks or something like that." (Interview, Municipal Government Employee, 23 March 2017)*

Even when temporary was considered a few days, it still preempted discussion on acceptable exemptions. This was expressed by a government employee in a fire department, who described the conversations that decision-makers had surrounding temporary accommodations and regulations. On one hand, exemptions to standard building regulations were legitimized due to the temporary nature of the building:

> *"In the fall of 2015, we got many suggestions of what we can do to lower the fire safety regulations, so we can use more places to stay. Many talked about it, 'but it's just temporary.' They're just going to sleep here for a few days or a week or so, and then we can accept that." (Interview, Municipal Government Employee, 25 April 2017)*

However, in this same explanation the employee used the same timeframe of three days to de-legitimize providing exemptions due to the fact the building, although used for a few nights, ultimately is being used for a longer period:

> *"Some thought it was okay that there slept 4,000 people in gymnastic room. We didn't think that that would be okay, because for one person would stay there for three nights, but the house would be used for a long time, for long term." (Interview, Municipal Government Employee, 25 April 2017)*

Across both excerpts, it is evident that decision-makers struggled with providing humanitarian response and its implications for both the people living inside as well as long-term implications of allowing less than minimum standards. When humanitarian response is considered beyond the immediate timeframe, it preempts an understanding of how these decisions function within the established regulatory systems. One government employee expressed this while describing the overall response:

> *"Well, we're sort of undergoing a paradigm shift where the entire ... It's the entire regulatory organism is changing. From the laws at the top, because we have a temporary law." (Interview, Municipal Government Employee, 24 January 2017)*

How one defines *temporary* impacts whether or not one legitimizes exemptions to building regulations. The scope of what is considered temporary uncovers the boundary between two mindsets: humanitarian response and development. For example, humanitarian response contains nonprofits at local, national and international levels, and within each of these organizations are individuals who are making decisions with the primary goal being to provide immediate relief to a disaster event impacted population. Development has varying goals based on local, state and national priorities, but generally works to improve resources for constituents within the built environment over an extended period of time. Sweden's response to the influx of displaced persons displayed both of these mindsets in the context of regulatory compliance. As with other contexts where temporary accommodation is urgently needed, disregarding or exempting regulations has the potential to impact long-term standardization of housing quality in the host community (Levine, Esnard, and Sapat 2007). Regulatory authorities are faced with retroactively formalizing exemptions and non-compliance or enforcing regulations (Levine, Esnard, and Sapat 2007; Fawaz 2017). The next two sections unpack these in greater detail.

3.5.2 *Exemptions are unavoidable for humanitarian response*

Government agencies such as the Swedish Migration Agency and municipalities were responsible for providing temporary accommodation for people seeking asylum and those who had received a temporary residence permit. When capacity was exceeded in pre-existing accommodations, the primary goal became procuring buildings to create new accommodations quickly. These agencies (Swedish Migration Agency, municipal social affairs departments) are not conventionally responsible with creating or procuring housing; they previously acquired permanent buildings for temporary accommodation but typically they focus their energy in social services and processing asylum requests. In this situation, humanitarian response was in play and these agencies were operating outside their conventional roles; due to exceeded capacity in preexisting temporary accommodations the Swedish Migration Agency and social affairs department in the municipalities also needed to procure new buildings for temporary accommodation. Interviews with municipal and federal levels of government produced a narrative that they needed immediate housing and it was understood that this was not a permanent arrangement. In temporary situations, however defined, rules can be rendered as obsolete because they don't fit in the parameters of the situation (Sparrow 2011). This was acknowledged in interviews, as expressed by one government employee:

> *"The laws regulating public procurement, it's full of red tape. It's not made for situations like that, so that was very difficult. We had 60-70 buses leaving from here out in the parking lot every day during the worst period. Sometimes they'd just send the bus away, but they didn't have a destination because we didn't have any housing." (Interview, State Government Employee, 10 February 2017)*

Employees in the Swedish Migration Agency quickly arranged destinations for these buses as they were in transit. With this urgent need for housing, exemptions were necessary to provide shelter to displaced persons (e.g. allowing residential use of buildings in areas zoned for commercial use or not meeting building regulations), and at times even these exemptions were not enough to help facilitate the process. Attempts to increase efficiency in this process can result in deviation from existing standards and authority structures (Thompson 1967). For example, one municipal employee described how fire officials justified allowing emergency accommodations with lessened fire safety:

"They knew. It's a crisis. You can say, 'Yeah, you can be there for one month.' Then you have to have fire cells and you have ..." (Interview, Municipal Government Employee, 8 February 2017)

Comprehensibility Legitimacy was used to justify that the situation was short-term and therefore it was understandable to reduce regulatory expectations. While exemptions were legitimized, these decisions had long-term impacts to the housing supply. One employee described the situation almost two years after the temporary accommodations were procured in 2015:

"We felt like if we accept these types of accommodations now, what's going to happen in one year or two years. That I think the fire department is in mostly south of Sweden have that problem now, because they still have some of those accommodations that don't follow the regulations in fire safety." (Interview, Municipal Government Employee, 25 April 2017)

Some regulatory actors legitimized temporary non-compliance with the justification that building owners would come into compliance after they were made aware of the violations (Procedural Legitimacy):

"I can't say that we permitted to use these [buildings] against the rules, but we left the decision with the request that they will make the [buildings] possible to live after the decision." (Interview, Municipal Government Employee, 5 April 2017)

Humanitarian response was conducive to legitimizing exemptions or dismissing non-compliance because the primary goal was to provide housing quickly. This mindset is similar across other responses to natural disasters and forced displacement (Nigg, Barnshaw, and Torres 2006). When looking at quick response to immediate needs, deviation from conventional regulations allows actors the flexibility to provide temporary accommodations in a timely manner, providing vulnerable populations with much-needed shelter.

3.5.3 *Non-compliance can be problematic for development*

Although a basis exists for needing to adapt or deviate from existing regulations in a crisis, this can be problematic for the long-term function of what is built. Regulatory actors usually use a development mindset, one where the argument of sustainable practice exists in desiring to "meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED 1987). This conflicts with humanitarian response by emphasizing the future. This was noted during an interview with a nonprofit employee who worked in the temporary accommodations:

> *"This is a question that comes up every time you have displaced people. That you have, you need to settle people fast. Then you risk building structures in society that later on become permanent. They're supposed to be temporary, but they become permanent. And then sub-standards of living are generated." (Interview, Nonprofit Employee, 22 November 2016)*

This statement contains two types of legitimacy by questioning the construction of temporary structures that later become permanent (Procedural Legitimacy) and the production of sub-standards within these accommodations (Consequential Legitimacy). This tension also existed in migrant accommodations. The Swedish Migration Agency justified emergency accommodations in unconventional buildings due to the fact that occupants did not yet have citizenship and when municipalities received people with temporary residence permits, they were expected to provide permanent housing as though they were citizens. One respondent involved with developing the formal building exemptions for temporary accommodations de-legitimized the exemption for municipalities using Procedural Legitimacy because of the citizenship status of occupants:

> *"I think legally [the municipalities] can't use the exceptions, it could be a problem. Because [the occupants are] not seeking asylum anymore." (Interview, State Government Employee, 24 March 2017)*

This concept was challenged with the reality that municipalities helped the Swedish Migration Agency with temporary accommodation using their own buildings but did not have sufficient capacity to provide permanent accommodation and were put in a position of using temporary accommodations as well. Officials were aware of this conceptual difference in regulation:

> *"You're not providing a temporary standard. You're providing permanent household living." (Interview, Municipal Government Employee, 21 April 2017)*

The federal building regulations only exempted temporary accommodations for buildings contracted with the Swedish Migration Agency, which led to some municipalities bypassing regulations in order to provide housing. In spite of this non-compliance, allowing exemptions was de-legitimized due to the fear that these actions would have long-lasting implications. As one employee associated with fire safety stated,

> *"We felt like if we accept these types of accommodations now, what's going to happen in one year or two years?" (Interview, Municipal Government Employee, 25 April 2017)*

This is an example of a lack of legitimacy using Comprehensibility Legitimacy. The employee felt the exemptions are unjustifiable because it didn't make sense to introduce sub-standards for buildings that would continue functioning after the situation stabilized. In addition, it is also unclear what contributes to the reasonableness of exemptions or deviation from standards that are justified with Comprehensibility Legitimacy. This introduces a necessary discussion about how humanitarian response and development coexist in the built environment. Municipalities were required to receive a certain number of displaced persons who were granted temporary residents permits but were not eligible to use formal exemptions for temporary accommodations in the same way as the Swedish Migration Agency. One municipal employee expressed frustration with the inability to legally deviate from building regulations:

"But I think it's not balanced to say that, 'Well, if you're living in what the government has provided, you can have this standard, but if you're living two years in what the municipality has provided, you have to have this standard.' It's not really fair." (Interview, Municipal Government Employee, 21 April 2017).

Conversely, state government employees did not perceive migrant accommodation as temporary, which influenced why exemptions weren't afforded to municipalities:

"Once they're received in the municipality, they live in the accommodation. That's like their permanent accommodation." (Interview, State Government Employee, 10 February 2017)

This statement demonstrates the importance of defining permanent and temporary entities and how these definitions impact governance mechanisms. When housing is considered permanent, exemptions are no longer perceived as legitimate because of the long-term function of the building and the need to provide a certain quality. Although exemptions are clearly justified by study participants in humanitarian response, decisions cross over into permanent impact.

This discussion centers on the way in which stakeholders legitimize the use of regulatory exemptions and non-compliance in providing temporary accommodation. It is evident from the data that participants predominantly use what is understandable (Comprehensibility Legitimacy) and what is considered to be the normatively acceptable approach (Procedural Legitimacy), rather than more pragmatic types of legitimacy. Understanding of the legitimacy subtypes used by stakeholders has explored the ways in which exemptions are needed in the short-term to quickly provide temporary accommodations, but also highlights the possible long-term implications of such decisions; sub-standard buildings are added to the host community's housing stock and creates inconsistent standards for people residing in such buildings. Host communities need to be aware of this tension between humanitarian action and development priorities in order to ensure long-term impacts from temporary accommodation of communities. The following section provides two principles to be used in future events in light of this discussion.

3.6 Conclusion

Global displacement reached a historical peak in 2015, exceeding the unprecedented numbers following the Second World War (UNHCR 2016). Those experiencing displacement from countries such as Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan sought asylum in European countries during this period to escape civil conflict and seek a safe environment. Sweden received the second highest number of applications for asylum during this time, providing temporary accommodation during the application process in compliance with the country's asylum law. As a result, various actors such as nonprofits, state government, municipal governments and private actors came together to meet the immediate housing need. This situation was considered a crisis for the governmental system responsible for providing temporary housing:

> *"The crisis for the guy who comes today is the same as for the guy who came in 2015. So, it doesn't make sense to speak of a crisis during 2015 from the asylum seeker's perspective. That doesn't make sense to me but, it's obvious that the public systems or the public services and so on were put under extreme stress, which made it very difficult to provide the service*

> *that we are obligated to do. In [our city], there were some cases where we asked people to stay on the sidewalk, you know?" (Interview, State Employee, 1 March 2017)*

In this response, providing humanitarian response and maintaining permanent development goals contended with each other. This finding emerged from qualitative analysis of 19 interviews with various stakeholders for excerpts (de)legitimizing exemptions and non-compliance in temporary accommodations (Figure 3-2, Figure 3-3). Analysis of excerpts regarding regulations reflect that in the process of providing temporary accommodation quickly, regulatory mechanisms were compromised. Legitimacy for exemptions and non-compliance were associated with meeting immediate needs (humanitarian response) while those expressing de-legitimacy for exemptions were due to the long-term implications for such decisions (development mindset). In meeting the immediate need of a crisis, it is inevitable that some standards will be overlooked; this has been noted in literature (Thompson 1967; Brunsson and Jacobsen 2002; Nigg, Barnshaw, and Torres 2006), and exemplified through this study. Although non-compliance may be inevitable, there is the potential for negative long-term impacts to development, such as inconsistency of building quality. The findings from this study can be summarized in the following principles:

Principle #1: Define temporary

It is important for policymakers to clearly define what is considered *temporary* to limit non-compliance in such situations of mass population displacement. Definitions need to be both clear and contextually relevant to the situation. Swedish building regulations provided formal exemptions for temporary accommodations managed by the Swedish Migration Agency, however because *temporary* was defined as not to exceed 10 years, government agencies like municipalities were unable to function within the legal boundaries and experienced non-compliance. Defining *temporary* equips regulatory institutions for better control of the extent to which non-compliance exists in temporary accommodations and provides flexibility for stakeholders to accomplish their goal. Other emergency relief efforts have attempted to define emergency activity; UNHCR defined various levels of emergencies with varying administrative and funding mechanisms to be reviewed after six months (UNHCR 2017a). In the United States, FEMA does not have specific definitions for shelter, interim or transitional housing, but its Public Assistance program defines emergency work to be completed in six months and permanent work to be finished within 18 months (FEMA 2009, 2018). Similar to the Swedish context, these definitions have not always been closely followed, resulting in the use of temporary buildings for long-term use (Nigg, Barnshaw, and Torres 2006; Levine, Esnard, and Sapat 2007). In this Swedish case study, if a temporary accommodation was defined for providing housing for a period of up to one month rather than the current limit of ten years, municipalities would have been able to legally provide interim housing while more adequate permanent housing was arranged. Buildings previously used by the Swedish Migration Agency were not allowed for use by the municipality because *migrant accommodation* was not considered temporary, however municipalities regularly expressed the need for such intermediate housing. Redefining the scope of the response through a temporal perspective allows a chance for all stakeholders to adjust to the situation while maintaining the integrity of long-term accommodation for displaced persons.

Principle #2: The humanitarian-development nexus in wealthy host countries

This study identifies the need of incorporating the principles of the humanitarian-development nexus regardless of a country's economic status, and the need to incorporate a development perspective within humanitarian response. Framing the provision of temporary accommodation for displaced persons through a humanitarian mindset justified non-compliance, compromising the integrity of building standards in the housing supply and quality of life for vulnerable populations in these accommodations. Developmental impacts from humanitarian response need to be incorporated into short-term coordination. For example, if temporary accommodations are required and options include non-residential buildings such as those used in the 2015 response in Sweden and other countries such as Germany (Hacker, Kaminsky, and Faust 2017), the impact of these alternatives to the host community's housing supply should be considered in inter-agency discussions. Ignoring long-term impacts to the built environment may result in resources being used for parallel infrastructure services and puts donors and host communities at risk for inefficient spending (Spiegel 2017). This requires increased coordination between stakeholders in the operation that represent various backgrounds related to long-term planning (i.e. enforcement agencies, urban planning, etc.) in addition to emergency response (e.g. nonprofit organizations, social affairs, immigration agencies, etc.) (Boustani 2015).

These findings contribute to the theory of the humanitarian-development nexus. Considering development priorities is essential across countries of varying economic status, irrespective of the degree of involvement by international partner organizations. For example, in countries such as Lebanon that host a large number of refugees in urban areas, upgrading sub-standard housing and infrastructure through humanitarian response can result in general system improvements for the Lebanese population (UN Habitat 2015). This could also be a productive strategy in the Swedish context. This study provides information useful for understanding how exemptions and non-compliance are legitimized and informs decision-making that can impact the quality of living for occupants in temporary accommodation as well as reducing the introduction of sub-standard buildings within the housing supply of host communities.

Chapter 4. REGULATORY ENFORCEMENT APPROACHES FOR MASS POPULATION DISPLACEMENT

Miriam E. Hacker*[8], Jessica Kaminsky[9], Kasey M. Faust[10]

ABSTRACT

The increase of natural and man-made hazards has resulted in a record number of people displaced across the globe. About 60 percent of the world's refugee and asylum seeker population seek shelter in urban areas. During the European Refugee Situation in 2015, Sweden received an influx of forcibly displaced persons seeking asylum. This was the highest number of asylum seekers per capita among European Union member states. A challenge of this situation was the provision of assistance within an existing built environment, in contrast to other housing solutions such as geographically distinct refugee camps. One challenge of this situation is the enforcement of building regulations in temporary accommodation. Regulations are one method of maintaining consistent standards for quality of living within buildings. As such, this study explores the enforcement of building regulations through inspections. In 2017, semi-structured interviews were conducted with government employees, nonprofit organization employees, and private companies who were providing temporary accommodations to displaced persons. Six interviews with employees from regulatory enforcement agencies were qualitatively analyzed to explore how regulators legitimized inspections and their involvement in the procurement process. Regulators predominantly legitimize inspections by what is understandable (Comprehensibility Legitimacy) and what is the right thing to do (Procedural Legitimacy). These types of legitimacy are reflected

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in the types of enforcement (deterrence-based and responsive regulation) that were utilized by regulators. Regulatory compliance for conventional building regulations slowed the accommodation process; because of this, regulations were not always followed. This created a supply of buildings which do not provide the same standard of living as conventional residential buildings in the Swedish housing supply. This study provides practical insight to regulators handling temporary accommodations and ensures that quality of buildings is consistent for the general population and reduces variation in the safety provided by buildings based on the political status of the occupants. Findings contribute to the literature addressing mass population displacement and provides new knowledge of organizational legitimacy in technical applications.

KEYWORDS: refugee, building regulations, enforcement, legitimacy, deterrence, responsive

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In recent years, global displacement has reached historic levels (UNHCR 2016), with the majority of displaced persons seeking refuge in urban areas (UNHCR 2017b). A unique challenge is supporting vulnerable populations in on urban context where services are being provided within an existing built environment (Global Alliance for Urban Crises 2018). However, it is still unclear how host countries with highly developed infrastructure systems adjust to mass population increase due to displacement (Kaminsky and Faust 2017). In 2015, various members of the European Union (EU) received a large influx of displaced persons seeking asylum, and by their asylum laws were obligated to provide temporary accommodation to displaced persons during the asylum application process. Sweden – the context of this study – received the highest number of unaccompanied minors in the EU during this period and the second highest number of asylum applications, becoming the EU member state with the highest proportion of people seeking asylum per capita (Hofverberg 2016).

Due to the rapid population increase, existing housing for displaced persons quickly reached capacity, leaving government agencies in a position of developing alternative housing solutions to meet the need. Unconventional facilities such as abandoned warehouse, psychiatric hospitals, schools and other non-residential buildings were quickly procured to accommodate the need. Regardless of the use of non-standard housing solutions, developers were legally required to maintain the usual standard of living. One method of controlling the standard of living in housing is through regulation, a form of governance used to maintain a consistent quality. However, regulations are only as effective as their enforcement. Studies have highlighted institutional barriers to enforcement (May 2005; Lodge and Wegrich 2012; Baldwin, Cave, and Lodge 2011), yet it remains unclear how enforcement functions within an dynamic and extreme situation, such as the one experienced by Sweden in 2015. Conventional building regulations slowed the accommodation process (Dauer 2015), and in some cases, efforts to house people quickly were accomplished by regulatory non-compliance. Enforcement is inherently motivated by normative and cultural-cognitive influences (Edelman and Suchman 1997; Scott 2008; Reynaers and Parrado 2017). Therefore, this study frames enforcement through an institutional lens, utilizing organizational legitimacy theory to capture motivation of enforcement officials through pragmatic, normative and cultural-cognitive legitimacy subtypes. Furthermore, it considers an extremely uncertain context where non-compliance is more likely to occur.

4.2 Point of Departure

Regulations are only effective if they are enforced. The literature describes three major types of enforcement: deterrence, persuasion, and mixed-methods approaches. This section describes these types and the theoretical framework used in this study: organizational legitimacy theory.

4.2.1 *Deterrence-based enforcement*

Deterrence-based enforcement relies on pragmatic calculation between the benefits of not complying versus the consequence in the event the non-compliance is detected by enforcement agencies (Reiss 1984; Lodge and Wegrich 2012). This conventional definition of deterrence-based regulation is less focused on the relationship between the enforcing and regulated parties, but rather on the adherence to regulations and the capacity needed to meet service delivery outcomes. For example, in the event of non-compliance during an inspection, an inspector would deliver a fine or other sanction rather than taking an intermediary step such as giving a warning. Although this definition diminishes the relational dynamic between the regulator and those being regulated, a normative influence is still very much present in this type of regulation. For example, in the case of procurement, degree of compliance is affected by time constraints, where contractors hold a certain amount of power because they provide a service that is needed by the procurer (Girth 2014). In the context of this study, private building owners and municipalities are providing an urgently needed service – temporary accommodations – creating a dependency relationship between government agencies and stakeholders who are preparing facilities. Still, regardless of the intention to use a deterrence-based approach, interpretation of when to sanction is still arbitrary (Perez 2011, 754). In some cases where capacity of enforcement agencies is limited, sanctions are increased to increase the deterrence to not comply. However, if those responsible for complying with regulations feel like violation is unlikely to be detected, an increased sanction will make little difference in the deterrence calculation and non-compliance will continue (Lodge and Wegrich 2012).

4.2.2 *Persuasion-based enforcement*

Persuasion-based regulation is the second form of enforcement. Persuasion-based regulation uses a normative approach. In contrast to the deterrence-based approach which focuses on punishing wrong-doing, the main priority in persuasion-based regulation is to do the right thing and prevent harm (Lodge and Wegrich 2012). Enforcement is comprised of first advising, providing information, and using argumentation as resources, moving to sanctions as a last resort. In persuasion-based enforcement, understanding the motivation for compliance from the perspective of those being regulated is essential to interactions between enforcement agencies and stakeholders (Lodge and Wegrich 2012; Mendoza and Wielhouwer 2015). Although this approach adds a cognitive and normative aspect to the basic pragmatic motivation for compliance, there is a potential for ambiguity. Those being regulated may not understand the basis for transitioning from receiving information to being sanctioned, and those who naturally comply with regulations may not understand the need to continue complying with the intermediary interventions by enforcement agencies (Lodge and Wegrich 2012). For example, if a contractor sees that enforcement officers negotiate with lack of compliance on a construction site rather than immediately issuing a fine, that same contractor may be less motivated to stay in compliance because they realize they will only get a warning. Engaging with stakeholders may also require additional resources and capacity on behalf of engagement agencies (Lodge and Wegrich 2012).

