



4 Housing and Settlement

Hakan Kilic & Albert Kraler

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the current state of research on housing and settlement of newly arrived migrants and includes scientific publications and ‘gray’ literature (e.g., project reports, proceedings) and is limited to the publication years 2011-2021. Geographically, this review covers EU and affiliated countries such as the UK, Norway, and Switzerland.

In recent years, public authorities in EU Member States at local, regional and national levels have been increasingly challenged with the accommodation of newly arrived migrants. Yet access to adequate and affordable housing is widely considered as an essential first step in the settlement

Figure 1. Countries in focus of research



process for migrants and refugees and as an essential part of their integration process, a basis of basic life in a new environment and a prerequisite for further actions, e.g., search for employment, access to host country language courses, participation in community events and other activities. Without secured access to appropriate housing, newly arrived migrants may compromise their health, see their educational and employment opportunities reduced, and face challenges in social and family life.

The central role of housing for accessing other rights and services and for the ability to make use of one’s full capabilities is also reflected in the international human rights framework. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 thus stipulates that all individuals have the right to an adequate standard of living. While the notion of ‘adequate standards of living’ also includes access to basic food, clothing and other rights, access to adequate housing is often considered as a foundational right, a ‘pre-condition for the exercise of the other basic rights indispensable to leading a dignified life, such as the right to health’ (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights 2011, 58). The right to adequate housing is also incorporated in the (binding) Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966), More recently, The Geneva UN Charter on Sustainable Housing (United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) 2014), a non-legally binding document endorsed by the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) on 16 April 2015, underlines the importance for the governments to “ensure access for all to adequate, safe and affordable housing and basic services”. The foundational function of housing is also underlined by the role housing plays in meeting the Sustainable Development Goals (Habitat for Humanity 2021). Importantly, housing and settlement are considered as important pillars of social integration and of great importance to the population in general in many European countries, notably in the context of rising costs and the increasingly problematic affordability of housing due in part of the dismantling of public housing programs in recent decades and a volatile housing market (Adema, Plouin, and Fluchtmann 2020).

Housing and settlement of immigrants is a well established topic of research. Also, in respect to newly arrived migrants, it receives a lot of attention in research. Access to housing, housing conditions of migrants/refugees and policy regulations regarding housing and settlement have been examined widely in the past ten years; the post-2014 migration dynamics gave another impetus with a focus on refugee housing. The issues covered include regulations on access to housing for different categories of migrants, the quality of housing available for the various categories, national and communal housing policies, the impact of housing on social integration, mental health and well-being, and how housing conditions and access to housing are managed at the municipal and local level.

The chapter proceeds as follows: The next section reviews the current state of research on housing and settlement of recent immigrants and their integration in the area of housing that has been published since 2011. In addition, this chapter provides an overview of how these issues are discussed in policy debates and public discourse. Finally, it discusses the policy

instruments and tools used for implementation and presents recommendations based on the literature.

4.2 Research on Housing and Settlement

Housing and settlement of migrants have been identified in various studies as an important field of action for integration long before the large increase in numbers of refugees and asylum seekers in 2015 (Biffi et al. 2016; Asselin et al. 2006). But there has been a growing number of publications from various fields of research addressing different aspects of housing and settlement specifically for this category of migrants since 2014. An analysis of the existing literature shows that there is a consensus on housing being one of the main facilitators of integration of migrants and refugees, together with access-rights to the labour market, to education, and health care. These studies show that employment alone is not the main route of integration in today's migration flows. For this reason, ensuring access to affordable and adequate housing is of primary importance (United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) 2021). Furthermore, according to a current report of the United Nation Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE), both housing and immigration policies are primarily set at the national level, but the impact of both policies tends to affect the regional and local level - who are in fact in charge with planning - and managing and requires action at the municipal level (United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) 2021).

The subsections briefly presented below provide first insights into the major aspects and concerns covered in the literature. It should be noted ahead of time that the issues concerned are complex, which makes it hard to clearly distinguish or differentiate between housing for refugees versus newly arrived migrants. The literature examined for this review has areas of overlap in specific issues and aspects of migrant and refugee housing.

The core topic with regards to housing and settlement is access or denied access (Bolzoni, Gargiulo, and Manocchi 2015) to housing (Kourachanis 2018b; Kreichauf 2018a; Tsavdaroglou et al. 2019; Tsavdaroglou and Kaika 2021) and housing conditions (Brown, Gill, and Halsall 2022). Studies in this field focus on institutional and structural barriers and hurdles that hinder access to housing (El-Kayed and Hamann 2018; Frey 2011), and are responsible for difficult housing search processes (Aigner 2019), and access to municipal housing (Adam et al. 2020). Further important components of this section are refugee reception systems (Glorius et al. 2019), residential segregation and concentration (Tunström and Wang 2019;

Figure 2. Topics in focus of research



Musterd 2011; Musterd et al. 2017; Tintori, Alessandrini, and Natale 2019) of refugees and newly arrived migrants in marginalized neighbourhoods.

Another focus in relation to refugees and newly arrived migrants is the relationship between housing and integration, especially in terms of social and structural integration (Ager and Strang 2008; Kohlbacher 2020; Nikki Scholten; Sennay Ghebreab; Tamar de Waal 2019; Bakker, Cheung, and Phillimore 2016; Kearns and Whitley 2015). The health condition of refugees and thus the influence of housing on physical and mental health (Ziersch et al. 2017; Leiler et al. 2019; Rowley, Morant, and Katona 2020; Walther et al. 2018; 2020) is also increasingly becoming a subject of research and will be part of this chapter.

4.3 Integration situation relative to Housing and Settlement

Since 2015, the immigration of refugees and asylum seekers has received increasing attention in public and political debates, as the number of people seeking protection has risen sharply. European countries, but also cities and municipalities are facing new challenges flowing from increased refugee inflows. After providing initial care and accommodation for asylum seekers, the focus shifted to integration as residence status was granted in large numbers. Also in this stage, numerous obstacles remain in relation to access to housing, which is an essential part of integration.

One of the topics addressed in research refers to the unequal distribution of newly arrived migrants on the one hand and asylum seekers on the other. While newly arrived migrants tend to settle in urban areas with a large pool of jobs and social infrastructure, asylum seekers tend to be distributed by the nation states according to reception centres at hand, often in rural and less developed regions. The extent to which asylum seekers are integrated in the local communities be it in terms of access to housing and work differs by host countries. Once asylum is granted, refugees tend to move to urban areas as well, however. The large inflow of asylum seekers in 2015/16 represents a special case, not least because of the unprecedented numbers but also because of the diversity of source countries. Their distribution across EU-MS reflects, among various other factors, the socio-economic conditions of the host country concerned (availability of jobs and social support) as well as the presence of diasporas (social safety net) (ESPN 2019). Accordingly, there are large differences between EU-MS in terms of stocks of asylum seekers and refugees. In consequence, the challenges faced by the destination countries differ due to supply factors, i.e., resources available at local level, and characteristics of refugees/migrants. For refugees to obtain decent and affordable housing in a welcoming neighbourhood may be the beginning of a new life. It is a key resource, providing a sense of belonging, which facilitates the next steps of integration, be they language training, access to work, school, health care, and community participation.

Literature on the type of accommodation of refugees in the initial reception phase cannot provide clear answers as to what is best for integration – collective (institutional) or individual (private) accommodation. While reception centres or other forms of collective accommodation tend not to facilitate social interaction with the host community, it is almost by definition easier in individual accommodation offered by civil society or the private sector (Tanis 2020). While it is easier to get affordable accommodation in rural areas, the lack of job options drives many migrants/refugees into cities where they tend to live in (private) collective accommodation, where they share rooms, bathroom and kitchen with others. Their situation is often precarious and privacy is limited. If refugees or beneficiaries of subsidiary protection cannot afford to pay for the accommodation, they may access local social welfare, which covers housing costs up to an “adequate” level.

