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CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS**

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Conference Proceedings

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# DE(CONSTRUCTING) THE REFUGEES' RIGHT TO THE CITY: STATE-RUN CAMPS VERSUS COMMONING PRACTICES IN ATHENS, THESSALONIKI AND MYTILENE

CHARALAMPOS TSAVDAROGLOU, CHRISA GIANNOPOULOU, OLGA LAFAZANI, ILIAS PISTIKOS, CHRISTY PETROPOULOU

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## **Abstract**

A noticeable body of literature since the 1980s has been exploring aspects of social philanthropy, NGOs' activities and State immigration policies. However, little research is available on how the refugees themselves self-organize, claim the right to the city and enact the production of collective housing common spaces. This paper aims to discuss such issues and contribute to this gap.

Following the recent spatial approaches on "commons" and "enclosures" the paper compares and contrasts refugee led solidarity housing commons with State-run refugee camps. According to the critical thinkers of "autonomy of migration" the focus has to be shifted from the apparatuses of control to the multiple and diverse ways in which migration responds to, operates independently from, and in turn shapes those apparatuses and their corresponding institutions and practices. Moreover the paper is inspired by the Lefebvrian "right to the city" which embodies the rights to housing, work, education, health and culture and challenges the notion of the citizen. In Lefebvrian thought, citizenship is not defined by membership in the nation-state, but is based on membership in inhabitation. Consequently the newcomers' mobile commons contest State immigration policies and claim spatial justice.

The paper focuses empirically on Greece, which is situated at the epicentre of the refugee crisis, and in Athens, Thessaloniki and Mytilene in particular. Mytilene is the capital of Lesbos Island i.e. the main refugee entrance point in the East, close to the Turkish coastline. Athens is the capital of Greece where more than ten State-run camps in the outskirts of the city and several refugee squatted buildings in the center of the city establish a dialectic contrast. Finally, Thessaloniki was the city with the highest ratio of refugees per residents across the EU during 2016.

For the purposes of the paper social data were collected from both qualitative and quantitative processes; a methodological tool, which is applied for the determination of these dynamic characteristics approved by participatory research, ethnographic analysis, semi-structured interviews, discourse analysis and collection of articles of local press and web pages.

The main findings are that the moving populations, in their effort to survive, do not only challenge the State-run camps but seek to negotiate and go beyond cultural, class, gender, religious and political identities. Consequently, the newcomers are transformed into an unpredictable and misfitted multitude that claim the right to the city and produce unique and porous housing common spaces, spaces in movement and threshold spaces. In parallel, State housing policies tend to appropriate the refugees' common spaces with several methods like forced evictions, criminalization of solidarity groups and enclose them in isolated camps, hot spots and detention centers.

**Keywords:** refugees, right to the city, communing, camps

## **Introduction**

The so-called migration crisis in Greece has been a major issue during 2015-2016. According to the United Nations (U.N., 2016a), during 2015 851,319 entered and crossed the country. On March 8, 2016, following a gradual restriction of access to the Balkan route based on ethnic origin criteria that started in February 2016, the border between Greece and F.Y.R.O.M. was closed for all third-country citizens. In the aftermath of this closure, and following the implementation of the EU-Turkey deal on the 20th of March 2016 (European Commission, 2016), over 57,000 refugees found themselves suddenly trapped in Greece, most of them in Athens, Thessaloniki and Mytilene (Coordination Centre for the Management of Refugee Crisis in Greece, 2016). While the vast majority of them are settled in State-run camps-reception centers in the outskirts of the cities, about 2,000 reside in self-organized occupied buildings in the urban core. Focused on this context, this paper examines the right to refugees' adequate housing as it is expressed by the Greek State housing policies and the solidarity housing practices of newly arrived refugees.

More specifically with this paper we aim to examine the emerging spatial commoning practices of migrants and refugees. Although there is a vast literature (Gabiam, 2012; Ihlen et al., 2015; Harrell-Bond, 1986; Verdirame and Harrell-Bond 2005, Rajaram 2002) on social philanthropy, humanitarianism, NGOs' activities and State immigration policies, there have been few attempts to research the ongoing refugees' self-organized actions that produce seemingly anonymous, however highly personal and collective housing common spaces.

In the above context our basic argument is that despite the vivid and increasingly popular discussion on commons (De Angelis, 2017; Federici, 2011; Stavrides, 2016), few attempts have been made to connect it with the ongoing refugee crisis. In recent years, the discussion on urban commons has revolved mainly around critical geographers' approaches that focus on "accumulation by dispossession" (Glassman, 2006; Harvey, 2012; Hodgkinson, 2012) and conceptualize commons as a new version of the "right to the city" (Brenner et al., 2009; Kuymulu, 2013; Mayer, 2009). At the same time, during the current refugee crisis, the newcomers are settled in inadequate housing facilities on the outskirts of cities, which gradually become ghettoized, and face discriminatory access to facilities and services essential for health, security, comfort and nutrition. However, the previously described refugee and migrant urban policies do not stay uncontested. In the case of Athens, Thessaloniki and Mytilene the newcomers claim spatial justice and visibility as well as the right to the city and to adequate housing; and in collaboration with activists and solidarity groups they occupy abandoned buildings in the urban core and tend to transform them into common housing spaces. Moreover, in their effort to survive, refugees not only challenge the State-run camps, but also seek to negotiate and go beyond cultural, class, gender, religious and political identities. Furthermore, the newcomers, through praxes of "relocation" and "reinscription" (Bhabha, 1994), produce hybrid housing spaces and collectively aim to reinvent a culture of coexistence and cohabitation. Consequently, the newcomers are transformed into an unpredictable (Stavrides, 2014) and misfitted (Holloway, 2010) multitude (Hardt and Negri, 2009) that produces unique and porous housing common spaces, spaces in movement and threshold spaces. In parallel, State housing policies tend to appropriate the refugee common spaces and prevent their rights to the city

with several methods like forced evictions, criminalization of solidarity groups, and enclosing them in dilapidated factories and old military bases (Christodoulou et al., 2016; Karyotis, 2016).

For the purposes of the paper the social data was obtained through both qualitative and quantitative processes. The methodological tools applied to the determination of these dynamic characteristics came through participatory action research, ethnographic analysis, semi-structured interviews and the collection of articles of local press and web pages. It should be noted that refugee research participants are a relatively difficult to access as research population due to the variety of their legal status. Some participants felt uncomfortable discussing and reflecting on the conditions of their shelter and how they relate to it. The anonymization of data and the voluntary participation ensured that any potential uneasiness that may have arisen as a result of their participation in the research was addressed so that no physical, psychological, or social adversities could have affected the participants. Thus, the names of most interviewed individuals have been changed with culturally appropriate names to protect their identity.

The paper is structured as follows. The following section engages with the theoretical discussion on decolonial and intersectional approaches on the right to the city and mobile common spaces. The subsequent section explores and deconstructs the features of the refugees' right to the city and to adequate housing in the State-run camps in Athens, Thessaloniki and Mytilene. We then examine the socio-spatial features of the refugees' common spaces in the forementioned cities. The final section draws some concluding remarks on the ongoing conflict between the refugee common space and the State run camps.

### **Decolonial and intersectional approach on the Right to the city and mobile common spaces**

In order to explore the refugees' right to the city we draw attention on Henri Lefebvre's work "The Right to the City" (1996[1968]). In the late 60's Lefebvre wrote his famous book the "The Right To The City". The publication of the book in 1968 coincided with the 100th anniversary of the publication of Marx's Capital, and came just before the revolutionary outbreaks in Paris, Prague, the rest of Europe and the US. The right to the city was influential for several radical scholars and urban social movements. One of the basic theses and point of departure of Lefebvre was that "the city [is] a projection of society on the ground that is, not only on the actual site, but at a specific level, perceived and conceived by thought, [...] the city is the place of confrontations and of (conflictual) relations (...), the city [is] the 'site of desire' (...) and site of revolutions" (Ibid., 109). In the previous quote Lefebvre demonstrated the trialectical character of space as conceived, perceived and lived, or physical-mental-social space, spatial practice-representations of space-representational space, which he farther analyzed in his later work "The Production of Space" (Lefebvre, 1991b[1974]). By verbalizing imaginary spaces, which are crucial to every process of space alteration he widened not only the notion of space but also the possibilities to imagine and produce different spatialities. By introducing social relations as a mean of space production he questioned vividly both the hierarchical perception of city space in terms of production, according to which space was formed by the expertised authorities, and the perception of space as two dimensional or box container of life. In addition, for Lefebvre the right to the city embodies an intersectional way of thinking as it goes beyond "the rights of ages and sexes (the woman, the child and the elderly), rights of conditions, rights to training and education, to work, to culture, to rest, to health, to housing" (Lefebvre, 1996[1968], 157). Furthermore, Lefebvre argues that the right to the city is not a typical right but it "is like a cry and a demand" (Ibid., 173). Indeed, in this paper it will be shown the refugee despair upon arrival to Athens, Thessaloniki and Mytilene and their demand to right to city. Finally Lefebvre's concept of the right to the city challenges the notion of the citizen. By bringing to surface people as protagonists of the production of city space he gave a new meaning to citizenship. In his thought, citizenship is not defined by membership in the nation-State but is based on membership in inhabitation, thus on the everyday production of city space. As Purcell (2003: 577) notes "everyday life (...) is the central pivot of the right tot the city:

those who go about their daily routines in the city, both living in and creating space, are those who possess a legitimate right to the city (Lefebvre, 1991a[1947])”.

Recently the notion of the right to the city is enriched with the concept of the common space. Following several critical scholars analyses (Caffentzis, 2010; De Angelis, 2007; Dellenbaugh, et al., 2015), conceptualizing the commons involves three things at the same time: a common pool of resources, community, and commoning. “Commons” don’t exist per se but they are constituted through the social process of commoning. The people who, through commoning, constitute communities that self-organize sharing common resources, in non-commercial ways, are called “commoners”. According to Harvey (2012, 73) the common is constructed as an unstable and malleable social relation between “a particular self-defined social group and those aspects of its actually existing or yet-to-be-created social and/or physical environment”. In addition, several scholars (De Angelis, 2016; Federici, 2011; Hardt and Negri, 2009) make the point that the commons have to be separated from the dipole of private or state management. In this brief review on the commons a point worth mentioning is Blomley’s (2008, 320) proposal that “the commons, (...), is not so much found as produced, (...) the commons is a form of place-making.” Finally, Stavrides (2014, 548) suggests that the spaces of common emerge as “thresholds”, which are “open to usage, open to newcomers”.

Moreover, in order to conceptualize the various and complex power relations in the production of the common space, we build on postcolonial urban theory approaches, which seek to highlight the various “subaltern” agents while surpassing the dichotomies West-East or North-South and to focus on the examinations of the hybrid intermediate forms of production of space (McFarlane, 2006; Robinson, 2011; Roy, 2011). Within this framework, several scholars (Alexiou et al., 2016; De Genova et al., 2015; Nyers, 2015; Papadopoulos and Tsianos, 2013) suggest the so-called “autonomy of migration”, which refers to a rapidly developing series of ideas that reflect a kind of “Copernican turn in migration studies” (Casas-Cortes et al., 2015, 895). According to the “autonomy of migration” the focus has to be shifted from the apparatuses of control to the multiple and diverse ways in which migration responds to, operates independently from, and in turn shapes those apparatuses and their corresponding institutions and practices. Moreover the approaches of “migration autonomy”, examines how the migrant populations often develop survival strategies, activate subjective capabilities, share information and knowledge, engage in social relations with other migrants, and rely on emerging networks of solidarity that they encounter on their journey. In addition, the approach of “autonomy of immigration” in conversation with the postpositivism approaches of critical and human geography is removed from the homogenization and victimization of the refugee figure that are prevailing in State or NGO policies (Squire et al., 2017). Instead, it approaches the moving populations in an interdisciplinary and intersectional way and focuses on their particular cultural practices, individual and collective aspirations, survival strategies, relativity and identity troubling, on issues of class, gender, ethnicity, age, disability, as well as in the social movements of solidarity with refugees and immigrants. At this point, mobile commons are emerging as those collective forms of communication of moving populations based on selforganization, mutual help and the negotiation of their various identities. It is these forms of social organization and action that may destabilize State-immigration policies (Mezzadra and Neilson, 2013) and acquire a character of spatial disobedience (Garelli, and Tazzioli, 2017) in their move to claim and create common spaces (Trimikliniotis, et al., 2015).

Finally, we propose to enrich the discussion on the mobile commons with the intersectional approaches (Crenshaw, 1991; Collins, 2009[1990]; Lykke, 2010) that examine the crossings, interferences and diffractions of the multiple systems of domination, oppression and discrimination in the fields of ethnicity, class, gender, age, (dis)ability, religion and culture, which produce its’ time unique oppressions. The theory of intersectionality claims that the subjects are situated in frameworks of multiple, interacting forms of oppression and privilege through socially constructed categories. Rather than being conceptualized as an additive model, intersectionality offers a



lens through which the aforementioned categories are seen as constituting processes; that is, these categories do not exist independently from one another; rather, they mutually reinforce one another. Rather than emphasizing in distinct categories, intersectionality theorizes social positions as overlapping, complex, interacting, intersecting, and often contradictory configurations.

From this point of view, contemporary refugee housing common spaces could be seen as open communities of commoners, which through their spatial practices of commoning destabilize the State-led policies as well as the multiply and intersected power relations and seek to (re)claim both the physical and the social space producing unique collective common spaces. Such a framework seems adequate to analyse the newcomers' right to the city and to explain the hybrid spatialities of recent refugee common spaces.

### **Deconstructing the institutional refugees' right to the city. State-run refugee camps in Athens, Thessaloniki and Mytilene**

Several international organizations and governments during the last decades adopt the rhetoric on the refugee right to the city and to housing. After the WWII, refugees' right to adequate housing was recognized as part of the "right to an adequate standard of living" in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (U.N., 1948) and in the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (U.N., 1966). Furthermore, the United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights has underlined that the right to adequate housing should not be interpreted narrowly (U.N., 2009b). Rather, it should be seen as the right to live somewhere in security, peace and dignity. Moreover, the European Council (ECRE, 2007) recognizes that the living environment and conditions in terms of housing are key to the integration of refugees and migrants. Only by making housing equally accessible to refugees, migrants and national citizens, as well as stimulating multicultural living environments integration will succeed (ECRE, 2007). Since 2007 Greece has adapted the Council Directive for the minimum standards for the reception of refugees (Presidential Decree, 220/2007). Finally according to the UNHCR policy on refugee protection and solutions in urban areas the refugees right to the city can be assessed on the basis of certain indicators which include the extent to which refugees are threatened (or not) by refoulement, eviction, arbitrary detention, deportation, harassment or extortion by the security services and other actors; enjoy freedom of movement and association and expression, and protection of their family unity; have access to livelihoods and the labour market and are protected from exploitative treatment by employers, landlords and traders; enjoy adequate shelter and living conditions; are able to gain legal and secure residency rights and are provided with documentation; have access to public and private services such as healthcare and education; enjoy harmonious relationships with the host population, other refugees and migrant communities; and, are able to benefit from the solutions of voluntary repatriation, local integration and resettlement (U.N., 2009a).