4.2.3 *Mixed methods enforcement*

Finally, mixed methods approaches to enforcement has been proposed in the form of responsive regulation, risk-based regulation, or self-regulation. Braithwaite (2011) introduces pyramids of decision-making for responsive regulations through the integration of relational intervention with the sanctions that are fundamental to both persuasion-based regulation and deterrence-based regulation. Rather than just increasing severity of consequences, Braithwaite emphasizes the relational aspect of enforcement by providing pyramids to incentivize preferred actions rather than solely punishing non-compliance (Braithwaite 2011). Risk-based regulation also tries to bring more structure to decision-making in enforcement by having enforcement agencies prioritize risks associated with non-compliance to inform severity of enforcement for regulations (Environ. Sci. Technol. 1997; Lodge and Wegrich 2012; Konschnik and Boling 2014). Self-regulation puts the responsibility of compliance on self-reporting (Lodge and Wegrich 2012). However, increased trust through self-regulation is not ideal for a short timeframe and increasing sanctions for non-compliance threatens the trust in the regulatory relationship (Mendoza and Wielhouwer 2015). As such, scholars note that mixed approaches can have the same epistemological challenges as conventional approaches (Perez 2011, 751).

4.2.4 *Theoretical framework: Organizational Legitimacy Theory*

Housing regulations exist to create standardization in building regulation and limit variability of standards within housing (Brunsson and Jacobsen 2002). Enforcement of such regulations requires a degree of interpretation, introducing subjectivity to compliance procedures (Brown and Angel 2000; Sparrow 2011; Lodge and Wegrich 2012; Reynaers and Parrado 2017). For example, the Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning's provides the following guidance on exemptions for temporary accommodations:

> *"Adjustments and deviations can be made to a larger extent if the nature of the measure is of a simpler nature, the extent is small and the duration is short."* (Boverket 2016)

The interpretation of what is considered "simpler," "small" and "short" is given to subjectivity. Sociologists have noted that normative and cultural-cognitive influences are integral to practitioner's implementation of regulation (Scott 2008; Thornton and Ocasio 2008). This subjectivity is the focus of this study; understanding how individuals within enforcement agencies perceive and justify their involvement impacts the interpretation of regulations, which in turn influences the quality of temporary accommodations.

To understand motivation for inspections and involvement of enforcement agencies through this normative framework, the authors analyze involvement through the lens of legitimacy, or the acceptability of 'social entities, structures, actions, and ideas' (Deephouse and Suchman 2008, 54) through pragmatic, normative and cultural-cognitive lens. Legitimacy theory initially focused on the degree of power that an institution carried (Weber 1924) but has evolved over time to a wide scope of interdisciplinary applications, from political legitimacy (Coakley 2011; Jeffrey, McConnell, and Wilson 2015), legitimacy in psychology (Tyler 2006) to organizational legitimacy (Suchman 1995). Other applications have aggregated the three major types of organizational legitimacy, producing regulatory legitimacy, professional legitimacy and others (Deephouse and Suchman 2008). This known organizational response is the precedent for framing this study through organizational legitimacy (Suchman 1995). Three major types of legitimacy (pragmatic, moral, cognitive) are organized into nine subtypes: Exchange, Influence, Dispositional, Consequential, Procedural, Structural, Personal, Comprehensibility, and Taken-for-grantedness. These subtypes are used to describe the nature of how something is being legitimized and are defined in Table 4-1.

Table 4-1. Types and subtypes of organizational legitimacy, defined using theoretical framework from Suchman (1995).

PRAGMATIC	**Exchange** Support for an organization based on the direct benefit to the respondent or people/group that the respondent is in direct contact with.
	Influence An organization being responsive to larger interests. These larger interests benefit people/a group that the interviewee is not in direct contact with (i.e. the city).
	Dispositional Usually the organizations which are granted legitimacy are personified and must have "our best interests at heart" (Suchman 1995, 578).
MORAL	**Consequential** Organizations are judged on what they accomplish and answers the question: What benefits are provided to others?
	Procedural Organizations are judged on what they accomplish and answers the question: What benefits are provided to others?
	Structural The judgment of structural characteristics within the organization
	Personal The charisma of individual organizational leader(s).
COGNITIVE	**Comprehensibility** A mix between daily experience of the respondent and the larger belief systems (cognitive chaos).
	Taken-for-Grantedness When "an alternative is literally unthinkable" (Suchman 1995, 583) for the respondent.

Interviews were conducted asking about the individual's experience with developing temporary housing, then interviews were analyzed for instances where legitimacy was present. Definitions for legitimacy included in Table 4-1 are part of a legitimacy coding dictionary previously developed by Faure and Hacker (see Appendix C), expanded from definitions provided by

Suchman (1995). For example, when asking a municipal government employee about how they check the quality of temporary accommodations for unaccompanied minors, they stated:

> *"That's a very important part of the inspection. We ask a lot of question to the kids." (Interview, Social Affairs Employee, 1 February 2017)*

In this case, the inspection is considered legitimate because it includes the perspective of unaccommodated minors. This is a normatively acceptable procedure and would therefore be coded for Procedural Legitimacy.

4.2.5 *Research Question*

In the context of mass population displacement, *what types of regulatory enforcement are used for temporary accommodation and how does this impact the host community*?

4.3 Materials and Methods

In this Swedish case study, procurement of temporary accommodations involved the following enforcement agencies: building (municipality), fire safety (regional), and environmental health (municipality) departments. Each of these actors have a set of regulations and standards for which they are responsible for enforcing in building projects. While communication between agencies existed, each enforcement agency had varied levels of involvement in inspections and interactions with other government agencies responsible for procurement. Therefore, this study aggregates and explores the ways in which each type of enforcement agency (environmental health, fire, building) approached regulatory enforcement, focusing on four large cities in Sweden. These four cities received the largest number of displaced persons, either in transit or seeking asylum, during the influx in 2015. Data was collected and analyzed using qualitative methods, as described in more detail below.

4.3.1 *Data Collection*

As part of a larger study, six interviews were conducted in four Swedish cities between February and May 2017 with employees from regulatory agencies including the regional fire department, municipal environmental health department, and municipal building department, as shown in Table 4-2. A snowball sampling method was employed to find individuals with direct experience with the accommodation process (Crouse and Lowe 2017).

Table 4-2. Distribution of interviews by regulatory agency and city.

Regulatory Agency	Number of interviews	Number of Municipalities Represented
Fire department	1	1
Environmental Health	3	3
Building	2	2
Total	6	4

Interviews were conducted in English and followed a semi-structured ethnographic format (Spradley 2016) over approximately a one-hour timeframe. Questions included (but were not limited to): the respondent's responsibilities in their position, their experience during 2015 in the process of providing temporary accommodation for displaced persons, what types of inspections were conducted, what went well with the process and what could have been improved, and what would happen if an analogous situation occurred in the future. Due to the sensitive nature of this subject and the limited number of individuals directly connected with the operation, names and cities are not included in the results. Audio recordings of the interviews were first transcribed, then processed to translate any Swedish phrases that were expressed during the meeting using a professional service. Transcripts then underwent primary and secondary qualitative analysis.

4.3.2 *Data Analysis: Qualitative Coding*

A qualitative analysis approach was selected for this study due to the situational context and goal of documenting individual's involvement with the temporary accommodation process. Emergency accommodation facilities were prepared and used for three to six months while government agencies prepared more long-term solutions during the end of 2015 and beginning of 2016. This period was prior to data collection. At the time of interviews, the Swedish Migration Agency was in the process of discontinuing contracts with private building owners and reallocating resources to government-owned facilities. Therefore, interviews captured the insight of individuals who had been involved with this process during the previous two years. Interview transcripts were qualitatively coded using Dedoose software (SCRC 2016) for excerpts expressing (de)legitimacy for *inspections*, defined as actions taken to examine the characteristics of temporary accommodations.

Expression of legitimacy is a statement that is not neutral, but rather expresses support (or lack of) based on personal opinion. The reasoning used in this expression is the basis for coding to a certain subtype of legitimacy. For example, if an inspector expressed dissatisfaction with inspecting temporary accommodations because it took away from their other responsibilities, this would be coded for de-legitimacy in the form of Exchange Legitimacy because the individual feels as though they are directly impacted in a negative way. More details and methodology associated with this type of coding are included in Hacker et. al (2017). Once expressions of (de)legitimacy were coded for *inspections*, this set of excerpts were isolated and analyzed for emergent themes related to types of regulatory approaches used for temporary accommodations.

4.3.3 *Limitations*

Interviews were conducted in English, which potentially constrains the vocabulary of interviewees who predominantly used Swedish as their native tongue. During the interviews, participants were encouraged to use Swedish verbiage if an English translation was not readily available. Another limitation is in the sample size of this study. Enforcement agencies in all four cities were contacted for participation in interviews. Due to scheduling conflicts and workloads, only six interviews were conducted. The authors acknowledge this limitation and do not intend to represent all enforcement agencies through the narratives provided in this study. However, this case study does provide insights within enforcement agencies and serves as a basis for future analysis. Although this analysis provides the perspective of enforcement agencies, the perspective of other stakeholders is necessary to provide a more comprehensive picture of the situation. Due to space limitations and the necessity of unpacking types of enforcement, the inclusion of other stakeholder perspectives is left for future research.

4.4 RESULTS

Primary and secondary analysis of the data resulted in a total of 68 excerpts expressing (de)legitimacy of inspections in the provision of temporary accommodations. Of these 55 excerpts legitimized and 13 excerpts de-legitimized inspections, shown by type of enforcement agency (environmental health, fire, building regulation) across the legitimacy subtypes in Figure 4-1. Procedural Legitimacy and Comprehensibility Legitimacy were the most commonly used in participants' responses in (de)legitimizing inspections, with 31 excerpts and 18 excerpts (respectively). This aligns with Scott's (2008) argument that professionals exercise their control via cognitive and normative processes. Procedural Legitimacy is based in normative processes that are socially acceptable, while Comprehensibility Legitimacy is centered in a cognitive understanding of what makes sense in the situation based on the individual's past experience and intuition (Suchman 1995; Hacker, Kaminsky, and Faust 2017). Results from each enforcement agency are described in greater detail in the following sections.

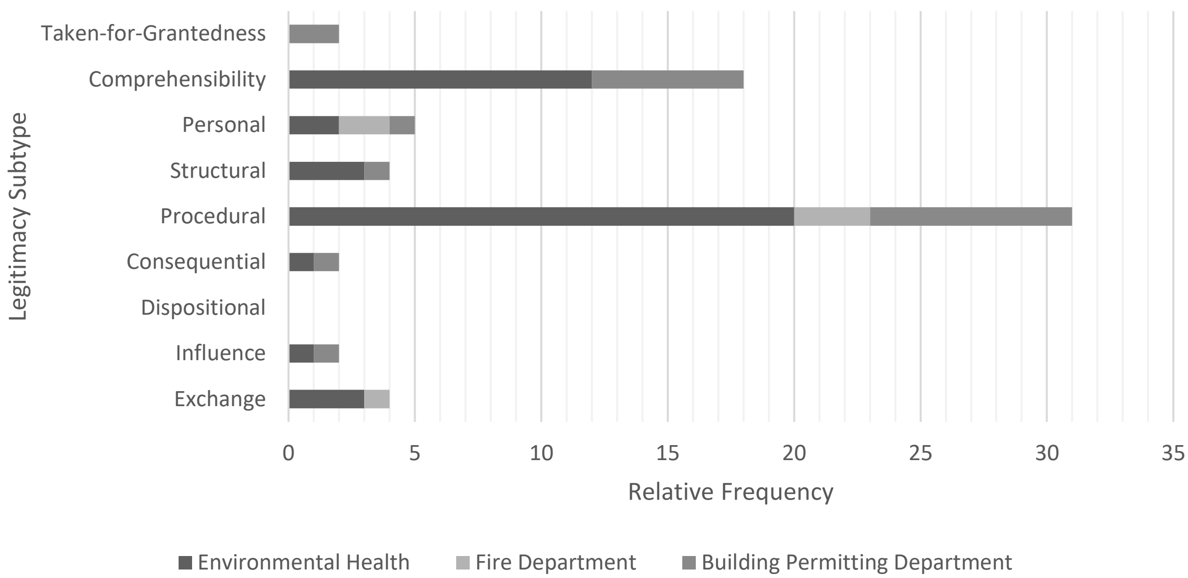

Figure 4-1. Relative frequency of excerpts expressing both legitimacy and de-legitimacy towards inspections.

4.4.1 *Environmental Health Department*

Interview data from environmental health departments was captured through one ethnographic interview and two written questionnaires with questions similar to those used during in-person interviews. In one municipality, the environmental health department took an advisory role for the procurement of accommodations, checking private buildings on behalf of other government agencies to inspect "access to restrooms, showers and laundry facilities, clean ability, ventilation, risk of moisture damage, heating, water quality, [sanitation], etc." (Written Interview, Environmental Health Inspector, 8 May 2017). Employees expressed both legitimacy (36 excerpts) and a lack thereof (6 excerpts) regarding inspection of facilities. All three interviews consistently expressed their motivation of inspecting facilities to be rooted in protecting human health:

> *"In general, we are inspecting those temporary accommodations in order to see there is no inconvenience to human health and that the operator have a good self-monitoring and routines." (Written Interview, Environmental Health Inspector, 3 May 2017)*

This excerpt, and the general concept of maintaining safe living conditions is an example of Consequential Legitimacy. Actions describing how this quality of living is maintained was justified in a form of Procedural Legitimacy. For example, one inspector described their role during inspections of temporary accommodations:

> *"In this, only temporary [housing], we were more advising, 'You have to do this.'" (Interview, Environmental Health Inspector, 22 February 2017)*

This is an expression of Procedural Legitimacy because the interviewee is justifying the accommodation based on the requirements that were enforced during inspections. Although all three inspectors had similar goals, their level of involvement was different. One inspector took on a proactive advisory role with government agencies looking to award contracts with private building owners, while another inspector only inspected facilities after being opened for operation. The third inspector took an advisory role directly with private building owners, helping them understand the regulations and what was necessary to comply with regulations. This third individual expressed de-legitimacy for their involvement based on the perception of the municipality. When asked about the overall response of the municipality and their level of involvement, they said:

> *"No one asked me, anyway. I think it's a lot of people. Maybe it's our role in the city. We are [outside]?" (Interview, Environmental Health Inspector, 22 February 2017)*

The inspector felt that their involvement in inspecting facilities was not legitimate because they were not made aware of key meetings and were not well connected to the other actors responsible for providing accommodation, which (s)he understood as being due to how many people came into the city and how the organization's role was perceived across the government agencies. This is an example of Comprehensibility Legitimacy, as the individual made sense of their position in the overall operation by using possible reasons for their exclusion from major discussions amongst other government agencies. Across all three interviews, whether working directly with building owners or procurers of facilities, the environmental health department engaged with other stakeholders with the common goal of maintaining human health.

4.4.2 *Fire Department*

Both the environmental health and fire departments were active in conducting inspections in temporary accommodations as they were procured and prepared in municipalities. Although multiple fire departments were contacted in each of the study cities, only one was available for an interview, resulting in five excerpts legitimizing their inspections in facilities, and one excerpt de-legitimizing. The individual viewed their role as a 'naysayer,' advising the government agencies which types of accommodations were acceptable:

> *"My role was to say, until we have the crisis, we have to follow the regulations because we can't make a difference whether there's a person from another country or if it's a Swedish person, like a student, because if there's a home for students, we definitely follow all the regulations." (Interview, Fire Department Supervisor, 25 April 2017)*

This reasoning of applying regulations regardless of citizenship status is an example of Procedural Legitimacy, not necessary towards inspections, but for application of regulations in temporary accommodations. This interviewee reported that each fire department adjusted differently to the provision of temporary accommodations, with some allowing lower building standards while they were stricter:

> *"But I think the fire department in [our municipality], we are sort of known as being quite… [we] follow the regulations and not being afraid of making those tough decisions. We're quite used to do[ing] that and know that we have the right to do it. We felt like if we accept these types of accommodations now, what's going to happen in one year or two years." (Interview, Fire Department Supervisor, 25 April 2017)*

This example contains multiple subtypes of legitimacy. Procedural Legitimacy is expressed in the statement that the department 'follows the regulations,' and Comprehensibility Legitimacy is used to justify how their decisions at the time might impact housing in the future. Other fire departments that allowed exemptions to building regulations were de-legitimized using Procedural Legitimacy because the interviewee felt that they didn't follow the fire safety regulations and as a result, sub-standard accommodations were created (Consequential Legitimacy).

The main emphasis from this individual was the newly instituted building regulation exemptions for temporary accommodations for Swedish Migration Agency and implications of having varying standards across the housing market:

> *"It makes a problem when we go. Our work is to go out to schools and look if they have the right fire safety level. Now, when we go to these two buildings, they should have the same and we should make the same inspections and the demands on those." (Interview, Fire Department Inspector, 25 April 2017)*

Consequential Legitimacy was used to de-legitimize the building regulations themselves because the fire safety level isn't necessarily the same, but Procedural Legitimacy was used to legitimize the inspection itself because making inspections and demands was seen as the appropriate course of action. This specific individual took an advisory role with government agencies to approve/disapprove procurement of facilities. However, similar to the environmental health department, other fire departments advised building owners after displaced persons took up residence in the buildings.

4.4.3 *Building Department*

Of the three enforcement agencies, the municipal department for building permits was the least engaged in the task of providing temporary accommodation. Similar to the fire department, the building department was contacted in all four cities, but only two participated in this study. After conducting interviews, the building department in each municipality was contacted requesting documentation for any temporary accommodations associated with the 2015 situation and was told by each municipality that no documentation was available. The employee involved with permitting did not feel it was the responsibility of their department to be actively involved with temporary accommodations. In one example, Comprehensibility Legitimacy was used to de-legitimize inspection of temporary accommodations:

> *"The same now, we can't really go out looking for this, or we don't do it in any other case, so why would we have this more hard sort of ... We don't go out looking for people building illegally other times either, so why should we do it in this case?" (Interview, Building Department Employee, 23 March 2017)*

In this case, the employee used their prior experience of not proactively looking for non-compliance with the general housing market to justify their absence in inspecting facilities for asylum seekers and refugees. Another department in another city was not as resistant to involvement, using Comprehensibility Legitimacy to legitimize inspections for accommodations:

> *“The interested authorities, they have to check because we are talking about people's life and health, so that's why they have to make a control.” (*Interview, Municipal Architect*, 5 April 2017)*

It was understandable to the interviewee to inspect buildings being used for displaced persons due to the safety implications.

These interviews provide insight into how individuals within the different agencies legitimize their work and raises the question as to what the most effective approach is when responding to an uncertain situation such as providing temporary accommodations in a short timeframe.

4.5 DISCUSSION

In an attempt to provide temporary accommodation quickly during the fall and winter of 2015, regulations were not always followed. This lack of compliance created a supply of buildings which do not provide the same standard of living as conventional residential buildings in the Swedish housing supply. Although some exemptions for temporary accommodations were formalized by the Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning (Boverket 2017), regulatory non-compliance was common as people struggled to house refugees and asylum seekers. Enforcement approaches varied across the environmental health, fire and building departments, yet all three agencies predominantly justified their involvement using normative processes (Procedural Legitimacy) and what was understandable for the situation (Comprehensibility Legitimacy). This finding is consistent with other work that has studied the (de)legitimization of various aspects of providing urban temporary accommodation, including utility employee involvement (Hacker, Kaminsky, and Faust 2017) or providing water and sanitation services for accommodations (Faure, Faust, and Kaminsky 2018). This section explores the manner in which these two predominant legitimacy subtypes are used in relation to the types of regulatory enforcement strategies used by the three enforcement agencies.

4.5.1 *Deterrence-Based Regulation*

Of the three enforcement agencies, the strategy used by the building department more closely resembled deterrence-based regulation. It should be noted that a factor separate from type of enforcement is the lack of overall involvement from the building department. The employee interviewed expressed that throughout the duration of 2015, they could only recall three cases of non-compliance amongst temporary accommodations for displaced persons in their municipality. This reflected the positioning and resources of the building department rather than the true extent of non-compliance within facilities. Repeatedly throughout the interview, it was explained that the department did not have the resources to investigate or advise private building owners (or sometimes government agencies) about appropriate steps for compliance as the other enforcement agencies did during that time:

> *"So, we did investigations for the things that didn't have permits, but we did it just when people come to us and tell us about something, or when we get information. So, we didn't go out looking for this in any way. So of course, we did just very tip of the iceberg. A very very small part of the whole thing that was going on." (Interview, Building Department Employee, 23 March 2017)*

When they received complaints, the department inspected according to what was required of them (Procedural Legitimacy). Inspections that did occur usually resulted in a letter being sent to the building owner with the list of violations and a designated timeframe to remedy the non-compliance to avoid a fine. This action by the department aligns with Procedural Legitimacy; despite the limited scope of their involvement, they took the appropriate steps according to standard procedures. In line with deterrence-based regulation, sanctions were high, including in one instance a fine of 500,000SEK, close to 50,000 euros, for a private building that was operating without appropriate building permits. Did this approach work? In some ways, it was successful. The facilities that were threatened with the fine did shut down the accommodation. However, this approach was only effective for high-profile facilities that were reported by the community and the full scope of non-compliance in temporary accommodations is left unclear.