Regarding existing research, refugees' access to housing is considered an essential step on the path to integration and a precondition for full access to social and civil rights and social benefits. Local authorities and their actions play an important role for social inclusion. If their housing policies hamper access by migrants or refugees, their inclusion in the community may be jeopardised. Such a case is documented in literature for the city of Turin (Italy); in that case local authorities hindered access to housing through informal practices; in addition, gaps in the implementation of national legal frameworks at the local level could be identified. In the case of Turin, many refugees, who did not receive support to access housing, chose squatting instead (Bolzoni, Gargiulo, and Manocchi 2015). Similar actions are documented for Greek cities as refugees tend to be perceived as a threat to personal and community security.¹³

Access to housing in rural areas is also frequently addressed in research. Many European countries, including Germany, the United Kingdom, Austria, and Sweden, accommodate asylum seekers during the asylum procedures through decentralized distribution mechanisms, either on a mandatory or voluntary basis, in rural areas (Bakker, Cheung, and Phillimore 2016; Rosenberger and Müller 2020). The existing literature emphasizes that there are different forms of mobility with regard to rural-urban migration and that recognized refugees in particular show different patterns of mobility. In addition to employment opportunities, closeness to family, friends and the ethnic community plays an important role, according to the literature (Aschauer, Wimmer, and Krisch 2016). However, some refugees also seem to return to rural areas because finding work and housing in the cities is proving to be more difficult and the support of the community does not meet expectations (Weidinger 2021). In addition, others prefer to stay in rural areas because, on the one hand, there seems to be support from volunteers, which builds up an emotional connection to the region. On the other hand, the secure living environment, which seems to be particularly important for the children (Stenbacka 2012b), is also emphasized

¹³ Vergou, Penelope; Paschalis Arvanitidis; Panos Manetos 2021. Refugee Mobilities and Institutional Changes: Local Housing Policies and Segregation Processes in Greek Cities. *Urban Planning* 6(2). DOI: 10.17645/up.v6i2.3937

as a factor for settlement in rural areas, as well as the comparatively smaller schools, which enable better support for the children (E. S. Stewart and Shaffer 2015; Weidinger 2021).

The study by El-Kayed and Hamann (2018) points at mobility barriers within Germany via different legal measures in the various federal states; also mobility within the federal states at the local level can be affected, thereby preventing refugees from accessing the whole gamut of their civil rights, such as the free choice of housing. Another aspect impacting on the choice of location by refugees is access to welfare and social support, which may differ between provinces as in the case of Austria (Dellinger and Huber 2021).

Another problem refugees may face in terms of choice of regional settlement after being granted refugee status are explicit barriers to mobility, at least for a certain period of time, in various host countries. While there are no restrictions in law or practice to the freedom of movement of asylum seekers and refugees within Sweden, they are not free to decide on their residence if accommodation is requested from the Migration Agency (Emilsson and Öberg 2021). In Germany the situation is somewhat different: while refugees are allowed to move from a municipal accommodation to a private apartment, they are not allowed to move from the municipality in which they were registered to another municipality for the first three years after being granted refugee status; this is a result of the residence requirement, which is meant to regulate the distribution of refugees within the federal territory and the federal states (Adam et al. 2020). The problem is that many apartments do not cater for the family structures of refugees, such that large families face difficulties in finding appropriate accommodation (Foroutan et al. 2017).

The highly competitive real estate market - especially in urban and metropolitan areas - makes it difficult for refugees and newly arrived migrants to enter the private housing market, so that different strategies are applied. In her empirical study, Aigner (2019) identifies four types of housing entry pathways. Particularly young men tend to rely on other migrants to act as both informal intermediaries and landlords. This access pathway can be described as a migrant-assisted pathway. Furthermore, refugees receive assistance from locals in finding housing, which is the local-assisted pathway. This group benefits from accommodations and free rooms provided by helpful locals free of charge or at low rental prices. Newcomers without advantageous formal and informal support, on the other hand, are in the weakest position and have to search for affordable housing on their own. People in this group of the non-assisted pathway experience repeated rejection and discrimination by real estate agents and private landlords and are often victims of exploitation. Families and single mothers tend to receive more often than other groups formal assistance and follow a welfare pathway, according to the study. This path of access is characterized by a more or less direct transition from an NGO-supported housing facility to social housing. Very often, these so-called starter apartments are rented out by NGOs, which tend to officially remain the main tenants and bear the financial responsibility.

Also support networks of volunteers/NGOs (cf. Community sponsorship) can act as facilitators to access housing. Community Sponsorship enables local community groups to welcome and support refugees directly in their local communities. By engaging the local community in the provision of housing it can be shown that the integration outcomes are positive for refugees as well as communities (Sue Elliott and Yusuf 2014). This goes to show that social networks can play an important role in accessing housing (Adam et al. 2021). In most cases, it is family, friends or the ethnic community that are supportive. On the other hand, it can be random encounters, or NGO workers, who facilitate the start of a new life by helping to find housing. The receptiveness of the host society can play an important role in this context. In addition, newly arrived migrants may receive support by migrant communities who have lived in the host country for a longer period of time, not only to find housing, but also in terms of social integration, job search, and various support structures (Wessendorf and Phillimore 2019).

Social networks and connections can be especially important for migrants who run the risk of being excluded from the housing market. Housing quality and contract types may be determined by household-specific financial capabilities and nationality. Many refugees and newly arrived migrants are confronted with the fact, that landlords reject them based on their foreign origin, legal status, lack of language skills, and/or socioeconomic characteristics, such as being a welfare recipient. Discrimination affects particular groups more often, for example Afghans, who are under general suspicion according to Kohlbacher (2020).

The studies reviewed also point at institutional, structural barriers and discriminatory practices by landlords and housing companies that hinder access to housing for refugees; in so doing their actions affect the movement and settlement of refugees.

The general shortage of affordable housing and the even more difficult access conditions for some groups of the migrant population are ideal conditions for illegal estate agent structures refugees are often confronted with. In particular, groups of people who have been trying to find housing for a long time without success, are especially receptive to agents operating illegally, who guarantee the provision of housing for a fee but often cannot deliver (Hanhörster et al. 2020). Affected persons usually do not report these circumstances to the authorities because they are afraid of legal consequences.

The sense of home and belonging are among the central themes in migration research and are seen as a central aspect of integration (Orton 2012). An important indicator that has an influence on these feelings is the place of residence (Galera et al. 2018), the neighbourhood (Hebbani, Colic-Peisker, and Mackinnon 2018) and the environment/surrounding (Kearns and Whitley 2015). Studies on housing in rural areas indicate that small communities can foster integration (Gruber 2016) but living in rural areas can also lead to social isolation or social exclusion, which in turn can contribute to alienation and challenge their sense of home and belonging, particularly in cases of migrants originating from urban settings (Wernesjö 2015).

In this sense, the study by Kourachanis (2018a), which refers to the Emergency Support to Integration and Accommodation (ESTIA)¹⁴ program, addresses how social housing can support social integration in Greece. Another example is the CURANT project, which was funded by The European Union's European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) under the Urban Innovative Action (UIA) between 2016-2019. This project aimed at supporting the social integration of unaccompanied young adults through co-housing with Flemish flatmates (Mahieu, Clycq, and Van Raemdonck 2019; Mahieu and Van Caudenberg 2020). Czerny (2012) points at the importance of community work to foster the integration of migrants in the neighbourhood, while Kaya and Mahnke (2012) document good practice examples of community-oriented integration in housing complexes in two Austrian cities with large migrant and refugee communities (Innsbruck and Wörgl).

The comparative study by Galera et al. (2018) looks at the role of location of refugee accommodation for social integration. Accommodations that are in remote rural areas or on the periphery of municipalities, with limited accessibility to public transportation, constrains opportunities for social interaction and integration. Furthermore, vacant housing in rural areas is usually located in very small municipalities, which are affected by rural exodus, and in poor condition, which explains why recognized refugees tend not to want to settle there (Weidinger and Kordel 2020), even though job possibilities, mostly in the low-wage sector, are sometimes available. The poor accessibility of workplaces due to weak public transport connections and a lack of individual motorization is often cited as a further reason for onward migration, which very often makes it difficult to stay in rural regions, even though social integration can sometimes progress more quickly due to increased social interactions (Weidinger, Kordel, and Pohle 2017a). Kreichauf (2018a) compares the situation of asylum seekers in Athens, Berlin and Copenhagen and concludes that “refugee accommodation has increasingly been transformed into large, camp-like structures with lowered living standards and a closed character” in many host countries. Following Kreichauf underlines also that housing policies in Denmark are centralized at national level and is not part of the Common European Asylum System (CEAS) and has not fully implemented council directives regarding reception, qualification, and asylum procedure. Furthermore, Denmark allocates asylum seekers to remote areas outside urban settlements and recognized refugees to municipalities with low immigrant populations to ensure “better integration.” To this end, municipalities that already have a high percentage of people of foreign origin, most notably Copenhagen, Arhus, and Aalborg, are so-called “0-municipalities,” meaning that no refugee can move to or be distributed to these cities, on the grounds of spreading the burden of immigration (Kreichauf 2020). In Norway for example, where the housing of refugees is organized through dispersal – refugees are settled between municipalities – and interaction with local people is hardly given (Herslund and Paulgaard 2021; Hernes et al. 2019), which may have an impact on refugees’ feelings of belonging (Wernesjö 2015). Similar situations are found in Italy. Using a case study in Macerata/Italy, Novak shows that unequal

¹⁴ For more information, see: estia.unhcr.gr/en/home

accommodation standards in reception centres prevent asylum seekers from participating meaningfully in social life (Novak 2021).

