

accommodations (e.g., Bürgerservice, 2017), and regulations citing organizations (e.g., utilities, government agencies) responsible for different steps of the accommodation process. Interestingly, the existence of regulations was the most recurrent reason cited to delegitimize the provision of housing (31% of coded excerpts).

Other persons' perspectives (other than the informant) were more frequently mentioned to delegitimize the provision of housing than to legitimize it. The corresponding mean weight for delegitimization of the provision of centralized accommodations is 1.37, the lowest weight among delegitimization reasons. This result indicates that informants primarily used other persons' perspectives to strongly delegitimize the process for accommodating displaced persons. On the contrary, the mean weight corresponding to the use of other persons' perspectives to legitimize the process is low when compared to other reasons identified in coding.

The integration of displaced persons represents only 13% of the excerpts to legitimize the provision of housing, but has a corresponding weight (6.75) that is high when compared with other legitimization reasons. This low frequency-high weight response indicates that informants were strongly convinced of the benefits of the provision of adequate centralized accommodations to displaced persons for integration into the city. One informant discussed that the way centralized accommodations are distributed throughout the city is directly linked to successful integration of displaced persons. *"This can also be an issue if the refugees are in the neighborhoods far from the city center because I think in the city center is very good, this is very easy to integrate the people."*

Finally, since the cities in which the study was conducted were growing cities, the overall population growth was also discussed by informants, and primarily used to legitimize the provision of housing. Indeed, ten informants included the population growth related to displaced persons to the overall population growth of the city, and highlighted that new accommodations were needed, regardless of the refugee crisis.

In total, 902 excerpts were coded legitimizing the provision of accommodations for displaced persons, while 194 excerpts delegitimized accommodations. Amongst legitimizing excerpts, 35% were coded for pragmatic legitimacy, 48% for moral legitimacy, and 17% for cognitive legitimacy. Amongst delegitimizing excerpts, 53% were coded for pragmatic legitimacy, 23% for moral legitimacy, and 24% for cognitive legitimacy.

The results suggest that informants were more likely to use a normative evaluation (i.e. moral legitimacy) of stakeholders' actions to legitimize the provision of centralized accommodations than to delegitimize it. Otherwise stated, informants held a conviction that "the right thing to do" was to accommodate displaced persons as opposed to not providing accommodations. The results also indicate that informants primarily delegitimized the process based on self-interested calculations (i.e. pragmatic legitimacy). Those self-interested calculations can rely on direct benefits to informants (e.g., a job opportunity, their salary) but also on indirect benefits (e.g., benefits to the city).

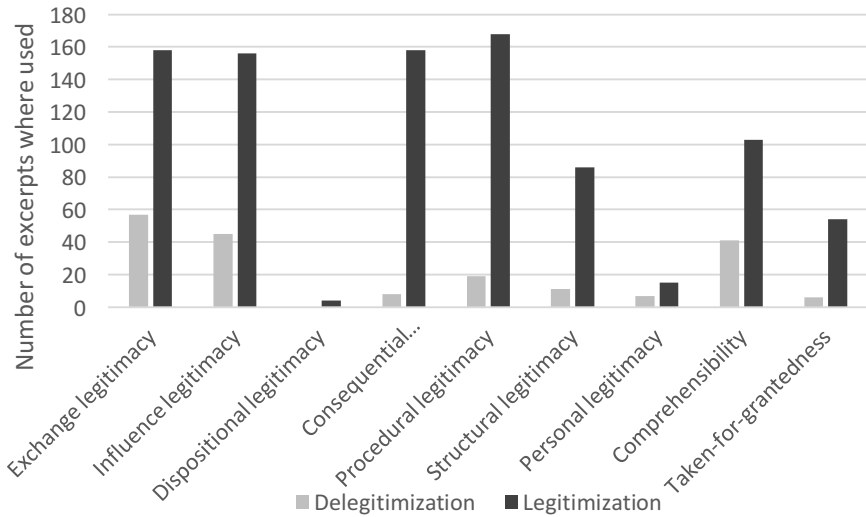
Figure 2(a) illustrates the frequencies at which informants used the nine subtypes of legitimacy to (de)legitimize the provision of centralized accommodations to displaced persons. Figure 2(b) shows the corresponding mean weights. The most frequent legitimacy subtypes used by informants are exchange, influence, consequential, and procedural legitimacy, accounting for approximately 18% of excerpts. As indicated in Figure 2(b), there is no significant difference in mean weights between each legitimacy subtype (falling within the range of 6.17 and 6.41), with the exception of influence and consequential legitimacy, which have corresponding mean weights of respectively 6.56 and 6.65.