4.5.2 *Responsive regulation*

In contrast to the building department, both the environmental health and fire departments took the responsive-regulatory approach, providing information necessary to bring the facilities closer into compliance with regulations rather than strictly following conventional procedure for non-compliance. Private building owners and government agencies managing these temporary accommodations did receive sanctions if improvement to certain conditions, such as fire safety and environmental health (e.g. ventilation, sanitary facilities) were not met in a certain period. Depending on the severity of non-compliance, environmental health and fire officials did shut down facilities. The fire department described a situation where a neighboring municipality had set up a facility for unaccompanied minors in their municipality that was shut down and the children were moved the same day:

> *"We had to shut that one down. We had another that they were doing, building it, making it fire safe, but they moved into the accommodations before they were done. So, we had to go there and say stop. The ventilation wasn't right. The escape stairs still weren't right. They had to move back and make it right and then go." (Interview, Fire Department Employee, 25 April 2017)*

A balance was needed between advising and enforcing to adapt. One employee described how they translated existing regulations in a way that was appropriate for the situation:

> *"We look that old [regulations] and we try to use common sense. What is reasonable ... When we're out in private buildings, we talk a lot to the people living there and what they experience." (Interview, Environmental Health Inspector, 22 February 2017)*

Trying to make sense of what was reasonable is a form of Comprehensibility Legitimacy, and this was done through taking certain actions during inspections to understand the situation (Procedural Legitimacy). Using a responsive approach had mixed results; in the case of the fire department employee that was interviewed, they experienced increased collaboration with their municipality to ensure facilities were in compliance, avoiding temporary accommodations with varying levels of fire safety after the wave of need for housing decreased. In the experience of the environmental health employee, they noticed a lack of communication from municipalities in what they perceived was an attempt to expedite the process. However, both the fire and environmental health department more directly supported and contained the implementation of standards to ensure facilities were safe for those occupying them by providing guidance to building owners and government officials.

4.5.3 *Implications of enforcement approaches*

It should be noted that overall involvement by enforcement agencies is just as important as the type of enforcement used. The building department only responded to requests for inspections or reports of violations called in by the public, while the environmental health and fire departments proactively engaged with the temporary accommodation operation. The former resulted in a limited knowledge of the extent of non-compliance, while the latter had a greater awareness. Regarding enforcement types, deterrence-based regulation successfully shut down high-profile temporary accommodations that were not complying with regulations. Responsive regulation allowed increased quantity of temporary accommodations at a lower living standard than conventional facilities, but the extent of non-compliance was also limited due to inspections and intermediary actions (e.g. providing guidance about what was necessary to remain open). These findings support theory in that all forms of enforcement require some degree of arbitrary discernment (Scott 2008; Thornton and Ocasio 2008; Reynaers and Parrado 2017). From the interviews in this case study, enforcement agencies who used a responsive approach reported that the overall response to the situation was well integrated and they were able to ensure that safety and regulatory outcomes were achieved in facilities.

4.6 Conclusion

Sweden received the highest number of displaced persons per capita in the EU in 2015 (UNHCR 2016). During this time, existing temporary accommodations used for housing individuals during the asylum application process exceeded capacity, and the Swedish Migration Agency worked with municipalities to quickly procure emergency housing. This study provides an exploratory look into the role of regulations in maintaining minimum standards within temporary accommodations through various enforcement types. Deterrence-based regulation used by the permitting department relied on heavy sanctions to deter non-compliance. Persuasion-based regulation, used by the fire and environmental health department, relies on avoiding fines by establishing relationships between enforcement and those being enforced. As part of a larger study, six semi-structured ethnographic interviews were conducted with Swedish governmental officials in environmental health, fire and building departments. These interviews were analyzed for their (de)legitimization of inspections for temporary accommodations. Employees expressed more legitimacy than de-legitimacy for inspections (Figure 4-1), predominantly using

Comprehensibility Legitimacy and Procedural Legitimacy subtypes (Table 4-1). These findings demonstrate that regardless of the type of enforcement approach used (deterrence, persuasion, responsive, etc.), enforcement requires a degree of arbitrary decision-making about when to sanction and to what degree (Scott 2008; Perez 2011).

In the case of Swedish enforcement agencies, deterrence and responsive regulation were observed in how individuals approached inspections for temporary accommodations. Three types of enforcement have implications for the quality and quantity of buildings that are introduced into the existing housing supply. A deterrence-based approach prevented major cases of non-compliance through threatening fines; the building department employee said that by the time they followed up with non-compliant locations, they had closed their facilities. This is effective in stopping non-compliance, but in a context where housing is urgently needed, it left building owners and other government agencies still lacking access to temporary accommodation and finding other options that were also out of compliance. Responsive regulation takes a more engaged approach and results in a better understanding of the extent and intervention of non-compliance as it provides guidance to procurers and building owners of what is needed to meet minimum standards. A persuasion-based approach introduces buildings into the housing supply which do not meet conventional building regulations, but the data suggest that this is an unavoidable measure in this type of situation.

Based on recent reports regarding the continued scope of forced displacement due to manmade and natural hazards (UNHCR 2017b; Global Alliance for Urban Crises 2018; IPCC 2018), the need to quickly provide temporary accommodations will only continue. In urban contexts, governments face the challenge of integrating temporary housing solutions within existing infrastructure systems while ensuring that quality of buildings do not negatively impact the housing supply in the long-term. Based on this study's findings, the authors present several recommendations for addressing these challenges:

Procure permanent buildings for use as temporary accommodations

To provide temporary accommodation quickly and avoid the use of unconventional buildings, governments should consider procuring permanent buildings for housing displaced populations. Countries such as Sweden and Germany have existing stock of buildings for use as temporary accommodation given their asylum policy and historical involvement with receiving people seeking asylum (Human Rights Watch 1996; Matz 2015; Gesley 2016). Permanent buildings have been procured to provide accommodation during the asylum application process; this same model has also been applied in connection to social services for people experiencing homelessness in Scotland and England (Shelter Scotland 2015; Wilson, Barton, and Mackley 2017). Having permanent facilities delays the need for creating private contracts which reduces cost for the government and allows additional time to ensure that buildings meet necessary regulations.

Develop mitigation strategies to upgrade sub-standard housing following procurement of temporary accommodations

It may be of use for governments to develop training and awareness activities for enforcement agencies to prepare for enforcing regulations in the context of mass population displacement. However, the results of this study show that regulators and developers alike believed that regulatory non-compliance was sometimes the right thing to do in the context of mass population displacement. Given the powerful nature of these normative and cultural-cognitive forces, it is likely unavoidable that substandard housing will be created in similar situations. Therefore, steps to retroactively upgrade buildings or mitigate the lower quality amongst facilities need to be considered and addressed by governments to prevent the permanent addition of sub-standard buildings to the housing supply. Formalizing non-compliance has been done in other contexts, but may complicate urban planning by legalizing various types of housing that previously did not meet building regulations (Fawaz 2017). In Sweden, the Swedish Migration Agency worked to end contracts with private building owners and increase their own stock of accommodations to reduce the need for overseeing facilities managed by other parties. Some employees with enforcement agencies allowed exemptions, but with the expectation that if upgrades were not made in a certain timeframe (e.g. one month), the facility would be shut down (Chapter 3). Standardizing these approaches creates a consistent framework for agencies to use and prevents long-term impacts to housing stock.

Minimize overlap and maximize limited resources through inter-agency coordination

Enforcement agencies are encouraged to increase communication with other agencies to increase consistency of implemented standards and reduce potential non-compliance. Both the fire and environmental health departments assisted in inspections of potential temporary accommodations. In some cases, the environmental health employees were aware enough of fire safety that they could refer specific cases to the departments when noticing potential violations. Once it is evident that temporary accommodations are necessary, enforcement agencies could organize an initial meeting with each other to understand expectations for involvement in the overall operation of providing temporary accommodation. This initial meeting could also address implications of regulations in relation to the temporary situation to create a cohesive front when interacting with other government agencies, for example prioritizing ventilation and fire safety due to risk of arson. This cohesive approach increases consistency in inspections and could potentially reduce the number of personnel needed in inspections (Shannon 1996).

These findings provide a better idea of how enforcement agencies can approach an uncertain and dynamic environment and suggest that the use of responsive-regulation may assist in meeting not only regulatory outcomes, but also long-term priorities for the local housing market. Better understanding of enforcement types and how agencies perceive inspections assists decision-makers in future scenarios to ensure essential outcomes: (1) consistent enforcement of building regulations and standards, providing safe spaces for vulnerable communities as they transition through the asylum process; (2) ensuring quality of buildings remains consistent for the general population; and (3) reducing variance in the degree of safety provided by buildings based on the political status of the occupants.

Chapter 5. Conclusion

5.1 CONTRIBUTION TO THEORY

Theoretical contributions emerge from new findings of relationships in existing theory (Whetten 1989; Javernick-Will 2018). This dissertation provides not only theoretical contributions to the study of technical humanitarian response, but also extends the application of organizational legitimacy into technical applications. These contributions are described in greater detail below and in Figure 5-1.

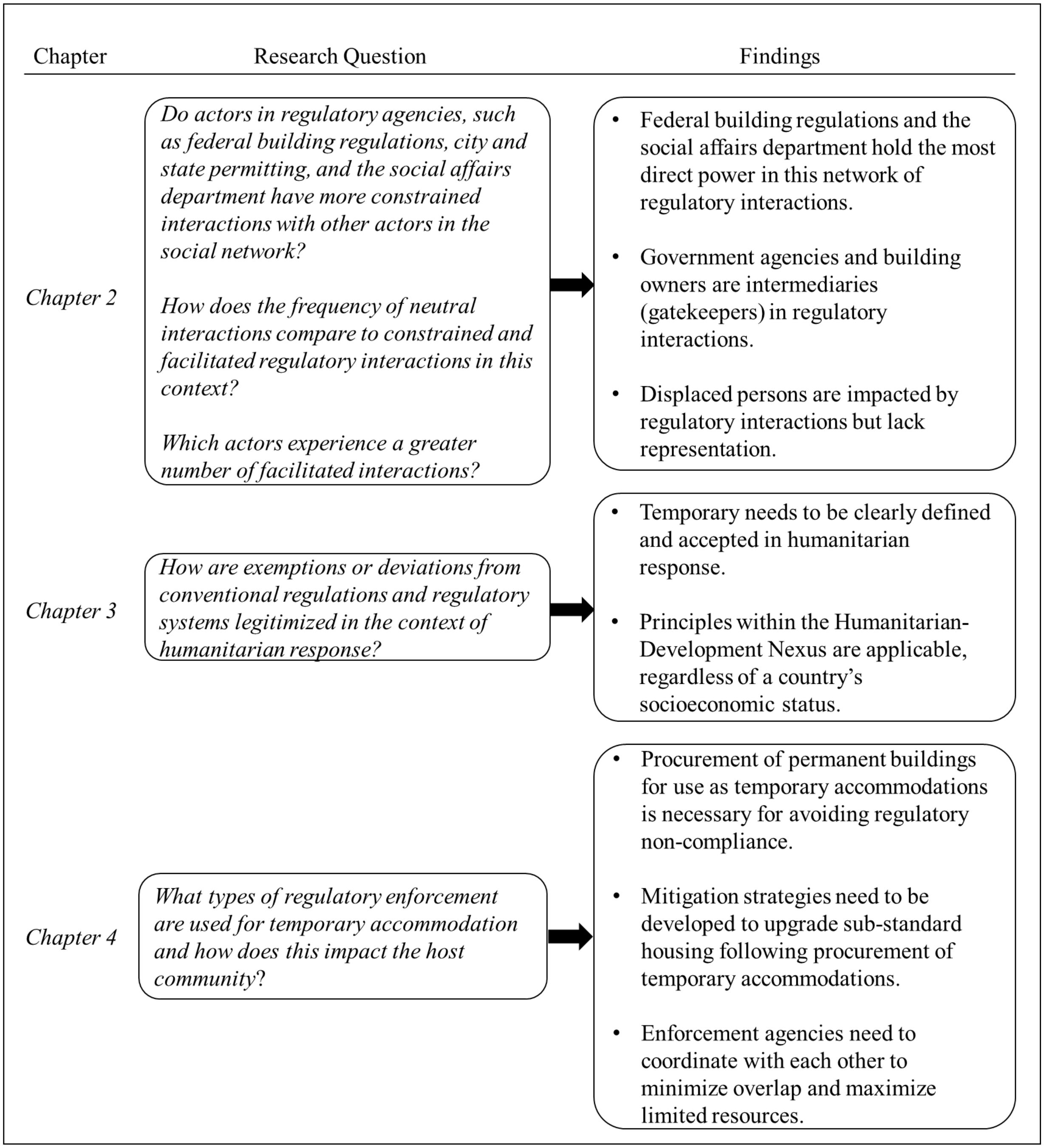

Figure 5-1. Overview of research questions and findings, by chapter.

5.1.1 *Synthetic organizations are not limited to natural hazard response*

Thompson (1967) introduced the idea of a *synthetic organization* as a task force formed in disaster response to meet a common goal. This organization has specific characteristics and the chapters in this dissertation have shown that this term is also applicable to rapid population increase due to displacement. Characteristics applicable to synthetic organizations are also relevant to the provision of temporary accommodation in urban contexts: (1) a synthetic organization is comprised of diverse set of stakeholders with a common purpose and (2) authority structures are not necessarily maintained. Chapter 2 provided insight into the structural characteristics of a synthetic organization by documenting regulatory-related interactions between stakeholders providing temporary accommodation. Literature has identified that regulatory mechanisms may be compromised when synthetic organizations form (Thompson 1967; Nigg, Barnshaw, and Torres 2006; Deephouse and Suchman 2008; Forgette et al. 2009). Findings from Chapter 2 improve understanding about the specific ways in which regulatory mechanisms function and the amount of indirect and direct power that is present amongst regulatory interactions. These findings provide a basis for further investigation of regulatory mechanisms within institutional response to mass population displacement.

5.1.2 *Humanitarian-Development Nexus in middle- and high-income countries*

Chapter 3 found that humanitarian response mindsets and developmental mindsets contend with each other in the justification of regulatory exemptions for temporary accommodations. Findings showed the need to better define *temporary* to mitigate tension between these two mindsets, similar to the motivation of the Humanitarian-Development Nexus that is typically applied to aid dispersal in low-income countries. This dissertation asserts that principles from humanitarian-development nexus is applicable to countries from all socio-economic backgrounds. Regardless the stakeholders involved in responding to the immediate need, there remains a need to implement a humanitarian response that is mindful of long-term impacts.

5.1.3 *Expansion of organizational legitimacy theory to better understand technical challenges*

Following events of displacement, technical studies focus on the pragmatic response, including resource allocation, economic impact and technical outcomes. While essential in the investigation of humanitarian response, this information is not always readily available, and these pragmatic decisions are rooted in normative and cultural-cognitive influences within the existing institution. Chapters 3 and 4 provided analysis of these influences through the justification of regulatory exemptions, non-compliance and inspection of temporary accommodations, finding that decisions were based off of what was understandable (Comprehensibility Legitimacy) and socially acceptable processes (Procedural Legitimacy). Suchman's (1995) definitions of legitimacy were expanded to create an extensive legitimacy coding dictionary that contextualizes legitimization within technical response (i.e. provision of temporary accommodation). This contribution is available for future work in understanding technical decision-making through a normative and cultural-cognitive lens.

5.2 Contribution to Practice

Development of the previously mentioned theoretical contributions is an attempt to practically contribute to the following: (1) improve efficiency of providing temporary accommodations; (2) ensure quality of living for displaced persons; and (3) prevent sub-standard building supply in host communities. Chapter 3 found that a lack of clear definition of temporary resulted in indeterminate allowance of regulatory exemptions which potentially introduced buildings of varying quality into the housing supply. Different levels of enforcement (Chapter 4) created an inconsistent enforcement of regulations, potentially compromising the quality of living within facilities for displaced persons residing there. A social network of regulatory-related interactions showed the key players and stakeholders with agency and power within the provision of accommodation to show how such interactions constrain or enable the overall operation (Chapter 2).

5.3 THE PATH FORWARD

The scope of these findings is limited to member states in the European Union with established asylum law and policies for accepting people seeking asylum. Any assumption beyond this scope needs additional research to confirm applicability. Future work should seek to expand the number of interviews, especially for specific enforcement agencies that had especially small sample sizes for this study. There are a number of directions for future work that can be expanded from the findings in this dissertation. Similarities regarding temporary housing in urban settings may exist in other contexts, specifically the reception of asylum seekers in Greece (Wain 2017) and the protracted refugee crisis in Lebanon (UN Habitat 2015). First and foremost, it is highly recommended that the perspective of those displaced be incorporated into future studies. Chapter 2 found that displaced persons were impacted by regulatory-related interactions in the social network for providing temporary accommodations. Other opportunities exist to uncover impacts to host communities' infrastructure networks (e.g. water, wastewater, energy, transportation, etc.) from the provision of temporary accommodation. This dissertation found that decision-makers predominantly use what is understandable (Comprehensibility Legitimacy) and what is socially acceptable (Procedural Legitimacy) to inform decision-making. This theoretical framework can be expanded to identify patterns between such subtypes of legitimacy with quantitative outcomes, for example with consumption and usage patterns from temporary accommodations and decisions made by contractors and government agencies for such facilities. Lastly, the institutional complexity of temporary accommodations remains. This study identified the various diverse stakeholders who are included (Chapter 2), but further analysis of similarities and differences across stakeholders would better inform decision-makers and researchers about the identities which contribute to practice amongst individuals (Thornton and Ocasio 2008).

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APPENDIX A: TOPICAL CODING DICTIONARY FOR GERMANY INTERVIEWS

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PROJECT OVERVIEW: NSF RAPID GRANT NO. 1624417 AND 1624409

This Rapid Response Research (RAPID) Grant project explores the impact of normative and cultural-cognitive perturbations on water and sanitation utilities caused by sudden and large population influxes. Water and wastewater infrastructures are necessary for the continued functioning of urban environments. Large and sudden population influxes must be accommodated by this infrastructure in order to avoid secondary public health disasters for impacted populations. This research will create knowledge with implications for utilities that find themselves serving transient, sometimes large populations (particularly those which arise suddenly). This knowledge will enable more resilient planning, policy, and technical design that can accommodate potential disaster migration and other extreme population growth as required.

This project will identify and explore changes in the organizational structure and processes of utilities in response to the European refugee influx, which has triggered an unprecedented flow of refugees to various European nations. This situation provides a unique opportunity to capture perishable data on the institutional impacts that sudden, disaster-triggered population increases may have on established water and sanitation utilities. This work will yield new insights into how normative and cultural/cognitive forces can influence the shape and function of public utilities.

PURPOSE

Interviews were conducted in three German cities and lasted on average one hour in either German, French or English depending on the participant's preference. Participants were individuals from government agencies, utility companies, private companies and nonprofit organizations connected with the organization of temporary accommodation for displaced persons. Questions focus on the participant's responsibilities, involvement with temporary accommodations, observations on the population change and how the government handled the situation. All interviews were audio recorded.

Data was transcribed and translated, if necessary, by a native German speaker. Transcriptions were uploaded to Dedoose software (SCRC 2016) for primary and secondary coding. This dictionary provides the definitions used for topical or primary coding. The purpose of this iteration was to inventory the data content by topics for use in secondary analysis.

TOPICAL CODING DEFINITIONS

The purpose of this investigation is to understand the impacts of population influx to the built environment in an urban setting. This foundation created a basis of codes to look for such as *buildings, water services, overall response to crisis*. As researchers began to code, additional codes were created based on reoccurring themes such as *interviewee involvement, positive impacts, challenges and priorities*. Table A-1 details the various codes and their definitions.

Table A-1. Topical coding definitions

Code	Definition
Buildings	Statements describing or referencing the physical buildings in association to providing housing accommodation for refugees or other purposes (i.e. schools, hospitals, volunteer facilities, etc.).
Challenges	Statements that address obstacles or barriers regarding providing accommodation to displaced persons. This is only for statements specifically addressing things that need to be improved with the process or that did not work at the time. EXAMPLES: the subject following the phrases below would be considered a *Challenge.* This is because the person is expressing something that created an obstacle or barrier in coordinating housing. • "…it didn't work because…" • "…this was difficult because…" • "…it was not good because…"
Collaboration	Statements describing or referencing collaboration between different actors in the crisis organization (e.g. government agencies, private companies, nonprofit organizations, etc.).
Companies	Statements describing or referencing a public or private company.
Contracts	Statements related to contracts between various parties. For example, housing contracts stipulating responsibilities and reimbursement between government agencies and for-profit/non-profit organizations providing temporary housing.
Culture	Statements pertaining to the inclusion of culture or cultural differences in accommodation for refugees.

Fire Safety	Statements describing or referring to fire safety in buildings. This could include fire cells, sprinklers, smoke alarms, rules/regulations/inspections relating to fire protection.
Government	Statements describing or referencing government agencies or departments.
Integration	Statements describing or referencing the integration of refugees and asylum-seekers. This includes the application process, social services that are made available following approval for refugee status such as German classes, work visas, etc. This can also include social integration. This definition includes both the procedural aspects of receiving asylum status and benefits or direct mention by the interviewee about the general process of "integration."
Interviewee Involvement	Statements expressing the interviewee's role in the process of providing housing or accommodations for displaced persons.
Media	Statements that reference the media involvement in providing accommodation to refugees. This could include articles written about the situation or the influence that the interviewee feels the media holds.
NGO/IGO	Statements describing or referencing non-profit organizations.
Other Infrastructure	Statements describing or referencing infrastructure other than water or wastewater utilities. (i.e. electric, heating, transportation, emergency services).
Overall Population Change	Statements referring to the overall population change in a city or Germany. This can be temporary, permanent, increase or decrease in population.
Overall Response to Crisis	Statements that don't discuss specific components to the refugee crisis, but rather provide broad, overarching statements (i.e. I think overall the government has responded well.... or "we have been able to adjust to the refugees coming"). The key is the scope of the statement, very broad.
Perspective	Viewpoints regarding the provision of accommodation for displaced persons, from a perspective other than the participant's own.
Community Sentiment	Community sentiment towards a topic associated with providing accommodation for displaced persons (i.e. refugees, housing facility).
Displaced Person's perspective	Displaced person's sentiment towards a topic associated with providing accommodation for displaced persons (I.e. feedback on services).