To what extent COVID-19 pandemic and subsequent regulations have affected housing and social integration is a new subject which hardly emerges in literature yet; it can be expected that it will be a focus of future research. However, a recently published study from Sweden indicates that the pandemic has hindered the process of living together and developing social bonds. The authors draw this conclusion from a qualitative case study of a collaborative housing project in which elderly people live together with young local people and refugees. The project was interrupted four months after the start of COVID-19, and thus resulting in changes in the use of common spaces and reduced social interactions, thereby reducing the social integration that had begun (Arroyo et al. 2021).

The housing environment has a significant impact on our private lifestyle and, accordingly, on physical and mental health (Schneider and Mohnen 2016). This means that good housing conditions are a health resource, while poor housing conditions pose health risks. The LARES study by the World Health Organization (WHO) found that people with a low socioeconomic status are more often affected by a negative health status than people in better off housing conditions. Factors detrimental to health are a poor indoor climate, which can cause high blood pressure, various allergies or asthma, and a lack of daylight increases the risk of developing depression or anxiety disorder. Mold and moisture in housing can also lead to asthma, anxiety disorders, and depression, as well as migraines and other problems (WHO 2007). According to these studies, the mental as well as physical health status of refugees and newly arrived migrants are affected by housing conditions (Murphy and Vieten 2020; Mohsenpour, Biddle, and Bozorgmehr 2020). A study conducted in Sweden in 2019 showed that asylum seekers as well as refugees who had been granted asylum but continued to live in facilities provided by government, that more than half of the participants in the study reported clinically significant levels of symptoms of depression, anxiety, and risk of having posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD). The negative results were higher for asylum seekers than for refugees who had received a residence permit. In addition, they rated their quality of life below the norms for the general population and exhibited a high correlation with mental health outcomes (Leiler et al. 2019).

These results highlight, that individuals who tend to reside in overcrowded refugee accommodations show high levels of mental distress and rate their quality of life negatively (Leiler et al. 2019; Walther et al. 2020). In contrast, refugees living in private housing are less affected by psychological stress and show higher life satisfaction. Especially asylum seekers who stay in refugee shelters with limited privacy, limited autonomy, and isolation from the local and ethnic community experience high stress levels (Walther et al. 2018). Staying in refugee accommodation is also associated with security concerns, as refugee accommodations have often been the target of attacks in host countries such as Sweden, France, Italy or Belgium (Leiler et al. 2019; Ambrosini et al. 2019).

Compared to collective accommodations, refugees and newly arrived migrants who had been granted asylum and were living in private accommodations show not only higher levels of mental health but also higher levels of physical health (van Melle et al. 2014). This is also the case because shared accommodation is mostly significantly different from private accommodation in terms of space, area, level of restrictions, social contacts, and respondent satisfaction (Dudek, Razum, and Sauzet 2022). In most cases, asylum seekers living in shared accommodation also have to share a kitchen, which can be poorly hygienic and thus affect eating habits and physical health (Rowley, Morant, and Katona 2020). In addition, inadequately equipped accommodations, and noise, which is generally caused by the large number of people, can cause insomnia. Poor accessibility to public transportation, and thus a challenge of rural housing, can also affect physical health. When health services are difficult to reach, health problems are less likely to be treated and may worsen (Dudek, Razum, and Sauzet 2022).

The Covid-19 pandemic has also had a significant impact on the mental and physical health of refugees and newly arrived migrants, particularly in collective accommodations. Since the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, refugees have suffered a significant deterioration in their mental well-being (Garrido et al. 2022), although it can be said that the psychological stress of refugees in the first months of the Corona pandemic remained high, because they were in the accommodations more isolated than the rest of the population (Entringer et al. 2021). The consequences of loneliness were also a lack of host country language skills, as language courses could not take place as a result of the pandemic. In addition, social participation was impaired and mental stress could not be addressed or reduced (Entringer et al. 2021; Stürner and Bekyol 2021).

4.4 Framing interventions and policy objectives

Issues of migration, border management and mobility are a dominant part of global political discourse and are seen as a major challenge, particularly in Europe. In order to control the large numbers of inflows and, consequently, the mobility of asylum seekers and refugees, EU states are pursuing restrictive measures. In particular, concerns about possible uncontrolled "secondary migration" of asylum seekers led to the adoption of the Dublin Regulation¹⁵, which defines precisely which country is responsible for an asylum application. Even after a positive asylum decision in an EU country, beneficiaries of international protection have no right to free movement within the Schengen area. Only after five years and with certain conditions can an EU long-term residence status be granted.

¹⁵ See for more detail: https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/policies/migration-and-asylum/common-european-asylum-system/country-responsible-asylum-application-dublin-regulation_en

Mobility restrictions also exist at the national level. During the asylum process, national laws justify the restriction of mobility with the need to prevent people from fleeing during the asylum process and/or provide for a more even distribution throughout the country. However, even people who receive a positive decision face mobility restrictions in some countries. This is most often the case when social assistance benefits are tied to residence in a particular region (Katsiaficas et al. 2021).

However, housing and settlement policies vary widely across Europe. The Common European Asylum System (CEAS) contains references and recommendations regarding refugee reception conditions, including standards, responsibilities, and shelter management. Some countries have already developed concrete legal frameworks regarding integration, accommodation and care systems, where clear institutional responsibility structures are in place. In other Member States, however, asylum systems and institutional frameworks are still evolving (Mouzourakis and Taylor 2016; Kreichauf 2018a). In this regard, the experiences of newly arrived migrants and refugees in terms of reception, and access to housing vary greatly both between and within countries, depending on the capacity of individual cities, neighbourhoods, or even households (United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) 2021). Policies in the housing sector are primarily local policies. Most policies in this area do not have exceptions for migrants but tend to focus on low- or middle-income households. Moreover, access to municipal housing usually entails waiting times. Local authorities also developed measures to overcome or minimize ethnic discrimination as well as discrimination against migrants in the housing market. These include the establishment of landlord-tenant mediation offices and housing information services for migrants, as ethnic segregation is also often seen as a problem (Penninx, Garcés-Mascreñas, and CIDOB – Barcelona Centre For International Affairs, Barcelona, Spain 2016).

Numerous studies are available that examine public attitudes toward refugees and migrants (Ruhs 2022; Consterdine 2018; Glorius 2018). It should also be noted that these attitudes differ significantly depending on the characteristics of refugees and migrants (Overseas Development Institute (ODI) 2017). For example, people tend to be more sympathetic with recognized refugees than with asylum seekers and other migrants (Hatton 2016). On the other hand, many researchers point out that accepting refugees was a national policy and they basically agree with acceptance, but also have anxieties and security concerns (Pew Research Center 2016; Klein 2021). Accordingly, public debates about immigrant integration are often based on inaccurate or misleading data. With regard to housing, these include, for example, the extent of immigrants' use of social benefits, including social housing and housing subsidies, and spatial segregation (Iceland 2014). Spatial segregation is usually discussed in terms of "parallel societies," with certain neighbourhoods regularly referred to as "ghettos" and "no-go" areas (Danielak 2019). Also in Germany, which has received the most refugees in Europe, the topics of "ghettos" and "parallel societies" dominate the public and political discourse. In addition to several mandatory integration measures (language, vocational training) established by the "Integration Law" in

2016, the law also introduced residency requirements for new arrivals, giving regional governments more authority to regulate and settle refugees (Danielak 2019).

The high number of asylum seekers who arrived in Europe in 2015 and 2016 is considered one of the key challenges for social cohesion. The most important tasks such as the provision of emergency accommodation, housing and registration had to be handled. In the long term, however, the transition of asylum seekers from shared accommodation to the housing market must be regulated and poses major political challenges for the states, which are framing this issue in different ways.