Exchange legitimacy was primarily used when discussing regulations (65%) or employment contracts (25%) to legitimize the stakeholders' involvements (e.g., their own involvement justified by their own employment contract). For example, in reference to regulations, a nonprofit worker legitimized the involvement of his organization by saying, "*...from time to time there are standards guaranteed by the law for social housings. And after the five years there are checks and if something does not work we have to repair it of course, or renew it [...], there is also a standard towards which we are supposed to tend*".

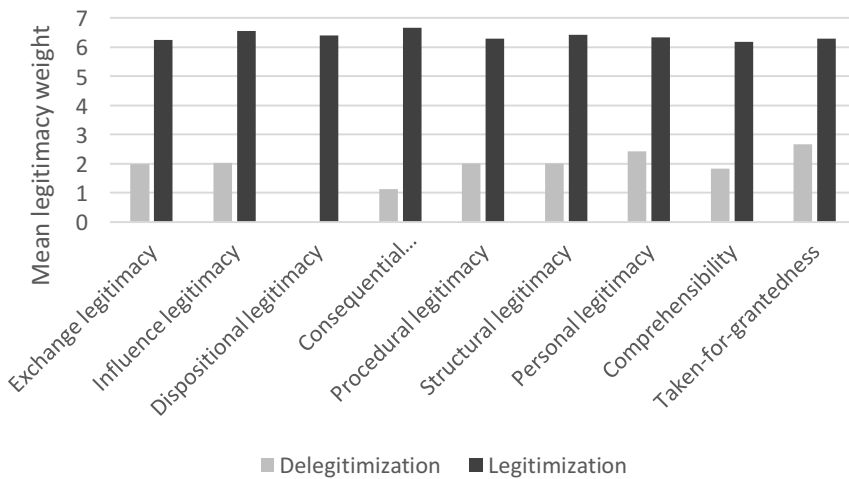
Influence legitimacy was primarily used when informants were focusing on benefits provided to the city by the provision of centralized accommodations for displaced persons. Thirty-five percent (35%) of coded influence legitimacy excerpts legitimizing the process were related to the livability of accommodations. Seven informants stated that a good livability of accommodations would benefit the neighborhood in which they are located by enhancing the livability of the entire neighborhood (e.g., higher safety, less noise disturbance). One architect said, "*I still kept communicating with neighbors who were complaining about the noise of these heating systems and I tried to get the [city] to do something about that. [...] I want to do something on the outside, some graphics on the pavement.*" Additionally, 28% of coded influence legitimacy reasons were linked to the overall population growth of the cities where interviews were conducted. Informants viewed the process for providing accommodations to displaced persons as a good opportunity to meet future housing demands. Exemplifying this, one informant stated, "*I know that some shelters that are now being planned as asylum shelters are designed to be turned into a hotel afterwards with little extra work. So, like I said, should the number go down, that wouldn't be so much of a problem. We also need hotels.*"

Consequential and procedural legitimacies were primarily used when informants were assessing the livability of centralized accommodations. Seventy-seven percent (77%) and 51% of coded consequential and procedural legitimacy excerpts, respectively, were related to livability. When using consequential legitimacy, informants thought that "the right thing to do" was to provide accommodations with good living standards to displaced persons and focused on benefits provided to displaced persons. One informant justified her involvement by describing emergency accommodations that her agency wanted to replace, and said, "*[f]or the refugees, it is horror. You have zero privacy, they are completely mixed. So we wanted [...] to let the people move into the [modular buildings].*" On the contrary, when using procedural legitimacy, informants thought that "the right thing to do" was to do their best and follow procedures that they

thought were applicable, independently from the results of those procedures. For example, three informants justified select actions by highlighting that those actions were “*how they do it in Germany.*” Similarly, an informant legitimized his agency’s decision to improve fire safety in some accommodations by saying, “[*fire protection is a big thing for us in [our city]. That was really important for us.*” The informant was thus focusing on the procedure that she thought was appropriate (since in adequacy with her city’s values) rather than on its outcome.