Validation using another person's perspective	This code is usually applied in correspondence with a specific perspective (e.g. Community Sentiment and Displaced Person's perspective). Not only is the participant is expressing someone else's perspective, but that different viewpoint is used to justify an opinion.
Politics	Statements specifically referring to the "political" nature of providing accommodation to refugees. Can also be used when the interviewee references other nations as a means of comparison (i.e. "Turkey has done this..." or "other EU nations aren't helping...").
Positive Impacts	Statements that specifically address things that went well with providing accommodation to refugees. EXAMPLES: below are phrases that are used to indicate that someone is mentioning a success. These suggest that a certain person, action or system was useful and worked well in providing accommodation. • "What went great was…" • "This was good because…" • "…it went well…"
Priorities	Statements that reference priorities or things considered by stakeholders (government, utilities, non-profit, companies) in providing accommodation for refugees. Priorities is a subtler code because some participants indirectly stated requirements needed for them to be successful in their position or in finding housing. Some participants may not specifically state that something is a priority, but it is important to see what they state is necessary in their role. In some cases, the participant was asked about priorities and they response is that they didn't have time to prioritize, they needed to provide accommodations. This statement itself reflects that the participant prioritized finding housing/shelter for individuals, so it would be considered *Preparing Facilities* (see examples below). • "…we have to check…" • "…we look for…" • "…we need this..." • "It's important to have…"
Professional Association	Statements referencing professional bodies that contain members from the same professional background that engage in civil society or public projects.

Quality of Living	Standard definition: "the standard of health, comfort, and happiness experienced by an individual or group." Statements specifically referring to the livability of the housing facilities. Statements aren't necessarily about buildings, but do refer to the experience of residents living in the facilities. This can include sentiment towards facilities or extent of stay, etc.
Regulation	Statements talking specifically about rules, regulations, standards relating to providing accommodation to refugees.
Social Services (not integration)	Statements referring to services provided for the benefit of the refugee community, such as education, medical care, NOT RELATED TO INTEGRATION. (e.g. education, help on paperwork, cleaning).
Utility Companies	Statements describing or referencing the local or regional utility companies (water, electric, gas, internet). This does not include the services, but rather the operation of these services.
Water services	Drinking water, sanitary services, laundry, kitchen facilities. This is specifically for statements regarding these facilities in connection with water.

EXAMPLES

Examples are provided in Table A-2 as a supplement to the definitions in Table A-1. Coding was completed in multiple iterations between various researchers for inter-rater reliability. Examples assist in creating context and consistency in code applications.

Table A-2. Examples of topical codes.

Code	Example 1	Example 2
Buildings	INTERVIEW: 2016/7/27, 10:30am *They're trying it at the moment by giving our regulations to all investors as to how many percent of newly built flats have to be in the lower pricing segment. And as all that won't be enough, the container locations for shelters are being built, because that goes quickly. But again, they are making sure there aren't too many at once, so many decentralized locations, so it doesn't feel like a shelter or anything.* EXPLANATION: The participant is talking about new housing that needs to be built and refers to shelters and container housing.	INTERVIEW: 2016/07/27, 9:30am *Concerning water services, how could the housing of refugees be improved?* *[Interviewee]: Well, in these shelters there are a lot of shared showers and everything and it's better when they're more spread out and mixed together with the rest of the population. [This city] is more and more an international city and then it will happen at several corners and that will be better, but it will take time because the apartments have to be built first. Because there are already a lot of people moving to [this city], the need for living space in [this city] is very high. That's why apartments need to be built quickly.* EXPLANATION: When someone is talking about the features within a building, such as the water services, or the renovation needed for the building or amenities such as laundry machines, this code would apply. It's meant to contain all things associated with the physical building itself.
Challenges	INTERVIEW: 2016/08/18 *[Translator]: When you have international tenants, do you have certain strategies to help them understand how to use water sparingly and sensibly?* *[Interviewee]: We tried with signs. But apart from that nothing… it's difficult or*	INTERVIEW: 2016/09/26 *[Interviewee]: I think they don't have much chance to do something else. It's really a problem with housing here, and there are areas in Germany where there's empty houses, but there are no jobs. The houses are empty because the Germans who lived there left, because there were no jobs. Now,*

	we're not aware that people need to be taught about operating costs. Especially concerning heating – that you don't just turn that on in summer. I mean earlier, in the DDR, so up to 1989, there was one rent. The operating costs were included. So nobody cared if it was cold or warm, if you wanted to, you turned on the heating, you didn't care. But now the tenant pays for the operating costs EXPLANATION: When the participant talks about something be "difficult" or "very hard" it's an indicator of a challenge.	*they try to send the refugees there, but if there are no jobs, as soon as they can move, they will leave. I think market rules, in the end, decide what happens.* EXPLANATION: The participant describes a problem, indicating a challenge faced with providing accommodations. This code is difficult because it requires the code to interpret whether or not the participant is expressing a concern. However, there are key words as expressed here that help with identifying those excerpts.
Collaboration	INTERVIEW: 2016/07/05, 10am *[Researcher]: And so do you rent this place, or?* *[Interviewee]: No, this is actually also BIM is renting the place.* EXPLANATION: The participant is referencing another stakeholder (in this case, a construction management company that is publicly owned). Therefore, *Collaboration* would be applied in addition to *Government* and whatever type of organization the participant belongs to (nonprofit, private company, utility).	INTERVIEW: 2016/07/05, 10am *[Researcher]: Okay, and how do people, how do refugees here feel about that?* *[Interviewee]: I think it could be even more non-formal support, but they are feeling good.* EXPLANATION: The participant is expressing the desire to have more collaboration (non-formal, which could mean community support or volunteers).
Companies	INTERVIEW: 2016/07/28, 10am *[Interviewee]: Well the company is organized as all modern companies with tough controlling. We are screening the market day by day, week by week. We try to understand the increase of inhabitants, what does that mean? Who is coming to [this city]? Poor people, rich people, people with voucher or with a job? This makes a big difference for our business. We have an association of the housing companies here in [this city]. This institution is very helpful for us because they do a lot of market investigations to come up with numbers for us, helpful numbers so that we have appropriate planning of the next time.*	INTERVIEW: 2016/07/05, 10am *[Researcher]: And what does your role look like? For example, what's your typical day?* *[Interviewee]: Typical management. As well for the staff here as well for the people here in the house, the refugees as well for the companies who are working with us here; it's mainly the cleaning company, the catering company and the security company.* EXPLANATION: The participant is describing their role and how they interact with other companies. This would also include *Collaboration* in the code application. The code *Companies* is for when the participant is describing their

	EXPLANATION: The participant is discussing the function of their company.	interaction with a company or the function of the company they work with.
Culture	INTERVIEW: 2016/07/28, 10am *[Researcher]: I want to talk more about the renovations that you do, maybe if you do some in your buildings that you already had for refugees. Do you do any special accommodation?* *[Interviewee]: No, it's very similar to our normal housing. We discussed if we should not install a kitchen, for instance, but have a central big kitchen in the ground floor. This was one of the ideas because we thought perhaps people from the Arabic area want to cook all together. But meanwhile we are far away from this idea. We build normal apartments with all the infrastructure: kitchen, restroom, bathroom.* EXPLANATION: The participant is specifically discussing differences in how occupants in the facilities use the equipment based on where they are from.	INTERVIEW: 2016/08/03, 9am *[Researcher]: When you say that you decided to go with the European toilets, what decided the European toilets over the multicultural toilets?* *[Interviewee]: It wasn't my decision but now they are in Europe and if they are outside the shelter they have to use the European toilets, there are no other types. If they are renting a flat you only a European toilet.* EXPLANATION: The participant is referring to how occupants use toilets and why they decided to use European toilets in facilities. The main distinguishing factor for *Culture* is whether or not the statement is based on where someone is from.

Fire Safety	INTERVIEW: 2016_08_19_11am *[Interviewee]: Fire protection is a big thing for us in [city name], that was really important for us. We refused a lot of properties because they just weren't safe concerning fire protection and didn't fulfill our requirements. But that's what the operator has to ensure and if some requirements weren't being fulfilled then they have to make organizational changes to reach those goals. But luckily, we have professional operators taking over that work.* EXPLANATION: This statement expresses the importance of fire protection in the city government and regulations that they follow.	INTERVIEW: 2016_07_06 *[Interviewee]: We had carpet so we had this people who made this floor. For example, this has to be not burnable, or how you call it, so when there's a fire.* EXPLANATION: The statement describes what needs to be done to prevent fires in facilities.
Government	INTERVIEW: 2016_07_05_10am *[Researcher]: And when you have to pay for something, even when it's not the renovation, the government would have to pay for everything also? [Interviewee]: Yeah. Yeah.* EXPLANATION: Statements where the participant affirms the question asked by the researcher are also important, even if they did not explain their position. In this case, the participant acknowledges collaboration with the government.	INTERVIEW: 2016_07_05_10am *[Researcher]: So do you feel that the government and utilities here in [this city] and also other non-profit organizations have responded well to the rapid increase? [Interviewee]: Definitely they have responded well. Even though sometimes it took a little bit of time, but it's understandable that they don't have the resources, the human resources and they don't have the financial resources at the hand, you know?* EXPLANATION: The participant is describing their opinion on how the government responded to the situation.
Integration	INTERVIEW: 2016/07/05, 10am *[Researcher]: Okay so you think it's just for integration. [Interviewee nods]* EXPLANATION: In these interviews, participants typically use the specific term "integration" in their responses. Other variations might be describing how people fit into the culture or neighborhood.	INTERVIEW: 2016/07/28, 10am *[Researcher]: Are those numbers based off of asylum applications? The applications for asylum? How are they finding those numbers that are saying there is less? [Interviewee]: I understand. There's a kind of registration when people come here. It's like police registration, some have passport, some have not. They have to give their fingerprints and they look in the system. If people are already coming from a safe country, there are contracts within*

		Europe. If they arrive in a safe country, this country has to care about them. EXPLANATION: The difference between integration and social services is that integration are activities that are connected to receiving asylum. Activities may include: submitting application for asylum, taking a language course, applying for jobs, being registered with the government. Language course and jobs are part of the benefits that people receive when their application is approved.
Interviewee Involvement	INTERVIEW: 2016_08_12_11am *[Interviewee]: But I know this area and when somebody wanted to offer me a scrappy property for – the worst offer I had was for 200€/m². Of course, I said you just need common sense to know that you don't need to take that offer seriously. No matter how much we are in need, I won't be blackmailed into something like that.* EXPLANATION: The interviewee is discussing their involvement in procuring properties for temporary accommodations.	INTERVIEW: 2016_08_08 *[Translator]: OK. Just one quick question – you have a supervising role, could you say that in general?* *[Interviewee]: Supervising… and I also train plumbers. Kind of at the side… but actually supervising, yes. I have the duty to control.* EXPLANATION: The interviewee describes their position daily responsibilities.
Media	INTERVIEW: 2016_07_11 *[Interviewee]: It's interesting; there were really expensive campaigns for years; save water, save water. Now we need campaigns; use water, use water to save the pipes. That's a technical problem behind it.* EXPLANATION: The participant is describing a media campaign to promote water efficiency.	INTERVIEW: 2016_07_11 *The challenge is that you need more dialogue with them, really on a personal advertising or leaflets or whatever or TV spots don't have very much. Because those ethno-groups are used to have kind of dialogue, which is linked to their cultural heritage. They discuss everything with family or relatives, so you need something similar on the company side, like special desk where native-speaking people help them. It doesn't matter if it's Arabian or Turkish or whatever, but you need this direct dialogue.* EXPLANATION: The participant is discussing the use of media to interact with consumer groups.

NGO/IGO	INTERVIEW: 2016/08/18 *[Translator]: Do you know how the government chooses its refugee shelters? Which criteria is followed and do you think it works well? IS it also spread among the city?* *[Interviewee]: I don't know how they choose them. But in the past few months simply finding a suitable building was the main thing. They worked together with property owners who had hotel-like hostels – even if that's not what they really were – and they worked with organizations who had experience with housing people after catastrophes.* EXPLANATION: The participant refers to the involvement of the nonprofit organization.	INTERVIEW: 2016/09/26 *[Researcher]: Did you have to find a new location here?* *[Interviewee]: No. We tried to find more space, but we couldn't. That's hard to find, too, and it has to be affordable, and then, of course, last year we got more money from the city but we don't know about next year, so we'll see.* EXPLANATION: This interview was with an employee at a nonprofit (when coding, the coder is able to see the type of organization/company/agency on the transcript heading). When the participant is describing how their workplace is operating, this is describing a nonprofit, therefore the code is applicable.
Other Infrastructure	INTERVIEW: 2016/07/27, 3pm *The clubs said for example, "Oh, you are building housing. Where are you building housing?" We seem to forgot them. At the [club name] for example, when there are clubs, and since it's nice to live in front of the [club], there is expensive housing buildings over there. And they ask, "okay, what about this club? They have to stop at 10pm right?" [Interviewee makes exasperated sound] So we already have those problems and now it becomes bigger with the refugees and we have problems with the schools. In one district, some district need new schools because part of the kids are coming in. And we are at the end of a phase, from 1990 on, schools are closed in [this city] because people want to go to [city name] and who knows what's going to happen. [this city], it's a temporary and they were closed. And we need eight years to build a new building, school. So in some district, in the political districts or like the parliament of the district, there are people who take their baby, "which school is this baby going to go out in six years?"*	INTERVIEW: 2016/08/08 *My personal opinion: we should have prepared a few emergency properties and then said OK, and now we're going to renovate this and this. We worked on a lot of shelters at the same time, but I think that was wrong. Because that all costs an enormous amount of money, they're connected, they have operating costs – electricity, water, wastewater, everything, but nothing is being used.* EXPLANATION: While some excerpts will refer to types of buildings that are necessary for other infrastructure, other excerpts will describe other utilities. These are also included in this code. When a participant expresses the need for electricity, telecommunication services, heating, etc. (not including water services since there is another code designated for that), this code is applicable.

	[Interviewee sighs] The whole infrastructure is a big problem. EXPLANATION: The participant is describing the need for schools. In this example, the participant clearly identifies "whole infrastructure" but in general is it referring to things a community needs such as: schools, hospitals, fire departments, police departments.	
Overall Population Change	INTERVIEW: 2016_07_05_10am *Yeah, of course. I mean, [this city] is much more international, it's becoming much more international like people from all over the world are meanwhile in public transport or whenever you are going to a restaurant or whatever. So you realize this.* EXPLANATION: The participant is talking about the diversity of the overall population. This code could apply to population growth or diversity in population demographics.	INTERVIEW: 2016_07_05_10am *[Researcher]: So it means like forever or just for more than ten years? What do you mean by permanent?* *[Interviewee]: I look at the beginning, let's say in the 60s or 70s, quite a number of people came from the southern countries of Europe and then later on from Turkey. We all thought, "Yeah, they will go back after a while." But people are still staying here so it's now the second or third generation and that's fine.* EXPLANATION: The participant could be referring to Balkan refugees (that would fit the historical timeline) but because they are not specific about whether or not the group they are talking about is the refugee population, it is attributed to *Overall Population Change.*
Overall Response to Crisis	INTERVIEW: 2016/08/19, 11am [*Researcher]: If you had an infinite amount of time, what would be the perfect solution for housing refugees and asylum seekers?* *[Interviewee 1]: Personally, I wouldn't change the structure – I would use what we have here in Germany. Because we are purposely trying to help them integrate.* EXPLANATION: The participant isn't referring to a specific role or approach but rather generalizing the role that Germany took in this situation.	INTERVIEW: 2016/08/12, 11am *And I think… it's hard to make a prognosis because we have experienced such varied waves in the past months. I don't think we will have another year like last year. I think that we are better prepared, we won't be as surprised as we were. That's the strange thing, that everyone was so surprised suddenly, even though this whole thing could have been predicted two, three years ahead.* EXPLANATION: The participant is again generalizing how they and the city will handle the situation if it happens again in the future without providing any specifics about what is being done.

Perspective	INTERVIEW: 2016_08_23_10am *If you talk to the people who are being helped, or helping, they are telling the good stories, because they want to, it's their motivation to do that…* EXPLANATION: The participant is expressing a viewpoint of someone other than themselves.	INTERVIEW: 2016_09_19_1130am *[Interviewee]: Maybe we increase and we get new members, yes. And we think about maybe to… Maybe we can charge less membership fees for refugees or something… but of course we have to be very careful, not to create even more separation within the society. Then they'll say, "First they take away our flats, and now…" etc. So, we'll have to see how we can do that.* EXPLANATION: This statement is expressing what the community members might think about accommodating displaced persons.
Community Sentiment	INTERVIEW: 2016/07/05, 10am *One of the biggest priorities then, of course, all the integration that we are in a setting here with the neighbors and that we are an open house so that we are communicating with people.* EXPLANATION: The participant is describing interactions with neighbors; this would be considered community sentiment. Community sentiment is not only the neighborhood vocalizing support or disagreement with housing accommodations, but also refers to community involvement.	INTERVIEW: 2016/07/11 *You can't surprise them one day from another by just making a decision. You have to learn from last year, you need more time, and you need to do it constantly. Be in dialogue with public and be in dialogue with those little local governments. Help them with money or funding or…* EXPLANATION: Th participant is explaining the importance of communicating with the public, which would qualify as community interaction.
Displaced Person's perspective	INTERVIEW: 2016_08_24_11am *So those are our two main areas. There's another area we offer support in, that's counsel for people who want to go back. For example, if a refugee says "I've seen Germany, it's quite nice, but I had imagined it differently, I'd like to go back home." – in that case we have support programs. We offer counsel, so they can find out how that actually works, then we supply them with money for plane tickets or bus tickets and give them a little money for when they arrive home, so that they've got something for the first few days, kind of like pocket money. That's our repatriation advice.*	INTERVIEW: 2016_07_06 *[Researcher]: Just the people who live here right now, do they feel like they would stay long here in this facility or?* *[Interviewee]: In this facility?* *[Researcher]: Yeah.* *[Interviewee]: Actually they want, some of them, they get a transit, but they don't want to go. They are asking us every day hundred times when we will get a permanent stay and if they can decide themselves then if they stay here or not.*

	EXPLANATION: This participant expresses a statement made by a displaced person.	EXPLANATION: The participant is suggesting feedback given by displaced persons.
Validation using another person's perspective	INTERVIEW: 2016_09_13_10am *It actually would be cheaper if they would live in rented flats, but as a politician said, "From where they come from, we don't want them to get too comfortable here," so they live in those communal facilities and they all have social services…* EXPLANATION: The participant uses a politician's viewpoint to express an opinion.	INTERVIEW: 2016_06_17 *They are easy to understand little things; you want to have your own room, you want to have your own flat, your own toilet, your own shower and anything else.* EXPLANATION: The participant is justifying what a person staying in temporary accommodation would want.
Politics	INTERVIEW: 2016/08/08 *My son has a Columbian girlfriend, so I really have no problem with that. I mean, she isn't an asylum seeker of course. But I mean I have no problem with foreigners. That's not always… you have to be careful with that in Germany, there are a lot of different opinions, but I'm absolutely fine with that. As long as – I'm saying this about asylum seekers, not foreigners in general – as long as they also act as asylum seekers in our country. For me there are at least some… ground rules that I think. When an asylum seeker comes here, what he or she should understand and do, but what they don't do. Of course you have to add that there are this and this kind of asylum seekers.* EXPLANATION: Politics can be generic but refers to ideological differences based on people groups. In this example, the participant is expressing his support for foreigners	INTERVIEW: 2016/07/28, 10am *By the way, it's a question of integration too. What does it mean; integration? This is a big discussion here in Germany because some people think integration is to let people as they are, more like the model in the US, like in New York, for instance. I talked to the former ambassador in the US in Germany and he said that they are a kind of a vegetable soup in the US, especially on the East Coast, where they have the [unclear] and people from Ireland, and so. Everybody is living separately. They are fine together but they have their own community. And other people in Germany say, "No, this is not our style in Europe and if you want to live here forever, for instance, you have to take care about our civil code and the idea of how we want to live."* EXPLANATION: Politics can relate to diplomacy and how different countries are handling various situations. It can also discuss how political parties interact or

	based on his son's relationship. This is less about his work or role and more about his opinion and ideology towards people different from him.	assert their political beliefs in decision-making. In this example, the participant is using the US to show the political debate regarding integration of migrants and refugees.
Positive Impacts	INTERVIEW: 2016/08/23, 1pm *I mean, maybe I should add that asylum isn't a direct concern of the city council. That's the state's responsibility so really, the city could just say, "That has nothing to do with us, we don't need to do anything." – so if you think of that, they did react well. I mean that they actually wanted to that, they created my position to support volunteers and also refugees. So yes, they reacted well.* EXPLANATION: The participant is describing what went well in the response. The participant may not specifically call something a "success" but they may say things like, "it went well… that was good…"	INTERVIEW: 2016/07.28, 1pm *[Researcher]: And in terms of water services?* *[Interviewee]: The water services are alright, everybody buys normal water and I think the water is… every place enough… yeah.* EXPLANATION: The participant is not overly enthusiastic about the water services, but their response indicates that it wasn't a challenge and not something that needed to be considered. The supply is sufficient.
Priorities	INTERVIEW: 2016/08/12, 11am *We want to go towards shared accommodation or to Gemeinschaftsunterkunft Plus [shared accommodation] – that's what it's called now, it'll really be with apartments. So that families can live together, to have kitchenettes in there and also have the bathroom within the family living area. So let me jump back again – those are the possibilities we can create from state-owned properties. Then of course, last year, during this extreme situation we noticed that we can't covert he need, because there are really so many that we have to first actually renovate some of the buildings before anyone can go in. So then we had third party providers. That was a big thing, especially for the [unclear] you do have to negotiate the contracts with these third-party providers and… well maybe we can let you translate again.* EXPLANATION: The participant expresses that the apartments will allow	INTERVIEW: 2016/07/28, 1pm *[Researcher]: OK. Is there anything… any improvements that you would suggest for the current living situation?* *[Interviewee]: I think we have… the people there… we are not working there, I'm just planning, but the people are making a pretty good job, and I think it's not so easy also for a very big city to bring – in very few months – around 80 000 people from the street. Bring roof and water and a toilet and… I think it's a pretty good job. And as I told the living in the hangar is not very good but for a little time solution it's OK.* EXPLANATION: The "roof, water and toilet" are the priorities, providing basic shelter. Excerpts coded for *Priorities* are emphasizing what is important, whether it's in the person's role or the quality of services provided.

	people to live together with shared facilities. The fact they mention this first usually indicates what is important in this type of accommodation. Priorities are sometimes more subtle than other codes.	
Professional Associations	INTERVIEW: 2016_06_27 *They look at the federations as a tool to get that interest through, but we're not law fraud. We are what you call a solve transmitting between clients and contractors and so on.* EXPLANATION: The participant is part of a professional association of contractors and construction companies and is describing their work with the government.	INTERVIEW: 2016_08_01_11am *[Researcher]: When there were problems with the connection… did that also influence how further connections were made? Or is it a standard system or aren't there any problems?* *[Interviewee]: I don't really know of any problems, but of course maybe they had to think about what dimensions the house connections should have. We also communicated with the German Board for Gas and Water, as this was something that we didn't really have enough experience with.* EXPLANATION: The participant describes their interaction with a professional association, German Board for Gas and Water.
Quality of Living	INTERVIEW: 2016/07/05, 10am *Um yeah, the biggest priority here is first of all the people here, the refugees, are comfortable, that they feel safe, that they are getting enough to eat, and that the house is clean.* EXPLANATION: The participant is describing how displaced persons feel in their living situation, referencing quality of living in the housing accommodations.	INTERVIEW: 2016/08/03, 9am *For example, in tents, this is not very good, but no other chance. Or to use an old fair hall, it's also not very good because you have about 500 people in one room. It's terrible. We had a lot of problems in this shelter, therefore we stop it in about one month and we change because we had a new one which is much better.* EXPLANATION: The participant is talking about how many people were put into one facility and expressing dismay. Usually with *Quality of Living*, the participant describes what it feels like or uses "feeling words" to express what the conditions are like in the facilities.