4.5 Overview of commonly used instruments and tools

in Housing and Settlement

(1) Regulatory policies

In recent years, several European countries have faced the challenge of refugees accumulating geographically, which would lead to the formation of ethnic enclaves (ghettos, no-go areas), resulting in an unequal burden of immigration, higher financial costs, and housing shortages in major cities. To counteract this possibility, several countries, including Germany, Austria, Italy, Sweden, the UK and Denmark, have implemented dispersal policies based on quota system (ESPON 2019).

The political justification for spatial distribution/dispersal policies is, on the one hand, the argument that the costs of accommodating asylum seekers should be spread over as many regions and municipalities as possible, that urban housing and labour markets should be relieved, and that parallel societies in cities should be prevented (Stewart 2012). On the other hand, aspects of regional planning and regional development of rural areas are also mentioned. Due to migration and a shortage of labour in rural areas, asylum seekers are seen by policymakers as an opportunity to prevent housing vacancies, reduce the deconstruction of infrastructures (e.g., schools) and contribute to the economic, social and cultural revitalization of rural areas with the resources they bring with them (E. S. Stewart and Shaffer 2015; Mehl 2017). In response to the increasing number of refugees, Sweden introduced a Settlement Act (2016:38) in 2015 to regulate the distribution of refugees living in government-provided accommodation among municipalities. Under this law, municipalities are required to receive refugees and provide housing for them. While earlier discussions centered on housing in the context of ethnic and socioeconomic segregation, policy discussions are now framed as competition for access to housing and growing local opposition to refugee settlement (Emilsson and Öberg 2021).

With regard to the distribution of refugees, a distinction must be made between the time during the asylum procedure and afterwards, where different paths are also taken. Asylum seekers in Germany are allocated to a specific federal state through a distribution procedure (Königsberger Schlüssel) based on the tax revenue of the federal states and their population size. Meanwhile, the refugees themselves have little to no say in where they are placed. Since 2016, German federal law has also restricted the residence of people who have been granted asylum status. Previously, recognized refugees could settle in any federal state or municipality in Germany. The newly introduced residence requirement restricts freedom of settlement and obliges all refugees to settle in the federal state where their asylum procedure took place and to remain there for three years (Weidinger 2021; Weidinger and Kordel 2020; Danielak 2019; El-Kayed and Hamann 2018; Adam et al. 2020).

After their arrival in the Netherlands, asylum seekers are allocated to asylum centres (AZC). Also in the Netherlands, asylum seekers have no choice of a specific AZC, which is usually located in rural areas. Living there is strictly controlled, so privacy and autonomy are limited because everyone also has only five square meters available to them. After a positive decision, they can stay for five years and are provided with a social housing, usually in the same region, and can only live further away under certain conditions (work, study, etc.) (Bakker, Cheung, and Phillimore 2016).

In the UK, a similar approach is used, but with a significant difference. Most asylum seekers choose between being distributed to government-provided accommodation or staying with friends and relatives. Those who have organized their own accommodation tend to live in or around larger cities. The rest are largely dispersed to disadvantaged areas where there is an oversupply of cheap, often poor quality housing in areas with failing housing markets. Once refugees are granted refugee status, they must provide their own housing and financial resources within 28 days. After that, they no longer receive asylum support (Stewart and Shaffer 2015; Bakker, Cheung, and Phillimore 2016).

Asylum seekers in Austria are relocated to one of the nine federal provinces after initial reception. As part of a no-choice distribution policy, the majority of asylum seekers are accommodated in mostly small collective accommodations, so-called organized shelters (operated either by the federal states, NGOs or private actors. Alternatively, asylum seekers can also be accommodated privately. After receiving a positive asylum decision, refugees are forced to leave the state-organized accommodation within four months (Aigner 2019; Reeger, Nagel, and Josipovic 2021; Kohlbacher 2020).

(2) Informational instruments

Access to the private housing market after refugees have received a positive decision begins with the search process. Here, how refugees get the right information plays a crucial role. Over the last, various organizations, associations and NGOs have made it their mission to provide information on access to the private housing market, which is difficult for refugees due to language barriers, lack of networks, but also due to financial situation. The Refugees Wien (“Housing - Refugees.Wien, Die Informationsplattform Für Geflüchtete in Wien”) website for example provides detailed information on, among other things, what financial support in Vienna is available for housing and which organizations offer housing counselling. The leading Catholic aid organization Caritas, for example, takes care of about one third of the persons in need who are entitled to basic care in Austria and also provides information and housing counselling for recognized refugees in the first four months after recognition (Aigner 2019). The Scottish Refugee Council publishes a guide for housing practitioners working in Scottish local authorities, housing associations and the third sector supporting the integration of those seeking protection and refugees. The specifically defined goal is to “...work to empower and enable access and exercise their rights, and enable people seeking protection to participate fully in their communities and their new home” (Scottish Refugee Council 2021).

(3) Participatory instruments

Long-time residents and newcomers living together can sometimes cause conflicts. Social mediation and community work combined with mediation in mixed neighbourhoods or apartment blocks can essentially improve living together.

The project "Willkommen Nachbar" (Welcome Neighbour), which was launched in Vienna in 2010 and has since been extended to all Vienna municipal buildings, is a measure to specifically promote communication between old and new tenants in municipal housing complexes. By welcoming new tenants in the municipal buildings, neighbours get to know each other better. This creates a basis for positive communication and neighborhood. Communication is seen as the basic prerequisite for breaking down prejudices (“Willkommen Nachbar! - Wohnpartner” n.d.).

Another initiative was implemented in Italy. AMAR - Social Mediation Agency in the Field of Housing was a project funded by the European Commission and the Italian Ministry of Interior under the European Fund for the Integration of Third Country Nationals between 2013-2014. The AMAR project established an agency (consisting of three counselling centres in three different municipalities of Rome, located at the local social services offices) that provides social mediation services to help migrants find housing and promote their socioeconomic inclusion. It also aims to promote peaceful coexistence between different communities living in the same building (“AMAR project – Social Mediation Agency in the field of Housing | European Website on Integration” n.d.).

Another initiative, which provides a platform for exchange and local actors to foster welcome, inclusion, and integration of newly arrived migrants and refugees in Europe, is the SHARE Network, which was established in March 2012 and led by the International Catholic Migration Commission (ICMC) Europe. One of the current Project is SHARE-Quality Sponsorship Network and brings together a consortium of actors running community sponsorship programmes in Belgium, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Spain and the UK. The aim here is to build and strengthen the sponsorship stakeholder community by sharing practices and information at the EU level (“Sponsorship: Share QSN” n.d.).

4.6. Effectiveness and Outcomes of instruments and tools

Generally, there is a surprising lack of research on the effects and effectiveness of housing policies towards newly arrived migrants. The effects of policies can often only be assessed in an indirect manner, notably by drawing on the evidence presented above in section 3 on different integration outcomes by different types of accommodation. Thus, there is a mounting evidence of the negative impacts of institutional housing as compared to private accommodation on a variety of outcomes including sanitation and hygiene, physical and mental health, well-being, social integration (in)security and violence as well as access to services (Leiler et al. 2019; Ambrosini et al. 2019; van Melle et al. 2014; Walther et al. 2018; Christ, Meininghaus, and Röing 2017; Roman et al. 2021; Tanis 2020), often worsened by the Pandemic (Entringer et al. 2021; Stürner and Bekyol 2021; Garrido et al. 2022). Yet improving well-being of and access to services to refugees and asylum seekers has not been an objective of recent shifts towards collective accommodation and camp-like structures, rather it is control and containment that has guided these policies (Kreichauf 2020; 2018b) and it indeed relaxing mobility restrictions and moving away from camp like structures would improve the outcomes for refugees (Katsiaficas et al. 2021).

In similar vein, research on dispersal policies has shown that the dispersal of refugees to disadvantaged areas negatively affects integration outcomes (Kearns and Whitley 2015). Similarly, Hoxhaj and Zucotti have shown that although attitudes towards migrants is generally more positive in areas of high-concentration of migrants, they are less positive in more disadvantaged areas with a high concentration of migrants (there is no effect in most disadvantaged areas), implying that dispersal to less disadvantaged areas might also increase hostility towards migrants (Hoxhaj and Zuccotti 2020). Conversely, taking into account local characteristics and assigning refugees and asylum seekers through a careful matching of individuals’ characteristics and features of local areas to which refugees and asylum seekers could be assessed, could massively increase integration outcomes. Thus, based on an assessment of data driven algorithmic assignment of refugees to different local areas in Switzerland and the US, Bansak et al. show that employment prospects for refugees and asylum seekers would increase by 40 per cent in the US and a staggering 75 per cent in Switzerland

(Bansak et al. 2018; see also ESPON 2019, 107). Existing dispersal policies often based on some distribution quota between regions or territorial units or simply on the availability of housing or large-scale reception facilities thus clearly appear as problematic in terms of integration outcomes.

