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Placemaking and Refugees: A Literature Review

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Abstract

The humanitarian crisis trend in the last decade has increased the influx of refugees around the world. Responding to this occurrence, various countries began to transform their cities to become more inclusive and welcoming to the refugees, and began to endorse the idea of social integration between refugees and local community. Placemaking is a practice that is often done by communities to create quality of place through community-based participation. Placemaking has been successfully inspired many cities to redefine and reinvent public spaces as a place of refuge. Though, the practice is highly dependent on the conditions of each community and place. This paper aims to explore placemaking practices that have been carried out in various destination or transit countries by using literature review. The findings are varied, some placemaking attempt not only carried out by local communities but can also be initiated by refugee communities as a form of their adaptation to the new environment. On the other hand, there are also attempts for placemaking that are not entirely successful and instead lead to contestation and even to exclusion. The results of placemaking are not only limited to social integration, there is something more tangible such as improving the welfare of refugees from assistance provided by local communities. However, all literatures have the same premise of placemaking: creating growth and transformation between local communities and refugees.

Keywords:

Refugees; Placemaking; Urban development; Forced Migration; Social Integration

1. Introduction

In 2018 the forcibly displaced population has increased 2.3 million around the world. Almost 70.8 million individuals include refugees, internally displaced persons, and asylum seekers were scattered worldwide as a forcibly displaced, the phenomenon is a result of persecution, conflict, or generalized violence (UNHCR, 2019). The surge of war and conflict in the last decade resulted in a growing number of involuntary coerced movement. Forced displacement population is a present and future issue that any government of the world and global communities will have to face. According to the same document from UNHCR, most refugees are now based in urban areas. In 2018, the proportion of the refugee population that was based in urban was estimated at 61 percent globally (UNHCR, 2019).

One of the principles or clusters that should be the focus of the city's attention is in efforts to create cities that are conducive to refugees and their own citizens for inclusion, integration and community (UNESCO, 2016). These integration efforts do not run without challenges. The challenges are exacerbated by the multi-level and multi-stakeholders that in many cases create tension within and between those involved. The challenge is even greater when faced with other conditions where refugees do not have much power to intervene, when the city or country that currently provides protection is not a signatory to the 1951 Refugee Convention. That means that the state is only a transit state who have no written obligation to provide basic needs for refugees. Literature about refugees in transit countries is still scattered in the spectrum of protection, basic needs, and legality. Integration is out of the dialogue when the refugees even rarely to have a work permit, which means that social integration is currently not the priority in dealing with refugee problems in the transit countries (see Tahir, 2019; Prabandari, 2019).

International humanitarian communities and countries were overwhelmed in aiding refugees for third

country resettlement and many refugees frequently overlooked. In third countries, refugees settle within urban area and usually among the poor and vulnerable communities such as migrant workers. In transit countries whilst waiting for resettlement confirmation refugees often choose to stay near the cities rather than remote camp in hope of finding work for the living. Living in the cities force the refugees to engage with the public but cultural discrepancies include beliefs, languages, ethnicity between refugees and local communities may lead to cultural clash and serve as drawback of social integration. However, it is highly dependent on the communities themselves.

A place-based approach is one of the approaches that is currently being used to mitigate the risk of cultural clash. Place-based approach serves as a means to address complex issues that emerge within community level, at its core it tries to bring key actors together to address the problem autonomously in order to improve their wellbeing. Place based approach target is an entire community and it aims to address issues that exist within such as poor housing, social isolation, poor or fragmented services provision and that leads to gaps or duplication effort, and limited economic opportunities (Royal Children Hospital Melbourne, 2011).

Placemaking is an extension of place-based approach and is often used as a tool to create an all-inclusive public space that will enable public participation/ engagement and ultimately will stimulate growth and transformation within the community. The interesting thing that placemaking has succeeded in doing as a specific approach is its success in building trust among the people, and can further challenge the mobility of urban citizens which in this century depend on fast machines such as cars, to the old ways of cycling or walk (see for example what happened in Shreveport, LA with its Shreveport Common, as well as Streets Alive in Fargo and Moorhead) (Silberberg, 2013). There are many success stories spread through official publications that claim that placemaking efforts can improve the quality of life of refugees, immigrants, or in other communities that have high cultural diversity. However, placemaking is a very contextual practice, highly dependent on the conditions of each community and place. Moreover, knowledge on placemaking in the context of refugee communities is very limited. Hence, as an effort to build such knowledge, this study will provide a review of several literatures on placemaking in urban context on forced displacement, existing efforts to encourage integration and social cohesion, and best practices. We will also discuss the interlinkage between refugees, urban context, social cohesion and integration and placemaking.

2. Methods

In conducting this literature review the reviewers formulated a research question based on intersection of the following topics: urban refugees, social integration and cohesion, and placemaking. The question is “*What impact do placemaking, as place-based intervention, have on social integration and wellbeing of refugees in transit and destination countries?*” The material used in the literature review is a collection of scholarly journal and official publications and report from the UN bodies that touched upon the topics. We screened a variety of papers to determine which are the most relevant to the predetermined topics. Within the scope of this paper, we reviewed and selected 7 of the most relevant papers out of 10, and the materials were predominantly from peer-reviewed academic publication sites, include ResearchGate, Sage Publications, and Google Scholars. Additionally, we have also gathered publications from international organizations, such as UNHCR and UNESCO.

After conducting a review, we extracted information and assesses which information is most relevant to the topics. The data collected is adjusted to answer the abovementioned research question. Therefore, not all the main points of each journal will be included or discussed in a further discussion section. The last step is the grouping the data that has been extracted. We used narrative review in the analysis to generate findings from the papers in which will be stated in the conclusion. The reviewer followed Templier and Pare’s (2015) general procedure of conducting literature review.