(a)



(b)

Figure 2: Legitimacy subtypes used to (de)legitimize the provision of centralized accommodations for displaced persons: (a) Frequency and (b) Mean weight

As shown in Figure 2(a), the most frequent types of legitimacy used by informants to delegitimize the process for providing centralized accommodations to displaced persons are exchange legitimacy, influence legitimacy, and comprehensibility,

comprising 73% of the excerpts delegitimizing the process. This indicates that informants primarily delegitimized the process by emphasizing that the provision of housing does not serve their own interests or their largest interests (e.g., the city's interests), and stating that they (the informants) understand decisions made by some stakeholders to not take actions to provide accommodations. The mean weights corresponding to those three types of legitimacy are approximately 2, demonstrating that informants used these three types with similar intensity.

Exchange legitimacy is the most frequent legitimacy type used by informants to delegitimize the process (see Figure 2(a)), which was primarily used by informants to justify that they were personally not involved in some steps of the process. Informants primarily justified their lack of involvement based on regulations and responsibilities set by their employment contract, manager, etc. A majority (69%) of coded excerpts delegitimizing the process while using exchange legitimacy are related to regulations. For example, one informant justified the fact that her agency abandoned a new accommodation project by referring to regulations. "*The law says [endangered species] have to be protected. It says that if you build in the outskirts, you are interfering with nature and the landscape.*"

Influence legitimacy was the second most frequent legitimacy type used to delegitimize the process, primarily used by informants when expressing concern about disadvantages associated with their city, specific neighborhoods, Germany, or different communities. Informants focused, for example, on the fact that providing centralized accommodations to displaced persons is in some cases too costly, challenging, or disturbing for the neighborhood.

Comprehensibility is the third most frequent legitimacy type used to delegitimize the process, used by informants when discussing why actions were not taken to provide centralized accommodations to displaced persons. Ten informants emphasized that some actions were impossible to take (e.g., renting accommodations in a city where there is a severe housing shortage), and ten informants explained that some actions were better not to take (e.g., taking cultural differences into account when designing facilities), based on their experience. For instance, an informant delegitimized the construction of new accommodations by saying, "*no, no, no, we don't have time*".

PREFERRED TYPES OF CENTRALIZED ACCOMMODATION

Table 2 summarizes characteristics of the different types of accommodations used as centralized accommodations for displaced persons in Germany discussed by informants, including informants' perspectives about accommodation types, how informants (de)legitimized the process for providing each type, select justifications stated by informants, and the frequency which informants described the accommodation types as long- and short-term accommodations. To ensure consistency, clear definitions for short- and long-term accommodations were used. Excerpts where informants were assuming that displaced persons could live for an indefinite period of time in the discussed centralized accommodations were coded for long-term. Excerpts where informants were assuming that displaced persons could not live for an indefinite period of time in were coded for short-term. The eight accommodation types categorized in this study were classified into five groups by the type of

(de)legitimization used by stakeholders: (1) sport halls, which have a high ratio of delegitimizing to legitimizing excerpts (100%) compared to other types; (2) former airports and light-frame structures that were primarily legitimized with exchange legitimacy and have an intermediate delegitimizing to legitimizing excerpts ratio (26% and 25%); (3) buildings with no major renovations (excluding sport halls and airports) and container housing, which were primarily legitimized with *procedural legitimacy* and have an intermediate delegitimizing to legitimizing excerpts ratio (25% and 19%); (4) modular housing and buildings with major renovations, which were primarily legitimized with consequential, influence and exchange legitimacy, and have a low delegitimizing to legitimizing excerpts ratio (6% and 11%); and (5) private apartments within centralized accommodations that were primarily legitimized with exchange and influence legitimacy, have a low delegitimizing to legitimizing excerpts ratio (14%), and were considered long-term accommodations.