While the literature generally tends to see individual accommodation as more favourable compared to collective accommodation, even in those contexts where public authorities adopt favourable policies promoting access to private housing the objectives of policies are often difficult to achieve. Thus, comparing housing strategies of in two locations in Germany Adam et al. find that a tense housing market and the limited availability of apartments meant that collective and often improvised accommodation had to be resorted to despite a policy preference for individual housing (Adam et al. 2021). This points to more fundamental flaws of public housing policies and the limited room for manoeuvre for public authorities.

4.7 Conclusion

The analysis of the existing literature shows that the housing situation is one of the most important factors for the integration of newly arrived migrants and refugees. Complementary to this, access to employment, education and health support also play a key role. Based on the analysis, a number of recommendations can therefore be listed.

- Integration in cities is an important element. To provide adequate and affordable housing for newcomers in cities, national governments need to work more closely with local governments and provide them with more authority and resources (United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) 2021).
- Integration an increasingly dynamic and multi-layered process and very often relies on interaction between the host society and the newcomers. In this respect, it is important that migrants and refugees and service providers cooperate and learn from each other in designing and setting up the necessary services. The goal here is that refugees and newly arrived migrants should not only be perceived as recipients of services, but should actively participate in shaping them. With regard to housing, it is occasionally more difficult to establish a good basis for interaction in times of crisis (covid, economic crises), when the native population also has limited/no access to affordable housing and the arrival of migrants in communities and cities can create tensions. In this context, it is important to balance the housing needs of the native population with those of migrants and refugees (Pastore and Ponzio 2016; Psinos and Rosenfeld 2018)
- The need to adapt national policies to provide adequate and affordable housing in response to the economic, financial and migration crises needs a responsibility-sharing approach. International organizations have an important role to play here and should support the efforts of national and local authorities to improve access to medium- and long-term and sustainable housing solutions for migrants and refugees. They should also

engage in long-term housing data collection, best practice collection and sharing, and building capacity (Martin et al. 2018; Lutz, Stünzi, and Manser-Egli 2021; UNHCR 2016).

- According to the literature analysed, post-migration stressors such as poor housing conditions can put the mental health of newly arrived migrants and refugees at risk. Rapid access to health care for asylum seekers and refugees is therefore essential to also mitigate possible costly interventions at a later stage (Aretz, Doblhammer, and Janssen 2019). Policymakers should therefore consider the potentially negative impact of refugees' insecure legal status (cases of subsidiary protection) on mental health, as a large proportion of refugees who are granted less secure status usually have that status extended and continue to stay in the host countries. However, this less secure status also has a massive impact on life satisfaction (Walther et al. 2018), which could put the health care system under strain in the medium and long term. One important measure mentioned in the literature to increase life satisfaction and reduce psychological distress among refugees is housing in private accommodations. Living in overcrowded shelters can cause or exacerbate health problems (Leiler et al. 2019). Beyond efforts to improve living conditions in refugee shelters, strengthening infrastructural connections between these facilities and mental health services would be an appropriate action (van Melle et al. 2014; Walther et al. 2018; 2020; Weidinger and Kordel 2020).
- Social integration is much more than providing temporary or permanent housing for asylum seekers and refugees. By distributing and housing newcomers in remote and rural areas, often with poor public transport connections, social interaction is often made difficult. In addition, contact with their own community is often interrupted. This often causes newly arrived migrants and refugees to migrate to the larger cities after receiving their status, not only because the job opportunities are better estimated. However, many refugees also tend to stay in smaller municipalities, where they receive support from society and from associations and NGOs. In this respect, it is proposed to allow the possibility of free movement during the asylum procedure and to reduce the restrictions (Weidinger, Kordel, and Pohle 2017b; Weidinger and Kordel 2020; Kourachanis 2018a; Wernesjö 2015; Novak 2021; Stenbacka 2012a).

4.8 Bibliography

- Adam, Francesca, Stefanie Föbker, Daniela Imani, Carmella Pfaffenbach, Günther Weiss, and Claus-C. Wiegandt. 2020. "Municipal Housing Strategies for Refugees. Insights from Two Case Studies in Germany." In *Geographies of Asylum in Europe and the Role of European Localities*, edited by Birgit Glorius and Jeroen Doomernik, 201–23. IMISCOE Research Series. Cham: Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-25666-1_10.
- ———. 2021. "Lost in Transition'? Integration of Refugees into the Local Housing Market in Germany." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 43 (6): 831–50. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07352166.2018.1562302>.
- Adema, Willem, Marissa Plouin, and Jonas Fluchtman. 2020. *Social Housing: A Key Part of Past and Future Housing Policy*.
- Ager, Alastair, and Alison Strang. 2008. "Understanding Integration: A Conceptual Framework." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 21 (2): 166–91. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fen016>.
- Aigner, Anita. 2019. "Housing Entry Pathways of Refugees in Vienna, a City of Social Housing." *Housing Studies* 34 (5): 779–803. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02673037.2018.1485882>.
- "AMAR project – Social Mediation Agency in the field of Housing | European Website on Integration." n.d. Accessed May 14, 2022. https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/integration-practice/amar-project-social-mediation-agency-field-housing_de.
- Ambrosini, Maurizio, Arno Van Hootegeem, Pieter Bevelander, Priska Daphi, Elien Diels, Theodoros Fouskas, Anders Hellström, et al. 2019. *The Refugee Reception Crisis: Polarized Opinions and Mobilizations*. Edited by Andrea Rea, Marco Martiniello, Alessandro Mazzola, and Bart Meuleman. Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles. https://doi.org/10.26530/OAPEN_1005529.
- Aretz, Benjamin, Gabriele Doblhammer, and Fanny Janssen. 2019. "Effects of Changes in Living Environment on Physical Health: A Prospective German Cohort Study of Non-Movers." *European Journal of Public Health* 29 (6): 1147–53. <https://doi.org/10.1093/eurpub/ckz044>.
- Arroyo, Ivette, Norma Montesino, Erik Johansson, and Moohammed Wasim Yahia. 2021. "Social Integration through Social Connection in Everyday Life. Residents' Experiences during the COVID-19 Pandemic in SällBo Collaborative Housing, Sweden." *Archnet-IJAR: International Journal of Architectural Research* 15 (1): 79–97. <https://doi.org/10.1108/ARCH-10-2020-0236>.
- Aschauer, Wolfgang, Bernd Wimmer, and Laura Krisch. 2016. "Migrantisches Wohnen Als Familiäre Praxis." In *Migrationsmanagement Band 2 Wohnen Im Zusammenwirken Mit Migration Und Integration. Wohnungsmarkt, Wohnbedingungen, Wohnungspolitik, Modelle, Wohnbau- Und Wohlfahrtspolitik, Globalisierung*, edited by Gudrun Biffel and Nikolaus Dimmel. Omnium Verlag.
- Asselin, Olivier, Françoise Dureau, Lucinda Fonseca, Matthieu Giroud, Abdelkader Hamadi, Josef Kohlbacher, Flip Lindo, Jorge Malheiros, Yann Marcadet, and Ursula Reeger. 2006. "6. Social Integration of Immigrants with Special Reference to the Local and Spatial Dimension." In *6. Social Integration of Immigrants with Special Reference to the Local and Spatial Dimension*, 133–70. Amsterdam University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9789048504176-006>.
- Bakker, Linda, Sin Yi Cheung, and Jenny Phillimore. 2016. "The Asylum-Integration Paradox: Comparing Asylum Support Systems and Refugee Integration in The Netherlands and the UK." *International Migration* 54 (4): 118–32. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12251>.
- Bansak, Kirk, Jeremy Ferwerda, Jens Hainmueller, Andrea Dillon, Dominik Hangartner, Duncan Lawrence, and Jeremy Weinstein. 2018. "Improving Refugee Integration through Data-Driven Algorithmic Assignment." *Science* 359 (6373): 325–29. <https://doi.org/10.1126/science.aao4408>.
- Biffel, Gudrun, Nikolaus Dimmel, Tania Berger, Margarete Czerny, Sybille Münch, Sean Quinn, Edwin Deutsch, et al. 2016. *Migrationsmanagement 2 Wohnen Im Zusammenwirken Mit Migration Und Integration - Wohnungsmarkt, Wohnbedingungen, Wohnungspolitik, Modelle, Wohnbau- Und Wohlfahrtspolitik, Globalisierung*. Bad Vöslau: Omnium Verlag.
- Bolzoni, Magda, Enrico Gargiulo, and Michele Manocchi. 2015. "The Social Consequences of the Denied Access to Housing for Refugees in Urban Settings: The Case of Turin, Italy." *International Journal of Housing Policy* 15 (4): 400–417. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616718.2015.1053337>.
- Brown, Philip, Santokh Gill, and Jamie P. Halsall. 2022. "The Impact of Housing on Refugees: An Evidence Synthesis." *Housing Studies* 0 (0): 1–45. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02673037.2022.2045007>.
- Christ, Simone, Esther Meininghaus, and Tim Röing. 2017. "All Day Waiting"—Konflikte in Unterkünften Für Geflüchtete in NRW." 3/2017. BICC Working Paper. Bonn: BICC.