According to the above statements the characteristics of the refugee right to adequate housing must meet the following criteria: security of tenure, availability of services, materials, facilities and infrastructure, affordability, habitability, accessibility and cultural adequacy. Finally, it is emphasized that housing is not adequate if it is cut off from employment opportunities, health-care services, schools, childcare centers and other social facilities, or if it is located in polluted or dangerous areas.

In contrast to the above criteria, a large number of refugees, in the cases of Athens and Thessaloniki are forced to live in camps that are located in abandoned industrial sites and military camps far from the urban area and thus the refugees, exposed to inadequate and undignified housing and harsh weather conditions. In Mytilene, the vast majority of refugees resides in the camp settings in similar and/or even worst conditions.

According to the Syrian refugee Ahmet who lived in the Skaramagas camp in the outskirts of Athens:

"The situation in the camps is extremely difficult, the rights of the refugees have been totally violated. Camps are full of germs and diseases, very cold in the winter and unbearable heat in the summer. All the camps are out of

town, no camp is in the city. The bus traffic with the city is very poor and the auditors are constantly intimidating us on buses, and taxi drivers are asking for double rates”, (personal interview, February 10, 2018).

The Kurdish refugee Kava, who lost his two legs in Syrian bombing and he is in a wheelchair, he lived for a year at the Oreokastro camp in Thessaloniki. He describes the conditions in the camp as follow:

“For me, the situation is extremely difficult, the nine months I am in the camp I have never been bathing because there is no infrastructure in the showers for a person with mobility difficulties. Inside the tent it is impossible. Also, there is no light in the night in the whole camp, how am I supposed to reach the toilet? Actually, I just sit in the tent 24 hours a day”, (personal interview, January 11, 2018).

In the words of Ibrahim from Iraq who lived six months at the Vasilika camp in Thessaloniki:

“The camp is in the middle of nowhere, it is far from the city. This place is not for people, when we arrived it was like leaving us in the middle of the hell. We were very afraid because there were villages around us who were against the refugees, they had been organized and they were gathering against us. We were 1500 people and the authorities behaved us like animals. In fact the camp was a former poultry farm and we were stacked by so many people in a very small part, as if we were chickens. In the beginning for all the people there were only three toilets, one could not eat the food and the portions were too small. There was no provision either for infants, babies or young children had to drink milk for many days”, (personal interview, March 19, 2018).

According to the Afghan refugee Abdul who lived in the Malakasa camp in the outskirts of Athens:

“It seems to me extremely strange and unfair to put people to stay out of the cities. If an elderly person has a heart attack, he has to go from the camp to the hospital, thus an ambulance is needed. Usually, the ambulance arrives in the camp after 3 hours when the man is most likely to have already died. There is no reason to get people to live outside of the city in former military camps. It is a matter of dignity, refugees have suffered so much from the war and their journey to Greece and what they find is the misery of the camps”, (personal interview, 30 April 2018).

Also Bahar an Afghan refugee who lived in the Moria camp in the outskirts of Mytilene says:

“When I saw the wall in Moria camp, how big and tall it is, double fences, barbed wire, cameras, I said that this case is not a good case, that was my first impression. The words “Welcome to prison” are spray-painted at the entrance. Then the bus put us in the camp, and I saw people frustrated and angry. Trash spills out of overflowing garbage bins and piles up on the ground. At night, bonfires light up the faces of children and adults who try to stay warm. All sorts of prisoners are in the camp of Moria. People who are going to be deported, people who are trapped and wait more than 6 months to get papers and to leave for Athens, people staying in tents, people who are sick, actually, all refugees in Moria are mentally ill. The situation of endless waiting in Moria camp metaphorically and literally kills you, because all the time you compare the rest moments of your life with what you live in the camp and you become crazy. Smile and dignity are unknown words in Moria”, (personal interview, 25 October 2017).

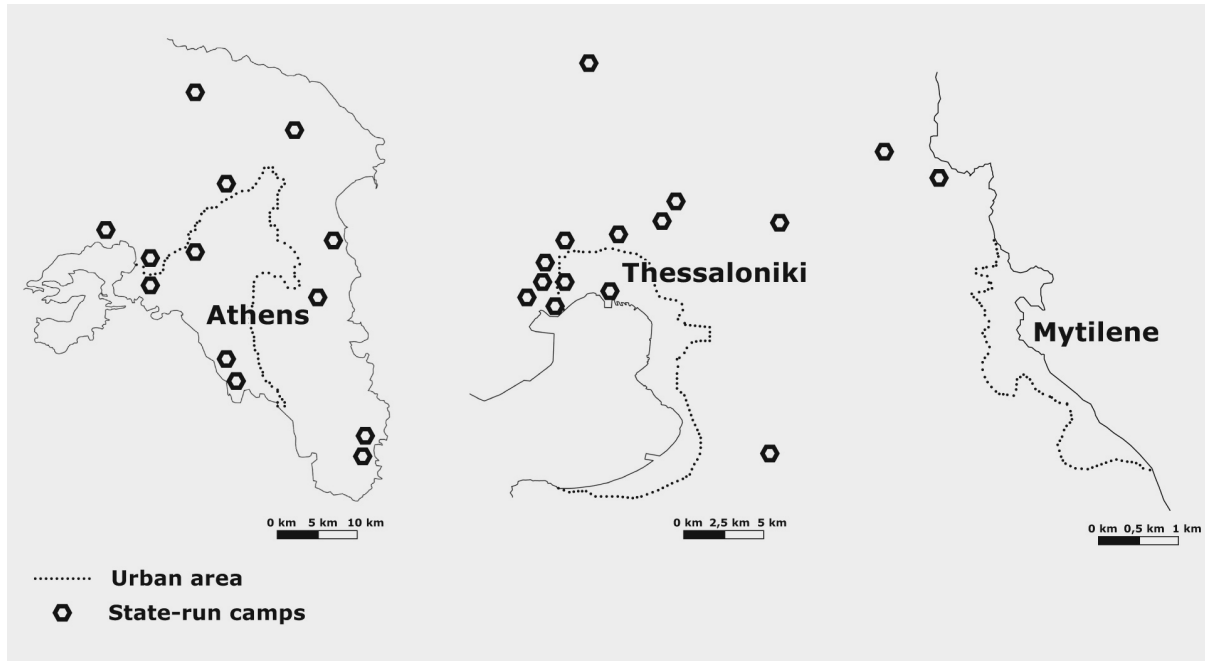


Figure 1. State-run refugees' camps in Athens, Thessaloniki and Mytilene 2016-2017 (source: the authors)

The State-run refugee camps in the case of Athens, Thessaloniki and Mytilene are mostly overcrowded dilapidated factories and old military bases (see Figure 1), where a dire lack of amenities has prevailed such as running water, and derelict warehouses in filthy conditions that appear unfit for habitation. In most of the cases there is no access to health and security services and facilities. According to several NGOs' reports (Amnesty International, 2016; International Rescue Committee, 2016; Médecins Sans Frontières, 2016), the report of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (2016) and the report of U.N. (2016b) the camps do not meet international standards. They are located in extremely polluted and dangerous environments, close to or inside industrial zones, oil refineries, gaseous fuel depots, and pesticides facilities (General Plan for Major Chemical Accidents Response, 2009). According to the Regulatory Urban Plan of Athens and Thessaloniki Metropolitan Areas (2014), the majority of the State-run refugee camps in Athens and Thessaloniki are located in areas where the permitted land uses are "medium or high disturbance productive activities", and there is no provision for residential areas. In most of the State-run camps in Athens and Thessaloniki infrastructures, schools, supermarkets and social life are remote and most of the camps are not connected with public transportation. The reports reveal dirt-strewn warehouses lined with tents pitched on filthy concrete floors. The tents have been placed too tightly together, the air circulation is poor, and supplies of food, water, toilets, showers, and electricity are insufficient. During the winter hundreds live in tents or without heating while struggling with snow, heavy rains and strong winds. Furthermore, camps were usually either full or host to a range of problems: scabies, knife fights, food poisoning, inadequate facilities, snakes and scorpions. Thus, the refugees have to survive in inhuman, appalling and precarious housing conditions, against the cold or hot weather, the illnesses, the psychosocial distress, the lack of food, energy and water supplies. In the case of Moria camp in the outskirts of Mytilene, NGOs (ActionAid et al., 2017, Advocates Abroad et al., 2018) and even UNHCR (2018), through common letters to the Prime Minister of the Greek Government (the first) and press releases (the latter) urge for dignified living conditions and address the issue of overcrowded reception centres in the Aegean islands. In the NGO statements about Moria it is described that: People, including very young children, live in overcrowded tents and containers, (almost 8,500 as of August 2018) with little access to proper shelter, food, water, sanitation, health care, or protection. The living conditions are particularly harsh for

pregnant women to endure, and place themselves and their babies' health at risk.. Accessing water, sanitation and food is particularly difficult for the many people with physical disabilities. Single women in the hotspots report harassment by some of the men. (...) These conditions have a devastating impact on the long-term well-being of people trapped there. The Greek authorities cannot meet the basic needs and protect the rights of asylum seekers while they remain on the islands. The containment policy traps people in conditions below EU minimum standards, impedes their access to necessary services, and denies them access to fair and efficient asylum procedures because of the overcrowding on the islands and the lack of basic services'. Finally the NGOs emphasize that the Greek Government 'should rapidly expand safe accommodation and access to services on the mainland and create a system to move people quickly to mainland accommodation that provides for their medical and mental health needs while their asylum application is processed'

Moreover, there is a further analytic point here that must be remarked. On the back of uncertainty and anger over delayed asylum processes, marooned refugees in State-run camps say they have become "sitting ducks" for mafia gangs as they move in. According to several reports (Al Jazeera, 2017; The Observer, 2016; TRT World, 2017) mafia gangs see the entrapped refugees as perfect prey for prostitution, drug trafficking and human smuggling. "I never knew a thing about drugs and now I am doing drugs," (personal interview, 12 July 2017) said a 17-year-old Syrian youth who lived in a camp that stands in the defunct Softex toilet-roll factory on the outskirts of Thessaloniki. "This camp is horrid. We live like animals in tents in burning heat" (Ibid.). Drugs, he ventured, had become the central cause for violence, with brawls erupting frequently. "The Greek and Albanian mafia come here and push the drugs," (Ibid.) he explained conceding that he financed his own habit by illicitly sneaking into Macedonia, where he bought cartons of cigarettes to sell in the camp. "The police are non-existent. They see drugs, stabbing, fighting and do nothing. They do not care. The world does not care" (Ibid.).

In particular, the lives of women, homosexuals, children and unaccompanied minors are extremely difficult. There are no safe spaces and a number of incidents of gender-based violence, harassment, domestic violence, sexual abuse, trafficking and survival sex have been reported (Liapi et al., 2016). In addition a set of reports claim that "youngsters and women are too afraid to leave tents after dark at government-run camps" (The Guardian, 2016). A report from the Center for Health and Human Rights of Harvard University (Digidiki and Bhabha, 2017) on the growing epidemic of sexual exploitation and abuse of migrant children in the refugee camps in Greece reveals that there is insufficient number of specialized facilities for children; risky living conditions inside camps; potentially hazardous and unsupervised commingling of migrant children with the adult migrant population; weak and insufficiently resourced child protection systems and lack of coordination and cooperation among responsible actors. Moreover on February 2018, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (U.N., 2018) collected 622 testimonies from victims of sexual violence among the refugees who arrived in Greece in 2017. One third of the people claim to have been assaulted in Greece in the detention centers. Bathrooms and latrines are no-go zones after dark for women or children, unless they are accompanied. Even bathing during day time can be dangerous. In Mytilene Moria, one woman says that she had not taken a shower in two months from fear. Moreover even though there is a program for transferring children to schools, a very small number is involved because their parents are afraid to let them move away over long distances.

Structures & Hosting Facilities	Guests July 2018	Structures & Hosting Facilities	Guests July 2018
Lesvos	9.896	Central Macedonia (Thessaloniki)	4.527
Moria	8.000 (approx.)	Diavata (Anagnostopoulou)	1.497
Kara Tepe	1.896	Lagadikia - Vogiatzoglou	391

Athens	6.837	Alexandria	657
Schisto	821	Nea Kavala	777
Elaionas	1.519	Serres	590
Malakasa	1.075	Veroia	292
Lavrio I	250	Kato Milia	323
Lavrio II	514		
Skaramagas Dock	2.503		
Elefsina	155		

Table 1. Structures and hosting facilities in Athens, Thessaloniki and Mytilene (Source: UNHCR, Site Profiles, July 2018).

Although the situation is changed during the last 2 years (2017-2018), especially in Thessaloniki many of the State-run camps were closed during the heavy winter of 2017; however the last year 2018, there is an impressive increased of new arrivals and because of the closer of the borders in the so-called Balkan route, many camps reopened, again with tents and lack of facilities. At the same time in the islands of east Aegean are stacked more than 20.000 migrants. While asylum seekers before the EU-Turkey deal could move to the Greek mainland after typically just a few days on the islands, they now wait on the islands for months. Especially in Lesvos approximately 7.500 people are leaving during the summer of 2018 in Moria camp in Mytilene when the capacity of the camp is only for 3.100 people and in total there are approximately 10.000 refugees in the island (National Coordination Center For Border Control, Immigration And Asylum, 2018).

Consequently, although the EU Commission, the Greek State, the UNHCR and several local and international NGOs run and finance the official camps with a large amount of money, the online media project Refugees Deeply has calculated that \$803m has come into Greece since 2015 (Howden and Fotiadis, 2017), it is obvious that there is a huge gap between the official statements, directives, rhetoric and principles on the refugees' right to the city and to adequate housing and the daily reality in refugee camps. Moreover questions are rising about the top-down policies with respect to implementation, mismanagement, efficacy and responsibility, and also about corruption (Howden, 2017; Howden and Fotiadis 2017; Malichoudis, 2017). Thus it can be argued that the assimilation of radical contexts like "the refugee right to the city and to adequate housing" on behalf of the authorities does not lead to better human conditions but aim to cover up the daily frustration, exploitation and poverty of entrapped refugees.