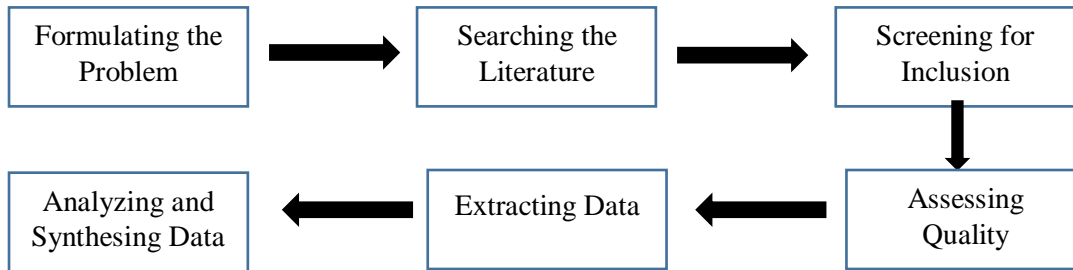


Figure 1 General Procedure for Conducting Literature Review

Source: Templier, M., & Paré, G. (2015)

It is also important to note that this literature review is subject to limitation and thus the result must be interpreted with careful consideration in mind. The lack of available literature in concerning refugees experience with place-based approach in transitional country made it challenging to ascertain the distinct situation and/or challenges of placemaking practices between transit and destination countries. With this limitation a need for further research upon the relationship between placemaking and well-being, as well as social integration of refugees in transitional countries may be important to substantiate future research of public space design and refugees.

3. Literature Review

The papers selected for this study based on the search results from key words prepared by the author, such as places, spaces, third places, placemaking, migrants, refugees, community, integration, multicultural, and urban. These keywords are determined based on the objective of this literature review, to see how placemaking, as a place-based approach, impacts the lives and social integration of refugees in transit and destination countries. The papers chosen are those published in the last 5 to 10 years. The selected papers are also sought to come from a variety of sources, from international organizations, consultancy research institutes, to journals and writings from departments in the fields of study related to immigrants, social sciences, as well as architecture and urban studies from various universities.

3.1 Reviews form Selected Papers

3.1.1. Cities Welcoming Refugees and Migrant (UNESCO, 2016)

Cities Welcoming Refugees and Migrant was a study that was released in 2016 by UNESCO as a part to promote a better understanding of the reception and integration of refugees and migrants, and to reaffirm the notion of universal principle of human rights. The substances of the study address the condition and challenges that refugees were currently facing in the cities when the Europe refugee crises breakout. It elaborates a comprehensive detail regarding how the arrival of refugees and asylum seekers give different impact to each respective city.

In 2015 a dramatic increase in the number of refugees arriving in Europe created all kind of challenges for all level of government, particularly in countries of initial reception both for transit or destination countries. Local governments, with their proximity to the city population, are most directly called on to meet human rights and public service obligations, as well as to facilitate access to cultural life and provide for skills assessment and employment to enable refugees and other arriving migrants to become self-supporting.

Asides from self-sufficiency, refugees and migrants also challenged by economic constraints and existing or emerging stereotypes and prejudices. Discriminatory attitudes and behavior within and among migrant and refugee populations poses additional challenges in ensuring equality of treatment and access for all in the realization of human rights as well as to public services. The proliferation of negative perceptions of refugees and migration in general is often nurtured by the populist discourse of

politicians and the negative representation of refugees by media outlets. There are six interdependent and mutually reinforcing thematic clusters on addressing refugees and migrants' issues in cities: Bottom line need for protection, Non-discrimination and equality, Services for all, Inclusion, integration, community, Diversity, and Development.

Integration and Social Cohesion

An appropriate and useful definition of Integration is one established by the European Commission's *Communication on Immigration, Integration, and Employment*. Integration should be understood as reciprocal (two way) based upon mutual rights corresponding obligations between legally resident third country nationals and host society. The responsibility of host society is not only to provide a place to inhabit but also to provide opportunity for immigrants to participate in economic, social, cultural and civil life. As for the immigrants, they are expected to respect norms and values of the host society, and participate in the integration process in return (Entzinger & Biezeveld, 2003).

Place-Based Approach

One of Framework checklist for a welcoming city governance agenda towards refugees and migrants is ensuring the right to the city for all. Complementary to codified human rights that establish city-dwellers' access to urban resources, the right to the city entails the mutual process of shaping oneself and the city. It is construed as a collective claim, since transformation is only possible through collective efforts. This implies considering spatial dimensions and mobility within cities. These include the utilization of public space through events in city squares and park that encourage the interaction and sharing of experiences between local inhabitants and newcomers. This may be a way to counter the risks of social isolation for migrants and refugees, as well as of other local inhabitants in order to create spaces of trust, understanding and mutual support. Public security measures and policing should not prevent people from taking the streets in fear of violence or checks.

3.1.2. The In-Betweens of Space and Time in Transit: Spatial and Temporal Realities for Urban Refugees in Eastleigh, Nairobi (Johansson, 2018)

This study tries to elaborate the experience of Somali and Oromo refugees in Eastleigh, Nairobi. Fleeing from war, persecution and violence in their home countries, the refugees seek protection to a third country. But it transpires that Eastleigh was not the sanctuary many refugees expected it to be. Life at Eastleigh for the refugees was extremely difficult because of the trials and tribulations they have to face every day. In the protracted period for resettlement, Eastleigh—like many other transit countries—regarded as a transit point, a temporary anomaly. While the daily routines may have given a sense of normality and permanency of the place, it still did not give them a sense of belonging.

Refugees at Eastleigh in their efforts to feel the feeling of at-homeness are trying to find a balance between "being acted upon and acting" and between "acquiescing in the given and choosing their own fate". Many times, the author emphasizes the importance for refugees to have control over their own activities.