Regulations	INTERVIEW: 2016_07_05_10am *[Researcher]: And this is a law in [this city], or in Germany? And [your company] had to do that?* *[Interviewee]: Yeah*. EXPLANATION: The participant is affirming a law or regulation.	INTERVIEW: 2016/07/05, 3pm *[Translator]: And the contract is in negotiation or it is finished?* *[Interviewee]: No, it's not finished because we are, it was given on the old premises and the new ones, they are doing tenders. You know, we have to negotiate the new paragraphs and maybe whatever in one or two months.* EXPLANATION: The participant is discussing the contracts established with housing between the managers and the state government. The code *Regulations* includes laws, rules, regulations but also reference to contracts because these contain the terms of receiving funding from the government in exchange for providing accommodation.
Social Services (not integration)	INTERVIEW: 2016_07_05_10am *[Researcher]: For what, for example?* *[Interviewee]: For example, we have of course with the local government here around the corner; we have quite a number of contacts.* *[Researcher]: Is it for the services? What is it for?* *[Interviewee]: Yeah, for services, for health services, for healthcare, such things.* EXPLANATION: The participant is describing contacts that help provide services in the shelter, not associated with the asylum process.	INTERVIEW: 2016/08/19, 11am *In the case of our transitional housing facilities, we set up a contract with a company to represent us in our operational duties and also to take over certain social tasks.* EXPLANATION: The last part expresses the need to provide "social tasks" as part of the contract.
Utility Companies	INTERVIEW: 2016/06/27 *On the other hand, the [utility company] in themselves, they cannot do the work, they cannot construct the tubes and pipes they need. So what they have a sort of depots for themselves but it's only for troubleshooting, so they are not... Either way they are dependent on the function of construction industry, and the companies that are dependent on the [utility company] are dependent on this client, so that's how it works.*	INTERVIEW: 2016/07/11 *Coming back to your question, refugees are another topic than much. Just in terms that it is a new consumer group, it's a growing consumer group. How we need to communicate. In our business, and this is important for them, we call it "ethno-marketing." Which is a topic you can say, in Germany you have not just refugees but you have Turkish, and people from Yugoslavia, seen here as we should have big experience already here in ethno-marketing, we don't have.*

	EXPLANATION: The participant is describing the utility company and their role.	EXPLANATION: The participant is with the utility company and is describing their interaction with refugees.
Water services	INTERVIEW: 2016/07/05, 10am *[Researcher]: For example, how many people would share one bathroom? Do you know? On average?* *[Interviewee]: In average, let's say 12-14 people will share one bathroom.* EXPLANATION: The participant is describing bathrooms in housing accommodations.	INTERVIEW: 2016/07/05, 10am *[Researcher]: So you say that this was for offices at the beginning, so what types of changes should happen before the refugees come here?* *[Interviewee]: There was no time to make any changes?* *[Researcher]: So there were already showers and toilets everywhere?* *[Interviewee]: No showers we actually have in containers.* EXPLANATION: The participant is describing showers in the housing accommodations.

APPENDIX B: TOPICAL CODING DICTIONARY FOR SWEDEN INTERVIEWS

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PURPOSE

Interviews were conducted in four Swedish cities and lasted 30-60 minutes in English. Participants were individuals from government agencies, utility companies, private companies and nonprofit organizations connected with the organization of temporary accommodation for displaced persons. Questions focused on the participant's responsibilities, involvement with temporary accommodations, observations on the population change and how the government handled the situation.

Audio recordings of interviews were transcribed, and Swedish phrases were translated using online professional services. Transcriptions were uploaded and analyzed using Dedoose software (SCRC 2016) for primary and secondary coding. This dictionary provides the definitions used for topical or primary coding. The purpose of this iteration was to inventory the data content by topics for use in secondary analysis.

TOPICAL CODING DEFINITIONS

The purpose of this investigation is to understand the impacts of population influx to the built environment in an urban setting. This foundation created a basis of codes to look for such as *buildings, water services, overall response to crisis*. As researchers began to code, additional codes were created based on reoccurring themes such as *interviewee involvement, positive impacts, challenges and priorities*. Figure B-1 summarizes the general organization of topical codes used.

Actors refers to the various stakeholders referred to by interview participants. *Descriptive Codes* refer to elemental components of the temporary accommodation process and *Contextual Codes* describe the situation and peoples' perception of the situation. Table B-1 details the various codes and their definitions.

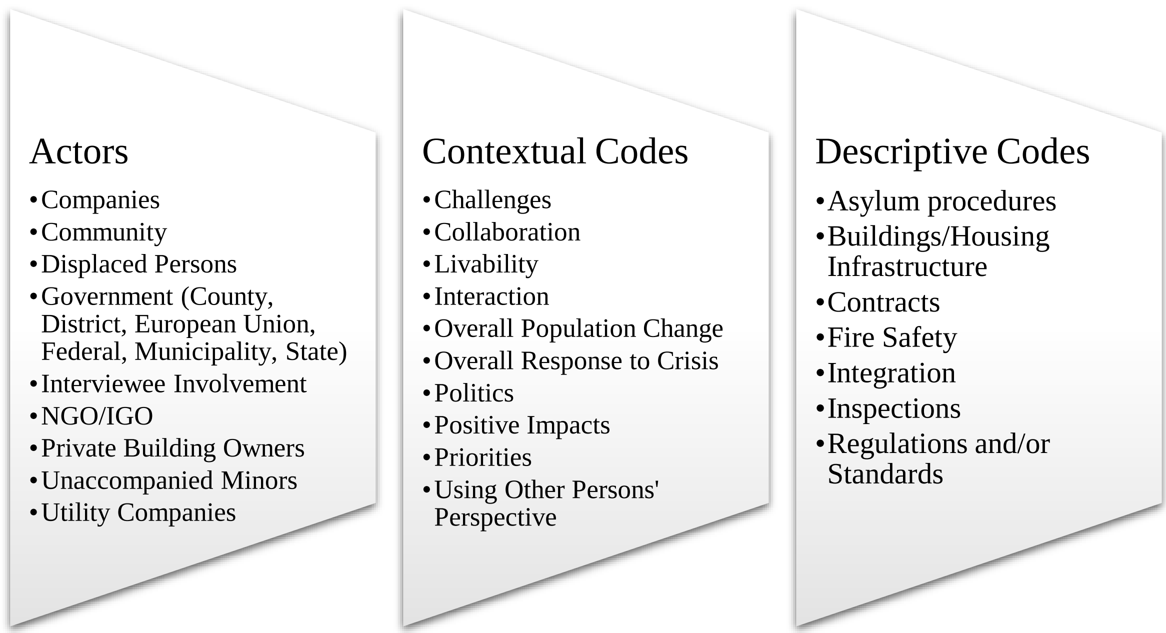

Figure B-1. Summary of topical codes used in open coding (Mills, Durepos, and Wiebe 2010).

Table B-1. Topical coding definitions

Code	**Definition**
Asylum Procedures	Statements relating to the documentation process in applying for asylum. For example, displaced persons providing fingerprints at the border, submitting asylum applications, submitting an appeal to a decision, etc. This only includes documentation activities through the point where an asylum decision is final. This excludes indirectly related activities, such as accommodation and only focuses on documentation processes.
Buildings/Housing Infrastructure	Statements describing or referencing the physical buildings in association to providing housing accommodation for refugees or other purposes (i.e. schools, hospitals, volunteer facilities, etc.).
Construction of New Housing	Statements related to new development or construction activities of buildings for use as temporary or migrant accommodation.

Housing Staff	Statements referencing volunteers or employees that work within temporary or migrant accommodation.
Livability	Similar to quality of life, which is defined as: "the standard of health, comfort, and happiness experienced by an individual or group" (Cruz-Cunha, Miranda, and Gonçalves 2001). Statements specifically referring to the livability of the housing facilities. Statements aren't necessarily about buildings but do refer to the experience of residents living in the facilities. This can include sentiment towards facilities or extent of stay, etc.
Migrant Accommodation	This is housing AFTER the asylum application has been received and approved. The displaced person now officially has refugee status, is granted a temporary residence permit and has been assigned to a municipality.
Renovation	Statements referencing modifications made to existing structures. This does not include maintenance.
Temporary Accommodation	Housing that is provided during the asylum application process
Asylum Accommodation	Accommodation during the asylum application process. While an individual is awaiting a decision. The Swedish Migration Agency is responsible for arranging these building contracts.
Unaccompanied Minors	Housing for children under the age of 18 who are not accompanied by a parent or guardian. The social affairs departments in municipalities are responsible for procuring and managing buildings, but work with the Swedish Migration Agency for contracts.
Water Services	Drinking water, sanitary services, laundry, kitchen facilities. This is specifically for statements regarding these facilities in connection with water.
Challenges	Statements that address obstacles or barriers regarding providing accommodation to displaced persons. This is only for statements specifically addressing things that need to be improved with the process or that did not work at the time. EXAMPLES: the subject following the phrases below would be considered a *Challenge.* This is because the person is expressing something that created an obstacle or barrier in coordinating housing. • "…it didn't work because…" • "…this was difficult because…" • "…it was not good because…"

Collaboration	Statements describing or referencing collaboration between different actors in the crisis organization (e.g. government agencies, private companies, nonprofit organizations, etc.). This is not necessarily a specific interaction, but general approach to the situation.
Community	Statements referencing neighborhoods in regard to temporary accommodations or reception of displaced persons. This is specific to neighbors impacted by or impacting the operation for providing temporary accommodation.
Companies	Statements describing or referencing a public or private company.
Contracts	Statements related to contracts between various parties. For example, housing contracts stipulating responsibilities and reimbursement between government agencies and for-profit/non-profit organizations providing temporary housing.
Displaced Person	Statements referencing vulnerable populations seeking shelter or asylum. This includes both individuals who are seeking asylum and those who have been assigned refugee status.
Fire Safety	Statements describing or referring to fire safety in buildings. This could include fire cells, sprinklers, smoke alarms, rules/regulations/inspections relating to fire protection.
Government	Statements describing or referencing government agencies or departments.
County	Statements describing or referencing regional government departments.
District	Statements describing or referencing city district government departments within municipalities.
European Union	Statements describing or referencing the European Union.
Federal	Statements describing or referencing central government.
Municipal	Statements describing or referencing local municipal government departments.
State	Statements describing or referencing state government agencies such as Swedish Migration Agency, Health and Social Care Inspectorate (IVO), etc.
Inspection	Statements referring to actions taken to examine the characteristics of temporary accommodations.

Integration	Statements describing or referencing the integration of refugees following approval for refugee status such as language courses, work visas, etc. This can also include social integration. This definition includes both the procedural aspects of receiving asylum status and benefits or direct mention by the interviewee about the general process of "integration."
Interaction	Describing a specific situation involving two or more actors. Not necessarily a collaboration but indicating that the excerpt describes how one actor/group of people interact with another.
Interviewee Involvement	Statements expressing the interviewee's role in the process of providing housing or accommodations for displaced persons.
NGO/IGO	Statements describing or referencing non-profit organizations.
Overall Response to Crisis	Statements that don't discuss specific components to the refugee crisis, but rather provide broad, overarching statements (i.e. I think overall the government has responded well.... or "we have been able to adjust to the refugees coming"). The key is the scope of the statement, very broad.
Politics	Statements specifically referring to the "political" nature of providing accommodation to refugees. Can also be used when the interviewee references other nations as a means of comparison (i.e. "Turkey has done this..." or "other EU nations aren't helping...").
Positive Impacts	Statements that specifically address things that went well with providing accommodation to refugees. EXAMPLES: below are phrases that are used to indicate that someone is mentioning a success. These suggest that a certain person, action or system was useful and worked well in providing accommodation. • "What went great was…" • "This was good because…" • "…it went well…"
Priorities	Statements that reference priorities or things considered by stakeholders (government, utilities, non-profit, companies) in providing accommodation for refugees. Priorities is a subtler code because some participants indirectly stated requirements needed for them to be successful in their position or in finding housing. Some participants may not specifically state that something is a priority, but it is important to see what they state is necessary in their role. In some cases, the participant was asked about priorities and they response is that they didn't have time to prioritize,

	they needed to provide accommodations. This statement itself reflects that the participant prioritized finding housing/shelter for individuals, so it would be considered *Preparing Facilities* (see examples below). • "…we have to check…" • "…we look for…" • "…we need this..." • "It's important to have…"
Private Building Owners	Statements referencing individuals who were not employed by government or nonprofit agencies and owned buildings used for temporary or migrant accommodation.
Regulation and/or Standards	Statements talking specifically about rules, regulations, standards relating to providing accommodation to refugees.
Exemptions/Non-compliance	Statements referring to *exemptions*, or instances where governing bodies gave allowances in interpretation or implementation of existing regulations and standards. *Non-compliance* is deviation from these regulations without permission from regulatory authorities.
Unaccompanied Minors	Statements referring to children under the age of 18 who are not accompanied by a parent or guardian and are seeking asylum.
Using another person's perspective	This code is usually applied in correspondence with a specific perspective (e.g. Community Sentiment and Displaced Person's perspective). Not only is the participant is expressing someone else's perspective, but that different viewpoint is used to justify an opinion.
Utility Companies	Statements describing or referencing the local or regional utility companies (water, electric, gas, internet). This does not include the services, but rather the operation of these services.

EXAMPLES

Examples are provided below in Table B-2 as a supplement to the definitions in Table B-1. Coding was completed in multiple iterations between various researchers for inter-rater reliability. Examples assist in creating context and consistency in code applications.

Table B-2. Examples of topical codes.

Code	Example 1	Example 2
Asylum Procedures	*If everyone would stay, have their application in Greece and then be distributed to Europe then we wouldn't have a problem like the one we had. We had problems of course but this certain crisis which occurred in the Central Station was that people came here and they had been in [this city].*	*Because they also applied for asylum, they were taken straight to the transit house over there.*
Buildings/Housing Infrastructure	*So, this very, very temporary accommodation is basically for people who are here on their own, younger people, because many times you need to share. So, it's basically a hostel and then it's, well, smaller units of places that previously used to be used for unaccompanied minors.*	*And my… I'm strongly opinionated on this issue. I see the complications in snatching these rental apartments from the housing companies. I see that and it's controversial because a lot of other people have been waiting*
Construction of New Housing	*Researcher: Okay, because I know at least in another city, I was reading articles about them trying to construct modular housing, and that being for a certain time to contain people, or to be able to house them.* *Participant: Well I have been very clear on that. My political position on that is that we shouldn't build temporary housing.*	*We have the situation with less, too few apartments anyway, so I don't think ... They talk about building 50,000 apartments in a couple of years, so it doesn't matter if it comes 2,000 more.*

Housing Staff	*Participant: People were obviously sleeping more than twenty people in a room.* *Researcher: Right.* *Participant: But they had people staying awake at night, and taking care of the place and the security.*	*Researcher: Did you notice any differences or changes that your organization had to make in order to meet the contract for the new arrivals?* *Participant: Yeah. A lot. Because, well, language for one. We have many people who work at the [company] has different backgrounds, so we have a lot of people speaking Arabic, Persian, and some of the African languages, [Tigrinya]. That's a good one. We had to employ more staff with those competencies. Also, cultural stuff.*
Livability	*There were a few that were not good. You put too many kids in the same room. You didn't have enough toilets and it was not nice places. If you put that in relation to how many had started up, it was not many that was really bad. If they are really bad, we can say, "You have to close it down."*	*If you have a family with three, four kids and stay at the hotel, hotel room, that is not a good environment for a kid to grow up in. Maybe you have to move every third month or something, and you need to go to school and everything. It's very expensive as well.*
Migrant Accommodation	*They changed the regulations for the temporary accommodation that the migration agency can use, but we were not allowed to use the same regulations for ours because we were told that, "You're not providing a temporary standard. You're providing permanent household living. You should give them apartments and houses," and I remember saying, "Well, we're not there."*	*Researcher: That also is like another issue though of how many spaces do you keep on hand to use in these situations.* *Participant: Exactly. They sold out about 30,000 apartments or something. If we had had 30,000 more apartments now maybe it would be easier for us to get some of those. In that way it's sad. Absolutely.*
Renovation	*Some buildings maybe closed for five years ago. Some building one year ago. The new buildings we are opening, they were*	*We have 30,000 students here that live like that, and so it's a good enough standard, and so they were rebuilt. Mainly also, in*

	psychiatric hospital only six months ago. That was I told you, I could look at them the day they moved out. And that's why I fought for two, three months and then I thought, "Great, we can move in tomorrow." They said, "No, we have to rebuild a few things."	*the fire protection standard has to be met, because there's a difference if you have care facilities that is manned 24 hours, you can have some regulations, but if you're converted into actually a household living there, you have to have other standards.*
Temporary Accommodation	*So, this very, very temporary accommodation is basically for people who are here on their own, younger people, because many times you need to share. So, it's basically a hostel and then it's, well, smaller units of places that previously used to be used for unaccompanied minors*	*Okay, so how can we kind of help them and help the organizations, the accommodation centers. Our tasks have changed throughout the last year then. Yeah.*
Asylum Accommodation	*We made some sketches, we talked to the Migration Agency and we believed that it could work. We located some geographical areas where we could deploy these camps. It was all on ground owned by the Swedish Defense because that was much easier to locate in the beginning. We prepared a budget, had site works on these sites and presented everything for Migration Agency, but they said, "Thanks, but no thanks."*	*So yeah, we did a lot of the work for this thing, basically making sure these people were not staying outside.*
Unaccompanied Minors	*Yeah. I'm trying to think of something but it had to do mainly with these fire, that it's like safe. Yeah. Like for example, when you're on the second floor, you had to make sure that you can get down. You need the equipment so that it's safe for the children. I remember when we had these startups it was a lot about the facility and then the supervisions*	*My role, I mentioned supervision, so I go and I visit and I supervise and make sure that what they're doing there corresponds to the agreement that they've signed but also the rules and the laws when it comes to care for children.*

	became more about the care of the children.	
Water Services	*I looked at issues like access to restrooms, showers and laundry facilities, clean ability, ventilation, risk of moisture damage, heating, water quality (if own water source), sewage plant etc.*	*So that use, that worked a lot better. Because there was like tiling all the way around and there was good drainage and everything.*
Challenges	*And my… I'm strongly opinionated on this issue. I see the complications in snatching these rental apartments from the housing companies. I see that and it's controversial because a lot of other people have been waiting.*	*I think that it went better than we expected because, while we all know that we have different roles, we have quite difficult to understand how they can do things just like that because we are ... And they can't understand why we are so slow because we have a lot of regulations to follow. The meeting is not always easy. That's what we are dealing with, still dealing with sometimes.*
Collaboration	*Researcher: Right, right. In general, they get that. So it makes sense that they would help out when something comes up.* *Participant: Yes, and we know how to ... They know which people to contact in the municipality. We know the head of operations in the NGOs, so we have like close.*	*We were sometimes mad at regulations, and sometimes very [chaotic], but we managed, and we helped the state in this matter. That also implicated that we, during the fall, we put a lot of energy on helping the national government on their immigration facilities, we didn't work as much on our responsibilities, schooling, permanent housing. That was somewhat put aside a little bit.*
Community	*Researcher: The last question I have is, the community, have you heard from the community about this facility being used?* *Participant: Actually not. I expect, as we have so many people. I myself suspect we have*	*Participant: That's a lot of money and we didn't feel ... I mean we were confident that we could have gotten this money from people from [this city] if we had started a campaign.*

	some impact of the other people leaving this area, but I have not heard one complaint. Anything.	
Companies	*Because we didn't have the capacity to give, I mean within the municipality. We have made agreements with other companies or stakeholders and NGOs.*	*We have this kind of business in our own house as well, but we have troubles finding these families, so these private companies, they can find these families that we can't find, and they found most of the families that we placed unaccompanied minors in during 2015, these private companies found.*
Contracts	*When they have done that, they send us the list, a list of people, and we prepare contracts. Then they move in about 10 or maximum of 15 people a day. We meet up with them and sign the contracts and tell them, well, most of all welcome them and try to tell them ... We have this school, as I told you about, and sign them up for that.*	*Or if you had, I think the things that we actually have been signing contracts with have been, some of the full houses, like a small villa or a summer house, which were empty for some reason. I mean, this is a town where a lot of people go abroad to, like doing a research study for a year, and so they want someone to rent their apartment or their house for some time.*
Displaced Person	*Basically our job is to welcome people coming to [city]. And help them with the contract. And help them for contact with social. So they can start their economy. Basically that's it.*	*A lot of people who came during the fall of 2015 have stayed here in the organization working together with us and making sure that the activities are getting even better.*
Fire Safety	*I mean there is regulation that says that you're allowed to be maximum twenty people, in what they call a fire cell. Which is, where you have direct access to the outside basically. Two ways. It's like a hotel. You know, a hotel room always has a window and a door. Goes directly to the hallway. This would have made it, it would have forced us to rebuild our entire building to live up to those permits.*	*Usually, as long as there is someone, not always awake but I think that most facilities in Sweden are quite well suited to like if they are official like this restaurant for instance, they have fire protection in some way and so on. It's quite hard to be burned in there so to speak because there are fire alarms.*