**Emerging refugee common spaces. Reimagining the refugees' right to the city**

In recent years the greek cities have been hit by an unprecedented turmoil that is expressed socially, economically and spatially (Arampatzi, 2017; Hadjimichalis, 2011; Kaika, 2012). One of the main consequences of the socio-spatial crisis was that several public (schools, hospitals) and private buildings (houses, hotels) were abandoned in the center of the city (Vatavali and Siatitsa, 2011; Ministry of Enviroment & Energy, 2014). During the period of 2015-2018 refugees' solidarity groups occupied several of these empty buildings and turned them into housing projects for hundreds of newcomers. According to the National Coordination Center for Border Control, Immigration and Asylum, (2018) more than 2.000 refugees are hosted in squats, which are run by both refugees and solidarity groups.

The self-managed housing projects, as opposed to the State-run camps, are located in the urban fabric and near or in the center of Athens, Thessaloniki and Mytilene. Their spatial position is of particular importance to their inhabitants as they have access to the social life, health services, education and more favorable access to

employment opportunities. Mahmoud a Syrian refugee who is living in the occupied former hotel building of City Plaza in the center of Athens emphasizes that “some psychotherapists are helping us here and told us that people who have moved from the camp in the outskirts of the city to the City Plaza, in the city center, it has greatly improved their mental health”, (personal interview, 30 April 2018).

Collective kitchens, kindergartens, medicine and clothes stores set up in the self-managed structures. The occupied refugee shelters, managed as commons through participatory processes, locals and refugees take decisions together; they recognize each other’s culture and customs and they try to overcome preconceptions and stereotypes. Thus new forms of egalitarian intimacy, mutuality, reciprocity and togetherness are emerged, beyond and against the exclusionary State policies or the philanthropical practices of NGOs.

According to the Housing Squat for Refugees and Immigrants Notara 26, (2016, 2):

“We are squatting an empty public building in Athens, 26 Notara Str., in order to territorialize our solidarity towards refugees/immigrants to cover their immediate needs (shelter, food, medical help). This project doesn’t stand for philanthropy, state or private, but rather for a self-organized solidarity project, wherein locals and refugees-immigrants decide together. The decisive body is the squat’s open assembly where everyone is welcome to participate with no exclusions.”

As outlined by the Solidarity Initiative to Economic and Political Refugees (2016), which supports the refugee accomodation center City Plaza, refugee families from different nationalities are working collectively and in solidarity with other on the cleaning, repairing, and organization of several occupied spaces. They can be seen therefore as projects of self-organization and solidarity, as centers of struggle against racism and exclusion, for the right to free movement, decent living conditions and equal rights. According to the Syrian refugee Ahmed:

“I deeply believe that the reason why the City Plaza has become so popular and it is in the hearts of all of us, it is precisely because there is no private ownership in this place. There is no room for bosses to command the refugees, but on the contrary we all ourselves became responsible for the building and therefore we have felt it in a personal and mostly collective way. Here we felt what it means sharing and collective responsibility”, (personal interview, 30 April 2018).

According to our personal interviews and participation as well as several reports and scholars (Christodoulou, et al. 2016; Haddad, 2016; Karyotis, 2016; Squire, 2018) the occupied refugee shelters are managed as commons through participatory processes. Locals and refugees cook together and eat around the same table. In the words of the Afghan activist and researcher Salim in contrast, to the State-run camps: the self-organized project of Pikpa in Mytilene “offers the space and opportunity for refugees to prepare their own meals. Almost, without exception, the residents of Pikpa reply positively about food with the reminder that the possibility of cooking their own meals helps them to eat better, because their culinary tradition has its own specificities”, (personal interview, 15 February 2018).

Moreover the residents of the self-organized housing projects take decisions together in direct-democratic assemblies, which usually make decisions by consensus.

In the words of Mohamed, a Moroccan resident in Orfanotrofeio squat in Thessaloniki:

“I had never seen such an effort before, nor been in a political occupation which impressed me very positively. At the occupation the rules are: no violence to anyone, no sexist behaviors are allowed, there is equality between men and women, drugs are prohibited, plus we also created mixed shifts for cleaning and cooking. We have a weekly general meeting, another day a meeting of the inhabitants and we have recently created a third political immigrant meeting”, (personal interview, 15 November 2017).

Also according to Ali from Afghanistan who was involved in the occupied beach of Tsamakia next to the center of Mytilene:

“Here I am involved with No Border group and I stay in the self-organized camp in Tsamakia beach because I believe that refugees should be self-organized without the NGO’s involvement. There are a lot of problems of course, but at the end of the day the camp works. The most important thing for me is to understand that the problems are not individual but collective. We have an assembly twice a week which is mostly to find out how we will organize the necessary works. Our aim is not only to cover the daily needs but also to deepen political discussions which requires time and clear mind”, (personal interview, 22 April 2016).

Finally, it is worth noting that in the housing commons solidarity people with the refugees seek to ensure basic dignity issues of vulnerable groups such as women, homosexuals, children, disabled people, creating “awareness groups” and “safe spaces”. These self-organized places are for many of the refugees the only option to openly express their cultural practices and gender identities. Indicatively, according to Soraya, a transgender refugee from Pakistan who lives and participates in the self-organized lgbtq space Kontrosol in downtown Thessaloniki:

“I want to stress that in contrast to the life in the camps it is the first time that I feel safe in this space, because the people who has set it knows our needs, the people we are in the group are like me transgender and we have become friends, we talk to each other, we share the thoughts. The refugees in the group are coming from different countries, like Syria, Iraq, Pakistan and Maghreb. This is the first experience in my life that I have as many friends like me, homosexuals and transsexuals. The most important thing is that they care about me and I care about them. It is like a dream if one can feel what I am feeling now. Although I am so far from my home in Pakistan, I feel that this is much more of my home here”, (personal interview, March 16, 2018).

### **Conclusion: Refugee common spaces vs State-run camp: an ongoing conflict**

This paper focuses on three main implications that are considered of critical political and theoretical importance to the housing policies of refugees in Athens, Thessaloniki and Mytilene.

Firstly, following intersectional and decolonial spatial approaches on “commons” and “enclosures” as well as the Lefebvrian spatial analysis on the right to the city, we propose the concept of the common space as the unity of the shared physical space with the spatial commoning practices and the communities of the people who direct-democratically co-decide the principles and structures operation. Conversely, the enclosed spaces are territories in which relations of oppression, discrimination and exclusion are expressed in terms of ethnicity, gender, class, age, disability, culture, etc. Through the prism of the dialectic common space-enclosed space we sought to approach the refugee housing conditions in Athens, Thessaloniki and Mytilene. In the State-run camps it is monitored a considerable deprivation of materials, services, methods and conditions that could not offer to the refugees security, sense of belonging and ensure their physical and mental health. Conversely, in the self-organized housing structures, the commoning processes are based on the multitude of solidarity gestures, the emotional, communicative, cultural and aesthetic interactions, which seek to overcome the normative dipoles of native-foreign, young-elderly, male-female, homosexual-heterosexual, Greek speakers-Arabic speakers and so forth. Secondly, refugees’ housing commons enrich the concept of the common space with the plethora of human rights, which are inseparable, interconnected and included in the right to the city. Our study shows clearly that the violation or restriction of the right of refugees to an acceptable dwelling as expressed by the housing policies of State-run camps may affect a wider set of rights. Access to accepted housing is a prerequisite for a range of rights related to work, health, privacy, transportation, sexual orientation and education. The right to housing does not simply mean that housing construction should be appropriate but requires non-discriminatory access to facilities that are important for health, safety, nutrition as well as freedom of expression and assembly. The research in the cases of Athens, Thessaloniki and Mytilene reveals that self-organized structures may better meet the above criteria.

Finally, it should be stressed that the refugee commoning practices are not only linked to housing needs and their personal space, but also linked to the claim to the right to the city, meaning the right to the multiple dimensions of everyday life, such as the public and political sphere, the social and cultural relations even in the sphere of imagination and representation. So the idea behind self-organized housing is not only to provide shelter but also to track the possibility of spatial justice as well as the pursuit of political and social rights. Therefore, the emerging housing communities of the migrating populations can be seen as potential hybrid territorial thresholds as open communities in motion that constantly negotiate the various social identities and collectively seek and re-invent the culture of togetherness and coexistence.

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# MENTAL MAPS OF SYRIAN REFUGEES' CHILDREN OF SYRIAN AND TURKISH NEIGHBOURHOODS

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## Abstract

Studies refer to the role of culture and familiarity of the surrounding landscape in forming the children's cognitive maps. Children from different cultures experience different levels of socialization. In parallel, how far they can travel on their own (from close vicinity of their house to anywhere in the city) varies by culture. In return, differences in familiarity is reflected in their mental maps. Given that, we explore how Syrian refugee children in Turkey perceive their physical environment in Turkey and back in Syria. We explore and compare their mental maps for their hometown of origin country (Syria) and hosting country (Turkey) to understand how refugee children's environmental experience differs considering the fact that they fled from a war zone and barely speak the hosting community language. 36 Syrian children in Turkey (18 boys, 18 girls, ages vary between 7 and 11) were asked to draw their neighbourhoods where they live in Izmir, Turkey and their neighbourhoods where they used to live back in Syria. They explained their drawings via face to face interview. The sample of Syrian refugee children (who are studying in a temporary education centre in Izmir) is to a high degree homogeneous coming mostly from Aleppo with similar social and economic backgrounds, which helped focus on the influence of familiarity and geographical location on refugee children's cognitive maps. Despite the fact that children were too young to remember their neighbourhoods when they were in Syria and their vague understanding of the concept of a neighbourhood, the findings indicate differences in children's mental maps for Syrian and Turkish neighbourhoods.

This study showed that mental maps provide information not only about spatial knowledge but also behaviour and feelings. Future research are on call.

**Keywords:** refugee children, culture, environment perception, mental map, environmental psychology

## LITRATURE REVIEW

Places where children play, live, and get educated are important for their physical and mental health. Children develop emotional bonds with places; they escape from some and feel attached to others, their feelings are influenced by the intrinsic qualities of a place, as well as how far a place meets their needs. Higher place attachment; which relates to higher social attachment (Chawla, 1992), leads to better social and emotional development in childhood (Tanner, 2009).

The level of place attachment is assumed to be high, if children show happiness when they are in it or show regret when leaving it (Chawla, 1992). In addition, the extent to which a child explore his neighbourhood freely and independently (children's local geography) is determined by the level of place attachment (beside constrains defined by the family or the fear a child feels for being unsupervised). Given that, children's environmental

perception, their abilities to deal with environmental risks and the pleasure they gain from various attractions is influenced by the physical environmental characteristics; as well as by their life style, social life and culture (Chawla, 1992).

This study used sketch maps to compare the refugee children's environmental perception, social life, feelings and place attachment for the neighbourhood in two countries (the hometown and the hosting country). Several previous studies used mental map drawings to understand how children perceive their large scale environment (Lehman, 2012; Gillespie, 2010; den Besten, 2010; Benker, 2010; Barraza, 1999). These drawings reveal the places that are important, liked and disliked, provide information about children's environmental competence and shed light on children's behaviour various settings (den Besten, 2010). Although, general and scientific knowledge provide evidence that the drawings remain a rich source for understanding the representations of the built environment, Lehman (2012) argued that these drawings should be accompanied with other means (such as free talks); considering the variation in drawing capabilities of children. That is why, participants in this study expressed their feelings and explained their drawings via face to face interviews.

In brief, we aim to explore how refugee children's environmental experience and place attachment differs in their hometown and in the hosting country. Children from the same demographic and social group may evaluate the neighbourhood they are born and grow up in differently from the neighbourhood they were forced to migrate to. Considering the fact that; they fled from a war zone they may tend to develop higher place attachment for the neighbourhood in the hosting country, on the other hand, since they barely speak the hosting community language and experience integration problems, they may have low place attachment for the neighbourhood in the hosting country. This study aims to compare Syrian refugees' place attachment in their own country and in the hosting country via their mental maps (drawings) of their neighbourhoods in Turkey and in Syria. It is believed that such drawings (mental maps) would provide information about meanings and significance of places and level of place attachment.

#### **Influence of the culture and social background on environmental perception:**

Landscapes provide information about a culture's social system. In other words, people's perception of their neighbourhood (or mental maps) provides information on common values, behaviours and attitudes (Gillespie, 2010). Given that, mental maps (graphical expression of the physical environment / sketch maps) differ from one culture to another (Gillespie, 2010). Although, sense of neighbourhood develops early in life (Gillespie, 2010); what children know and recall about their daily environment is strongly influenced by their culture and by the way they interact with surrounding places. General knowledge and scientific evidence showed that familiarity with the environment and place attachment increases as interaction with an environment increases (Biel, 1986).

Children in their early school years comprehend macro-space environments in variable ways (Mathews, 1984), based on their social and cultural background. Some freely explore the environment (using various routes between home and school), others use a repeated travel route from home to school, different environmental explorations produce different mental maps highlighting route knowledge (awareness of sequential elements) or survey knowledge (understanding of spatial dimensions between landmarks and routes). We focused on the survey knowledge because most of the sample attended the school using transportation. Besides, children's spatial awareness and ability to explore cartographic maps is influenced by their social background. For example, children from higher social status are exposed to cartographic representations more often and develop survey knowledge more easily than others. Given that, the children's drawings of neighbourhoods should be investigated with knowledge on their social background (e.g. parents' profession), family type (e.g. presence of and relation to siblings) and their academic performance (Lehman 2012). That is why, children from similar social background formed the sample in this study.

### **Influence of the age on environmental perception:**

Experts claim that “representation of a space is built in a linear and incremental way as the development of the child progresses” (Lehman, 2012). Children at different ages highlight different physical environmental features on their map (or drawings). Younger children tend to mark humans and natural features more often than built-up forms. Moreover, the borders of the drawn neighbourhood extends differently; older children draw larger areas as their neighbourhoods. Knowledge of the area around the home appears to be acquired progressively, but it is characterized by stages. Strong similarities exist between six, seven and eight year old children which differ from those aged nine and ten. Knowledge of places grow outward from the well-known area (home), described by (Biel, 1986) as the salient point, and develop unevenly over space as places become familiar and pieced together in the child’s mind (Matthews, 1984). In addition to motor abilities and developmental skills, this expanding sphere of spatial knowledge (broadening spatial experience) is partly the result of independent movement (Matthews, 1984). Similarly Biel (1986) and Lehman (2012) argued that, representation of the children’s neighbourhood corresponds to a gradient of knowledge of their neighbourhoods and their spatial aptitude.

Literature showed that children’s mental maps and ability to draw vary by age and their sketch maps show considerable variance in graphic character (making them difficult to code and analyse). In addition, variables such as the instructions (asking to draw or to explain the neighbourhood or the city) or the medium (the size of paper and the colours of pencils) might bias the interpretation of children’s drawings (Gillespie C. A. 2010). In this study, all participants received the same instructions and medium to draw their neighbourhood in two countries. However, children were from different age groups, that is why the results should be interpreted carefully.