Social Networks and Community

One of the refugee activities in Eastleigh as soon as they arrive is by visiting relatives who have settled in Eastleigh, visiting Kenyan, Kenyan-Somali communities, schools, markets, religious leaders or places of worship, as well as the working community. However, it should be remembered that in Eastleigh this is organically caused by cultural closeness, they have felt familiar with several corners of the city that have been influenced by Somali settlers who have long settled in Eastleigh. For Muslim in particular Friday prayer is also seen as an opportunity to create a comfort zone to start hope for a place in the future, as a means for relaxation and reflection. Additionally, congregated prayer help to foster attachment to current place which is crucial to eliminate feelings of loneliness.

Relation to Place and Sense of Belonging

The image of the place of origin, as well as the imagination of a third country where they can start a better life with their rights fulfilled, are two things that satisfy the feelings of refugees in the country of transit. This of course negatively affects the relationship of refugees with their transit place which is a reality they must face. Consequently, amongst refugees there exist a contradiction between being part of a place and the desire to go to the next place. However, this experience becomes different when asked to young refugees, because for adolescents the memories of homeland are mostly memories of violence or war.

This paper concludes that the sense of belonging will never be owned by refugees in the country of transit, because of the contradictions that occur. Based on the results of interviews with some refugees, no matter how they try to live a normal life with various religious activities or rituals, there are still differences that they mention with their "home" before, and the "home" they expect in the future.

3.1.3. Creating Public Space, Creating the 'Public': Immigration Politics and Representation in Two Copenhagen Parks (Riemsdijk, 2019)

This paper tries to explore a placemaking practices in Copenhagen, Denmark. The study uses the development process of two parks; Superkilen and Mimersparken—the two public parks were built to promote diversity and inclusion of immigrant within Mimersgade Quarter, an outskirt of Copenhagen with many immigrants or descendants of immigrant's inhabitants. The authors conducted a semi-structured interview with Mimersgade Quarter residents which are the park designers, and employee of the housing area. Participant observation was also conducted to gather data regarding the intensity and variety of activities occurred in both parks.

The Mimersparken park located closely with Mjølnerparken housing complex is a large grassy park with a sizeable space for sports, family picnics, and outdoor exercise. The park was built upon substantial input of ideas from the residents and community member. From methodology standpoint the participatory design used by the designers to develop the park can be regarded as highly successful. Nevertheless, despite the successfulness of the creative process the park is stigmatize with exclusivity, which harbor a negative outlook for the park. Participants interviewed remark the park as “just for Mjølnerparken” seeing that the park was shaped and is actively being used by the Mjølnerparken residents.

The Superkilen park which is south of Mjølnerparken was developed to promote and celebrate multiculturalism. Throughout the development process the park using participatory design method on the account of making the park as representation of the residents with migrant and refugee background. Though, during the development the residents was claimed to be pushed out of the planning process, consequently instead of representing the residents inhabiting the space the park manifests the designer's vision of multiculturalism. Regardless, the park was praised to be an exemplary model multiculturalism but seemed to have failed to actually representing the residents who lived around it.

Inclusion and Participatory Design

The idea to exert community participation in the planning process palpably important, considering the intention was to celebrate multiculturalism and inclusion. Nonetheless, in both cases the designers were not ready to recognize to recognize immigrants as agent that capable of subvert their plan. In Mimersparken, though the method could be lauded the park still lacking the ability to lessening the stigma of Mjølnerparken and Mimersgade Quarter diverse characteristic. Whereas with Superkilen, despite its successfulness in bringing multiculturalism to place, the park is seeming to constitute designer's vision than the actual resident of the area.

Creating Public Space, Creating the 'Public'

Mimersparken and Superkilen lay out the idea of who is “the public” through contestation of public space. Attempt to celebrating diversity and inclusion, as well as pushing anti-immigrant policies and rhetoric is a gripping concept, to realize this idea is to be ready to recognize immigrant as agent of

change. This study shows when leading actors fail to recognize this particular aspect, resulting in premature attempt of placemaking which neither community seems to win.

3.1.4. It's that Kind of Place Here: Solidarity, Place-Making and Civil Society Response to the 2015 Refugee Crisis in Wales, UK (Taulant Guma, 2019)

The 2015 refugee crisis invited a large scale response from the international communities. The crisis. The crisis has quickly maneuvered humanitarian concern into a multilevel action this includes proactive initiatives by civil society groups. This article explores the relationship between place and local civil societies, in three localities with different socio-economic, demographic, and historical conditions in Wales. First is a small university town in Aberystwyth that has long civic history and assorted local civil society. The second is Mumbles, a suburban area located near Swansea Bay. The population is predominantly white British and favor conservative party. The third is Splott, an inner-urban neighborhood in Cardiff. The area is one of the most ethnically diverse parts of Cardiff and has relatively high levels of deprivation.

The authors conducted interview with civil society initiatives in each area in order to explore their motivations, dynamic and their relationship to the place they were based. The authors found that each active organization running a different scheme for their operation. Each organization have a distinct point of departure and framing. The authors also stated that each of these initiatives working beyond locality which helped them to gain trans local support and form a meaningful connection that were able to facilitate mutual knowledge exchange, and raise awareness among other localities. These efforts ultimately help to advance ongoing place-making practices.

Placemaking and Local Response to Refugees

Collective action and social mobilization encompassing the notion of place by civil society is a critical contribution to place-making. The authors associate this notion with “place-frames”, the concept represent an ideal imagining of neighborhood and define the scope and scale of collective concern of shared neighborhood, which could be mobilized to promote social actions, or response against perceived threats. In regard to the mobilization of “place-frames” by civil society in the context of migration crisis response, the authors utilized precedents research to assert three underpinnings factors to shed more light on “place-frames” that are mobilized by civil society.