- Consterdine, Erica. 2018. "State-of-the-Art Report on Public Attitudes, Political Discourses and Media Coverage on the Arrival of Refugees." Monograph. CEASEVAL Research on the Common European Asylum System. May 30, 2018. <https://eprints.lancs.ac.uk/id/eprint/138266/>.
- Czerny, Margarete. 2012. "Wohnen & Nachbarschaft: Vom Miteinander-Wohnen Zum Miteinander-Leben." In *Migration & Integration 3*, edited by Gudrun Biffel and Lydia Rössl. Bad Vöslau: Omnium Verlag.
- Danielak, Silvia. 2019. "Einwanderungsland? Germany's Asylum Dilemma in Policy and Design." *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 20 (1): 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-018-0585-x>.
- Dellinger, Fanny, and Peter Huber. 2021. "The Impact of Welfare Benefits on the Location Choice of Refugees. Testing the Welfare Magnet Hypothesis." 2021. https://www.wifo.ac.at/jart/prj3/wifo/main.jart?rel=de&reserve-mode=active&content-id=1528640199418&publikation_id=66878&detail-view=yes.
- Dudek, Verena, Oliver Razum, and Odile Sauzet. 2022. "Association between Housing and Health of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Germany: Explorative Cluster and Mixed Model Analysis." *BMC Public Health* 22 (1): 48. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-021-12458-1>.
- El-Kayed, Nihad, and Ulrike Hamann. 2018. "Refugees' Access to Housing and Residency in German Cities: Internal Border Regimes and Their Local Variations." *Social Inclusion* 6 (1): 135–46. <https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v6i1.1334>.
- Elliott, Sue, and I Yusuf. 2014. "Yes, We Can; but Together": Social Capital and Refugee Resettlement." *Kōtuitui: New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences Online* 9 (2): 101–10. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1177083X.2014.951662>.
- Emilsson, Henrik, and Klara Öberg. 2021. "Housing for Refugees in Sweden: Top-Down Governance and Its Local Reactions." *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, June. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-021-00864-8>.
- Entringer, Theresa, Jannes Jacobsen, Hannes Kröger, and Maria Metzger. 2021. "Refugees' Mental Health during the Coronavirus Pandemic: Psychological Distress and Continued Loneliness." *DIW Weekly Report*. https://doi.org/10.18723/DIW_DWR:2021-12-1.
- ESPON. 2019. "MIGRARE - Impacts of Refugee Flows to Territorial Development in Europe." ESPON. https://www.espon.eu/sites/default/files/attachments/MIGRARE_Final_Report.pdf.
- European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. 2011. *Fundamental Rights of Migrants in an Irregular Situation in the European Union: Comparative Report*. LU: Publications Office. <https://data.europa.eu/doi/10.2811/19312>.
- Foroutan, Naika, Ulrike Hamann, Nihad El-Kayed, and Susanna Jorek. 2017. "Berlin und Dresden. Welchen Zugang haben Geflüchtete zum Wohnungsmarkt?" Mediendienst Integration. 2017. <https://mediendienst-integration.de/artikel/expertise-bim-welche-chancen-haben-fluechtlinge-auf-dem-wohnungsmarkt-berlin-dresden.html>.
- Frey, Volker. 2011. "Recht Auf Wohnen? Der Zugang von MigrantInnen Und Ethnischen Minderheiten Zu Öffentlichem Wohnraum in Österreich | European Website on Integration." 2011. https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/library-document/recht-auf-wohnen-der-zugang-von-migrantinnen-und-ethnischen-minderheiten-zu_en.
- Galera, Giulia, Leila Giannetto, Andrea Membretti, and Antonella Noya. 2018. "Integration of Migrants, Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Remote Areas with Declining Populations." Paris: OECD. <https://doi.org/10.1787/84043b2a-en>.
- Garrido, Rocío, Virginia Paloma, Isabel Benítez, Morten Skovdal, An Verelst, and Ilse Derluyn. 2022. "Impact of COVID-19 Pandemic on the Psychological Well-Being of Migrants and Refugees Settled in Spain." *Ethnicity & Health* 0 (0): 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13557858.2022.2035692>.
- Glorius, Birgit. 2018. "Public Opinion on Immigration and Refugees and Patterns of Politicisation: Evidence from the Eurobarometer." 6. CEASEVAL Research on the Common European Asylum System. Chemnitz. http://ceaseval.eu/publications/06_Glorius_Public_opinion_on_immigration.pdf.
- Glorius, Birgit, Lucas Oesch, Birte Nienaber, and Jeroen Doomernik. 2019. "Refugee Reception within a Common European Asylum System: Looking at Convergences and Divergences through a Local-to-Local Comparison." *Erdkunde* 73 (1). <https://doi.org/10.3112/erdkunde.2019.01.04>.
- Gruber, Marika. 2016. "Wohnen Am Land – Zuwander/Innen Besiedeln Den Ländlichen Raum." In *Migrationsmanagement 2. Wohnen Im Zusammenwirken Mit Migration Und Integration. Wohnungsmarkt, Wohnbedingungen, Wohnungspolitik, Modelle, Wohnbau- Und Wohlfahrtspolitik, Globalisierung.*, edited by Gudrun Biffel. Bad Vöslau: Omnium Verlag.
- Habitat for Humanity. 2021. "Housing and the Sustainable Development Goals. The Transformational Impact of Housing." Washington DC.
- Hanhörster, Heike, Christiane Droste, Isabel Ramos Lobato, Carina Diesenreiter, and Simon Liebig. 2020. *Wohnraumversorgung und sozialräumliche Integration von Migrantinnen und Migranten*. Vhw-Schriftenreihe. Berlin: vhw - Bundesverband für Wohnen und Stadtentwicklung e.V.