Sport halls were the least preferred accommodation type due to the poor perceived livability, and because of anticipated negative impacts on the hosting city. Modular housing and renovated buildings were the preferred accommodation types due to perceived benefits for displaced persons, informants, and the hosting German cities. Former airports and light-frame structure were perceived as an acceptable option for very short-term accommodation but informants were not deeply convinced by their long-term benefits for German cities. Using buildings with no major renovations and container housing were recognized by informants as legitimate attempts to provide adequate accommodations to displaced persons but informants were not convinced about the success of those attempts. Finally, private apartments within centralized housing were considered a beneficial solution for German cities in the long-term.

Table 2 indicates that sports halls, former airports and container housing were primarily legitimized by informants involved in the urban planning process (including informants who had an advising role only). Light-frame structures, modular housing and buildings with major renovations were primarily legitimized by informants involved in the design of centralized accommodations for displaced persons. Finally, buildings with no major renovations (excluding sport halls and airports) were primarily legitimized by informants involved in the construction and renovation of centralized accommodations. This is mainly due to the fact that informants mainly discussed projects they were working on.

Sport halls were used during the influx of displaced persons at the end of 2015 and at the beginning of 2016 as emergency accommodations. No major renovations were undertaken before displaced persons' arrival as they were intended to be used temporarily for a few months prior to being returned to German schools. Large sports fields were used as common rooms where beds were placed. Many excerpts both legitimized and delegitimized using sport halls. However, sports halls have a high ratio of delegitimizing to legitimizing excerpts (100%) compared to other types, which all have a ratio of delegitimizing to legitimizing excerpts of less than 26%. The mean weight for excerpts legitimizing sport halls is low (5.90) when compared to all other accommodation types. The delegitimization of sport halls was primarily based on two justifications. First, all informants who discussed sport halls perceived poor livability, and described this accommodation type as a very short-term solution. One informant

stated, “[a] sport hall is not a shelter where you can stay for a long time normally. It is very hard for the refugees there.” Second, two informants emphasized that this accommodation type was hindering the capacity of the schools in the city to operate normally, and that further renovations were needed after closing those emergency accommodations, at the city’s expense. Exemplifying this, one informant stated, “[t]here have been changes or adaptations made now during the last month while the refugee camp was in the hall. Now when one hall is closed, everything has to be rebuilt.”

Table 2: (De)legitimization of Accommodation Types by Informants

| Type | Frequency/ Mean Weight of excerpts delegitimizing (legitimizing) accommodation type | Predominant legitimacy subtype for legitimizing accommodation type | Step of the process when the accommodation type was primarily legitimized (%) | Frequency of excerpts describing short-term solution (long-term solution) | Select stakeholder justifications |
|---|--|--|---|---|--|
| Sport halls | 14/1.92 (14/5.90) | No predominant type | Urban planning (50%) | 22 (0) | No privacy Bad livability |
| Former airports | 11/1.9 (42/6.34) | Exchange (31%) Consequential (24%) | Urban planning (95%) | 26 (9) | Expensive Livability Unnecessary |
| Light-frame structures | 17/2.19 (68/6.36) | Exchange (26%) Influence (21%) Consequential (15%) | Design of accommodations (60%) | 46 (2) | Expensive Unnecessary |
| Buildings with no major renovations, excluding sport halls and airports | 11/2.2 (44/6.65) | Procedural (32%) | Construction and renovation work (77%) | 38 (3) | Livability |
| Container housing | 13/2.0 (37/6.06) | Procedural (27%) | Advising (38%) Urban planning (32%) | 21 (4) | Expensive Livability Unnecessary |
| Modular housing | 4/1.75 (68/6.43) | Consequential (25%) Exchange (21%) Influence (18%) | Design of accommodations (69%) | 19 (5) | Livability Possibly used by students Cannot be used by Germans |
| Buildings with major renovations | 10/2.0 (91/6.37) | Consequential (25%) Exchange (22%) Influence (22%) | Design of accommodations (45%) | 20 (10) | Livability |
| Private apartments in centralized accommodations | 5/2.5 (35/6.49) | Exchange (29%) Influence (23%) | Construction and renovation work (76%) | 1 (9) | Livability |