First, the inclination to be responsible towards refugee and asylum seekers is part of collective identity one that is part of wider shared humanity that transcends place. The responsibility starts within global scale which further manifest to a smaller level. Such compulsion then transforms to grounded actions within specific places in which the individual may encounter refugees and asylum seekers at the personal level. Second, collection actions mobilized within places because they provide an appropriate scale at which concrete actions can be arranged, and shared interest and identities can be defined. Third, place-based response of the global refugee crisis naturally involved a negotiation of scale. Due to the mobilizations deviate from trans-border humanitarian movement it is natural for the organizations to leverage their positions beyond local interest.

3.1.5. Placemaking: Chin Refugees, Citizenship, and the State in Malaysia (Hoffstaedter, 2014)

Malaysia is neither the state party of the 1951 Convention on the Status of Refugees nor the 1967 Protocol and therefore the state free from the obligation to formally recognize refugees. Consequently, the refugees in Malaysia including that of Chin refugees and asylum seekers suffer a significant hardship derived from the lack of legal and social recognition. Through this paper the author tried to traces life experience of Chin refugees and asylum seekers in Malaysia.

Chin Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Malaysia

The Chin refugees and asylum seekers are a group that were fleeing from human rights abuses, violence and discrimination by the Myanmar government and army. The group are predominantly Christians. In Malaysia, they have to endure anxiety from multiple sources ranging from poor living conditions, limited access to basic services such as health care and education, and fear of being detained/arrested by occasional patrols. The refugees are anonymously living in urban areas and find work in the high-risk informal jobs. For medical care and education, they are heavily dependent on the UNHCR, and the goodwill of NGOs and religious organizations.

Chin Refugees as The “Other”

Refugees are seen as sojourners and oftentimes Malaysia are not aware of their presence despite interacting with them almost on a daily basis. The portrayal of the refugees is mainly generated by media and politicians, they narrate refugees as an outsider which put further distance between Malaysian and the refugees. Furthermore, as mentioned before Malaysia does not provide legal recognition nor formal protection for the refugees, however the state has clearly allowed more leeway and to some chosen groups such as the Acehnese and Bosnian. These actions were based on selective charity and Muslim solidarity rather than humanitarianism.

Chin refugees in the other hand stand represent an ‘other’ or the radical other of the Malaysian body politic. Their status as refugee or illegal immigrant putting them on the other end of Malaysian society. The refugees who are predominantly Christians and with a racial profile that is close to that of Indian signify a tangible dissimilarity with the general Malaysian. These traits and differences have made them a further ‘other’ to Malaysian. The most notable groups that actively speak about them are religious groups, NGOs and community organizations who are also struggling to have their own voices heard.

Placemaking in the Constant State of Liminality

The refugees in Malaysia inhabit enclaves that emerged across town. Different refugee communities inhabit separate places where they can also establish their own schools and health clinics. Though, the refugees psychically occupy the places and continue to play an integral role in the society they remain to tend to live in anonymity rather than assert their presence in order to avoid complications. The author argues this state of exclusion and restricted corridor of movement faced by the refugees exhibit a ‘non-place’. A space where one could wonder but do not engage because it is devoid of organic community. Consequently, non-place helps us to uncover the refugees’ perception towards the transitional period, they see their life in transit country as a temporary anomaly because they are detached from the feeling of a worthwhile life.

In some cases, such as refugees in the African Great Lakes region, the refugees still pose as an agency to shape their which could greatly give them a sense of belonging to the place. In Malaysia, this ability is severely curtailed because they inhabit a ready-made space in the urban areas, meaning that they have less freedom of movement. Regardless, the community, particularly the ethnic minorities from Myanmar, jointly work to give the place some resemblance to normality through various cultural, religious and social events. The Chin Refugee Community (CRC) also help to provide vital services such as education, employment and even –to some extent—legal. Nevertheless, what refugees crave more is a sense of hope for a better future for themselves and their children/family.

The author stated that ‘societal hope’ is what the refugees look for. They perceive Australia, the USA and Europe to be the land plenty of ‘societal hope’ that they would be able to provide them basic human security and possibilities for a better life for themselves and their children. These imaginations came from friends and family who had already been settled. It gives them a projection of a more fulfilling future in the third countries. Malaysia to them remain a foreign land not only because their future projection but also because they have no legitimacy to transform the place they inhabit ‘theirs’.

3.1.6. Places in the Making: How Placemaking Builds Places and Community (Silberberg, 2013)

Beginning in the 1960s, Jane Jacobs, Kevin Lynch and William Whyte espoused a new way to understand design and program public spaces by putting people and communities ahead of efficiency and aesthetics. Their philosophies, considered groundbreaking at the time, were in a way reassertion of the people-centered town planning principles that were forgotten during the hundred-year period of rapid industrialization, suburbanization, and urban renewal.

Placemaking and Community

Isolation from open space has always been a trigger for ‘placemakers’ to do placemaking. However, the end result of a place is not more important than community engagement during the placemaking process. This must be the basic principle of placemaking.

Before conducting the placemaking process, it is necessary to build a common interest among the community. One indicator of the success placemaking is when more and more people participate. In the end, the placemaking process has a character that characterizes the people or the community in that place, as a consequence of the cycling relationship—the community shapes places and places influence how the community interacts. However, the place must always be open to all people with different backgrounds. Enlarge the welcome mat - there are more rooms for many types of "communities". So, there is no difference between "users" and "neighbors", or even "visitors".

Placemaking in the Present

Placemaking is a process that does not stop. Places continue to be made and remade by the community. Therefore, placemaking is the answer of the urban policy which currently implements many top-down development processes, which according to David Harvey are what actually limits interaction and public relations. Sometimes placemaking in a traditional context is still very focused on the final outcome of a place. This is evidenced by the many places that claim to have public engagement in planning. However, the process began to simply find out what kind of place the public wanted, then stop after being satisfied with the results of the polls obtained. This practice eliminates the opportunity to discuss the 'community' itself. Not enough to achieve 'sense of place'.