### **METHODOLOGY**

The study has been approved by Izmir Province National Education Directorate and was conducted in a temporary educational centre (TEC) for the Syrian refugees’ children, where the first author worked as a teacher. The TEC is located in Izmir, the third largest city in Turkey with population exceeding 4 million people; and it is one of six education centres for refugee children in Izmir. On the contrary to other 5 TEC’s (where the Syrian students are educated in different buildings or they attend the school after the Turkish students leave), the Syrian students attend the classes at the same building at the same time with other Turkish students so they have the opportunity to socialize with natives. Yet, unobtrusive observations showed that Syrian students were playing with other Syrians and were not socializing with the other Turkish peers.

Children whose ages vary between 7 and 11 participated in the study (table 01). Lehman (2012) argued that children over 7 years old are able to draw their mental map. 36 Syrian students; who were both Kurdish and Arab, participated. All except one were speaking Arabic and taking classes to learn Turkish in school; however none was speaking Turkish. Given that, instructions were given in Arabic. One student was dropped from the sample as he was not able to speak Arabic which made the sample 35 student (18 boys and 17 girls).

After a brief explanation about the study, children were asked to draw (1) the neighbourhood they used to live in in Syria (S), and (2) their neighbourhood in Izmir, Turkey (T). Matthews (1984) argued that children can explain the route between home and school or the area around home. As some participants were too young to attend a school in Syria and some were using public transportation to reach their school in Izmir, we asked them to draw their neighbourhood instead of the route between school and home. The concept of neighbourhood was defined as; “the place around their house, the houses of friends and relatives, the route to the Masjid or to the market, and the open spaces where they play with friends”. In order to eliminate order effect, part of the sample (15) drew the Syrian Neighbourhood first and (20) drew the Turkish neighbourhood first.

The children were told that they could draw their neighbourhood as if they were looking from up or as a pictorial image. They were also told that, the accuracy and quality of drawings was not important, there were no right or wrong answers and they will not be graded for this task. They were asked to feel relieved and enjoy the experience. The tasks were held in the open area, playground of the adjacent kindergarten in order to make the experience as enjoyable as possible. The participants were given an A4 paper, a cartoon board, and a pencil (no colours were allowed to avoid the complexity of interpretation). They did the tasks in groups of four (gender distribution was equal in all groups), but they were not allowed to talk to each other. Some of the children showed hesitation and confusion, and some of them asked for more explanation. When one participant asked for more details, same directions were given again to the whole group. The drawing session lasted for one school class (40 minutes in total, 20 minutes for each neighbourhood). After completing both drawing tasks, the researcher asked for more explanation about their drawings and took notes on what they drew (student's house, student's friend, a cloud etc.). Such an interview was necessary for accurate interpretation of the drawings. As written surveys are not appropriate for children, informal interviews were preferred instead of surveys in order to retrieve information about their social background. Given that, children were interviewed to discuss the location of their house in Izmir, the city they used to live in in Syria, their parent's social and educational backgrounds and jobs in Syria and in Izmir.

A pilot test was conducted to examine the appropriateness of procedure (time of session, and the ability of the researcher to control four students in one session).

## **RESULTS**

The sample was to a high degree homogeneous coming mostly (83%) from Aleppo countryside with similar social and economic background (majority of the parents work as employees in hand-work jobs). Given that, any difference between the drawings of Turkey and those of Syria could be accounted to physical environmental difference in Syria and Turkey and difference in the feeling of place attachment in the two countries. Moreover, there were 12 brothers (in one case twin sisters) in the sample, this enabled the researcher to compare the same physical environment (6 Syrian and 6 Turkish neighbourhoods) from two different perspectives, and surprisingly no resemblance was found between these neighbourhoods, in one case a Turkish neighbourhood was drawn three times by sisters and their friend neighbour and similarity could not be noticed (Figures: 01, 02, 03 \_ The Turkish neighbourhood).

Moreover, the interview with the children showed that the percentage of working mothers raised from 20% in Syria to 45% in Turkey, 70% of the children's families will go to Syria if they have the chance, 61% were not planning to immigrate to Europe and 78% live in mostly Turkish inhabited neighbourhoods

Children's drawings were analysed based on their content (Table 01). Children in different cultures interact with their environment in different ways and their cognitive maps reflect their culture (Gillespie C. A. 2010). In our case, we investigated how a child interacts with two different environments in two different cultures. Following Collier and Collier's (1986) general approach and Beneker et al.'s (2010) procedure; the drawings of each neighbourhood were reviewed separately and general impressions and common characteristics were analysed. The analyses is summarized to discuss how the same environment is evaluated by different children, and how the same person evaluated different neighbourhoods (Syrian and Turkish).

The drawings were categorized into 3 groups (Table 01) based on expression type; (1) image, (2) image-plan, (2) plan. Although the children were free to choose the representation type, majority chose to draw pictorial image (about %85). Only 3 students drew image-plan and 2 students; who were 11-year-old boys, drew plan. This finding is parallel to that of Lehman (2012), who found that the majority of the students opted for the pictures. Compared



to 11-year-old boys, none of the 11-year-old girls drew plans, this may be explained by the fact that the boys go out of the house more often than girls, which influences the maturity of environmental experience. Mathews (1984) argued that children at different ages (stages of cartographic ability) produce different types of drawings (pictorial maps / drawings, pictorial plans, and plans), the first type demonstrates a certain egoism and self-absorption, the second implicates a certain level of precision despite the persistence of inaccuracies when compared to the reality, and the third requires a strong understanding of the relative geographic positions of the elements represented. In our study students often drew pictures and rarely drew plans. The ones who drew plans were the oldest children (11 year olds). Lehman (2012) argued that older children prefer plans (rather than images) to show their ability to express the details in the environment with higher accuracy, this was partially true in our case as the plans were poor in details and showed a small block around the student's house. One student showed his house detailed internally and no further data was added (street names, definition of the building line along the street etc.). There may be two explanations for lack of detail in children's drawings; (1) they did not have enough time to absorb the environment in its details (buildings, stores, etc.) as they were new comers to the Turkish neighbourhoods, or (2) they were too young to remember the details in the case of Syrian neighbourhoods. Results showed that, locations and the scale of the elements were not drawn precisely, this was an expected result as mental maps are distorted images of the reality. Only one student drew school on the contrary to Lehman's (2012) finding who argued that the school was represented repeatedly in children's drawings of the neighbourhood. Sea has been mentioned 13 times during the interview but it was drawn only once. 8 years-old girl drew her house just next to the sea, although her house is next to the school and 40 minutes away from the sea (if she wants to reach it by bus). As none of the students live close to sea shore, we expected them not to draw it. We believe they mentioned sea during the interviews because of Polyanna effect. Children tend to elaborate the fun in their life, they said they enjoy going to the sea shore with their family every day or on Sundays. Also, children did not show awareness of global issues like environment pollution or local social issues like crime, violence or even depiction of war related issues although they fled from Syria because of the war. Only one student drew a rocket in his representation of Syria neighbourhood, and was not accompanied by any other war features. In Turkish neighbourhoods open and green spaces were drawn more often (19 depiction) than the Syrian neighbourhoods (8 depiction) (Table, 01). The environmental issues regarding low upkeep (garbage or water pool on street) was rarely shown although in general their neighbourhoods has a lot of those indicators of low upkeep, this too may be explained by the Polyanna effect, as they tend to ignore the negative issues or they simply do not notice the negatives. One student drew the masjid with praying people in both neighbourhoods, and mentioned that being in the masjid was the best thing in his life in Syria. Electricity was represented by electric poles, electric generators, and lamps outside the houses more often than expected as having easy and continuous access to electricity is not an issue for people in developed countries. Perhaps their low access to electricity back in their hometown (Syria) drove them to highlight the importance of electricity in their drawings. In fact during the interviews, one student mentioned how they used to buy electricity (generated by diesel generator) from their neighbours when the electricity was off. Kidnappers and violence (by Turkish neighbours) were mentioned rarely as the reason of not going outside the house and have not been represented in the drawings. As in previous studies (Gillespie, 2010; Lehman, 2012; Beneker et al., 2010; Murtagh & Murphy, 2011) the drawings were classified as (objective) and (subjective). Drawings that only referred to the physical features of the environment (landmarks, paths, edges, districts, buildings, trees and streets) were coded as (objective) and those that referred to life (children playing with friends or with a ball, animals) were coded as (subjective). The percentage of subjective drawings were higher in Turkish neighbourhoods (26 drawings) than the Syrian Neighbourhood (19 drawings). This may indicate children get used to social life in new environments even when moving to a new environment is not their choice.

Table 01: The drawings were classified into two schemes; designative and appraisive scheme		
	Syrian Neighbourhood*	Turkish Neighbourhood*
<b>EXPRESSION TYPE</b>		
Image	28	31
Image Plan	3	2
Plan	2	2
<b>TRANSPORTATION</b>		
Roads	6	13
Cars	3	9
Motorcycle	0	1
Sidewalk	1	1
<b>LANDUSE</b>		
Commercial shops	3	6
Schools	1	0
Houses	33	33
Blank Drawing ( nothing drawn)	3	0
Own House and other buildings	32	33
Own House only / no other buildings	13	16
Only Residential Buildings	25	23
Masjids	0	3
Car Garage	1	0
<i>LAND MARKS</i>	36	42
<i>PATHS</i>	6	13
<i>EDGES</i>	3	8
<i>DISTRICTS</i>	0	0
<i>SOCIAL</i>	15	22
Stairs	5	9
Balcony	5	2
Electrical Pole	1	1
Electrical Generator	1	0
Electrical Lamp	4	3
Human Figures	19	26
Animals	5	3
<b>NATURAL ELEMENTS AND INDICATORS OF WAR</b>		
Clouds	6	13
Rain	2	3
Sun	10	16
Trees	5	15
Flowers	6	10
Gardens	2	4
Sea	1	1
Sea Cordon	0	1

Syrian Flag	1	0
War Zone	1	0
RECREATIONAL		
Parks	3	9
Open Spaces	1	2
Scooter	0	1
Toys	2	2
Kite	0	1
Football	2	4
INDICATORS OF LOW UPKEEP		
Stone wall	0	0
Water pool / environment problem	0	0
Garbage / environment problem	1	1
Drainage Hole	0	2
Similarity in Students both	13	13
Brother Similarity	0	0
Group Similarity	6	6
** = Number of drawings		

Age		7	8	9	10	11	
No.	Male	2	3	3	6	2	
	Female	2	4	4	7	2	
Total		4	7	7	13	4	35

Finally, the drawings were classified into two schemes; designative and appraisive (Downs & Stea, 1973; Matthew, 1984; Gillespie, 2010). Mathew (1984) argued that children’s drawings are composed of elements representing the content of the child’s world, they draw whatever is important for them and emphasize some elements, elaborate some details (overstate the size of some elements in relation to the rest). Appraisive content is imagery that illustrates the child’s feelings about his or her environment, such as the feelings of warmth, safety, and security. In our study a mouse and the mouse house (Figure, 04) in one of the drawings and the electricity poles and generators are examples of this appraisive schemes. The designative rubric classified each element of each sketch map according to its spatial substance in the map, this rubric was based on Lynch’s (1969) elements of urban areas. The elements of each category defined by Matthew (1984) is shown in Table, 03. Our analyses showed that two neighbourhoods did not differ in the ratio of designative and appraisive scheme (Table, 02). Appraisive elements were more intensive than designative elements for both neighbourhoods. “Primary node” or “anchor point” was the house in almost every drawing (about 90 % of the drawings in both Turkish and Syrian neighbourhoods). This may indicate their restricted urban geography (they are not allowed to explore more of the urban area), low place attachment to whole neighbourhood, feeling of insecurity beyond house, if the instructions by the researcher was not misunderstood (neighbourhood was defined as the area around the student’s house).

This finding is parallel to the results of Lehman (2012), who found houses as the dominant feature in the neighbourhood.

Table 03: The drawings were classified into two schemes; designative and appraisive scheme
<p>Designative Categories:</p> <p>Landmarks (buildings or point features)</p> <p>Paths (any continuous line drawn between two or more points without a break)</p> <p>Edges (boundaries; fences, walls, roads from one side to the other in the A4 medium)</p> <p>Districts (areas or sections of a city or town displaying a high degree of homogeneity)</p> <p>Social (humans at work and play)</p>
<p>Appraisive Categories:</p> <p>Function (aspects of the built environment)</p> <p>Recreation (play and leisure spaces)</p> <p>Nature (aspects of the natural environment)</p> <p>Transportation (mode of transport)</p> <p>Person</p> <p>Animal</p>

Similarity was a factor that could not be discounted for that the session was conducted in groups, and for the existence of 12 brothers in the sample. Existence of similarity between drawings was examined according to: (1) same number of figures in the drawing. (2) Same relocation of the figures. (3) Similarity in the drawn figures themselves. When the drawings of the brothers were analysed, we expected at least some resemblance at the first glance as Bogac found (2009). However there were no similarities, which may be considered as another proof for children’s mental maps to be dominated by their feelings expression (appraisive elements) rather than physical features (designative elements). The similarities in the neighbourhoods drawn by the same child was not expected but it could not be discounted as it was noticed at the first glance (Figure, 05). Table 04 shows the number of students who drew similar sketches for both neighbourhoods, their age, and gender. Explanation of this result may be among many factors; (1) Lack of skill (cartographic) though the children are in an age (10 of 13 are more than 10 years old) of expressing skills in normal circumstances, but because of the refuge life they lacked this development as their local peers. (2) Similar neighbourhoods were drawn mostly by females, their lack of experience in the neighbourhoods may have caused this expression, as (Biel, 1986) argued that less activity means less experience in the neighbourhood which means less familiarity with the built environment, and low level of perception. One thing that could not be answered is: which neighbourhood has been drawn twice? The Syrian or the Turkish?

In case of the student G4S3 (Figure: 02), an interesting result is worth discussion; the resemblance between the two neighbourhoods is very high, except for the friends, their number in the Syrian Neighbourhood is higher than in the Turkish which may indicate a low level of social integration in her Turkish relationships. Only one friend (Student G8S3) was drawn who was Syrian and even her house was indicated.

Age	Male	Female	Total
11	1	1	2
10	3	5	8
9	0	2	2
8	0	1	1
	4	9	13

## CONCLUSION

Mental maps vary by the subjective disadvantages like the ability to recall (Mark et al. 1999). For example in this study three children left the papers totally blank regarding their Syrian neighbourhood, while some could not draw anything more than their houses. Moreover, it is hard to portray a three-dimensional landscape into two dimension-map (Biel. 1986) and (Gillespie C. A. 2010). Besides, the medium used to express spatial knowledge, feeling and behaviour may influence the subjects' drawing performance (Lehman et al, 2012). Given that, some children blamed the lack of space in the A4 paper for not being able to add more details and buildings. Although some bias was evident, younger children personalize their drawings by the pictures of animals in fields, moving cars, lollipop, people, friends and relatives. By the age of nine formal environmental designation was accomplished by most. Nevertheless, the natural environment is still not completely shown in detail (except simple form of trees) although the recreational space remains an important part of the perceived environment of children (Matthews, 1984).