Government	*We bought places from private companies where we could, but we also started our own run by municipality, paid by municipality. I think three or four new ones over a very short period of time.*	*No, I mean the city in terms of the politicians and the high-profile workers, they are they have difficulty in seeing the role of the civic society in critiquing the state. They're not very good at taking critique and then they prefer not to collaborate.*
County	*We have this regional thing called [county board] and [this] is a region in Sweden. They have the overall responsibility for rescuing missions. The fire brigades are one of those things. You have this like when you call 112 in Sweden you end somewhere.*	*Nothing was changed in the director that gave from the government, but it was still ... They kind of needed to point out that the [agency] has the authority to coordinate. So they were doing that, and they were sending personnel, staff personnel to some ... What's it called? The County Administrative Board. That's the government's representative on a regional level.*
District	*The districts want to avoid that risk no matter like the cost in terms of care. Our organization is more about, we're more interested in care.*	*Districts, yeah. They are the ones that are responsible in terms of social care for these unaccompanied minors. They say to us like we need somewhere for this kid to live. We provide a position, a place for them to live. That's what we do pretty much. We don't own the responsibility for their welfare and being, but we provide what the districts need.*
European Union	*If everyone would stay, have their application in Greece and then be distributed to Europe then we wouldn't have a problem like the one we had. We had problems of course but this certain crisis which occurred in the central station was that people came here and they had been in [this city].*	*Yeah, a lot of asylum seekers. But Sweden have been incredibly helpful together Denmark and, no sorry, not Denmark. Sorry, sorry it was, I really am bad to Denmark. Together with Holland and Germany and Italy.*

Federal	*Yes, we still have, because the fundament of the church is regulated by the parliament. Then the second thing is also very ... Because this is structure, but then when it comes to what is the duties of the church, then it say four things. The church should celebrate services in the church. Religious services, we must celebrate. We must educate in Christian faith. We must have Christian social service we can say in a simpler way, and we should have mission. We should tell about in deeds and words about this.*	*My critique is mostly aimed towards the national level because the planning building act is ... All acts in Sweden are passed by parliament, so we have that set at the national level.*
Municipal	*Yes, and we know how to ... They know which people to contact in the municipality. We know the head of operations in the NGOs, so we have like close.*	*We bought places from private companies where we could, but we also started our own run by municipality, paid by municipality. I think three or four new ones over a very short period of time.*
State	*Neither them nor us had the power to do anything. Everything was in Migration's hands. Searching everywhere in Sweden for a smaller camp or a family. Often families who can take care of them. Here, they are adults, they came here, they have their permission to stay in Sweden, they sign the contract.*	*"Oh no, we cannot send people to your place. That is not registered." You can apply to be registered housing in [Migration Agency]. And we said, "we cannot do that because we don't have the building permit. We don't have this and that." So it's not possible to do so.*
Inspection	*My role, I mentioned supervision, so I go and I visit and I supervise and make sure that what they're doing there corresponds to the agreement that they've signed but also the rules and the laws when it comes to care for children.*	*They came here and they inspected a place and they said that, "yeah, whatever you're doing is fine. But this is for temporary housing." You know? If you have, for example, a soccer competition and you bring a lot of kids to one place. And they sleep in a big hall, then you have to set*

		it up like this. Then you have to have people stay awake and blah, blah, blah. And with a dog, according to their routines and ... so there was, they had nothing to complain about. But it was just that this permit is not for permanent housing.
Integration	*That is our assignment, to teach them how to be a proper tenant in Sweden so that when they hopefully get their own apartment somewhere, they should be aware of what to do and how to behave.*	*But I would like to have a few fairly large hostel solutions. Like 100, 150 people, three of them. That would be enough. To have a lot of small… or this could be good for integration. It's not so stigmatized, but it's quite costly to run them.*
Interaction	*The staff in [the city] were really unhelpful and uncommunicative. They were just trying to maintain control meaning that no one could interfere with their activities. In the end I called the immigration agency and stop calling, I said "that yeah, we have a place where people can sleep." Just send them there. We were like, it doesn't make sense that [Migration Agency] doesn't know about this. Just take the people. Why are they being so uncooperative?*	*We could get information from the Hungarian and Austrian border where they were saying, "okay, in four days you will be able to rest." Because there were not so many people coming then.*
Interviewee Involvement	*Well we managed to organize it. It was complicated, everyone was tearing their hair*	*I mean it has changed the methods, how we've been working because I think as a development manager, we're quite, me and my coworkers have been quite flexible. We look for okay, what do they need and in this kind of complex situation, it's been like okay, now the children, they feel very bad.*
NGO/IGO	*But then we had a very loose network called [NGO name].*	*So, we were in touch of a lot of control organizations and*

	Which were just a bunch of random people who were not organized before, who took on to represent the movement of welcoming refugees without thinking or coming back to the rest of the groups.	*community organizations and a lot of them had been in this area. But they had been forced out due to this factory. So we made a big campaign to get rid associations and the residences in the area for the poison free city environment. And then it was kind of, a little bit winning, a little bit losing because they've changed the regulations.*
Overall Response to Crisis	*I don't have that much, I mean I can see it from above like a bird perspective like that, so I know all the difference, but I think when it comes to minors, it worked very well.*	*Researcher: Was there anything that you think might have gone better during the 2015 situation?* *Interviewee: That they should have done better?* *Researcher: Yeah.* *Interviewee: No, I don't think so.*
Politics	*No, I mean the city in terms of the politicians and the high-profile workers, they are they have difficulty in seeing the role of the civic society in critiquing the state. They're not very good at taking critique and then they prefer not to collaborate.*	*No. I don't know. In the 60s they built too much, and in the 90s there were too much apartments, and there was a crisis, and I mean it goes up and downs. I don't know if there is a perfect way or a perfect solution and how many you should build every year. It's sad. I don't know. No. I don't have an answer for that. You have to ask the politicians.*
Positive Impacts	*But it also proved for ourselves that if we really concentrated, we could solve things. I think it helped in the next process as well, because we got this feeling of it's actually possible.*	*So, this is something that is unique with what we are doing. A lot of people who came during the fall of 2015 have stayed here in the organization working together with us and making sure that the activities are getting even better.*
Priorities	*Well we have this ... Now it's this goal of building this housing*	*That also implicated that we, during the fall, we put a lot of*

	resource of 2,000 apartments, we didn't have that goal before. There has also been changes in the organization, for example to make it easier for the newcomer to navigate in the municipality, and to get all kind of support in a coordinated way.	*energy on helping the national government on their immigration facilities, we didn't work as much on our responsibilities, schooling, permanent housing. That was somewhat put aside a little bit.*
Private Building Owners	*We looked at premises/buildings where the property owner reported interest in renting out the building for temporary accommodations. We looked at different types of buildings, for example cabins, offices and villas.*	*They are responsible to make sure that these buildings are okay to use as housing and for housing. When they have done that and we rent them, and then we sublet to our tenants, then it's our job to make sure that we maintain and keep it that way, not have any strollers in the hallways, and bicycles in entrance, and everything. From the beginning, it's the facility owners [responsibilities].*
Regulation and/or Standards	*It is illegal to drive someone across a border, but it is not illegal to drive a person to a place where they can rest while they are waiting for the migration agency to open so they can apply for asylum.*	*And if the city is not interested in reading the law in that way, that what we did was good in a way. Then of course they're not going to do that.*
Exemptions/Non-compliance	*Having a little bit more flexibility in that would definitely help us to do things according to their permits and their regulations. That would have been simple way of solving it.*	*So, then we got, kind of a long period where we could do it without having the proper permits, which was good.*
Unaccompanied Minors	*For the refugee kids and we say [unaccompanied minors] they come alone from other countries without the parents. They come alone and the Swedish apply to take care of them. We have to take care of them.*	*If the city couldn't arrange accommodations for their kids, they could find a house in the northern of Sweden, far, far away. They stayed there for one week. Then they came back and stayed here. I feel sorry for the*

		kids because they had to move a bunch of times.
Using another person's perspective	*Also, they might have been promised an apartment when they left northern Sweden or something, and the Migration Board tell them, "Well, you're going to [this city] and you're going to get an apartment."*	*Then also people are afraid of, do you know the school system, which already is ... If 300 kids arrives to one city district, they have to go to school somewhere, and if you don't have enough space for them, then what will happen with my children, everyone thinks.*
Utility Companies	*As an ordinary citizen, it just works. I just put on the water in the comes and it's clean and it's still healthy. I suppose that they are checking it, probably on a daily basis what they are sending out from the water places. Because sometimes, of course, they say no you shouldn't drink that water today. It happens so seldom. I suppose they do it on a daily basis.*	*Yeah. We do that from time to time when we get signals from either inhabitants or from our water maintenance department that this area is ... we can't get enough water in our pipes or something, then we ... or we don't have enough pressure. Then we make these examinations, and this is one part of the result that we take to see what should we do about it?*

APPENDIX C: LEGITIMACY CODING DICTIONARY

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SUMMARY

This appendix serves to supplement the qualitative analysis for legitimizing the provision of temporary accommodations for displaced persons. Definitions, examples and guidance for qualitatively analyzing ethnographic interviews is included in this section. In addition to supplementing analysis methodology, this dictionary compiles various definitions and uses of Suchman's organizational legitimacy theory for a more comprehensive guide for application of the major and subtypes of legitimacy.

PROJECT OVERVIEW

The primary objective of this dictionary is to understand organizational legitimacy types and subtypes (Suchman 1995) within the context of support for or against the provision of temporary accommodations for displaced persons seeking asylum in an urban setting. The following sections describe the methodology for qualitative analysis using Suchman's organizational legitimacy types (Pragmatic, Moral, Cognitive) and subtypes (Exchange, Influence, Dispositional, Consequential, Procedural, Structural, Personal, Comprehensibility, and Taken-for-Grantedness).
Examples and definitions are provided in the context of semi-structured ethnographic interviews (Spradley 2016) conducted from July to September 2016 with individuals from government agencies, nonprofit organizations, water and wastewater utility companies, and private companies involved with the provision of temporary accommodations in four German cities. Interviews focus on the influx of displaced persons seeking asylum in Germany in 2015 and subsequent years.

ORGANIZATIONAL LEGITIMACY THEORY

Legitimacy exists in many disciplines and has been used to explain how an individual or entity maintains, gains or loses legitimacy in both an external and internal context. For the purposes of this study, the authors adopt Suchman's definition of legitimacy:

> *"A generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions"* (Suchman 1995, 574).

Examples of existing research which have utilized organizational legitimacy include:

- Corporate and social environmental responsibility (Bhattacharyya 2015; Palazzo and Scherer 2006; Chelli, Durocher, and Richard 2014; Bansal and Clelland 2004)
- Sustainability in water and sanitation hygiene programs (Kaminsky 2014)
- Marketing and advertising (Wang et al. 2014)
- Water governance (Gearey and Jeffrey 2006; Edwards 2016)
- Organizational management practices (Bhattacharyya 2014; Ruef and Scott 1998; Golant and Sillince 2007; Minahan 2005)
- Organizational sustainability (Thomas and Lamm 2012)
- International relations (Mulligan 2006)

METHODOLOGY IN QUALITATIVE CODING FOR LEGITIMACY

When performing qualitative analysis, two major questions are asked during the coding process:

- **What is being legitimized?** Excerpts were selected when (de)legitimacy was attributed to the whole crisis organizational network (e.g. all the organizations and companies, citizens) of the city and country that is involved with providing accommodation for displaced persons. Accommodation includes housing, social services and other infrastructure relating to the built environment (e.g. water services, utilities, transportation, etc.). Specific excerpts may relate to one aspect of this accommodation process or to the response as a whole.

- **Who is providing legitimacy?** Typically, the interviewee who is providing legitimacy in an excerpt. However, there are instances when the interviewee uses other people's perspective; in this situation, the group being used to attribute legitimacy is providing the perspective. The code *Perception* enables the researcher to indicate that the person who legitimizes is not the interviewee but another stakeholder, such as the community or displaced persons.

Audio recordings from the interviews were translated into English as needed, then transcribed. Interview content was coded for excerpts expressing legitimacy using the Dedoose qualitative analysis software (SCRC 2016). Codes were iteratively applied as definitions were refined for the topical codes and legitimacy types (Saldaña 2011). All code applications were reviewed by researchers with American and European backgrounds, and excerpts with disagreement were removed from the data set. Overall, each interview underwent one primary analysis followed by one initial and one final review.

DEFINITIONS

Qualitative analysis can require subjective interpretation. To reduce variability, definitions were developed for all codes used in the primary analysis and modified for clarity throughout the coding process. When coding for legitimacy, researchers first identified the use of legitimacy in an excerpt, then chose which type and subtype of legitimacy was expressed and finally applied topical codes to describe what was being (de)legitimized. Organizational legitimacy is composed of three main types (Pragmatic, Moral, Cognitive) and nine subtypes (Exchange, Influence, Dispositional, Consequential, Procedural, Structural Personal, Comprehensibility, and Taken-for-Grantedness), as shown in Figure C-1.

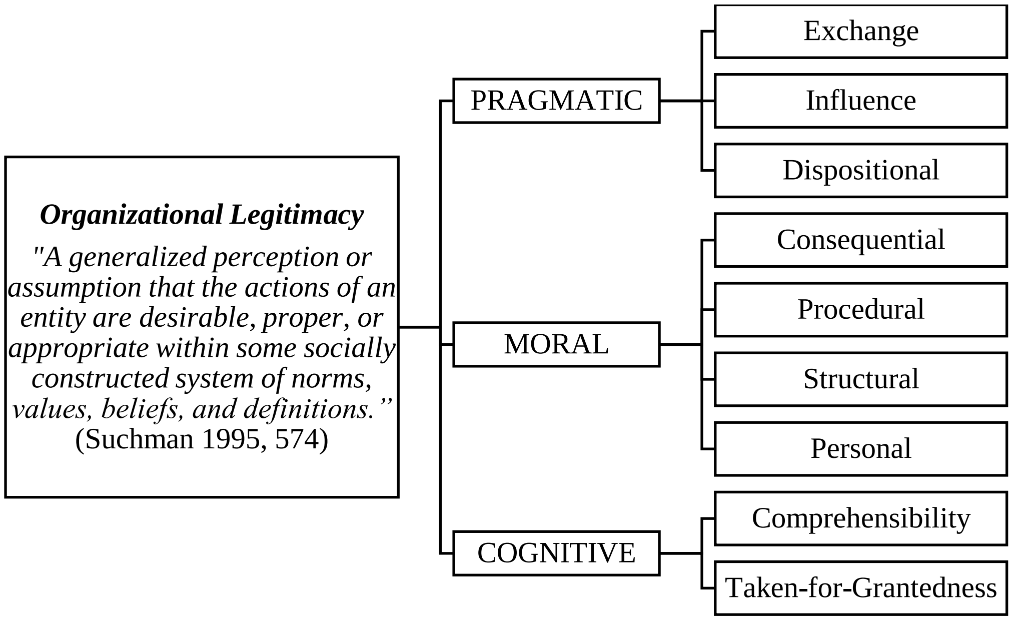

Figure C-1. General definition, major types and subtypes of organizational legitimacy.

Suchman, in defining legitimacy, focuses on the dynamics of what is being legitimized as well as the temporal context of these dynamics. Dynamics of legitimation are organized by the actions of the organization versus the essence, or general characteristic of the organization itself (Suchman 1995, 583). Alternatively, these actions and essences can be legitimized based on isolated instances or continual behavior. Both dimensions are recreated from Suchman's study in Figure C-2 below, visualizing where the types and subtypes of legitimacy reside within temporal and dynamic dimensions.

	Actions	**Essences**	**Legitimacy Type**
		Dispositional	Pragmatic Legitimacy
Episodic	*Exchange*	Interest	
Continual	*Influence*	Character	
Episodic	*Consequential*	*Personal*	Moral Legitimacy
Continual	*Procedural*	*Structural*	
Episodic	*Comprehensibility*		Cognitive Legitimacy
Continual	Predictability	Plausibility	
Episodic	*Taken-for-Grantedness*		
Continual	Inevitability	Permanence	

Figure C-2. A typology of legitimacy, adapted from Suchman 1995, 584

Using the framework provided by Suchman and the accompanying relationships of essence and time, definitions for each type and subtype legitimacy were constructed for use in the context of providing temporary accommodation for displaced persons. Definitions for the three main types of legitimacy are provided in Table C-1 and the nine subtypes are defined in Table C-2.

Table C-1. Definition and examples for the three general types of legitimacy.

Types of Legitimacy	Definition
Pragmatic Legitimacy	*Pragmatic Legitimacy* is based on what is desirable and concerns the self-interested calculations of the person involved. According to Suchman, *Pragmatic Legitimacy* "relies on direct exchanges and interactions between the organization and its audience. Might look at 'broader political, economic or social interdependencies' but ultimately affects the audience's well-being" (Suchman 1995, 578). Subtypes of *Pragmatic Legitimacy* include *Exchange, Influence* and *Dispositional Legitimacy* (Table C-2). Key phrases typically used for *Pragmatic Legitimacy* include, "I get…" or "I receive…"
Moral Legitimacy	*Moral Legitimacy* is based on what is desirable and includes the normative evaluation of the organization and its activities. Simplified, *Moral Legitimacy* assesses whether an action, organization or approach is the right thing to do "rather than the pragmatic definition of receiving something" (Suchman 1995, 579)**.** Statements expressing *Moral Legitimacy* predominantly use past tense to describe how things were done, or what outcome would have been best in a situation; this contrasts with *Cognitive Legitimacy* which uses past tense to explain why a situation happened. *Moral Legitimacy* has four subtypes including: *Consequential, Procedural, Structural,* and *Personal Legitimacy* (Table C-2). Key phrases typically used for Moral Legitimacy include, "this is (or is not) fair" and "this is (or is not) the right thing to do."
Cognitive Legitimacy	*Cognitive legitimacy* is the comprehension, or lack thereof, of how things are done, or alternatively, an attempt to describe what is understandable. In contrast to *Moral Legitimacy*, *Cognitive Legitimacy* acknowledges an unspoken cultural standard and typically uses past tense to explain a situation rather than to express how it should've been done or what should have been provided. *Cognitive Legitimacy* has two subtypes including *Comprehensibility Legitimacy* and *Taken-for-Grantedness* (Table C-2). Key phrases indicating Cognitive Legitimacy include, "definitely/absolutely…" or "of course…" or "it is what it is."

Within the three major types of legitimacy are nine subtypes. Table C-2 provides definitions and examples for the nine subtypes of legitimacy (Exchange, Influence, Dispositional, Consequential, Procedural, Structural, Personal, Comprehensibility, and Taken-for-Grantedness).

Table C-2. Definitions and examples for the nine subtypes of legitimacy.