Placemaking in the present context is a more flexible process. So that there are terms ‘Temporary’ and/or ‘Rapid Placemaking’, offering concepts that are not permanent, continue to be open to ideas. This ensures that there is a continuous make and remake process. Opening opportunities as wide as possible to everyday users to become makers. The mistake that often arises is too quickly assess whether a placemaking attempt has succeeded or failed. This impatience can result a lack identification of things that should be learned.

3.1.7. Pathologies of Migrant Placemaking (Gill, 2010)

In the first wave of immigration to the UK, placemaking that occurred in the church until before 1989 was seen by the author as the ideal placemaking. Based on the results of the interview, Polish Catholic Mission (PCM) at that time managed to show the four ideal stages of a placemaking. Starting from its success in growing a common identity, inclusive and representative, acceptance among local organizations, and sustain. However, after 1989, and especially after 2004, pathologies have begun to be seen which are described as follows:

1. PCM in the aftermath of the wave of large migrations in 2004 failed to foster a common identity among immigrants. Large waves make the immigrants no longer need the church as a place of social coordination with other fellow immigrants. Teenage immigrants who arrive in the UK cannot feel the closeness of identity to the place built by their predecessors. The influence of the church which was very dominant in the period before that gradually fostered conservatism which was unable to be compromised by a new generation of Polish immigrants in the UK.
2. Some groups of immigrants no longer feel represented by the activities carried out in the church. Local organizations that send aid or conduct capacity building are always focused on giving it to the church. Whereas at this time, Polish immigrants coming to church were no longer more

than 10% due to increased atheism and counter-conservatism. As a result, currently placemaking which was once ideal occurred in the church, instead indirectly practiced exclusion.

3. Social interaction that occurs in the church is no longer progressive. People who come to church see the church is no longer a place to foster a feeling of "being together" or upholding Polish Catholic values and traditions. These people came with an opportunist attitude, asked for social assistance and disappeared. This is of course due to the assistance that is focused on the church, so that now the church is working more on social service functions. This will further lead to mutual distrust between Polish immigrants.

Ideal Placemaking and Its Pathologies

Currently there are many papers that discuss placemaking, but tend towards optimism that placemaking is a way or method to foster collective identity with the host community, especially if it is motivated by the issue of discrimination and meeting basic needs (poverty). In addition, many papers or literature have emerged, analyze that placemaking can also lead to an error. One of them is that placemaking can be a catalyst of racism. But according to the authors, no one has discussed in detail about the pathology that can be generated from each stage of placemaking. Based on the results of the study of the authors in various literature about placemaking, the authors found there are four ideal stages of a placemaking process. These stages are of course not mutually exclusive, but rather affect each other.

1. Migrants agree upon and begin to project a common identity through place.

To begin agreeing to join the placemaking process, many personal considerations are taken by immigrants. These considerations vary greatly for each individual according to the experience they have gone through. According to this paper, if immigrants encounter language barriers, economic difficulties (meeting basic needs), do not have the skills (the most important skills possessed by immigrants according to this paper are entrepreneurial skills), and are not able to internalize the culture of cooperation that occurs in the State the origin, then the possibility of immigrants to approve and start projecting a shared identity will be even more difficult.

2. Migrant places are generally representative of the migrant cohort.

Placemaking is certainly expected to produce a place that represents the community that shapes and uses that place. However, in the course of time, placemaking sometimes ignores the differences that exist among the immigrants themselves, most often the difference in socioeconomic class.

In order to make an effort to be a part of a place, immigrants make compromises on their identity, in this case they sometimes ignore the differences that arise, so that the goal of building a collective identity can be achieved. Although of course, there are limits to the compromises that immigrants can make

3. Receiving community organizations are receptive and positive about the migrant place.

Local society's acceptance of the place claimed by immigrants is certainly very diverse, depending on the interests and agendas carried by each element of society. The discourse developed by the government as a policy maker greatly influences the success of a placemaking.

4. New migrants feel affinity with existing migrant places

The continuation of placemaking is certainly the last step, but not to end the placemaking itself. These four stages are loops that continue to occur repeatedly in each placemaking process, ideally. This sustainability is certainly expected to continue to be enjoyed by immigrants in later generations. However, for the next immigrants, if there is no other choice for them besides joining the place that was built by the previous generation, then these new people might feel discomfort that is difficult to compromise. Immigrants must be able to make alternative choices, to create a place in their own way according to certain conditions they experience. If a new generation of immigrants is then identified as not being involved in a place that was claimed by the previous generation, then that place is no longer

able to foster a collective identity, because there are groups of immigrants who feel unrepresented in that place.

4. Discussion

4.1 The Context

The increasing urbanization which is of course the cause of the increasing population in urban areas, triggers a series of urban complexities and one of them is related to refugees. The condition of refugees in urban areas, as stated by UNESCO (2016) has a greater opportunity to socialize with local communities. Hoffstaedter (2014) mentions that refugees usually choose to settle in big cities, so they are not easily recognized in the middle of the city crowd. So, it is not wrong to say that the city has now been largely shaped by the migration process.

This condition then leads to various national and international agendas that currently lead to how a city becomes inclusive, celebrates diversity, or if it talks about refugees and immigrants, then we will be familiar with jargons such as *Welcoming City* and *Welcoming Culture*. The core of this agenda is how a city is able to include the interests of refugees or immigrants in every policy and development of the city. UNESCO (2016) emphasizes that cultural diversity and togetherness must occur and be socialized in urban spaces.

These agendas are very rich in guidelines, procedures, actions, complete with approaches that can be undertaken by a city in an effort to incorporate the interests of refugees or immigrants who are not insignificant in various policies and urban development. However, the guidelines available today are still very developed country-centric, where the majority of cities are destination cities for refugees who promise far better economic and security opportunities than in the countries they are forced to leave. In fact, the increasing number of refugees currently is not proportional to the increasing number of refugees received in the destination country. This means that there are more refugees living among the uncertainties in transit countries, the majority of which are in developing countries. Among these are in Nairobi (Eastleigh) and in Malaysia.