A former airport was used to accommodate displaced persons. This airport was a large, empty building that was partly being renovated to house displaced persons. Separately,

the light-frame structures used as centralized accommodations were primarily inflatable domes and large tents. The most recurring legitimacy type used by informants to legitimize the former airport and light-frame structures is exchange legitimacy. This result is primarily due to four informants who were responsible for providing those types of accommodations but were not convinced about their long-term advantages. For example, those accommodation types were perceived as costly and unnecessary by three informants. An informant said, about hangars in the former airport, *“I can’t understand why we take the hangars for living, because it’s very, very, very expensive.”* Consequential legitimacy was also frequently used to legitimize airports (24%) and light-frame structures (14%). This result can primarily be explained by the fact that four informants stated that those accommodations are short-term solutions needed to prevent displaced persons from being homeless. *“[Tents] were absolutely just for the emergency situation, you can only do that when a lot of people come and they should at least have a place where they don’t freeze.”*

Buildings, such as former schools, office buildings and factories, were used as *emergency accommodations* without being renovated (except for minor renovations, such as painting) prior to the arrival of displaced persons. Container housing were newly built in different locations of the cities to serve as *emergency accommodations* or *collective accommodations*. The predominant legitimacy type used to legitimize buildings with no major renovations and container housing is procedural legitimacy. This result indicates that informants primarily legitimized those two accommodation types by emphasizing that setting up those accommodations corresponds to the right procedure to follow, even though outcomes are not necessarily positive. In this case, informants supported the willingness of decision makers to act to accommodate displaced persons but were not convinced about the outcomes of those actions. For example, an informant supported a city’s actions to create new container housing with good living standards, but was not satisfied by the outcome. He said, *“I cannot imagine who wants to live there, because they are outside the cities normally, have no connection to the infrastructure... There are nice complexes, good examples done by the city [...], but I don’t think that they will be used after, after these refugees using them.”* Overall, informants had mixed appreciations of buildings with no major renovations and container housing. Those mixed appreciations provide a good indicator that informants had troubles evaluating the effects of the provision of container housing and buildings with no major renovations, and legitimized related procedures rather than their outcomes.

Modular housing and buildings where major renovations (e.g., construction of kitchens and bathrooms) had been undertaken were (during the period of time when interviews were conducted for this study) intended to serve as collective accommodations. These two accommodation types have a low delegitimizing to legitimizing excerpts ratio (respectively 6% and 11%) as compared to the other accommodation types. Modular housing and buildings with major renovations were primarily legitimized with consequential, exchange, and influence legitimacy. Exchange legitimacy was most frequently used by informants to justify their involvement by citing regulations and their responsibilities set by their employment contract, manager, etc. Consequential legitimacy was most frequently used when informants were highlighting that modular housing and buildings with major renovations were the centralized accommodations

types that provide the best livability. For example, an informant compared the livability of a building that received major renovations to that of emergency accommodations such as sport halls by saying, “[n]ow we are done with the renovations, those housings are regular now, these are more secure shelters. We have now a room for 2 persons, not for 6 persons [laughs].” Influence legitimacy was also frequently used (32 excerpts) to legitimize modular housing and buildings with major renovations. Most informants who discussed those accommodation types considered that they were good opportunities to meet the demand for affordable housing arising from population growth within the cities where interviews were conducted. One architect said, “*the idea is that those [modular] buildings, whenever the refugees can come back to their home countries, are used for normal families or students.*”

Private apartments for displaced persons in centralized accommodations is a particular type of collective accommodations (e.g., modular housing, container housing). Private apartments are the only centralized accommodation type that was primarily described by informants as long-term solutions. Informants mostly legitimized private apartments with exchange and influence legitimacy, demonstrating that informants considered that providing private apartments to displaced persons was beneficial to them (the informants) both directly and indirectly (e.g., through the city’s interest). Six informants stated that providing private apartments to displaced persons was the most beneficial centralized accommodation option because: (1) those apartments could be later used by German people, and (2) this accommodation type was a good way to enhance the integration of displaced persons.