- Hatton, Timothy J. 2016. "Immigration, Public Opinion and the Recession in Europe." *Economic Policy* 31 (86): 205–46. <https://doi.org/10.1093/epolic/eiw004>.
- Hebbani, Aparna, Val Colic-Peisker, and Mairead Mackinnon. 2018. "Know Thy Neighbour: Residential Integration and Social Bridging among Refugee Settlers in Greater Brisbane." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 31 (1): 82–103. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fex016>.
- Hernes, Vilde, Jacob Nielsen Arendt, Pernilla Andersson Joona, and Kristian Rose Tronstad. 2019. "Nordic Integration and Settlement Policies for Refugees: A Comparative Analysis of Labour Market Integration Outcomes." NVC. 2019. <https://nordicwelfare.org/en/publikationer/nordic-integration-and-settlement-policies-for-refugees-a-comparative-analysis-of-labour-market-integration-outcomes/>.
- Herslund, Lise, and Gry Paulgaard. 2021. "Refugees' Encounters With Nordic Rural Areas—Darkness, Wind and 'Hygge'!" *Frontiers in Sociology* 6 (March): 623686. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fsoc.2021.623686>.
- "Housing - Refugees.Wien, Die Informationsplattform Für Geflüchtete in Wien." n.d. Accessed April 4, 2022. <https://www.refugees.wien/en/info-for-refugees/housing/>.
- Hoxhaj, Rezart, and Carolina Zuccotti. 2020. "How Do Immigrant Concentration and Local Socioeconomic Contexts Shape Public Attitudes to Immigration in Europe?" MEDAM Policy Brief. Kiel: Kiel Institute for the World Economy. https://www.medam-migration.eu/fileadmin/Dateiverwaltung/MEDAM-Webseite/Publications/Policy_Papers/MEDAM_PB_2020_2_Immigrant_concentration_and_local_socioeconomic_contexts_effects_on_public_attitudes_to_immigration/MEDAM_Policy_Brief_2020_2.pdf.
- Iceland, John. 2014. "Residential Segregation: A Transatlantic Analysis." Migrationpolicy.Org. September 4, 2014. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/residential-segregation-transatlantic-analysis>.
- Katsiaticas, Caitlin, Martin Wagner, Ferruccio Pastore, Panos Hatziprokopiou, Benjamin Etzold, and Albert Kraller. 2021. "TRAFIG Policy Brief No. 6: Moving on: How Easing Mobility Restrictions within Europe Can Help Forced Migrants Rebuild Their Lives - World | ReliefWeb." 2021. <https://reliefweb.int/report/world/trafig-policy-brief-no-6-moving-how-easing-mobility-restrictions-within-europe-can-help>.
- Kayahan, Kaya, Georg Johannes Mahnke, Gudrun Biffel, and Lydia Rössl. 2012. "Projekt: HAUS.GEMEIN.SCHAF(F)T - Gemeinwesenorientierte Integrationsarbeit." In *Migration & Integration* 3. Bad Vöslau: Omnium Verlag.
- Kearns, Ade, and Elise Whitley. 2015. "Getting There? The Effects of Functional Factors, Time and Place on the Social Integration of Migrants." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 41 (13): 2105–29. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2015.1030374>.
- Klein, Graig R. 2021. "Refugees, Perceived Threat & Domestic Terrorism." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 0 (0): 1–26. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2021.1995940>.
- Kohlbacher, Josef. 2020. "Frustrating Beginnings: How Social Ties Compensate Housing Integration Barriers for Afghan Refugees in Vienna." *Urban Planning* 5 (3): 127–37. <https://doi.org/10.17645/up.v5i3.2872>.
- Kourachanis, Nikos. 2018a. "From Camps to Social Integration? Social Housing Interventions for Asylum Seekers in Greece." *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy* 39 (3/4): 221–34. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJSSP-08-2018-0130>.
- ———. 2018b. "Asylum Seekers, Hotspot Approach and Anti-Social Policy Responses in Greece (2015–2017)." *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 19 (4): 1153–67. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-018-0592-y>.
- Kreichauf, René. 2018a. "From Forced Migration to Forced Arrival: The Campization of Refugee Accommodation in European Cities." *Comparative Migration Studies* 6 (1): 7. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-017-0069-8>.
- ———. 2018b. "From Forced Migration to Forced Arrival: The Campization of Refugee Accommodation in European Cities." *Comparative Migration Studies* 6 (1): 7. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-017-0069-8>.
- ———. 2020. "Legal Paradigm Shifts and Their Impacts on the Socio-Spatial Exclusion of Asylum Seekers in Denmark." In *Geographies of Asylum in Europe and the Role of European Localities*, edited by Birgit Glorius and Jeroen Doornik, 45–67. IMISCOE Research Series. Cham: Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-25666-1_3.
- Leiler, Anna, Anna Bjärtå, Johanna Ekdahl, and Elisabet Wasteson. 2019. "Mental Health and Quality of Life among Asylum Seekers and Refugees Living in Refugee Housing Facilities in Sweden." *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology* 54 (5): 543–51. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00127-018-1651-6>.
- Lutz, Philipp, Anna Stünzi, and Stefan Manser-Egli. 2021. "Responsibility-Sharing in Refugee Protection: Lessons from Climate Governance." *International Studies Quarterly* 65 (2): 476–87. <https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqab016>.
- Mahieu, Rilke, Noel Clycq, and Laura Van Raemdonck. 2019. *Cohousing and Case Management for Unaccompanied Young Adult Refugees in Antwerp*. <https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.23454.69445>.

- Mahieu, Rilke, and Rut Van Caudenberg. 2020. "Young Refugees and Locals Living under the Same Roof: Intercultural Communal Living as a Catalyst for Refugees' Integration in European Urban Communities?" *Comparative Migration Studies* 8 (1): 12. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-019-0168-9>.
- Martin, Susan F, Rochelle Davis, Grace Benton, and Zoya Walianny. 2018. "International Responsibility-Sharing for Refugees." *Working Paper*, KNOMAD, , 50.
- Mehl, Peter. 2017. "Aufnahme und Integration von Geflüchteten in ländliche Räume: Spezifika und (Forschungs-)herausforderungen. Beiträge und Ergebnisse eines Workshops am 6. und 7. März 2017 in Braunschweig." Research Report 53. Thünen Report. <https://doi.org/10.3220/REP1510576697000>.
- Melle, Marije A. van, Majda Lamkaddem, Martijn M. Stuijver, Annette AM Gerritsen, Walter LJM Devillé, and Marie-Louise Essink-Bot. 2014. "Quality of Primary Care for Resettled Refugees in the Netherlands with Chronic Mental and Physical Health Problems: A Cross-Sectional Analysis of Medical Records and Interview Data." *BMC Family Practice* 15 (1): 160. <https://doi.org/10.1186/1471-2296-15-160>.
- Mohsenpour, A, L Biddle, and K Bozorgmehr. 2020. "Contextual Housing Environment and Mental Health of Asylum Seekers – a Multi-Level Analysis." *European Journal of Public Health* 30 (Supplement_5): ckaa165.205. <https://doi.org/10.1093/eurpub/ckaa165.205>.
- Mouzourakis, Minos, and Amanda Taylor. 2016. "Wrong Counts and Closing Doors: The Reception of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Europe." 2016. https://asylumineurope.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/aida_wrong_counts_and_closing_doors.pdf.
- Murphy, F., and U. M. Vieten. 2020. "Asylum Seekers and Refugees in Northern Ireland: The Impact of Post-Migration Stressors on Mental Health." *Irish Journal of Psychological Medicine*, November, 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.1017/ipm.2020.102>.
- Musterd, Sako. 2011. "The Impact of Immigrants' Segregation and Concentration on Social Integration in Selected European Contexts." *Documents d'anàlisi Geogràfica / [Publicacions Del Departament de Geografia, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona]* 57 (October). <https://doi.org/10.5565/rev/dag.226>.
- Musterd, Sako, Szymon Marcińczak, Maarten van Ham, and Tiit Tammaru. 2017. "Socioeconomic Segregation in European Capital Cities. Increasing Separation between Poor and Rich." *Urban Geography* 38 (7): 1062–83. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2016.1228371>.
- Nikki Scholten; Sennay Ghebreab; Tamar de Waal. 2019. "Civic Integration as a Key Pillar in Societal Resilience for Newcomers." Amsterdam.
- Novak, Paolo. 2021. "Deservingness and Uneven Geographies of Asylum Accommodation." *Social Policy and Society* 20 (3): 452–63. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746420000779>.
- Orton, A. 2012. "Building Migrants' Belonging through Positive Interactions." *Undefined*. <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Building-migrants%27-belonging-through-positive-Orton/e4674dac2f82e67d1ee141cbe44d3f69c15c51a6>.
- Overseas Development Institute (ODI). 2017. "Understanding Public Attitudes towards Refugees and Migrants." Refworld. June 2017. <https://www.refworld.org/docid/595f82e64.html>.
- Pastore, Ferruccio, and Irene Ponzio, eds. 2016. *Inter-Group Relations and Migrant Integration in European Cities: Changing Neighbourhoods*. Springer Nature. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-23096-2>.
- Penninx, Rinus, Blanca Garcés-Mascareñas, and CIDOB – Barcelona Centre For International Affairs, Barcelona, Spain. 2016. "Integration Policies of European Cities in Comparative Perspective: Structural Convergence and Substantial Differentiation." *Migracijske i Etničke Teme / Migration and Ethnic Themes* 32 (2): 155–89. <https://doi.org/10.11567/met.32.2.1>.
- Pew Research Center. 2016. "Europeans Fear Wave of Refugees Will Mean More Terrorism, Fewer Jobs." <https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2016/07/11/europeans-fear-wave-of-refugees-will-mean-more-terrorism-fewer-jobs/>.
- Psinos, Maria, and Orna Rosenfeld. 2018. "Developing the Understanding of Migrant Integration in the EU: Implications for Housing Practices." In , 115–32.
- Reeger, Ursula, Alexander-Kenneth Nagel, and Ivan Josipovic. 2021. "A Fluid Transition? How Recognized Refugees Access the Housing Market in Germany and Austria." In , 257–76. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:uu:diva-465044>.
- Roman, Emanuela, Milena Belloni, Pietro Cingolani, Giuseppe Grimaldi, Panos Hatziprokopiou, Eva Papatzani, Ferruccio Pastore, Alexandra Siotou, and Filyra Vlastou. 2021. "Figurations of Displacement in Southern Europe: Empirical Findings and Reflections on Protracted Displacement and Translocal Networks of Forced Migrants in Greece and Italy." TRAFIG working paper 9. Bonn: BICC.