These agendas have not been able to answer the challenges faced by the cities in transit countries that did not sign the 1951 Refugee Convention in dealing with refugees. Johansson (2018) stated that what happened at Eastleigh then was the contradiction faced by refugees in cultivating a sense of place, or in an effort to celebrate the diversity in cities mentioned earlier in various international urban agendas. The contradiction is between being part of a place and wanting to go to the next place. The same thing also happened in some cities in Malaysia which are currently host a huge number of refugees, but at the same time the country is seen as a "non-place" for refugees.

4.2 Integration and Social Cohesion

Social inclusion which has the closest meaning to social integration is mandated by United Nation back in 1995 in The World Summit for Social Development in Copenhagen. UN defines social inclusion as the process by which efforts are made to ensure equal opportunities – that everyone, regardless of their background, can achieve their full potential in life (UN DESA, 2009). Regardless of the official recognition on the matter, social integration is important to eliminate many forms of society prejudice and segmentation and to achieve and maintain positive society interaction.

Hoffstaedter (2014) conclude what is really needed by refugees is 'Societal Hope'. Further explained that societal hope is a social opportunity that circulates and is distributed within a given society to its members. Refugees make an effort to keep getting the societal hope through daily activities. Johansson (2018) brought forward similar premise by stating that day to day life activities carried out by refugees is nothing but to make the environment to feel more homelike and welcoming. This is also in line with what stated by Guma (2019) that to further see the issue of refugee integration, the first thing to understand is the relationship between place and civil society response to refugee crisis.

Johansson (2018) further elaborate refugees' experience in Eastleigh, they are often engaged with the local community through regular Friday prayer and football. Such leisure time gives them a 'sense of

togetherness and peace'. Similar occurrence also happened in Copenhagen as explained by Riemsdijk (2019), which the government tried to create integration and social cohesion through the establishment of two public places which are located around immigrant settlements. In Malaysia, Hoffstaedter (2014) also showed such concord can still be found and cultivated despite the adversity as how ethnic minorities from Myanmar represented by the Coalition of Burma Ethnic Malaysia, have managed to come together and form community organizations on which they can rely. The community organizations not only will look after them but also provide them to have a reminiscence of a normal life through social, cultural and religious events, community to talk to and even education, and employment opportunity.

The efforts mentioned above have implications for the mobility and access of refugees to social and cultural activities that occur in their environment, encourage the interaction and sharing of experiences between local inhabitants and newcomers. This may be a way to counter the risks of social isolation for migrants and refugees, as well as of other local inhabitants in order to create spaces of trust, understanding and mutual support.

Both government and the local community need to work in harmony in order to realize the integration and social cohesion. However, there also challenges in trying to create an inclusive society. Based on the reviewed papers, there are six challenges to build social integration: (1) Discriminatory attitude and behavior towards the refugees and asylum seekers, or basically to those what societies often claims as pariah (Johansson, 2018; Riemsdijk, 2019; Hoffstaedter, 2014). (2) Reminiscence of the refugee's origin country (Johansson, 2018). (3) Transit countries are being seen as a temporary stop and the tendency of going to the third countries are still relatively high, thus making a place in the transit country almost seems as undesirable (Johansson, 2018). (4) In the case of Copenhagen, public space that was built on the basis of encouraging social interaction and activities are deemed by the local as 'space for immigrant only' because bulk of immigrants are occupying the space, which resulted in a dismissive public perception. On the other side, the immigrants were not feeling welcome or included either. The discord between each party renders the place into a different form of what the designer originally intended (Riemsdijk, 2019). (5) Systemic discrimination in countries such as the absence of legal protection and social recognition, also the poor portrayal of refugees by local and national mass media (Hoffstaedter, 2014; Riemsdijk, 2019). (6) Domestication attempt by the government such as forced labor (Hoffstaedter, 2014).

4.3 Placemaking as a Method to Trigger Integration and Social Cohesion

Placemaking is a practice that is currently associated with the concepts of social integration and community engagement. Silberberg (2013) stated that a placemaking process is the answer to the urban policy which has been top-down. That is, placemaking seeks to open the widest opportunity to the community to form its own place. The process of forming the place was then believed to be able to trigger social integration.

Based on this, placemaking is then widely used as a way to provide "Societal Hope" for refugees and immigrants at their resettlement places. As was done in two parks in Copenhagen, they are Superkilen and Mimersparken, Riemsdijk (2019) said the two parks were intended to encourage multiculturalism. However, as mentioned by Gill (2010) placemaking efforts are also very vulnerable to the practice of exclusion, rather than creating integration. Things happened in Superkilen, for example. Superkilen is claimed as a place to celebrate the diversity symbolized by the garden design which is claimed to have passed the participatory design process. However, at the same time, the immigrant community residing in the area became a group that did not feel represented by the public space. Proving that public space is really a battle arena to determine which "public" is meant and represented by that place. This is in accordance with the pathology of placemaking that has been described Gill (2010) that some elements of the migrant cohort are excluded from migrant places.

Referring to the same journal, the placemaking process should experience four ideal stages that continue as a continuous cycle. The first stage is refugees or immigrants feel willing to be involved, which means they are able to project a shared identity in that place. Second, the place generally represents refugee and immigrant groups. Third, there is positive acceptance and stigma about the place from the local

community. Finally, the next generation of immigrants or refugees can feel the same thing in the place that was formed by the previous generation.

This is in line with what was stated by Silberberg (2003) that there is no place that stops changing. Place and community are two components that influence one another, and the process continues. Therefore, a place and its users must always be open to new ideas and possibilities brought by refugees or immigrants of the next generation. This did not happen at PCM which was a place that had been built by early generations of Polish immigrants in the UK. The place is unable to make the next generation of refugees feel a sense of belonging and sense of control, which is a contradiction to the effort made by refugees to feel the feeling of at-homeness in their new place. To feel the feeling of at-homeness, as mentioned by Johansson (2018) refugees try to find a balance between "being acted upon and acting" and between "acquiescing in the given and choosing their own.