Children tend to draw pictures rather than maps, perhaps because they experience the world on foot (unlike birds). Older children have chance to work with cartographic maps more often during their education in school, this knowledge gained via school syllabus may improve their skill to scale, rotate, and locate the elements in the physical environment more accurately on an aerial view. Yet, our sample failed to show success in drawing aerial views perhaps because they did not have chance to have such an education in school (as their education syllabuses are interrupted as they fled from a war zone). However, such an investigation is beyond the scope of this research, in addition, Lehman argued that children from different social classes are exposed to cartographic representations differently. As our sample size was small and involved children from the same social class, we could not explore whether different levels of cartographic representation exposure influence children's drawings of neighbourhoods. Future studies may compare drawings of children from different social classes.

As in all empirical studies, this study involves some methodological shortcomings. For example the actual neighbourhoods the children live in Syria and in Turkey could not be observed by a professional. That is why, the comparison was based on children's drawings not on the actual conditions. Whether the variation in the actual conditions in two countries or the fact of being refugee produced differences in drawings of the two neighbourhoods is yet to be investigated. Moreover, a good extension of this study would compare the drawings of the Turkish and Syrian students living in the same neighbourhood.

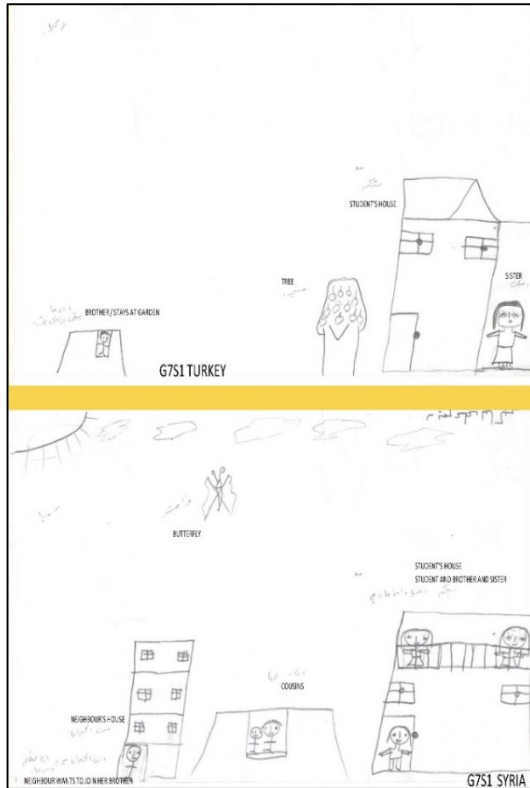


Figure. 01: Neighbourhoods of Student G7S1, brother of G4S3 drawn the same neighbourhoods

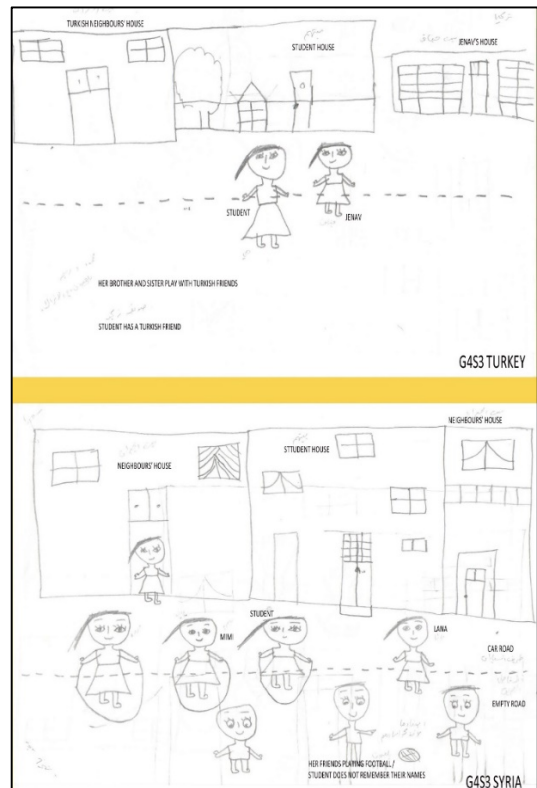


Figure. 02: Neighbourhoods of Student G4S3

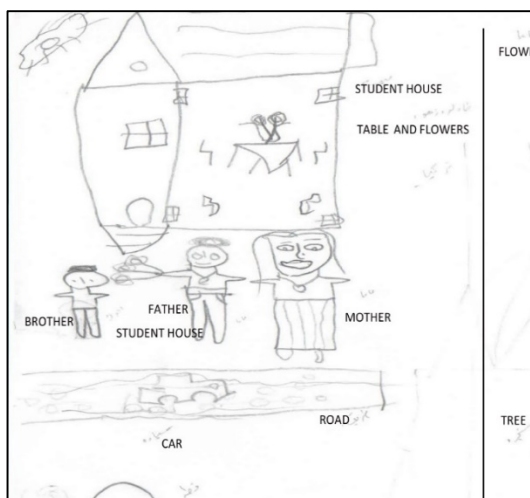


Figure. 03: Turkish N. Student G8S3. Friend of student G4S3 and drawn in her sketch map

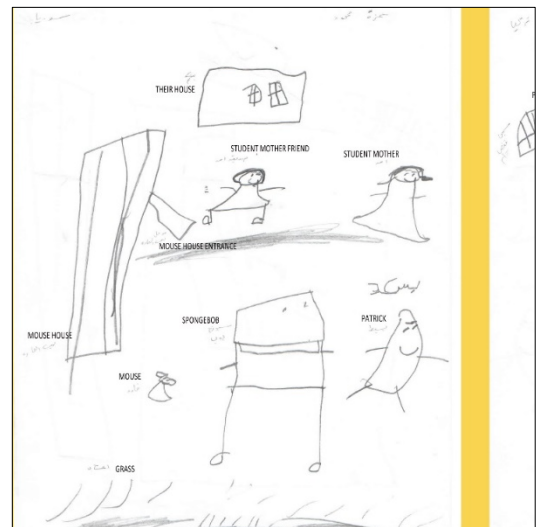


Figure. 04: Syrian N. of Student G7S1

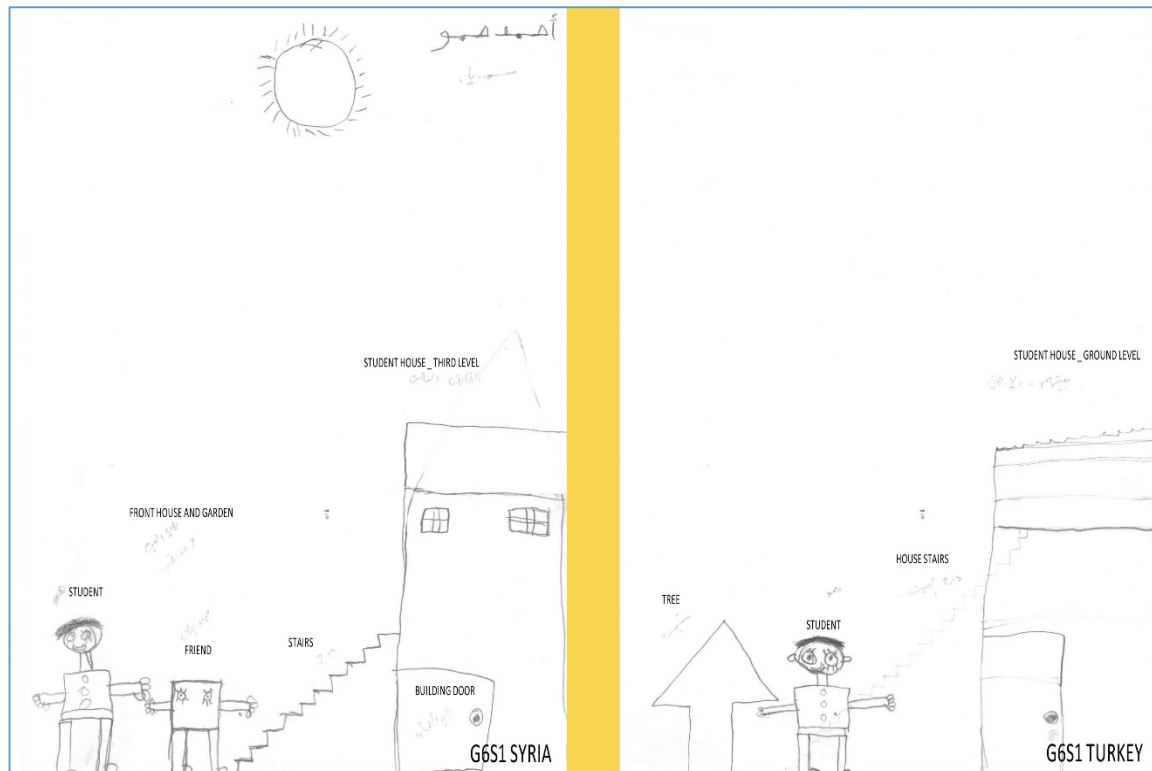


Figure. 05: Neighbourhoods of Student G6S1, Similar physical expression for both neighbourhoods.

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# PROVISIONAL SETTLEMENTS AND URBAN RESILIENCE: THE TRANSFORMATION OF REFUGEE CAMPS INTO CITIES

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## Abstract

The world is now confronting a widespread urban phenomenon: refugee camps, which have mostly been established in “rushing mode,” pointing toward affording temporary settlements for refugees that provide them with minimum levels of safety, security and protection from harsh weather conditions within a very short time period. In fact, those emergency settlements are transforming into permanent ones since time is a decisive factor in terms of construction and camps’ age. These play an essential role in transforming their temporary character into a permanent one that generates deep modifications to the city’s territorial structure, shaping a new identity and creating a contentious change in the city’s form and history. To achieve better understanding for the transformation of refugee camps, this study is based on a mixed-methods approach: the qualitative approach explores different refugee camps and analyzes their transformation process in terms of population density and the changes to the city’s territorial structure and urban features. The quantitative approach employs a statistical regression analysis as a reliable prediction of refugees’ satisfaction within the Zaatari camp in order to predict its future transformation. Obviously, refugees’ perceptions of their current conditions will affect their satisfaction, which plays an essential role in transforming emergency settlements into permanent cities over time. The text basically discusses five main themes: the access and readiness of schools, the dispersion of clinics and shopping centers; the camp infrastructure, the construction materials and the street networks. The statistical analysis showed that Syrian refugees were not satisfied with their current conditions inside the Zaatari refugee camp and that they had started implementing changes according to their needs, desires and aspirations because they are conscious about the fact of their prolonged stay in this settlement. Also, the case study analyses showed that neglecting the fact that construction takes time leads settlements being created with below-minimum standards that are deteriorating and creating “slums,” which lead to increased crime rates, suicide, drug use and diseases and deeply affect cities’ urban tissues. For this reason, recognizing the “temporary-eternal” character of those settlements is the fundamental concept to consider refugee camps from the beginning as definite permanent cities. This is the key factor to minimize the trauma of displacement on both refugees and the hosting countries. Since providing emergency settlements within a short time period does not mean using temporary materials, having a provisional character or creating “makeshift cities.”

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**Keywords**—Refugee, Refugee Camp, Temporary, Zaatari

## INTRODUCTION

Refugee camps are types of settlements connected to emergency situations following natural disasters like earthquakes, hurricanes and tornadoes or man-made disasters such as conflicts, war or any type of terrorist actions. This type of settlement has a temporary character, in that they are not connected to the urban fabric or to the historical materialism of the hosting countries' lands because they are hanging to the state of exception as "accidental cities" seeking quick solutions, while forgetting that any type of construction normally takes a long time. As time passes, the refugees accept the fact that their dream of returning is not so close—it may be possible but will occur at an unknown time. Thus, families begin looking beyond shelters and perceive their new settlements as definitive houses, despite their provisional character. From this moment, the sense of city starts shaping these camps. And what begins as temporary shelter transforms gradually into eternal settlements.

the temporary-eternal

Refugee camps have a temporary character, in that they are not connected to the urban fabric or to the historical materialism of the hosting countries' lands because they are hanging to the state of exception as "accidental cities" seeking quick solutions, while forgetting the fact that any type of construction normally takes a long time. As time passes, the refugees accept the fact that their dream of returning is not so close—it may be possible but will occur at an unknown time. Thus, families begin looking beyond shelters and perceive their new settlements as definitive houses, despite their provisional character. From this moment, the sense of city starts shaping these camps. And what begins as temporary shelter transforms gradually into eternal settlements.

The problem is that the response to catastrophic events has been the same since the Second World War: to construct refugee camps under the arc of short-term solutions, focusing on emergency strategies to cope with refugee crises quickly and with low-cost. In fact, refugee camps are in a state of continuous transformation and are shaped into semi-functional cities, which become part of the hosting countries' urban fabric or themselves evolve into urban centers that gradually grow with a permanent character in an extremely quick transformation, in terms of its urban, environmental, social, cultural and economic features. The materialization of refugee camps is based on two main factors of urbanization measures: the population density and the physical modifications carried out by the refugees themselves based on their needs, shaping hazardous expansion over long time period. While life inside refugee camps tends to be complicated and tough, since refugees live inside spaces designed to be temporary, their personal needs will definitely develop as a response to natural life processes, and what begins as sheltering settlements will be transformed into semi-structural cities with hard materials. It is clearly remarkable that a primordial form of city is born when the fields of canvas begin to be replaced by more durable structures. It is not only a matter of materials but also the beginning of a historical process representing the time and sedimentation of the habitat: the history of the city. History as a continuous change is a city's most important dimension; it is the measure of its greatness, culture and absolutely its identity.