- Rosenberger, Sieglinde, and Sandra Müller. 2020. "Before and After the Reception Crisis of 2015: Asylum and Reception Policies in Austria." In *Geographies of Asylum in Europe and the Role of European Localities*, edited by Birgit Glorius and Jeroen Doomernik, 93–110. IMISCOE Research Series. Cham: Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-25666-1_5.
- Rowley, Lauren, Nicola Morant, and Cornelius Katona. 2020. "Refugees Who Have Experienced Extreme Cruelty: A Qualitative Study of Mental Health and Wellbeing after Being Granted Leave to Remain in the UK." *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies* 18 (4): 357–74. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15562948.2019.1677974>.
- Ruhs, Martin. 2022. "Who Cares What the People Think? Public Attitudes and Refugee Protection in Europe." *Politics, Philosophy & Economics*, April, 1470594X221085701. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1470594X221085701>.
- Schneider, Sven, and Sigrid Mohnen. 2016. "Der Einfluss der Wohnumgebung auf die Gesundheit – eine medizinsoziologische Betrachtung." In *Soziale Bedingungen privater Lebensführung*, edited by Johannes Stauder, Ingmar Rapp, and Jan Eckhard, 305–24. Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-10986-8_13.
- Scottish Refugee Council. 2021. "A Housing Practitioners' Guide to Integrating Asylum Seekers & Refugees," 35.
- "Sponsorship: Share QSN." n.d. Share Network. Accessed May 17, 2022. <https://www.share-network.eu/qsn-project>.
- Stenbacka, Susanne. 2012a. "'The Rural' Intervening in the Lives of Internal and International Migrants: Migrants, Biographies and Translocal Practices." In *Translocal Ruralism: Mobility and Connectivity in European Rural Spaces*, edited by Charlotta Hedberg and Renato Miguel do Carmo, 55–72. GeoJournal Library. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-2315-3_4.
- ———. 2012b. "'The Rural' Intervening in the Lives of Internal and International Migrants: Migrants, Biographies and Translocal Practices." In , 103:55–72. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-2315-3_4.
- Stewart, Emma S. 2012. "UK Dispersal Policy and Onward Migration: Mapping the Current State of Knowledge." *Journal of Refugee Studies* 25 (1): 25–49. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fer039>.
- Stewart, Emma S., and Marnie Shaffer. 2015. "Moving On? Dispersal Policy, Onward Migration and Integration of Refugees in the UK." Research Reports or Papers. Glasgow: University of Strathclyde. December 2015. <https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/librarydoc/moving-on-dispersal-policy-onward-migration-and-integration-of-refugees-in-the-uk>.
- Stürner, Janina, and Yasemin Bekyol. 2021. "Going the Social Distance. How Migrant and Refugee-Sensitive Urban COVID-19 Responses Contribute to the Realization of the Global Compacts for Migration and Refugees (Policy Paper)." UCLG, ICMPD, & UN HABITAT. <https://www.eunighbours.eu/en/south/stay-informed/publications/mc2cm-policy-paper-going-social-distance-how-migrant-and-refugee>.
- Tanis, Kerstin. 2020. "Entwicklungen in der Wohnsituation Geflüchteter." <https://www.BAMF.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Forschung/Kurzanalysen/kurzanalyse5-2020-wohnen.html;jsessionid=D1FD1638D51CA42AE042A4465C3B6D56.intranet231?nn=404000>.
- Tintori, Guido, Alfredo Alessandrini, and Fabrizio Natale. 2019. "Diversity, Residential Segregation, Concentration of Migrants: A Comparison across EU Cities." JRC Publications Repository. January 17, 2019. <https://doi.org/10.2760/823648>.
- Tsavdaroglou, Charalampos, Chrisa Giannopoulou, Chryssanthi Petropoulou, and Ilias Pistikos. 2019. "Acts for Refugees' Right to the City and Commoning Practices of Care-Tizenship in Athens, Mytilene and Thessaloniki." *Social Inclusion* 7 (4): 119–30.
- Tsavdaroglou, Charalampos, and Maria Kaika. 2021. "The Refugees' Right to the Centre of the City: City Branding versus City Commoning in Athens." *Urban Studies*, March, 0042098021997009. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098021997009>.
- Tunström, Moa, and Shinan Wang. 2019. "The Segregated City : A Nordic Overview." <http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:norden:org:diva-5556>.
- UNHCR. 2016. "Global Responsibility Sharing Factsheet - Syrian Arab Republic." ReliefWeb. 2016. <https://reliefweb.int/report/syrian-arab-republic/global-responsibility-sharing-factsheet>.
- United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE). 2014. "The Geneva UN Charter on Sustainable Housing." Geneva, United Nations 2014. <https://unece.org/housing/charter>.
- ———. 2021. "Housing for Migrants and Refugees in the UNECE Region: Challenges and Practices." Geneva 2021. <https://unece.org/housing/publications/housing-for-migrants-and-refugees>.
- Walther, Lena, Lukas M. Fuchs, Jürgen Schupp, and Christian von Scheve. 2018. "Living Conditions and the Mental Health and Well-Being of Refugees: Evidence from a Large-Scale German Survey." *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health* 22 (5): 903–13. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10903-019-00968-5>.

- Walther, Lena, Hannes Kröger, Ana Nanette Tibubos, Thi Minh Tam Ta, Christian von Scheve, Jürgen Schupp, Eric Hahn, and Malek Bajbouj. 2020. "Psychological Distress among Refugees in Germany: A Cross-Sectional Analysis of Individual and Contextual Risk Factors and Potential Consequences for Integration Using a Nationally Representative Survey." *BMJ Open* 10 (8): e033658. <https://doi.org/10.1136/bmjopen-2019-033658>.
- Weidinger, Tobias. 2021. "Onward (Im)Mobilities and Integration Processes of Refugee Newcomers in Rural Bavaria, Germany." FAU University Press. <https://doi.org/10.25593/978-3-96147-470-7>.
- Weidinger, Tobias, and Stefan Kordel. 2020. "Access to and Exclusion from Housing over Time: Refugees' Experiences in Rural Areas." *International Migration* n/a (n/a). <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12807>.
- Weidinger, Tobias, Stefan Kordel, and Perdita Pohle. 2017a. "Bleiben oder Gehen? Einflussfaktoren auf die Wohnstandortmobilität anerkannter Flüchtlinge in ländlichen Räumen am Beispiel des Bayerischen Waldes." *Europa Regional* 24.2016 (3–4): 46–61.
- ———. 2017b. "Bleiben oder Gehen? Einflussfaktoren auf die -Wohnstandort-mobilität anerkannter Flüchtlinge in -ländlichen Räumen am -Beispiel des Bayerischen Waldes," 17.
- Wernesjö, Ulrika. 2015. "Landing in a Rural Village: Home and Belonging from the Perspectives of Unaccompanied Young Refugees." *Identities* 22 (4): 451–67. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1070289X.2014.962028>.
- Wessendorf, Susanne, and Jenny Phillimore. 2019. "New Migrants' Social Integration, Embedding and Emplacement in Superdiverse Contexts." *Sociology* 53 (1): 123–38. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038518771843>.
- WHO. 2007. "Large Analysis and Review of European Housing and Health Status (LARES)." 2007. <https://www.euro.who.int/en/health-topics/environment-and-health/Housing-and-health/activities/the-large-analysis-and-review-of-european-housing-and-health-status-lares-project>.
- "Willkommen Nachbar! - Wohnpartner." n.d. Accessed May 14, 2022. <https://wohnpartner-wien.at/zusammenleben/willkommen-nachbar>.
- Ziersch, Anna, Moira Walsh, Clemence Due, and Emily Duivesteyn. 2017. "Exploring the Relationship between Housing and Health for Refugees and Asylum Seekers in South Australia: A Qualitative Study." *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 14 (9): 1036. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph14091036>.