Table 1 Summary of Reviews from Selected Papers

PAPER/FOCUS	CONTEXT	INTEGRATION & SOCIAL COHESION	PLACEMAKING
Cities Welcoming Refugees and Migrants	In 2015, Europe faced a dramatic increase in the number of refugees arriving in irregular situations. The challenges faced in cities are exacerbated by obstacles deriving from economic constraints and existing or emerging stereotypes and prejudices against refugees and migrants.	Integration of host society and immigrants should be understood as a two-way process based on mutual rights and corresponding obligations. On the one hand that it is the responsibility of the host society to ensure that the formal rights of immigrants, while on the other hand immigrants respect the fundamental norms and values of the host society and participate actively in the integration process, without having to relinquish their own identity.	Public spaces in cities should become a place to encourage the interaction and sharing of experiences between local inhabitants and newcomers. This may be a way to counter the risks of social isolation for migrants and refugees, as well as of other local inhabitants in order to create spaces of trust, understanding and mutual support.
The In-Betweens of Space and Time in Transit	This is a study on how Somali and Oromo refugees manage under uncertain circumstances in Eastleigh, Nairobi. The spatial realities in displacement in Eastleigh included a status of illegitimacy, socio-economic hardships, and unpredictability of an eventual resettlement in a third country. In the protracted waiting for resettlement they struggle to become part of the place but in the state of transit, and in an excluding context, they are in-between – in a liminal state in both space and time.	Refugees in Eastleigh easily become familiar with the city because Eastleigh has been influenced by Somali settlers who have long settled in Eastleigh. They try to gain the sense of togetherness and sense of belonging from "familiar" daily activities with local community, such as congregational prayers on Friday which are usually held on public streets, playing football, and attending birthday parties and weddings.	Despite being able to feel a little of the "familiarity", the sense of place that is built up is mostly to the "activities" they go through at Eastleigh. Instead of perceive Eastleigh itself as a place. Sense of belonging to the place will never be owned by refugees in the country of transit, no matter how they try to live a normal life with various religious activities or rituals, there are still differences that they mention with their "home" before, and the "home" they expect in the future.
Creating Public Space, Creating the 'Public'	This paper highlight design and process of the creation of two public parks Mimersparken and Superkilen that were intended to promote diversity in Copenhagen, Denmark. While the two parks successfully established the conceptual/ideal realization was undermined. Mimersparken attain successful participatory methods, but the negative stigma of the parks persists due to it predominantly used by Mjølnerparken residents. Superkilen was widely praised by international masses, but the actual target (immigrants) were pushed back in the design process.	Instead of explaining social integration the purpose of the paper was to explain the tension of multiculturalism in Copenhagen. The two park, Mimersparken and Superkilen, were established in an attempt to promote and celebrate diversity, but both fail to achieve it. In Mimersparken, participatory design used to design the park was considered successful as the Mjølnerparken residents' significantly influence the design. Nonetheless, because the residents, which mostly comprises of immigrant, were using it, the park was regarded negatively. Superkilen was praised for its success in promoting diversity, though in the process the residents have little over the design and as a	Mimersparken and Superkilen signify an imperfect attempt of creating an inclusive public spaces. The shortfall fractured both in the design process and in the end-result. In Mimersparken minorities were successfully involved in the process and the park was effectively used by them, but designers and developers of the park were not ready for the minorities to become an agent that can alter their decision. This resulting in a lingering negative stigma of the residents and the park. Superkilen was applauded by many, but the park failed to represent the actual people living in it.

PAPER/FOCUS	CONTEXT	INTEGRATION & SOCIAL COHESION	PLACEMAKING
<p>“It’s That Kind of Place Here”: Solidarity, Place-Making and Civil Society Response to the 2015 Refugee Crisis in Wales, Uk</p>	<p>The dramatic increase of displaced refugees due to Syrian refugee crisis drove UK government initiate new measures that allowed spatial dispersal of mainly Syrian refugees to any localities in the UK. The expansion of the geography of refugee settlement to rural district in the Scottish Island and West Wales has attracted attention from the local communities. The article examines the significance of three different civil society response towards global refugees crisis, how these responses manifested in the place, and what how they and how they contribute to placemaking. These civil societies located in three localities in Wales: Aberystwyth, Mumbles and Splott.</p>	<p>result it represent designers’ vision of the diversity.</p> <p>Collective action and social mobilization to support refugee from three different civil societies from Wales: Aberaid (Aberystwyth), Bloom (Mumbles) and Oasis and Space4U (Splott) play a major part of social integration and cohesion between refugees and the local host communities. Each group have their own approach and motivation. They undertake different activities ranging from creating an accessible and comfortable 'third places', assisting resettlement process, to awareness raising. Despite the differences they have similar goal in mind: to welcome the refugees and asylum seekers</p>	<p>Civil societies in the three locations (Aberystwyth, Mumbles and Splott) have different action in realizing humanitarian concept into a tangible action. Aberaid created a 'third place' in which refugees and asylum seekers can meet in accessible, neutral, comfortable and welcoming settings. Both Oasis and Space4U operate as a day centres and community spaces for refugees and asylum seekers, providing services and facilities. Bloom on the other hand has been more focused on hosting refugees through awareness raising activities. Each of these places history and demographic affecting what approach and step that were taken. For example in Splott the initiatives are more direct because has a deeper trace of civil society experiences compare to the other two regions.</p>
<p>Placemaking: Chin Refugees, Citizenship, and the State in Malaysia</p>	<p>Since Malaysia is not a signatory to either 1952 Convention of The Status of Refugee nor the 1967 Protocol thus resulted in the lack of official recognition of refugees. The absence of legal protection and social recognition become a major predicament for refugees, making their live comparatively harder than that of other countries. Refugees can be found reside in the urban areas while waiting for their lengthy resettlement decision, many of them eventually seek 3D job (Dirty, Dark, Dangerous) to survive in the city. To cope with the hardship, the refugee community organization provide basic services and try to initiative social, cultural and religious events as an attempt to create a semblance of normal life.</p>	<p>Despite the constant interaction between Malaysian and refugees, Malaysian never really acknowledge them due to the poor portrayal of refugee by the media and politicians. The refugees also represent a radical other to Malaysia society and body politics due to their tangible differences (e.g. status, religion, and racial features). In this state of liminality NGOs, local civil society and religious groups have been the one that is actively advocate on their behalf.</p>	<p>To this extent there has been not known placemaking related undertaking by Malaysian government. The author drew an interesting point that refugees in Malaysia are living in a non-place, despite them able to somewhat settle in, in their adopted country, they did not find any meaningful living aspect in Malaysia and perceive their life as meaningless. The projection of better future in a third countries and the lack of authority to create a purposeful place had them perceive Malaysia as a temporary anomaly and foreign land.</p>