Planning of refugee camps obviously expresses a kind of planning based on numbers and minimum standards under the arc of short-term solutions focusing on emergencies to cope with the catastrophic events quickly with low cost. For example, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has recommended a minimum surface area of 45 m<sup>2</sup> per person, including kitchen and gardening space, whereas a bare minimum surface area is 30 m<sup>2</sup> (UNHCR, 2017). According to its vision of planning, the most preferred strategy is the grid plan since it is quick and easy to apply and has the capability of maintaining high control over the camp. Yet, for refugees, this kind of military planning deprives them of the sense of community and privacy due to the lack of public zones. Pawar, Epstein and Simon (2015) mentioned that in 1906, the first document was written to manage the situation for people affected by the San Francisco earthquake, for which the Army Corps of Engineers used military-style camps to provide 5,000 shelters to lodge more than 40,000 displaced persons (Architecture for Humanity, 2006, p.33). Obviously, this type of planning is still used in the current design of refugee camps, which neglects the refugees'

needs, desires and aspirations and does not consider the fact that architecture and planning have to maintain human rights, as camps need to not only be safe but also provide good living conditions.

the role of refugees in transforming camps into cities

This study examines the relationship between the refugees' satisfaction and the transformation of refugee camps into cities. The progressive transformation inside refugees' camps has occurred as a response to the development of refugees' personal needs over time. During the initial stages of an emergency, refugees receive tents as a kind of shelter that provides them with safety, security and protection from harsh weather conditions. As time passes, refugees look beyond survival and temporary solutions; thus, the fields of tents turn into hard-structured cities. For this reason, it is quite important to look to the refugee camps from an urban lens to shift the conception of these kinds of temporary emergency settlements as isolated islands detached from their urban context into permanent cities that are able to grow, develop and affect the hosting countries' urban fabric, with a deep focus on the transformation occurring inside the camps and its ramifications on the hosting cities' urban tissues. The urban transformation schemes within the refugee camps are clearly remarkable. For example, one of the largest, densest and oldest Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan, which has been instituted for more than 65 years, started sprawling horizontally and vertically, shaping a deteriorated image of a city whose population growth and urban expansion are uncontrolled. For instance, Amman New Camp, locally known as Wihdat, has been established for more than 60 years in southeast Amman to accommodate Palestinian refugees after the Arab–Israeli conflict in 1948. It has a population of 51,000 registered refugees. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA) provided refugees with shelters, schools and health services; in time, the camp expanded into a high-density urban area (UNRWA, 2016). The absence of pre-planning of the camps led to random spread, which shaped slums with overcrowded kiosks and booths where the street capacity does not afford appropriate spaces for people or services, with no parks or green areas. The uncontrolled growth has also affected refugees' health, safety, security and education. As another example, Jabal Al-Hussein camp was instituted in 1952 in the northwest of Amman to lodge 8,000 Palestinian refugees. Over time, the camp turned into an urban-like quarter, with more durable construction materials instead of tents and roofing shelters. Jabal Al-Hussin camp has transformed into an overcrowded area, with no available spaces for any new activities (UNRWA, 2016). There are more than 2,488 housing units characterized by poor construction and inadequate ventilation and lighting (Barqawi, 2014).

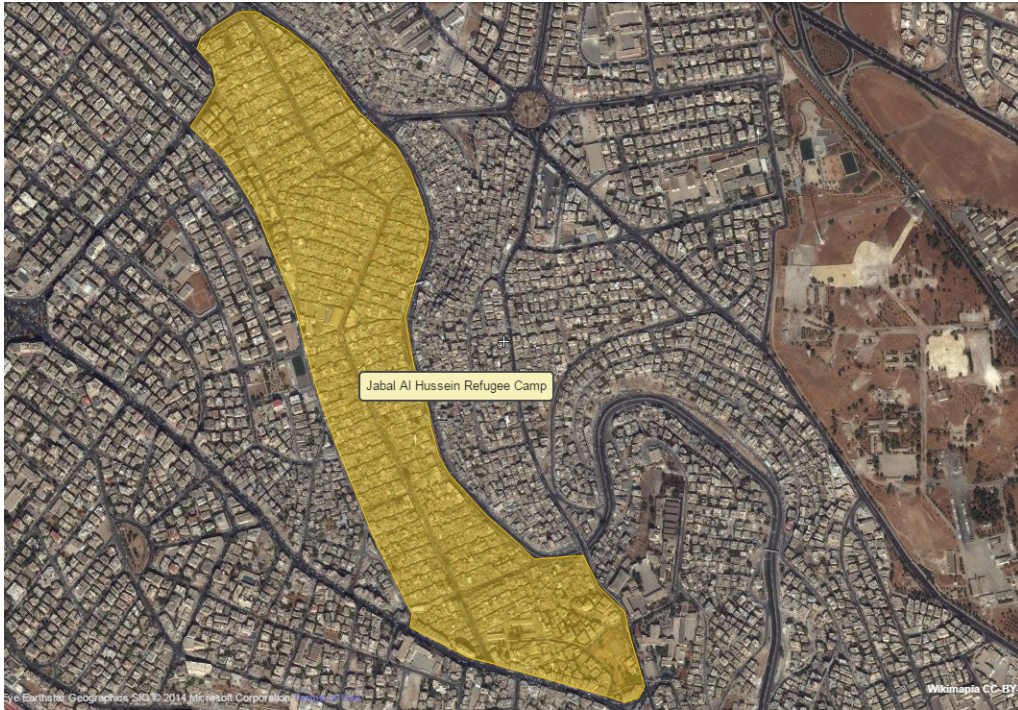


Fig. 1: Jabal Al-Hussain camp in Amman

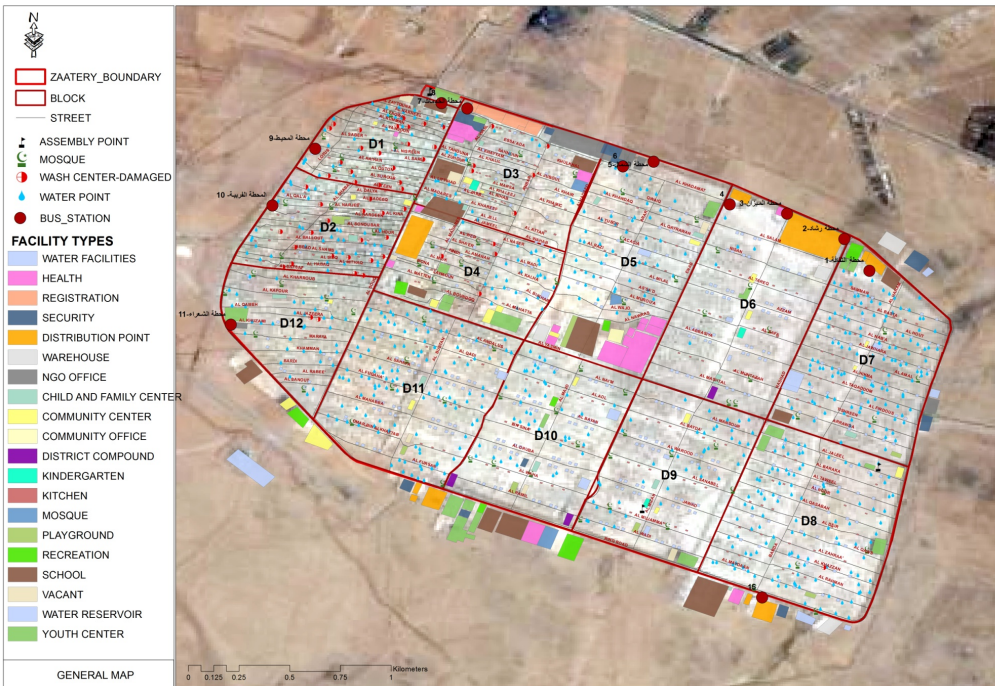


Fig. 2: Zaatari refugee camp

The same scenario is now being repeated again in Zaatari refugee camp, which was opened in July 2012 from some tents spread throughout the desert to shelter around 100 families. It has turned into a settlement accommodating more than 79,000 Syrian refugees, with urban features like 28 schools, 27 community centers, nine health care facilities, two hospitals, one delivery unit and more than 2,500 shops, with streets that shape an image of a city but a hazardous one due to the absence of a clear urban planning strategy.

This indicates an inevitable fact that new cities are being born from the fields of canvas, thus sparking deep modifications of the host city's territorial structure, shaping a new identity and creating a contentious change in the city's form and history. The conventional way of dealing with emergency situation is being coupled with temporary and short-term methodology. A policy with a wide horizon for future development would allow these settlements to adapt to different functions when the indigenous people return to their homes of origin, such as for tourism purposes or as student hostels.

Despite the fact that refugee camps have all the characteristics that shape a city, they are, to this day, planned in a temporary manner. Therefore, it is quite important to recognize emergency settlements versus the beginning as cities and to shift the planning policies for refugee camps from being temporary solutions to policies that are economically, socially and environmentally sustainable, not only in materials but by applying long-term strategies to help refugees to be self-sufficient within the host communities, even when the aid is stopped. This will transform the character of these provisional settlements into more active developers in local economies, which will also help the refugees to develop their own skills and qualifications. As Kleichmidth (2015) argues, the aim of creating a city is to "empower the refugees to return as responsible people in dignity and the dependence syndrome is reduced".

There is a need to widen the horizons of Zaatari refugee camp's sustainability, not only in terms of materials but also in terms of its planning rules, methods and techniques, which must also be sustainable. The emergency policies must shift from temporary standalone solutions to proposals for future scenarios to provide safety, security and protection in which architects, urban planners, emergency managers, refugees and host communities share the responsibility to better cope with an emergency. As Dirk Niebel (2012) said in the opening of "space, time, dignity, rights: improving Palestinian refugee camps" exhibition in Berlin that "one of the many lessons of the last year and the Arab Spring has been that communities must be centrally involved in shaping all aspects of their futures. Planning the urban spaces where they live is an essential part of that." Maximum application of renewable energy can create fully solar-powered environments. Refugee camps are more than temporary settlements—they have to be places where refugees can live, work and play, where their souls are attached, their social life is shaped, their new history is being written and their dreams are fulfilled.

quantitative analysis

In order to gain a wider understanding about how the refugees' satisfaction has deeply impacted the transformation of these camps into cities, this study empirically measures this relationship by employing ordinal regression to test the validity of several hypotheses for the case of Syrian refugees inside Zaatari refugee camp. The independent variables of the study are street networking, school dispersion, clinic center dispersion, eco-friendly construction materials, infrastructure and function satisfied per unit. The dependent variable is refugees' satisfaction.

This study examines the potential impact of the current situation regarding the camp's plan and the degree of refugees' satisfaction on generating new solutions to provide better living conditions. Therefore, an ordinal regression was conducted to determine which of the independent variables (street networking, school dispersion, clinic centers dispersion, eco-friendly construction materials, infrastructure per unit, function satisfied per unit) predict refugees' satisfaction of their basic needs.

Overall, the regression results indicated that the overall model fit the predictors (the independent variables were statistically reliable in predicting Syrian refugees' basic needs satisfaction;  $-2 \log \text{likelihood} = 410.216$ ,  $\chi^2 = 520.811$ ,  $P < .0005$ ). The pseudo  $R^2$  indicates that the model has adequately good fit. More specifically, the parameter estimates table reveals the significant relationship between the predictors and dependent variable.

**Table 1: Model fitting information**

Model	-2 log Likelihood	$\chi^2$	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	931.027			
Final	410.216	520.811	24	.000

The significant chi-square statistic indicates that the model provides good prediction of the dependent variables.

**Table 2: Goodness of Fit**

	Chi-square	df	Sig.
Pearson	3127.501	224	.000
Deviance	399.034	224	.000

Pearson's chi-square and the deviance of chi-square indicate that the observed data are not inconsistent with the fitted model. However, because ordinal regression cannot compute the  $R^2$  statistic and the pseudo- $R^2$  values. Table 2 shows the statistical methods used to estimate the coefficient of determination. Specifically, the Nagelkerke test adjusts the statistical scale to cover the range from 0 to 1 (Nagelkerke, 1991). The approximation of  $R^2$  according to Nagelkerke reveals that the final model fits fairly well.

**Table 3: Pseudo R-Square**

Cox and Snell	.743
Nagelkerke	.807
McFadden	.536

Generally speaking, the selected explanatory variables influenced the refugees' overall satisfaction in Zaatari camp. There is a relationship between Zaatari camp's planning and design and the satisfaction of refugees' basic needs. Zaatari camp's street networking affected the refugees' basic needs satisfaction. Syrian refugees in Zaatari camp are not satisfied with the schools' and clinics' dispersion. Also, they are not satisfied with the construction materials, which they consider to be unsuitable to the environment. Moreover, the camp infrastructure per unit negatively impacted refugees' satisfaction.

Consequently, the statistical analysis shows that the significance level is below the cut-off value. Therefore, the results indicate to reject the null hypothesis:

$H_{01}$ : Zaatari camp's street networking has no effect on refugees' basic needs satisfaction.

Based on the regression results, the first null hypothesis is rejected, and the alternative hypothesis is accepted, in that Zaatari camp's street networking has an effect on refugees' satisfaction.

$H_{02}$ : Zaatari camp's school dispersion and clinic dispersion have no effect on refugees' satisfaction.

Based on the regression results, the second null hypothesis is rejected, and the alternative hypothesis is accepted, in which Zaatari camp's school dispersion and clinic dispersion have an effect on refugees' satisfaction.

H0<sub>3</sub>: There is no relationship between Zaatari camp's construction materials and the satisfaction of refugees' basic needs.

Based on the regression test results, the third null hypothesis is rejected, and the alternative hypothesis is accepted, in which there is a relationship between Zaatari camp's construction materials and refugees' satisfaction.

H0<sub>4</sub>: Zaatari camp infrastructure per unit has no effect on refugees' satisfaction.

Based on the regression test results, the fourth null hypothesis is rejected, and the alternative hypothesis is accepted, in which Zaatari camp's infrastructure per unit has an effect on refugees' satisfaction.

Both qualitative analysis and quantitative analysis provide evidence about how refugees are intervening and responding to their needs. Once they became dissatisfied, they started changing the environment around them to shape a new character for their settlements, which are neither temporary nor permanent but temporary-eternal. The transformation of these settlements occurred in a hazardous way, shaping maze-like cities with a deteriorated skyline. This has clearly impacted the refugees themselves and the image of their host countries.

time's role in transforming camps into cities

Time is a decisive factor in refugee camps because it could be discussed in terms of two points of interest: the construction time of these provisional settlements and the length of stay for both the refugees and camp in the hosting country.

The concept of speedy construction during an emergency is a critical issue, in that different stakeholders are seeking to implement very quick solutions to provide lodging for refugees within a short time period, while neglecting the fact that any type of construction requires time and creating settlements for a mass exodus of refugees is totally different from preparing a military camp or summer camp, which definitely has provisional activities. For instance, United Nations organizations have developed different manuals and guidelines to help and guide planners and designers to design, build and construct refugee camps, such as the *Handbook for Emergencies*, the *Refugee Camp Planning and Construction Handbook* from the Department of the Air Force and the *Sphere Handbook: Humanitarian Charter and Minimum Standards in Disaster Response*. Yet, all of them are based on implementing minimum standards to instantly provide shelter for refugees, which freezes the refugees in a constant phase of emergency.