CONCLUSION

Rapid migration is a worldwide phenomenon that has been increasing over the last two years (UNHCR 2016), due to political instabilities and natural disasters which are more and more frequent. Little research was performed about the effects of those unprecedented, yet current, population dynamics on urban systems due to the ephemeral characteristics of the associated data. Existing research related to accommodation of internationally displaced persons in developed countries mainly focus on decentralized accommodations and do not assess emergency centralized accommodations. This study is seeking to address this gap by assessing the institutional response of stakeholders involved in the provision of centralized accommodations to displaced persons in Germany during the high influx of displaced persons that occurred at the end of 2015 and at the beginning of 2016. The institutional response of stakeholders is crucial for the efficiency of measures taken by decision-makers. Existing research (e.g., Thomas et al., 1986) shows that individual perspectives within institutions can affect the efficiency of social collaborations, even when specific tasks are set. Thus, gaining and maintaining legitimacy amongst individuals within institutions involved in the process of provision of centralized accommodations to displaced persons may aid in the efficiency of the this process. In the context of high influx of international populations, decisions made to either accommodate or not accommodate displaced persons are usually controversial, and gaining and maintaining legitimacy of those decisions can be arduous.

Qualitative analysis of interview content was used to holistically understand institutional responses to sudden influxes of displaced persons in Germany at the end

of 2015 and beginning of 2016. Twenty-five (25) semi-structured interviews were conducted and analyzed to capture stakeholders' perspectives and obtain an understanding of the way individuals legitimize and delegitimize different stakeholders' actions to provide centralized accommodations to displaced persons.

The results of this study indicate that a good livability of the accommodations provided to displaced persons was by far primarily mentioned by informants as the reason why actions should be taken to participate in the process for providing centralized accommodations to displaced persons. On the other hand, regulations were primarily cited by informants to justify the fact that some stakeholders are not involved in the process. Additionally, the legitimacy types used by informants to legitimize the process for providing centralized accommodations for displaced persons are primarily moral, while the legitimacy types used to delegitimize this process are primarily pragmatic. This indicates that justifications both explicitly cited and implicitly used (i.e., legitimacy types) by stakeholders for legitimizing the process for providing accommodations differ from justifications used to delegitimize this process. The legitimization of this process was mostly based on individual convictions while the delegitimization of this process was mainly based on self-interested calculations. This indicates that for example a good communication strategy, when describing to stakeholders decisions made to provide centralized accommodations to displaced persons, would be to emphasize (1) the possible benefits to displaced persons (to gain consequential legitimacy) and (2) that the way that actions are taken are proper (to gain procedural legitimacy). Results also indicate that for example a good communication strategy, when describing to stakeholders decisions made to not provide centralized accommodations to displaced persons, would be to emphasize (1) the direct benefits that stakeholders would receive (to gain exchange legitimacy) and (2) the benefits provided to the city and the country (to gain influence legitimacy).

The results of this study also indicate that the different accommodation types used in Germany as centralized accommodations for displaced persons were not legitimized equally and that select accommodation types were preferred. Sport halls were the least preferred option while modular housing and renovated buildings were the most preferred options. Light-frame structures and former airports were mainly accepted for self-interested purposes while container housing and buildings with no major renovations were accepted because those accommodation types were perceived as a fair but not fully efficient attempt to accommodate displaced persons. Those results could help decision makers choose accommodation types based on stakeholder's preferences to gain legitimacy and thus obtain a more efficient institutional response to sudden influxes of displaced persons.

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