Legitimacy Subtype	Definition
Exchange Legitimacy	*Exchange Legitimacy* is the simplest level of *Pragmatic Legitimacy* and represents a “support for an organizational policy based on that policy’s expected value to a particular set of constituents” (Suchman 1995, 578). Simply put, this subtype is based on whether or not the interviewee or people in direct contact with the interviewee are directly impacted by the process of providing accommodation for displaced persons. The scope of this definition is limited to the interviewee, their family or coworkers within their work group. This contrasts with *Influence Legitimacy* which extends to groups not in direct contact with the interviewee but still related, such as their specific community or the specific work group within their company/organization that they are involved with. This subtype also contrasts with *Consequential Legitimacy* since the latter addresses outcomes that are unrelated to the interviewee, such as the benefits to displaced persons or the government. Often times in interviews, respondents expressed challenges or difficulties in the accommodation process. While this is important, a challenge does not always constitute legitimacy unless the interviewee uses this challenge as the explanation, or basis, as to why the accommodation process what (de)legitimate. Key phrases associated with *Exchange Legitimacy* often include: • I receive... • We get... • That's the regulations
Influence legitimacy	*Influence legitimacy* also describes benefits, but within the context of a larger scale. The interviewee “support[s] the organization not necessarily because they believe that it provides specific favorable exchanges, but rather because they see it as being responsive to their larger interests” (Suchman 1995, 578). This can manifest in the interviewee feeling as though they have a voice or contribution in the crisis organization; a contrast of seeing immediate results versus general responsiveness to the situation. In this study, *Influence Legitimacy* is limited to people indirectly connected with the interviewee, such as the city the interviewee resides in, their company (not their specific work group) or the country as a whole. Although *Influence Legitimacy* still refers to a direct impact, or benefit, this is on a larger scope than *Exchange Legitimacy*, which is limited to the interviewee or those in direct contact with them. This is again in contrast to *Consequential Legitimacy*, which focuses on outcomes for groups not in contact with the interviewee. An example of an indirect

	relationship could be if the interviewee is a shelter manager or nonprofit employee who works for the benefit of displaced persons. In this case, when the interviewee refers to tangible benefits for displaced persons, these are people indirectly related to the individual. For *Influence Legitimacy* and *Pragmatic Legitimacy* collectively, benefits or disadvantages need to be specific and distinguishable. For example, if the benefits to displaced persons are sentimental (such as “making displaced persons feel better”), it would be considered *Consequential Legitimacy*, unless the interviewee specifically mentions specific benefits to the shelter (i.e. “the shelter is quieter”). When the interviewee is in direct contact with displaced persons, it can be difficult to distinguish between *Consequential, Influence* and *Exchange Legitimacy*. In the case of interviewees working in a refugee shelter: if the interviewee mentions benefits to displaced persons, it is typically coded for *Influence Legitimacy* if the emphasis is on the shelter as a whole (or *Exchange Legitimacy* if it directly benefits the interviewee’s work). If the action being legitimized is not benefitting the displaced persons living in the accommodation but refers to benefitting displaced persons as a larger unit (e.g. all displaced persons in Germany), this would be coded for *Consequential Legitimacy*.
Dispositional Legitimacy	*Dispositional Legitimacy* is associating the legitimacy of an organization to dispositional characteristics (i.e. trustworthy, descent, wise). Usually the organizations which are granted legitimacy are personified and must have "our interests at heart” (Suchman 1995, 578). Suchman also acknowledged that assessment of an organization based on its characteristics can sometimes overlap with *Moral Legitimacy*. The authors for this study have distinguished *Dispositional Legitimacy* from subtypes within *Moral Legitimacy* by two factors: (1) the organization is specifically personified and (2) in a way that expresses how the organization is or is not providing a benefit to the interviewee or those directly/indirectly related to them. Outside of these two components, the subtype of legitimacy expressed would fall under either *Consequential, Procedural* or *Structural Legitimacy*.
Consequential legitimacy	*Consequential Legitimacy* expresses support for the crisis organization is based on what is accomplished within the context of doing the right thing. In contrast to *Influence* and *Exchange Legitimacy, Consequential Legitimacy* is not specific to groups or individuals directly or indirectly related to the interviewee. This subtype of legitimacy answers the question: What benefits are provided to others? As previously stated, it can be difficult to distinguish “others” depending on the position of the respondent. In the case of interviewees working in a refugee shelter: if the interviewee mentions benefits to displaced persons, it is generally coded for *Influence Legitimacy* if the emphasis is on the shelter as a

	whole (or *Exchange Legitimacy* if legitimized actions directly benefit the interviewee's work). *Consequential Legitimacy* is applied if the action is not benefitting the displaced persons living in the shelter but displaced persons (e.g. in Germany) as a whole. Key phrases associated with *Consequential Legitimacy* can include: • We should provide… • We should give… • They should get…
Procedural legitimacy	*Procedural Legitimacy* is used when the crisis organization is seen as embracing socially accepted techniques and procedures. In contrast to *Consequential Legitimacy*, this subtype focuses on how services are provided rather than what the specific services include. *Procedural Legitimacy* is distinguished from *Structural Legitimacy* through a focus on specific actions taken by the organization (*Procedural Legitimacy*) rather than whether the organizational framework is equipped to handle the situation (*Structural Legitimacy*). One specific example that has frequently been expressed in interviews includes, "it's my job" or the opposite, "it's not my job." This phrase is expressing a type of *Moral Legitimacy* if the phrase is not used in the context of providing any direct impacts to the interviewee (i.e. it's my job and if I don't complete the task I will lose the respect of my coworkers); this example of a direct impact would be coded for the *Exchange Legitimacy*. When coding the phrase, "it's my job" or similar expressions, *Procedural* or *Structural Legitimacy* is distinguished between whether the statement is discussing the interviewee's position or the organization as a whole. If the phrase is used within the context of the individual, then it is coded for *Procedural Legitimacy* because it regards the specific actions of the interviewee. When used in the context of an organization (i.e. "it's not the job of the company") then this would be coded for *Structural Legitimacy* because it is referring to the framework and responsibility of the organization. Another frequently used statement includes, "we have to think about what the best option is." This statement is not expressing *Procedural Legitimacy* because thoughts are not considered as actions. This statement would typically be coded for *Comprehensibility Legitimacy* because the interviewee is legitimizing the situation based on what is understandable. Key phrases associated with *Procedural Legitimacy* can include: • This is the way we have been told… • We should do our best…

	• We/they should try… (emphasis on "try" to indicate it's a more about attempting to provide something rather than the outcome itself)
Structural legitimacy	*Structural Legitimacy* is based on acceptable characteristics within the crisis organization. For example, schools can show they are right for the job by portraying themselves as "modern." Suchman summarized various definitions of structures and their role as "indicators of an organization's socially constructed capacity to perform specific types of work" (Suchman 1995, 581). In contrast to *Procedural Legitimacy*, *Structural Legitimacy* emphasizes the organizational framework, not the specific actions. The main difference between *Structural Legitimacy* in comparison to other subtypes of *Moral Legitimacy* is the emphasis of organizational capacity and qualities rather than outcomes (*Consequential Legitimacy*) or socially accepted techniques used in practice (*Procedural Legitimacy*). Excerpts attributing legitimacy based on entire organizations can align with both *Dispositional Legitimacy* or *Structural Legitimacy*. A distinguishing factor is whether the legitimacy is based on a direct/indirect benefit to the interviewee or on doing the right thing. Another similarity is found between *Structural Legitimacy* and *Comprehensibility Legitimacy* when statements express legitimacy based on what occurred in the past (i.e. the organization did/did not manage to provide accommodation for displaced persons in the past). These types of phrases used in excerpts are distinguished by whether the interviewee is suggesting changes to the response. For example, if the interviewee is describing why something worked, this is an expression of what is understandable and would be coded for *Comprehensibility Legitimacy*. However, if the interviewee is suggesting changes to the response, specifically related to the organizational framework (i.e. it worked well so we should do that again next year), then this would be coded for *Structural Legitimacy*. When the actions of an organization are legitimized based on their role as a responsible party without a description of specific actions that should be taken (e.g., "we are responsible for the water network in the city"), it is coded for *Structural Legitimacy* rather than *Procedural Legitimacy*. Another example is when the general framework or capacity of the organization is legitimized. When the emphasis is on a desired change in the general framework of an organization, it is typically coded for *Structural Legitimacy* (e.g., "we have to be bigger", "we have to be responsible", "we should have the capacity"). Key phrases associated with *Structural Legitimacy* can include:

	• This is the requirement… • We are/aren't allowed to…
Personal legitimacy	*Personal Legitimacy* relies on the charisma of individual organization leaders (Suchman 1995, 581). Specifically, this is when the interviewee references the actions or attitude of one individual leader involved in the crisis organization. If the interviewee is referring to a group of actors in the crisis organization (such as engineers, planners, architects, etc.), this would be considered *Structural Legitimacy* because the group of people are encompassed in the structural framework of the organization. In contrast to *Dispositional Legitimacy*, *Personal Legitimacy* refers to specific actors within the organization's leadership rather than personifying the organization itself.
Comprehensibility Legitimacy	*Comprehensibility Legitimacy* attributes what is understandable given personal experience or cultural norms. In practice, the interviewee definitively expresses their viewpoint with an example to explain their perspective. The key factor is that statements are usually in past tense and the initial reaction is an absolute; the interviewee knows for a fact because of their personal experience or because of an example they can relate to. Statements expressing what happened in the past can sometimes be attributed to either *Structural Legitimacy* or *Comprehensibility Legitimacy*. The difference is that one tries to understand why a situation happened the way it did (*Comprehensibility Legitimacy*) and the other looks to suggest improvements or affirm the response of the organization (*Structural Legitimacy*). When the interviewee says an absolute without further explanation (i.e. "we can handle this situation, it will be fine"), the excerpt is coded for *Taken-for-Grantedness*. However, when the interviewee provides an explanation for the absolute (i.e. "we can handle this because providing housing has never been a problem"), this is *Comprehensibility Legitimacy*. Key phrases that can be associated with *Comprehensibility Legitimacy* include: • Absolutely... • It's easy to/ it's not easy to… • In my experience...
Taken-for-Grantedness	*Taken-for-Grantedness* is used when "an alternative is literally unthinkable" for the interviewee (Suchman 1995, 583). The main distinguishing factor between *Comprehensibility Legitimacy* and *Taken-for-Grantedness* is that the latter does not provide an explanation; the interviewee provides an absolute without attempting to articulate why it is understandable for them.

When the interviewee says an absolute without further explanation (i.e. "we can handle this situation, it will be fine"), the excerpt is coded for *Taken-for-Grantedness*. However, when the interviewee provides an explanation for the absolute (i.e. "we can handle this because providing housing has never been a problem"), this is *Comprehensibility Legitimacy*. One thing to note is that when the effects of "handling it" or "not handling it" are mentioned by the interviewee and can be measured, then the excerpt would be coded for *Influence Legitimacy* or *Exchange Legitimacy*. For example, when the interviewee says "we can't handle it because we (the company) don't have the manpower, then this statement would be coded for either *Influence Legitimacy* or *Exchange Legitimacy*, depending who is receiving the benefit (see definitions above).

Key phrases that can be associated with *Taken-for-Grantedness* include:

- It's obvious that it can work this way…
- Why wouldn't it?
- It is what it is…
- It's normal!
- We have to!
- It's normal (without further explanation)
- It must! (without further explanation)

EXAMPLES

Examples have been extracted from interviews included in this study and provided for ease in understanding the legitimacy definitions in Table C-2. These examples are given with supplementary explanations in Table C-3.

Table C-3. Examples of legitimacy subtypes.

Legitimacy Subtype	Examples	Explanations
Exchange Legitimacy	1) “No, no changes. Because actually we are not allowed to change anything here.” 2) “No. Look, I’m also a taxpayer so I don’t think so.”	1) The interviewee is responsible for meeting regulations. 2) The interviewee is directly impacted as a taxpaying citizen.
Influence Legitimacy	1) “We'll see which decisions come because it's very expensive and how do you do this? 2) “Well, if it were at night, it would be better for us. [laughs]”	1) It is not legitimate because what is being described is very expensive, not necessarily for the interviewee but their company. 2) If the described situation was allowed, it would benefit the company/organization the interviewee is a part of.
Dispositional Legitimacy	1) “Because these are normal tubes you have to imagine a building like a human being: it was used to everyone came at 9 o'clock.” 2) "And we did it because we knew and trusted them, so it was really a good, easy and quick cooperation."	1) The building is personified and there is a lack of support because the pipes weren’t equipped to handle the new amount of wastewater produced. 2) It directly benefits the interviewee and they are personifying them in the first part of the sentence.
Consequential Legitimacy	1) "And the kitchens; it was to me most important that there's lots of space so that the people have space enough to work and make their vegetables and everything else. In my former buildings, I noticed this is every time a problem." 2) "We try our best to do so much for the people, we help them."	1) It is legitimate because the interviewee is providing a benefit (more space) to people they are not directly or indirectly connected to. 2) This can be either Consequential Legitimacy or Procedural Legitimacy depending on the context. The outcome is help.

Procedural Legitimacy	1) "And they say like for people from other nationalities they are allowed, and we are not allowed, this is not fair." 2) "It was a phone call and then let's get it done. This German law isn't important when the German government says, 'we take now this building and we use it for housing displaced persons.'"	1) The people described are not legitimate because they are making decisions and following an approach that the interviewee does not think is fair. 2) The German government follows a different procedure when it is their buildings. This could also be Structural Legitimacy depending on the context of the excerpt and whether the emphasis is on the German government or the fact that they provided exceptions to themselves.
Structural Legitimacy	1) "Nobody knows how [the government] works, and also how they handle the situation. I don't know how they work. I went there I talked to the people who work there. And nobody gave me a good answer like how the system works." 2) "The people who are involved from the [city government], they are not involved in one project, they are involved in 5 projects, so they have a lot of experience." 3) "It's not the job of the government."	1) The interviewee delegitimizes the government because it isn't clear how they have organized their response to the situation. 2) The city government is made up of qualified individuals, legitimizing their involvement. 3) The government is not responsible, delegitimizing their involvement.
Personal Legitimacy	1) "How could the big boss of [the government agency] could go into his office every day, look out the window and see how the people are suffering there. They don't do anything." 2) "… and I think that Angela Merkel's political agenda, and we have to back it up, we have to keep working on it."	1) The government response is not legitimate because of how the "big boss" and their lack of overall response. 2) The response to the situation is legitimate because it is part of the Chancellor of Germany, Angela Merkel's, political agenda.

Comprehensibility Legitimacy	1) "And I think with the service, they are happy, but they say we cannot change that. This is the reality now, this is our place, if we could like get another place, we would move immediately, we would not stay here." 2) "And I can see from my experience, one year, it's enough." 3) “It is like a full bottle of water, and there's one hole and you put, yeah? And so the water's still in it, you haven't solved the problem if you do this so-called fix. But you cannot say what will be in the future.”	1) Given the current situation and variables outside the interviewee’s control, they believe they are doing the best they can, which is understandable. 2) The interviewee legitimizes the situation through the fact that they think that one year is reasonable (understandable). 3) The response is not legitimate because it is not clear how the situation will be handled in the future (it is not understandable). Also, the interviewee uses an analogy to justify their perspective.
Taken-for-Grantedness	1) "To me it was not understandable. People in the rest of the world say, "If the Germans can do one thing, it is to organize" and we have proved in the last year that we are not able to organize. It was strange to me. How is it possible we got the football championship and we can organize it?" 2) “What problems could there be? I don’t know. We’re assuming that our calculations are correct and that we will not have to do any extra work to change anything.”	1) Although the interviewee uses an analogy and past experience to justify their involvement, this is coded for Taken-for-Grantedness because it is incomprehensible that Germany would not be able to organize efficiently. The alternative is unthinkable. 2) The interviewee is confident that their work is correct because problems are unthinkable.

TOPICAL CODING FOR LEGITIMACY

Once excerpts expressing legitimacy were coded for a major and subtype, topical codes are assigned to define what is being legitimized in the statement. These topical codes were not always what was being described in the excerpt, but specifically what was either legitimate or not legitimate. For example, if an interviewee said that private apartments were going to be used because they were more private than the sports halls, *Private Apartments* would be included and not *Sports Halls*. This is because the private apartments are being legitimized for their livability. Topical codes and their definitions are provided below in Table C-4. Please note that these codes are only used concurrently with the legitimacy codes in Tables C-1 and C-2.

Table C-4. Topical codes and definitions used in qualitative analysis for legitimacy.

Topical Code	Description
Company Involvement	Statements referring to the interaction of private companies with providing accommodation to displaced persons.
Government Involvement	Statements referring to the interaction of the government with providing accommodation to displaced persons.
Housing Infrastructure	Statements referencing physical structures made available for housing displaced persons.
Construction of New Housing	Statements referring to the building, procurement or construction of new buildings specifically for temporary accommodations for displaced persons.
Food	Statements related to availability and quality of food provided for displaced persons.
Livability	Statements addressing the quality of life for people staying in housing accommodations for displaced persons.
Long-term accommodation for displaced persons	Excerpts that are specifically mentioned to providing long-term accommodation for displaced persons. Excerpts are coded for *Long-term Accommodation for Displaced Persons* when the interviewee refers to accommodations within the scope of an indefinite, or unrestricted, period of time (e.g. private apartments).

Renovation	Statements related to the preparation work involved with setting up housing facilities for displaced persons; construction-related improvements prior to occupation.
Short-term accommodation for displaced persons	Excerpts that specifically refer to providing short-term accommodation for displaced persons. Excerpts are coded for *Short-term Accommodation for Displaced Persons* when the interviewee considers and references accommodations within a fixed period of time (e.g. tents, sports halls, etc.).
Water and Wastewater	Statements referring to provision or use of water services associated with accommodation for displaced persons. This includes: drinking water, wastewater, water quality, facilities (showers, toilets, kitchens).
Integration	Statements referring to the integration of displaced persons after receiving an asylum decision. This may include language courses, job training programs, etc.
Interviewee Involvement	Statements referring to the interviewee’s specific involvement in the accommodation process for displaced persons. Note that an interviewee may refer to their specific involvement or their organization, in which case both codes are applied.
Maintenance	Statements related to on-going improvements to the facility, post-construction (i.e. repairing showerheads or toilets).
NGO/IGO Involvement	Statements referring to the interaction of the non-governmental organization (NGO) or inter-governmental organization (IGO) with providing accommodation to displaced persons.
Other Infrastructure	Statements referencing physical structures made available for accommodating displaced persons, outside of housing.
Overall Population Growth	This is a general response to the population change (not necessarily including the refugee crisis). This is typically related to providing housing and overall population growth. Excerpts with this code should be in the context of justifying (or not) accommodation for displaced persons.
Perception	Viewpoints regarding the provision of accommodation for displaced persons.
Community’s perspective	Community sentiment towards a topic associated with providing accommodation for displaced persons (i.e. displaced persons, housing facility).

Utility’s perspective	Utility office or employee’s sentiment towards a topic associated with providing accommodation for displaced persons.
Government’s perspective	Government office or official’s sentiment towards a topic associated with providing accommodation for displaced persons.
Displaced Person’s perspective	Displaced person's sentiment towards a topic associated with providing accommodation for displaced persons (I.e. feedback on services).
Nonprofit’s perspective	Nonprofit employee or nonprofit spokesperson sentiment towards a topic associated with providing accommodation for displaced persons (e.g. an opinion expressed by an employee or in a press release published by this nonprofit).
Company’s perspective	Company employee or company spokesperson sentiment towards a topic associated with providing accommodation for displaced persons (e.g. an opinion expressed by an employee or in a press release published by the company).
Validation using Another Person’s Perspective	Statements (de)legitimizing the accommodation of displaced persons by using another person's perspective. The person's perspective should be coded independently from the corresponding validation. For example: "We should accommodate displaced persons because all nonprofits say, 'this is the best thing our country can do'." The part "We should accommodate displaced persons because" should be coded for *Validation using other person's perspective*, and the part "'this is the best thing our country can do'" should be coded for *Nonprofit's perspective*.
Regulation	Statements related to the regulations and permitting process associated with renovation or new development of a housing accommodation for displaced persons.
Response to Crisis	Statements that refer to the overall response to the refugee crisis. (i.e. describing general patterns, overall actions).
Specific Housing Types	Statements regarding particular types of facilities, as listed below.
Airports	Facilities used as commercial airports.
Buildings that don’t need major renovations	Centralized buildings not requiring renovations, but perhaps remodeling (aesthetic changes such as paint, etc.).

Centralized buildings that need(ed) renovations	This is for centralized buildings whose original function was not residential. This includes facilities requiring major renovation such as: office buildings, schools, industrial warehouses, etc. This code does not include sports halls or airports unless they underwent significant renovation.
Containers/Tempohomes	Interlocking, prefabricated modules.
Light-frame structures	Large scale light frame structures, such as inflatable structures.
Modular homes (MUFs)	Housing made of modular units, not prefabricated like Tempohomes.
Private Apartments	Private apartment buildings.
Sports Halls	Buildings originally used for recreational activities that have been converted to temporary housing. Note that no major renovations or alterations are made to these buildings.
Tents	Individual or family tents conventionally used for camping.
Social Services	Statements referring to services provided for the benefit of the new arrival community, such as education, medical care, but not related to integration (e.g. education, help for paperwork, cleaning, wait at the offices).
Utility Involvement	Statements referring to the interaction of the utility company with providing accommodation to displaced persons (i.e., network connections, maintenance).
Water and Wastewater Network	Statements referring to the water and wastewater network within a city, region or area. This does not include water and wastewater facilities within accommodations.

CODE WEIGHTS

Each excerpt that expressed legitimacy was coded above or below 4 on a Likert scale of 0 to 8. For the purpose of the corresponding study, excerpts were examined based on whether they expressed legitimacy or de-legitimacy and did not include degrees of legitimization. Table C-5 includes definitions for Legitimacy (>4) or De-legitimacy (<4).

Table C-5. Definitions for code weight system of legitimacy subtypes.

Type of Code Weight	Definition
Legitimizing Greater than 4	Statements attributing legitimacy to the provision of accommodations for displaced persons or that removes legitimacy from organizations or individuals that withhold accommodations from displaced persons. For example, an interviewee may be legitimizing accommodations for displaced persons because they actively oppose another perspective that is against accommodations (i.e. an interviewee disagrees with community perspective that displaced persons are not welcome in the neighborhood).
De-legitimizing Less than 4	Statements attributing legitimacy to withholding accommodations from displaced persons or removing legitimacy from organizations or individuals that provide accommodations for displaced persons.

There are a few things to note about code application. First, when the interviewee is providing a description of a phenomenon (for or against the accommodation of displaced persons) without analyzing providing a justification, this provides a description rather than an expression of legitimacy and would not be included. For example, if an interviewee were to say, "it's a big challenge but it's fair to do it". The part "it's a big challenge" is a description and shouldn't be coded. Secondly, when the interviewee is expressing that something could be done better, this would be coded for legitimacy depending on what their reasoning is for the suggested improvements.

APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW TEMPLATE

INDIVIDUAL ROLE

1. Now how long have you been in your current role?
2. What does your role look like?
3. What type of responsibilities do you manage in this position?

4. Have you personally noticed a change in the overall population over the two years?
5. Would you say that this is linked with the recent refugee crisis or separate?
6. Do you feel that this change is temporary or permanent? What does permanent or temporary mean to you?
7. Have you noticed any changes in how your company/organization is organized over the last two years? Did the recent refugee crisis affect how your company/organization works or is organized? What changed and what stayed the same?

PROCESS FOR FINDING AND MANAGING FLATS

8. Can you explain a bit more how asylum-seekers find private housing?
9. Are you involved with this process? What does that involvement look like?
10. Did this involvement in finding private housing have any change on how your company/organization works? What do those changes look like?
11. Do you think that this solution is a permanent or temporary one? Would you consider these housing facilities to be a long term or short-term solution? Why?
12. What criteria are used to assess whether or not a flat is suitable?
13. Are there certain regulations you need to meet before someone moves into this flat? How do these regulations compare to normal procedure?
14. Have these regulations had any impact on the work you do?
15. Have you heard feedback from asylum-seekers about these private accommodations? What type of feedback do you receive?
16. Is this feedback similar to what you hear from host families and other employees involved with this process?
17. Who is responsible for the payment of rent and utilities? And for how long? Do you agree with this approach?

18. Does culture play a role in how you select locations or plan new housing facilities for refugees? If so, can you provide an example? If not, do you feel that culture should be part of the planning process? Why or why not?

19. What has worked well in this process?

20. Are there any improvements you would suggest for the current situation of finding private housing for asylum seekers, specifically with respect to water and sanitary services?

DESIGN

21. How is your company/organization/group involved in the accommodation process for asylum seekers?
22. What does your role look like in this process?