PAPER/FOCUS	CONTEXT	INTEGRATION & SOCIAL COHESION	PLACEMAKING
Places in the Making	Jane Jacobs, Kevin Lynch and William Whyte in 1960 espoused a new way to understand design and program public spaces, reassertion of the people-centered town planning principles that were forgotten during the hundred-year period of rapid industrialization, suburbanization, and urban renewal.	Good placemaking aims to create a highly connected community. The end result of a place is not more important than community interactions during the placemaking process.	Placemaking is a process that does not stop. Places continue to be made and remade by the community, opening opportunities as wide as possible to everyday users to become makers. The common mistake is too quickly assess whether a placemaking attempt has succeeded or failed. This impatience can result in a lack identification of things that should be learned.
Pathologies of Migrant Placemaking	This paper discusses the process and impact of placemaking of Polish immigrants in the UK in two different periods which are after Second World War (60s to the end of 1989), as well as after a huge wave of migration in 2004.	In the first wave of immigration to the UK, the church was considered an important place for immigrants to socialize, the church carried out many social and cultural activities. However, after the big wave in 2004, the new generation found other ways to socialize, because they felt unrepresented in the church.	Placemaking, with all the optimistic narratives built on it, is also a method that is fraught with many risks and very often is exclusive. Intergenerational understandings are needed to make a sustainable placemaking. Need to pay attention to every pathology that occurs at each ideal stage of placemaking.

5. Conclusion

Placemaking and place-based are an approach that capable of promoting social integration and wellbeing of refugees. Host/local communities and government willingness in acknowledging the existence and needs of refugees play a crucial role in tailoring these approaches into a successful practice. Guma (2019) elaborate collective actions of local residents in supporting the refugees contribute to welfare and refugee integration in the community, whilst UNESCO (2016) emphasize the need of migrant-friendly urban policies. The absence of these two elements can render a negative impact on the refugees and effectively hindering social integration. In Malaysia, Hoffstaedter (2014) stated the absence of refugees' protection law and bad-media portrayal have caused the Chin refugees to be severely discriminated. This experiences have forced the Chin refugee communities to create their own safe-space through self-organize sport and cultural activities, an attempt in invoking a reminisce of a normal life.

Placemaking is widely used in destination countries, but it does not mean that this approach cannot be applied in transit countries. In Eastleigh, Johansson (2018) research shows that place of worship such as mosque draw together both Somali refugees and Kenyan in Friday prayer, other public spaces such as market and schools were also used in a similar manner. But, the refugees still perceived Eastleigh as solely a transit country which eventually hamper the integration between the two communities. The Chin refugees also shared similar sentiment. Both Johansson (2018) and Hoffstaedter (2014) draw an akin point that integration in transit countries is relatively harder to achieve because of the refugees' aspiration of resettling in destination/third countries.

Furthermore, even in destination/third countries placemaking is not always successfully implemented. Riemsdijk (2019) study show that the unwillingness to treat refugees as an agent of change could resulted in an adverse effect of placemaking. The Mimersparken and Superkilen parks despite being successfully established it still ineffectual in promoting a positive and representative images of refugees and migrants' resident of the area. Gill (2010) study also shows how public spaces could become futile to the next generation of refugees and/or migrant. The Polish Catholic Mission was considered to be poses four ideal stages of placemaking, but due to larger immigration wave and cultural adjustment, the newer migrant unable to feel closeness of identity of the place. Silberberg (2013) stated that a highly connected community is the purpose of placemaking, welcoming inclusiveness is the key to create vivid connection between the people and its surroundings. The cases from Riemsdijk (2019) and Gill (2010) showed us embracing diversity is equally important to be realize by the local community and the refugee community the themselves. The study cases from both authors exhibit that the reluctance towards diversity could render an ineffective result of placemaking. A number of questions emerged for further research. *First*, there has not been much discussion about the types of cities that are currently hosting refugees. Since every city has characteristics, history, policies and interests that are very different from one another, this aspect discusses more about governance. There is a need to see whether the practice of systemic discrimination by the city government also occurs in cities with totally different backgrounds.

Second, in the aspect of integration and social cohesion, the discourse developed by local and national media in influencing the realization of integration has not been discussed in depth. Some of the literature reviewed above stated that media discourse is another factor that influences social integration, which means that this aspect becomes very important especially in the era of information technology which is currently accelerating. *Third*, it is necessary to further elaborate on the concept of feeling of at-homeness that becomes a reference point for every refugee and immigrant in their efforts to become part of a place. *Lastly*, related to the practice of placemaking, does placemaking then also have a further goal to make refugees feel the feeling of at-homeness? It will be interesting to see how this related to the concept of "third places", which is mostly represented in public space that aims to create a neutral place for users.

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