Turning a blind eye to the construction time will definitely lead to badly or hastily built environments with materials of poor quality, which will shape a provisional character into refugee camps and provide refugees with minimum living conditions. Thinking and dealing with refugee camps in a "three-dimensional" way is not a solution anymore, since time—which is the fourth dimension—plays an important role in reforming provisional settlements into more permanent cities. A refugee crisis can turn into an urban crisis because the refugees who are living in provisional cities over a long time period are reformulating an urban mark on the city's image while annihilating its infrastructure, services and economy (Baeumler, Shah & Biau, 2017). While refugee camps have all the characteristics which shape a city, they are still planned in a temporary manner.

The temporary status of refugee camps is also coupled with the belief in a quick return of refugees to their homeland within a short time period. But the fact is that the average lodging for refugees in hosting countries, according to a UNHCR report (2004), is 17 years, which means a whole generation will be raised and grow within these spaces and may be attached to them. In other words, the new generations have not only been physically detached from their countries but also have been mentally moved away from the desire to return to their ancestors' cities. They are now forming new memories within the new spaces in which they have grown up and to which they have become attached, creating a new history not only for themselves but also for their host countries. While the refugees start recovering from the trauma of displacement, they construct new lives with new spaces and new relationships, which leads to progressive transformation inside refugee camps as a response to the

development of refugees' personal needs over time. These needs will naturally move from physiological and safety needs, in that refugees will attain their basic needs of shelter, food, water and safety from potentially dangerous physical and psychological situations and events. Then, gradually, they will seek "self-actualization," not in a camp but in a city.

To provide emergency settlements within a short time period does not mean a temporary material, provisional character or "makeshift cities" but to control the time dimension during construction of these settlements, while taking into consideration the fact of their long-lasting stay. Managing time is not easy, but it is decisive for refugee camps because it plays an essential role in shaping the temporary character of this kind of settlement. As Homi Bhabha (1986) stated, "the state of emergency is always a state of emergence." Obviously, refugees in an unexpected situation require an urgent and quick response, but it is not temporary and it will last for many years. For this reason, powerful planning is required to attain advanced development and spatial regulations to form cities that can provide healing and recovery to those stricken people. Consequently, a comprehensive approach based on time, in terms of both construction time and camp age, is the key solution for healing, managing and organizing both refugees and their new spaces.

### **Conclusion**

Thinking that refugee camps pose problems of a purely social nature and in terms of providing services is a real misconception or, rather, reveals excessively limited vision. The certain fact is that there is a great need for urban planning of a project capable of working on the form of settlements, with reference to the "time" dimension. Time must be managed in the space project to have a good result as an urban environment—both within the so-called temporary settlement and in the relationship with the existing city, of which the new field will certainly become part. What we need to understand is that reconstruction today concerns increasingly complex urban realities, which is always a very long process—longer than what we are led to imagine each time. This process normally concerns several generations; from it, a new society will certainly be born that will have a strong link with the territory and with the host city.

On the one hand, the new generations born in the fields will express a growing need for a city and for a growing and definitive urban quality. This phenomenon is very similar to what we can see in the suburbs of our cities and metropolises, in the slums as in the settlements that arise, without government, on the margins of the southern cities. On the other hand, cities are living organisms that are sensitive to any transformation taking place in their territory. We are getting used to thinking of cities as static objects, but this is a totally inappropriate vision because the urban territory is always a unitary organism: a body with senses, a breath and a capacity for reaction. Even if the construction processes were short, the refugee camps would produce permanent changes to the skin of the cities. However, the construction processes are always long, so it is necessary to change the point of view and to look not only at the arrangement of the "temporary" field but at the whole city. It is necessary to imagine the city's future also in terms of how the existence of this new part will influence it.

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# INJUSTICES OF DISPLACEMENT: THE SYRIAN REFUGEE CRISIS IN THE BEKAA VALLEY, LEBANON – IDENTIFYING NEEDS & PROPOSING SOLUTIONS

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## **Abstract**

As of June 2018, 68.5 million people were reported by the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) as forcibly displaced people, including 25.4 million who identify as refugees (UNHCR, 2018). They come from many different countries and varied situations and are forced to leave their homes and land due to a range of complex factors. But what is common to them all is that they are unable to return home.

The increase of refugee numbers worldwide places a strain on multiple levels of society—from the local to the global, at varying levels of severity. Syrian refugees are currently the most talked about group facing an uncertain future and at the center of many controversial political discussions. The question of how to accommodate them has sparked discussions across a range of disciplines, from economics to urban planning. Germany has led efforts towards progressive integration of Syrian refugees, aiming to avoid ghettoization and aid social cohesion by creating positive environments and mixed communities with policies directed towards this end so that refugees can contribute to German society rather than being seen as a burden.

Despite talk of a ‘refugee crisis’ in Europe due to the movement of Syrian refugees and other asylum seekers across the continent, the majority of Syrian refugees have actually claimed refuge in the countries bordering Syria, with Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan currently sheltering 92% out of the total 5.6 million Syrian refugees registered with UNHCR (Aug 2018). In fact, overall, developing countries are home to 85% of refugees worldwide, disproportionately affected by displacement of peoples by a large margin, placing extra burdens on societies already struggling with their own internal issues.

Lebanon, with an established history of sheltering displaced peoples, has taken in over a million Syrian refugees fleeing the conflict. Although many Syrian refugees have been granted asylum in Lebanon, they have faced a difficult environment and a lack of support. The country has established strict laws regarding hosting of refugees due to its experience with Palestinian refugees— refugee camps were built in Lebanon in response to the influx of Palestinian asylum seekers since 1948, many of whom still live in these settlements today.

Injustices of displacement are felt both by the displaced people and by communities in the place where the displaced find themselves. Lebanon, a country struggling with its own internal issues, is being asked to carry an additional third of its population weight, not including the Palestinian refugees that remain there today. Given little support by the Lebanese authorities, many of the Syrian refugees in the country have been left to create shelters out of whatever materials they can scrape together—often just a basic frame structure draped in plastic sheeting.

The injustices of displacement for refugees start from the very beginning of the journey and continue with the need to conform to the conditions that host societies impose as refugees are forced to integrate and adapt, through to the living conditions refugees suffer due to having no other choice. This paper outlines and discusses the situation of Syrian refugees in the Bekaa Valley region of Lebanon, highlighting the factors and policy background that contributed to their situation and their living conditions before advocating proposals and alternative solutions to the current unimaginably bleak conditions.

### **Policy Background – Syrian Refugees in Lebanon: Wars, Displacement and Refugee Camps**

The displacement of Syrian refugees is a result of the Syrian Civil War which began in 2011 and which is still ongoing. The fighting is multi-sided and has created unfathomable suffering and destruction for the people of Syria, destroying homes and communities and causing the displacement of over five and a half million Syrians, forced to seek refuge elsewhere (UNHCR, 2018).

Lebanon, bordering Syria to the north, was an accessible country for many Syrians to migrate to in search of asylum, however Lebanon is also still recovering from the extensive destruction and displacement caused by its own long and hard civil war, fought between 1975 and 1990. The country is operating in a delicate balance to solve its economic, political and social issues and the Lebanese authorities were fearful of the burden a large population influx of Syrian refugees might create on the country. They were also particularly mindful of the historical precedent of having created refugee camps for displaced Palestinians following the Nakba of 1948 and therefore implemented a “no-camp” policy at the height of the Syrian refugee displacement (Sanyal, 2017).

The camps set up in Lebanon for the Palestinians refugees in the late 1940s and 50s were envisaged as being temporary and were initially comprised of tent structures. As the Palestinians continued to be excluded and displaced from their lands and unable to return home, they remained in the Lebanese camps and began to make renovations and improvements to the structure of these ‘temporary’ shelters, gradually transforming them from tent structures into informal shelters and finally into informal concrete structures.

As the sprawl of the camps grew, as new refugees arrived and as new generations were born into these ‘camps’, the need for more space led to the expansion of the settlements vertically. After over 70 years, having started as temporary camps intended to be short-term havens, the Palestinian refugees are still occupying these spaces which have expanded to maximum capacity but still lack formal infrastructure or planning, resulting in the creation of urban slums (Chamma & Zaiter, 2017).

This historical experience has shaped the current policy response and decisions of the Lebanese authorities towards the Syrian refugees. Unfortunately these policies do nothing to address the causes of the displacement of the Syrian refugees and have only led to further suffering and injustices for them, abandoned to create informal settlements such as those in the Bekaa Valley. It is also debatable as to whether these policies have really benefitted Lebanon with, once again, a large refugee population left on the margins of the Lebanese economy and society.

### **Living Conditions of Informal Settlements: Syrian Refugees in the Bekaa Valley, Lebanon**

Lebanon's policy left the Syrian refugees at a crossroads. In the absence of formal refugee camps, they were faced with two options—either to rent a private home or room, a luxury for many Syrians who have had to leave everything behind, or to create informal settlements on private swathes of land, resulting in the clustered tent settlements which now pepper Lebanon's agricultural landscape. In a study (Nicolas, 2016) performed to determine Lebanon's "Epidemic Preparedness" researchers compared the response of the Lebanese authorities to the influx of Syrian Refugees with the UNHCR international standards. It found that 41% of Syrian refugees in Lebanon are in some type of informal living situation, including living in garages or squatting, alongside the informal tent settlements constructed by the communities of refugees in the Bekaa Valley.

Informal settlements come with many issues, particularly regarding living conditions caused by a lack of planning. In refugee camps (despite the many criticisms that can be leveled at them) specific planning measures are used to maximize space and ensure the implementation of the basic components necessary for housing refugee families. When a settlement is constructed informally and does not have that type of direction, as with the Bekaa Valley settlements, it often lacks vital components and many problems can arise.

The Bekaa Valley is Lebanon's agricultural center, in close proximity to the Syrian border. The type, organization and ownership of the land provided a surplus of wide, open spaces for informal settlements to be established and to grow. Refugees rent areas of land from the land owners where they can set up their tents, giving what little they have in order to live in precarious conditions. Sweltering in the summer, freezing in the winter, in a shelter that barely provides protection. Due to the informal ways in which these settlements are initially created for temporary living and the haphazard way they are developed, they often lack key elements of architectural planning. Architecture is not only an aesthetic discipline; it involves structural and spatial planning, sanitation, ventilation and lighting (Chamma & Zaiter, 2017), crucial to the safety and well-being of residents occupying the space. The shelters in Bekaa have weak structures and poor insulation, are overcrowded and cause issues for the health and wellbeing of the refugees.

A needs assessment undertaken on the ground in Bekaa in 2018 by a team from The Lab of Emergency & Sustainable Settlements (LESS), noted, in addition to the lack of decent quality housing, the complete absence of infrastructure for water, sanitation, healthcare and education. The UNHCR study quoted above found that 14% of Syrian refugees in Lebanon either have no access to a bathroom or have to share one with over 15 people. 28% of refugees have insufficient drinking water and, as a result, 7% use unprotected water as their drinking source. Given the numbers of Syrian refugees in informal tent

settlements in Lebanon, these figures are likely to underestimate the real severity and prevalence of these issues.

The settlements in Bekaa house many families with children who currently have no access at all to formal education. Our team members spoke with parents at camps in the area who expressed their frustrations, reporting that the local Lebanese schools are filled to capacity and that the refugee families are not being provided with alternative options. These children, having been forced to leave their homes, are now also falling behind on their education—further compromising their futures.



Figure 1. Children play in the passageways between shelters due to the lack of schools, playgrounds and recreational spaces. Photo by Marwa Abou Zeinab, LESS

Another key frustration voiced by the refugees in the Bekaa Valley was the lack of access to health centers. A separate study (Ammar et al., 2016), focusing on the resilience of the Lebanese healthcare system revealed that Lebanon should be able to deliver adequate health services for refugees without compromising services for its own citizens. However, the study highlighted the importance of hosting refugees in proximity to existing health centers in order to facilitate their integration into the health system (Ammar et al., 2016) and to reduce administrative costs. Refugees unable to integrate into existing Lebanese communities, abandoned to the informal settlements such as those in the Bekaa Valley find themselves largely excluded from access to health provision.

### **Beyond Shelter: Offering Sustainable Solutions**

Although requiring substantial investment, constructing planned accommodation and infrastructure for the Syrian refugees from the outset could have helped to boost the Lebanese economy and provided a housing stock which, once the refugees had returned home, could then have been used to provide social housing for the growing Lebanese population. This option provides a better solution for all concerned than providing planned 'temporary' refugee camps or simply abandoning the refugees to informal unplanned settlements (Chamma & Arroyo, 2016).

Given the policy decisions taken by the Lebanese authorities and their reticence to provide infrastructure and housing for the Syrian refugees however, the focus now should be on improving living conditions in the informal settlements. The issues outlined in the previous section from which the refugees in Bekaa are suffering are all remediable. Living conditions could be improved for these communities, ensuring the protection of their human rights to shelter, education, health and a decent standard of living whilst claiming asylum, until they are able to return home and start to rebuild their lives in Syria.

These interventions could use appropriate intermediate technology and simple solutions which engage and empower the refugee communities to improve conditions until they can return home. It would require funding, action and coordination from UNHCR, humanitarian NGOs, donors and/or the Lebanese authorities in collaboration with the communities themselves but these interventions are viable and necessary to ensure human rights for these displaced people who have already had to suffer and escape from the chaos of the conflict in Syria and whose suffering should not be compounded.



Figure 2. Quality of shelter units in one of the Syrian refugee encampments in Bekaa. Photo by Marwa Abou Zeinab, LESS

In terms of shelter, the refugees have built tent-style structures using whatever materials they have been able to find, from wood and tarp to plastic sheets. Supplying them with better building materials and support to create decent shelters better adapted to the climatic conditions would improve living conditions greatly.

Infrastructure for proper hygiene, such as latrines, need not mean installing complicated systems. The Biosan Latrine is “a hybrid of the ventilated improved pit-latrines and sewerage technologies and integrates the advantages of the two technologies”. The Biosan has been deemed suitable for refugee settlements, providing environmentally friendly sanitation whilst also harvesting methane for use as an energy source (Makhanu & Waswa, 2018).

Temporary or permanent structures for education could be constructed at relatively low cost, using a mixture of professional builders and refugee labor. Teaching could be provided by international volunteers, Lebanese teachers and by professionals from the settlements themselves, skilled people able to utilize their own expertise. Supplies and equipment would need to be provided and management structures implemented but these should not be obstacles to providing education for these displaced children.

Drop-in medical clinics could also provide healthcare for the settlements and transport made available for health situations requiring access to existing Lebanese facilities.

The situation for Syrian refugees in the Bekaa Valley is harsh due to the resistance of the Lebanese authorities to becoming a permanent home for an entire population of displaced peoples all over again. However, with an end perhaps in sight to the Syrian conflict, the situation in these informal settlements must be improved in the meantime, in order to abide by international human rights standards until the refugees can return home to Syria.