Location

23. Are you involved in the selection process for the location of the housing facility?
24. How did you get involved with this?
25. What works well with the location, what would you improve?
26. What are your top priorities when selecting a location for a housing facility?
27. Are there certain regulations that need to be met when selecting the location for the housing facility?
28. If so, how are these similar or different from standard regulations for new development?
29. Have these regulations affected your ability to select locations for housing facilities?
30. Is there anything that you would change about the regulations for selecting the location?

Design and requirements

31. What were your top priorities in designing these housing facilities?
32. Are there requirements that need to be met when designing the housing facility? What do they look like?
33. Have you noticed any difference between the design process for the housing facilities and your other development projects?
34. Are there certain regulations you need to meet for designing these accommodations for asylum seekers?
35. Are these regulations different from other projects?
36. Were there any instances where exceptions were made regarding the regulations for these accommodations?
37. Was it possible to meet the regulations? Did the regulations affect your ability to prepare the design? How so?
38. Is there anything you would change about the regulations for designing the housing facility?
39. Does culture play a role into how you designed housing facilities? Should it?
40. Did you take into account the surrounding community into your design? What does this look like?
41. What type of structure do you prefer for these projects? Was this what you went with for the final design? Why or why not?

Permitting/Construction process (timeframe)

42. How long did you have to design the housing facility? Were you able to stay within this timeline?
43. How long did the permitting process take?
44. Can you please help me understand who you worked with for the permitting process?
45. Was there any difference between asylum-seeker housing accommodations and other projects?
46. How long was/is the construction process? Is it what you predicted? If not, why?

Maintenance

47. Does your contract extend beyond the construction process? If so, what does this look like for your responsibilities?
48. Do you consider this accommodation to be temporary or permanent? Why or why not?
49. Overall, what worked well in the design process? Is there anything that you would improve? Specifically with respect to water and sanitary services?

BUILDING RENOVATION

50. Have you noticed buildings being renovated for use in accommodating asylum-seekers?
51. What does your involvement look like in this process?
52. What types of changes have been needed for buildings and who pays for these renovations? Are these changes consistent with each project or do they vary?
53. Are there certain regulations you need to meet for renovating buildings for accommodating asylum seekers?
54. Are these regulations different from other renovation projects?
55. Were there any instances where exceptions were made regarding the regulations for renovation projects?
56. Was it possible to meet the regulations? Did the regulations affect your ability to renovate?
57. Does culture play a role in how you **renovate** housing facilities for asylum-seekers? If so, can you provide an example? If not, do you feel that culture should be part of the planning process? Why or why not?
58. Are there any improvements you would suggest for the current situation of renovating buildings to accommodate asylum seekers, specifically with respect to water and sanitary services?
59. Have you noticed any ways that this arrangement has exceeded expectations or worked well?
60. Do you feel this is sufficient? Have you heard any feedback after these changes have been made?
61. Would you consider these housing facilities to be a long term or short-term solution?
62. Why do you feel this way? If short-term, how will asylum-seekers continue to receive services and whose responsibility is this? Can you please tell me more about why?

GOVERNMENT RESPONSE

63. Has the organizational structure of your agency changed in the last two years? Would you say it is due to the population change?
64. Is there a different way you would have adjusted the organizational framework? Why is this?
65. Is there a difference in response from how your office has addressed overall population change versus the response to the refugee crisis? How so? Do you agree with this approach?
66. Could you please help me understand how you and your department are involved in the process of accommodating asylum seekers?
67. Are there certain regulations you need to meet for these accommodations?
68. Are these regulations different from other development projects?
69. Were there any instances where exceptions were made regarding the regulations for these accommodations?
70. Was it possible to meet the regulations? Did the regulations affect your role in the accommodation process? How so?
71. Is there anything you would change about the regulations for accommodations?
72. Does culture play a role in your responsibilities for finding accommodations? Should it?
73. In these housing facilities, who is responsible for paying utility expenses for water and sanitary services?
74. Do you feel this is the best arrangement? Why or why not?
75. What is the extent of interaction between your office and the utility company for water and sanitary services? Do you think this is sufficient?
76. Are there ways that the government monitors water quality in housing facilities?
77. What sort of feedback have you heard from organizations you partner with regarding your response to the population change?
78. How do you feel about your office's overall response to the refugee crisis with respect to providing housing and water services? Is there anything you would improve?
79. Have you noticed any ways that this arrangement has exceeded expectations or worked well?

UTILITY RESPONSE

80. Has your office discussed the refugee crisis with respect to providing utility services? How about the overall population change?
81. How has the refugee situation affected the organization of your company? How has the utility adjusted to this organizationally? How has it impacted your specific position and your team?
82. What does your involvement look like with proving water and wastewater services for asylum seekers?
83. What are some of the top priorities you think your department, or the utility company has established in providing water and wastewater services to asylum-seekers?
84. Are there certain regulations you need to meet for providing water and wastewater services to asylum seekers?

85. Are these regulations different from other groups of people or developments?
86. Were there any instances where exceptions were made regarding the regulations for emergency accommodations for asylum seekers?
87. Was it possible to meet the regulations? Did the regulations affect your ability to provide water and wastewater services? How so?
88. Is there anything you would change about the regulations relating to providing water and wastewater services to asylum seekers?
89. Does culture play a role into how you provide water and wastewater services to asylum seekers? Should it?
90. I'd like to discuss a couple of technical aspects regarding your role. Have you noticed any differences in the usage/treatment patterns for your utility?
91. Do you think the recent influx of asylum seekers has the potential to affect these patterns? Why or why not?
92. Do you foresee any technical changes that might be needed for providing water and wastewater treatment to the asylum-seeker population and/or emergency accommodations?
93. Are you involved with the process of arranging payment for utilities associated with housing facilities for asylum-seekers? Who is responsible for covering utility payments for asylum-seekers? Do you think this approach works?
94. Does your utility meter the water use at the asylum-seeker housing facilities? If so, what type of data are you collecting, and have you noticed any trends?
95. Do you feel that the current arrangement for providing utilities to asylum-seekers is equitable?

96. Do you feel that water and wastewater utilities are sufficiently prepared to provide services to asylum-seekers and emergency accommodations? Why?
97. Is there something that you think would help water and wastewater utilities be better prepared for the future for sudden population growth?
98. What would that change look like and how would it affect your role?
99. In this process of providing water and wastewater services to asylum-seekers and emergency accommodations, what has worked well? What could be improved?
100. Has your group or the utility made any operation or functional infrastructure changes due to the overall population change or the refugee situation?
101. I'd like to talk about two different scenarios in the coming years and how you think the utility company would respond:
    a. Asylum-seekers do not stay, and the population decreases. How do you think this will affect utilities and utility services in your city?
    b. Asylum-seekers do stay, and the population increases. How do you think this will affect utilities and utility services in your city?
102. Do you see any potential challenges or benefits for your city accommodating this influx of people in the coming years?

COORDINATION WITH OTHERS

103. Has your office been in contact with non-profit organizations through this housing situation and refugee crisis?
104. What does that involvement look like?
105. Would you change the amount of involvement? What would that change look like and how would it improve your role?

106. And has your office also been in contact with other government agencies?
107. What does that involvement look like?
108. Would you change the amount of involvement? What would that change look like and how would it improve your role?

109. And has your office also been in contact with the utility company?
110. What does that involvement look like?
111. Would you change the amount of involvement? What would that change look like and how would it improve your role?

OVERALL REFUGEE CRISIS

112. Do you feel that the government, utility company and other non-profit organizations have responded appropriately to this rapid increase from asylum-seekers and other factors?
113. What are some of the biggest challenges that have occurred in relation to the refugee crisis in your city? (How about the population increase separate from the crisis?)

114. What do you feel are the local and federal government's top priorities in responding to the refugee crisis regarding accommodation? (How about the population increase separate from the crisis?)
115. Do you agree with these priorities? What would you change and why?

116. What would happen if your city received twice as many asylum-seekers in the next year?
117. Why do you think this would be the response? Would this be a different response from a population increase separate from the refugee crisis?
118. There is always the option to "do nothing," why or why wouldn't this be an appropriate response from your city's government and/or non-profit organizations?

INTERVIEW WRAP-UP

119. Are there any documents we could have (or talk about) that might help us understand the changes you have described?
120. Can you please walk me through this document?
121. Are there other people we should be speaking to about ways in which this sudden population growth has impacted water and wastewater utilities?
122. Can you help us get in touch with them?
123. Would it be possible for us to contact you if we have any follow up questions?
124. If so, what is the best way for us to do so?

APPENDIX E: IRB APPROVALS

All data was deemed exempt for IRB approval as shown in the attached letters.

UNIVERSITY *of* WASHINGTON
HUMAN SUBJECTS DIVISION

DETERMINATION OF EXEMPT STATUS

November 9, 2016

Miriam Elizabeth Hacker
Seattle, WA 98195
meh7@uw.edu

Dear Miriam Elizabeth Hacker:

On 11/9/2016, the University of Washington Human Subjects Division (HSD) reviewed the following application:

Type of Review:	Initial Study
Title of Study:	Providing Water Services to Emergency Accommodations for Asylum-seekers in an Urban Environment: Swedish Case Study
Investigator:	Miriam Elizabeth Hacker
IRB ID:	STUDY00000511
Funding:	None

Exempt Status

HSD determined that your proposed activity is human subjects research that qualifies for exempt status (Category 2).

- This determination is valid for the duration of your research.
- This means that your research is exempt from the federal human subjects regulations, including the requirement for IRB approval and continuing review.

If you consider changes to this activity in the future and know that the changes will require review (or you are not certain), you may request a review or a new determination by submitting a Modification to this application.

Thank you for your commitment to ethical and responsible research. We wish you great success!

Sincerely,

Kristen Wittmann, Administrator
UW Human Subjects Division
(206) 221-2093 kmw89@uw.edu

4333 Brooklyn Ave. NE, Box 359470 Seattle, WA 98195-9470
main 206.543.0098 fax 206.543.9218 hsdinfo@u.washington.edu www.washington.edu/research/hsd
Implemented 08/12/2016 – Version 1.1 - Page 1 of 1

UNIVERSITY of WASHINGTON
HUMAN SUBJECTS DIVISION

DETERMINATION of EXEMPT STATUS

August 3, 2018

Dear Miriam Elizabeth Hacker:

On 8/3/2018, the University of Washington Human Subjects Division (HSD) reviewed the following application:

Type of Review:	Modification
Title of Study:	Providing Water Services to Emergency Accommodations for Asylum-seekers in an Urban Environment: Swedish Case Study
Investigator:	Miriam Elizabeth Hacker
STUDY ID:	STUDY00000511
MOD ID:	MOD00002544
Funding:	Name: US Agency for International Development (USAID)
IND, IDE, or HDE:	None

EXEMPT STATUS

HSD determined that the modifications to your activity allow it to continue to qualify for exempt status (Category 2).

- This determination is valid for the duration of your research.
- This means that your research continues to be exempt from the federal human subjects regulations including the requirement for IRB approval and continuing review.
- **Depending on the nature of your study, you may need to obtain other approvals or permissions to conduct your research. For example, you might need to apply for access to data (e.g., to obtain UW student data). Or, you might need to obtain permission from facilities managers to approach possible subjects or conduct research procedures in the facilities (e.g., Seattle School District; the Harborview Emergency Department).**

If you consider changes to the activities in the future and know that the changes will require IRB review (or you are not certain), you may request a review or new determination by submitting a Modification to this application. For information about what changes require a Modification, refer to the **GUIDANCE: Exempt Research**.

Thank you for your commitment to ethical and responsible research. We wish you great success!

Sincerely,

Deborah Dickstein, MSPH
Human Subjects Review Administrator, Team B
206-543-5971 dickstei@uw.edu

4333 Brooklyn Ave. NE, Box 359470 Seattle, WA 98195-9470

main 206.543.0098 fax 206.543.9218 hsdinfo@u.washington.edu www.washington.edu/research/hsd

MIRIAM HACKER
Curriculum Vitæ

EDUCATION

Ph.D. Candidate, Civil & Environmental Engineering
University of Washington - Seattle, WA
Specialization: Construction, Energy and Sustainable Infrastructure
Expected completion: 2018
Research interests: regulation, rapid population displacement, organizational legitimacy, humanitarian aid, government coordination.

M.S., Civil & Environmental Engineering
University of Washington - Seattle, WA
Specialization: Drinking Water Quality and Sanitation
Completed: June 2014

B.S, Civil & Environmental Engineering
University of Washington - Seattle, WA
Completed: June 2011

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Intern, Strategic Planning, Evaluation and Guidance Section (SPEGS) **7/2017 – 9/2017**
UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs – New York, NY

- Provided administrative support for the Section Chief, Evaluation and Oversight units
- Assisted in coordinating meetings for the inter-agency humanitarian evaluation steering group
- Managed feedback for the agency's 2018-2021 Strategic Plan
- Coordinated bilateral consultations with other sections for updates to oversight recommendations from audits, evaluations, reviews and assessments

Youth Shelter Associate **2/2016 - 5/2016**
Union Gospel Mission & New Horizons Ministries – Seattle, WA

- Managed a sleeping area for 15-25 young adults ages 18-24 in the Seattle area
- Completed registration and met with guests to make sure they were aware of available resources for case management, employment and transitional housing
- De-escalated high stress situations and kept a safe environment for guests and staff

Engineer II, Drainage Review **6/2014 – 9/2015**
Snohomish County Planning & Development Services - Everett, WA

- Reviewed drainage for land disturbing activity permits for single family residences in Snohomish County in compliance with federal and county regulations
- Utilized Western Washington Hydrology Model (WWHM4) to assess runoff from project sites

Drainage Maintenance Intern **6/2012 – 6/2014**
Snohomish County Surface Water Management - Everett, WA

- Updated inventory of drainage facilities maintained by Snohomish County in compliance with US Department of Ecology National Pollutant Discharge Elimination System (NDPES) permit
- Coordinated efforts to inventory drainage facilities throughout the county
- Input facility points into ArcGIS and worked with transitioning asset management systems

Agricultural Survey Intern **6/2013 – 9/2013**
Snohomish County Department of Agriculture - Everett, WA

- Worked with the agriculture coordinator of Snohomish County to complete an agricultural crop survey for Washington State Department of Agriculture
- Completed site assessments and input results into ArcGIS to understand the gain or loss of land used for agricultural purposes

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

USAID/HFHI Research Fellow – Lebanon **6/2018 – 12/2018**
Supervisors: Dr. Jessica Kaminsky and Dr. Kasey Faust
Funding Source: USAID/HFHI Humanitarian Shelter and Settlement Fellowship

- Coordinating survey and interviews with Lebanese government officials and humanitarian actors regarding regulations and impacts to the built environment from accommodations for refugees in urban areas.

Research Assistant, University of Washington – Sweden **10/2016 – 7/2017**
Supervisors: Dr. Jessica Kaminsky and Dr. Sebastien Rauch
Funding Source: Valle Scholarship and Scandinavian Exchange Program

- Coordinated 32 interviews with employees in government agencies and nonprofit organizations to understand the impact of the European refugee crisis on city infrastructure and regulations
- Qualitative analysis using Dedoose software

Research Assistant, University of Washington - Germany **6/2016 – 9/2016**
Disaster Migration and Civil Infrastructure: The Impacts of Sudden Population Influxes on Water and Sanitation Infrastructure
Supervisors: Dr. Jessica Kaminsky and Dr. Kasey Faust
Funding Source: NSF Grant #1624417

- Coordinated 54 interviews in four German cities with employees in water utilities, government agencies, nonprofit organizations, and private companies to understand the impact of the European refugee crisis on city infrastructure and regulations
- Qualitative analysis using social network analysis and Dedoose software

Research Assistant, University of Washington - Seattle, WA **9/2015 – 6/2016**
Hofstede at the Head: Fuzzy sets, cultural dimensions & sanitation infrastructure
Supervisor: Dr. Jessica Kaminsky
Funding Source: University of Washington Royalty Research Fund

- Analyzed causal relationships of national sanitation outcomes understand cultural preferences regarding sanitation infrastructure using fuzzy-set qualitative comparative analysis

Graduate student, University of Washington - Seattle, WA **4/2014 – 6/2014**
Independent Study: Water Supply and Cultural Indicators
Supervisor: Dr. Jessica Kaminsky
Funding Source: not applicable

- Compiled information regarding current and on-going water and sanitation hygiene programs through various organizations.

Graduate student, University of Washington - Seattle, WA **4/2014 – 6/2014**
Independent Study: Sustainability in Water and Sanitation Hygiene
Supervisor: Dr. Jessica Kaminsky
Funding source: not applicable

- Compiled information regarding current and on-going water and sanitation hygiene programs through various organizations.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Teaching Assistant **3/2018-6/2018**
CEE 420: Engineering in Developing Communities, University of Washington
Supervisor: Dr. Jessica Kaminsky

- Class goal: introduce students to technologies, theories, and challenges involved in engineering with developing communities
- Served as a resource for students in class assignments and projects

Teaching Assistant **9/2017-12/2017**
CEE 317: Surveying, University of Washington
Supervisor: Dr. Kamal Ahmed

- Managed weekly labs: three-wire leveling, traverse adjustment, resection leveling, horizontal curve, and vertical curve
- Developed lab tutorials for drone software and ArcGIS and facilitated subsequent lab sections

Teaching Assistant **9/2015-12/2015**
CEE 307: Construction Engineering, University of Washington
Supervisor: Dr. Jessica Kaminsky

- Primary point of contact for design project of highway section
- Developed and facilitated lab sections for MS Project and Bid2Win tutorials

PUBLICATIONS

Journal Publications:

(1) **Hacker, Miriam E.,** and Jessica A. Kaminsky. 2017. "Cultural Preferences for the Methods and Motivation of Sanitation Infrastructure Development." *Journal of Water Sanitation and Hygiene for Development* 7 (3):407. https://doi.org/10.2166/washdev.2017.188.

(2) **Hacker, Miriam E.**, Kaminsky, Jessica; Faust, Kasey. (**ACCEPTED**). Legitimizing Involvement in Emergency Accommodations: Water and Wastewater Utility Perspectives. *Journal of Construction Engineering and Management.*

Conference Publications

(1) **Hacker, Miriam E.** & Kaminsky, Jessica A., (2016). Relating Hofstede's Cultural Dimensions & National Sanitation Infrastructure Using Fuzzy Sets. *EPOC 2016 - Building Resilience*, 28-30 June 2016, Cle Elum, Washington, USA.

(2) **Hacker, Miriam E.**; Kaminsky, Jessica; Faust, Kasey, (2017). Government Coordination in Providing Emergency Accommodation for Displaced Persons in an Urban Context. *6th CSCE/CRC International Construction Specialty Conference*, 31 May- 3 June, 2017, Vancouver, B.C., Canada.

(3) **Hacker, Miriam E.**; Kaminsky, Jessica; Faust, Kasey, (2017). Legitimization of Water and Wastewater Utilities' Role in Urban Emergency Response for Displaced Persons. *EPOC-MW 2017 – Managing Complex Adaptive Systems*, 5-7 June 2017, Lake Tahoe, California, USA.

(4) **Hacker, Miriam E.;** Kaminsky, Jessica; Faust, Kasey. Housing Regulations in Temporary Accommodations for Displaced Persons: A German Case Study. *Construction Research Congress 2018 – Building Community Partnerships*, 2-4 April 2018, New Orleans, Louisiana, USA.

(5) **Hacker, Miriam E.;** Kaminsky, Jessica; Faust, Kasey. Mapping Regulatory-Related Interactions of Stakeholders for Temporary Accommodations: a German Case Study. *EPOC 2018 - (Re)Organizing in an Uncertain Climate*, 25-27 June 2018, Brijuni, Croatia.

Conference Proceedings

2018 Engineering Project Organization Conference, 25-27 June 2018, Brijuni, Croatia.

- **Presenter:** Mapping Regulatory-Related Interactions of Stakeholders for Temporary Accommodations: a German Case Study.

2018 Construction Research Congress, 2-5 April 2018, New Orleans, Louisiana, USA.

- **Presenter:** Housing Regulations in Temporary Accommodations for Displaced Persons: A German Case Study.

6th CSCE/CRC International Construction Specialty Conference, 31 May- 3 June 2017, Vancouver, B.C., Canada

- **Presenter**: Coordination in Providing Emergency Accommodation for Displaced Persons in an Urban Context.

Engineering Project Organization Conference – Megaprojects Workshop 2017 – 5-7 June 2017, Lake Tahoe, California, USA.

- **Moderator:** June 6 and 7.
- **Presenter**: Legitimization of Water and Wastewater Utilities' Role in Urban Emergency Response for Displaced Persons.
- **Presenter**: Rapid Population Increase and Urban Housing Systems: Legitimization of centralized emergency accommodations for displaced persons, authored by Julie Faure, UT-Austin.

Certifications and Memberships

Student Member, Engineering Project Organization Society	**3/2018 – 12/2019**
Student Member, American Society of Civil Engineers	**10/2017 – 12/2018**
Student Member, International Water Association	**7/2017 – 12/2019**
Engineer in Training, NCEES	**9/2010 - Present**

Extracurricular and Volunteer Experience

Officer, Leadership Committee **10/2017 – 9/2018**

UW Graduate Society of Women Engineers (GradSWE) – Seattle, WA

Network with industry professionals, faculty members and other STEM-related organizations for professional development events catered to graduate women in STEM fields. Organized a networking event in January 2018 and two professional panel sessions for the UW Women in Science and Engineering Conference in March 2018 focusing on research in industry and work-life balance.

Street Team & Text Outreach Coordinator **6/2013 – 4/2016**

Real Escape from the Sex Trade (REST) - Seattle, WA

Organized volunteers to meet with and offer resources such as counseling and case management to women in the sex industry 2-3 times per month. Conducted interviews and facilitated the on-boarding process for new volunteers. Coordinated with other local organizations to facilitate collaboration and partnerships.

Honors & Awards

2018 EPOC Best Paper Award	**6/2018**
2018 UW Three Minute Thesis Competition Participant	**4/2018**
2018 Graduate School Medal Nominee, Civil Engineering Department	**4/2018**
2017 EPOS PhD Fellow	**6/2017**
WAPA Scholarship Recipient	**2/2016**
International Water Engineering Scholarship	**9/2013**