## **Conclusions**

While Lebanon has done an adequate job integrating the Syrian refugees living in cities alongside Lebanese citizens, those in informal camps such as the ones in the Bekaa Valley are suffering from extremely difficult living conditions. The skillset of the individuals in the camps is vast, what has been lacking is a supply of materials and support structures to help them build change. With many of the informal camps in the Bekaa Valley, there is an opportunity to act now to improve living conditions and mitigate and avoid further suffering.

The mass migration of Syrians to Lebanon has also put a strain on their hosts. Lebanon is a small country that is already struggling to survive and balance its own needs and development. A country of a modest population, in Lebanon one in every four persons is a refugee. Yet this should not mean that Syrian refugees are simply abandoned to the informal settlements like those in Bekaa where they struggle to survive. In order to transform this situation into one that is beneficial to everyone, Lebanon needs to implement measures to accommodate these refugees and to call on other countries and organizations to help them to do so. Choosing to marginalize and ignore the refugees does not resolve anything and only leads to further problems in future.

Often people forget that refugees are not in a place because they want to be, it is because they have no other choice. Displacement can often lead to disempowerment and exclusion but this need not be the case. As a global community, implicated in the complex causes that led to the Syrian conflict, the least we can do is try to find intermediate solutions to support the Lebanese authorities to ensure the human rights of the Syrian refugees are protected until peace in Syria can be restored.

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# SOCIO ECONOMIC REHABILITATION MODEL OF GLOBALLY FORCED DISPLACEMENTS THROUGH MUDARABAH FINANCING

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**Model Description:**

<i>Target Group:</i>	Globally Forced Displacement
<i>Sample Group</i>	Internally Displaced people (IDPs) of North Waziristan Agency of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan  IDPs living in District Karak  0.4 Million
<i>Testing Area Population Model Team leader</i>	Qaisar Bilal and Asad Shabir

**Introduction**

In spite of highly advancement in every field of life, near to perfection rules & Laws, at very extent the inter connectivity across the globe, the humanity still faces adverse situations in one form or the other, forcing it to poverty, low living standard and even deprivation from basic needs not allowing them to lead a normal life . It shows that there are loopholes in the system that requires remedial measures at utmost level. Millions of people are migrated from one place to another for a various reasons; one of which is the war against terrorism. According to UNHCR;

GENEVA, June 20 (UNHCR) – The UN refugee agency reported today on World Refugee Day that the number of refugees, asylum-seekers and internally displaced people worldwide has, for the first time in the post-World War II era, exceeded 50 million people. In Pakistan their number is passing 1.5 million.[<http://www.unhcr.org/53a155bc6.html>]

The key purpose of this Project/Model is to serve humanity and to give high value to all living beings in general and human beings belonging to any place on earth in particular. Keeping in view the mentioned situation, dire need is felt to produce such a system that not only protects the forced displacement but also provide them a sound platform to live ordinary life. It has been observed that wide range of national and international groups, organizations and civil societies are contributing in this regard but all they touch is financial aspect instead of going through to explore their skills, restore their originality and the style of working and to ensure their security along with sense of security coupled with reinstating their potential to enable them stand on their own efforts and feet. This can only be possible through providing the opportunity to work on share basis and ownership that will give them full confidence and the mode which is permissible and embolden by the Islamic laws is called Mudarabah. "Mudarabah" is a special kind of partnership where one partner gives money to another for investing it in a commercial enterprise. The investment comes from the first partner who is called "Rabb-ul-mal", while the management and work is an exclusive responsibility of the other, who is called "Mudarib". In this Model, all the enterprises will be made from amongst the IDPs presently residing in District Karak, according to the nature of their skills from very low level to higher executive positions. The Model will provide them bridge and will map the interconnectivity through different social and academic activities.

In short, through this Model activity, multi-disciplinary objectives will be accomplished like:

Awareness and psychological treatment of the IDPs

Motivation towards their interested areas

Providing opportunity to optimum utilization of their Skills

Entrepreneurship development via training sessions

Escalation of individuals Earning power

Enhancement of living standards

### **Social Impact:**

As mentioned above, more than 50 million people face globally forced displacement out of which in Pakistan 1.5 million are displaced due to war against terrorism. This is the responsibility of all, living on this planet to look after one another and to give them full right of humanity coupled with protection in real sense without giving them the sense of inferiority and to engage them in such a way that they are living as they used to live before forced displacement.

### **2.1 Intended Short Term Impacts:**

**Psychological Treatment:** The most effective impact of this Model is the eradication of wrong perception and somewhat negative feelings about Government policies. The involvement in Mudarabah pool will put them in ease and psychological relaxation.

**Social Engagement:** Through Mudarabah financing, the skilled people out of IDPs will be engaged in different existent small businesses and most of them will be put in Mudarabah Pool where they will be trained according to their interests.

**Earning Power:** The earning power of the people will enhance as they will be put involved in different economic activities of Mudarabah pool.

**Empowerment:** currently all of IDPs are living as idle and are dependent on others even for little and tiny needs. This Model will lead them to act freely like other citizens with in legal boundaries and make them empower a bit.

**Women involvement in Handicrafts:** This Mudarabah pool will also provide opportunity to develop the handicrafts skills in women and among them, the most expert will teach others.

Cultural Corner Discussions: it also affects the cultural norms in a positive ways as there are different cultural colors and diversity. The Model will arrange such events that help them to participate and share their values and norms.

## **2.2 Long Term Impacts:**

Its intended impact covers the main sectors of life in long term like health, education, economic growth, and living standards because all these areas are interdependent and specially on earning power.

Entrepreneurial Development: Interaction of IDPs with local business men through Mudarabah will enable them innovative and creative to start their own setup when back to their own places.

Analytical Skills: On comparison with local resident's life style, living standards, their priorities will force them to think about the causes and reasons which bring them to this situation of misery. So they will plan not to repeat those mistakes and conscious about future circumstances.

Economic Growth: in fact, their contributions to small businesses and women handicraft units not only make them more skillful but in long term they will play a vital role in economic growth.

Value for Health & Education: There is more chance of realization the value of health and education to them while interacting with people of district Karak as they are highly inclined towards education. They will inspire from them and Mudarabah pool also provide some training sessions about the importance of these two sectors.

"In a gentle way, you can shake the world." (Mahatma Gandhi)

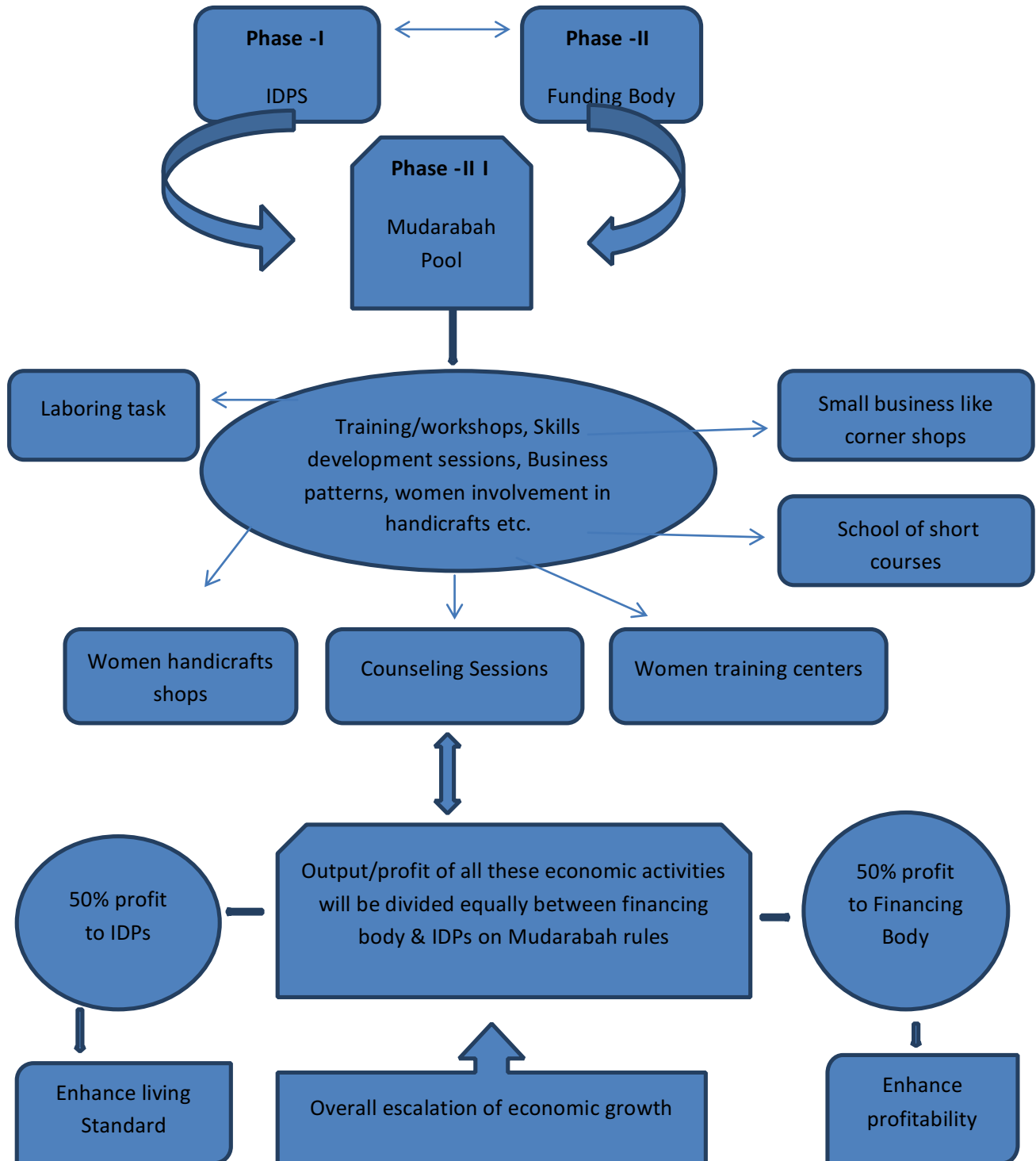
## **How the Model works:**

The Model works on three phases.

3.1 Phase-I: Categorization and specification of Target groups among IDPs living in District Karak based on gender, education and skills

3.2 Phase-II: Procedural Documentation and credential of Financing/Funding bodies like local Residents, Local Islamic Banks, Small Business Enterprises, Investment Fund Groups, Non-Government Organization and Civil Societies

3.3 Phase-III: Mudarabah Pool, which is the central platform and hub for both Phases. On mutual consensus of both parties and availability of suitable individuals results different economic activities entirely based on Mudarabah financing mode.



### Proposed Activities & Methodologies of Phase-I

4.1 Model Awareness: Through advertisement in local newspapers & pamphlets

4.2 Detail Survey: To get information about each target group.

4.3 Convincing & negotiation: The Model team will negotiate with male responsible family members and convince them to allow their women to participate.

4.4 Registration: Members of each target group will be registered.

Model Activity	Methodology	Time period in weeks
Awareness	Advertisement	02 (approx.)
Detail Survey	Door to door visit	03 (approx.)
Negotiation	Through traditional JIRGA	02 (approx.)
Registration	Agreement/credentials	04 (approx.)

### Proposed Activities & Methodologies of Phase-II

Phase-II is all about seeking financing or funding bodies. In market a number of funding organizations exist like investment funds, local Islamic banks e.g. Meezan bank, The Bank of Khyber and different NGOs also provide the same facility with distinct terms and conditions.

This phase involves the following steps:

Ensuring financing body support us in this Model Executions.

Signing of Memorandum of Understanding with financing body.

Legalization of Mudarabah transaction and its terms and conditions documentation.

Final approval and allocation of fund according to the nature of Model activity and event structure from competent authority.

#### Methodology:

The existent standard procedure of the concerned financing/funding organization will be followed along with observing the validation and realistic measures will be taken to keep the transaction transparent.

#### Proposed Activities & Methodologies of Phase-III

This phase plays a key role in determining the actual strength of the Model as it is the hub of both the stakeholders. i.e. Internally displaced people and financing organizations. The main task of it is the matching of suitable target group with economic event so as to get the fruitful results and consequences.

S.No	Target Group	Assigned Activity	Outcome/Impact
1	Under 18	Schooling	Learned society
2	Educated male/female	Engagement in private job	Services delivery & earning power
3	Uneducated male/female	Workshop/training	Skills development
4	Skilled male	Small business/corner shops	Self-dependency/ earning power

5	Skilled female	Handicrafts business	Economic growth and earning power
6	Aged people	Counselling sessions	Psychological treatment/ relaxation
7	Experts/skilled	Engage as a Trainer	Services progress & growth

**Model Rationalization:**

This Socio-Economic Rehabilitation Model has high value of rationalization and firm ethical touch. Its execution is tremendously in full conformity with developed standards across the globe and achieves a social good because of the following key areas.

Preferment of International Agenda: To serve humanity is the common agenda of international community. Till date, thousands of people devoted their lives and spent huge resources to accomplish this sacred mission. This Model reflects the same goals and objectives. It promotes this conception in a larger extent.

Fully conformity with National Interest: It seems very ethical because nothing goes beyond the national Interest, even not violating the single law related to any event. This Model is in fully in conformity with national interest as to support their citizen in a better way to lead a normal life.

Supportive in Poverty Elimination & Unemployment eradication: One of the core liabilities of state is to reduce poverty and provide job opportunities. This Model is very supportive in attaining the mentioned objectives. So it is ethical as well as legal imitative in this regard.

Business as well as Welfare activity: Another fine aspect of this Model is the balanced activity. It covers not only the business need to earn profit but also gives shelter to needy people which is the utmost requirement of the day because without the combination of both stakeholder it's not possible to develop such plan and Model.

Cultural Acceptability: It is essential to mention that Pashtuns have very strong culture. So many Models and developmental schemes have been rejected by them for the reason that they were contradictory to their cultural norms and values. This Model has similar features to the existent norms. .

Approval from Jirga [Local/traditional Justice Body]: The beauty of this Model is the involvement of local Jirga. In Pashtun society, it is essential that your task or assignment must has consensus of local justice body, without their pleasure it is very difficult to operate in the society because this body has strong influence on society and normally people never go against it.

**Models' financial Viability, Innovation and Its Originality**

The Model proposes an endogenous self-sustaining growth frame with its key stakeholders in the form of financiers (funding sponsors), Beneficiaries (IDPs). The Model Team shall perform a facilitative role in matching the requirements of the two salient stakeholders i.e., financing bodies and economically marginalized and internally displaced persons (IDPS). We plan to pool up Mudarabah resources in the form of small enterprises to achieve mutually beneficial goals for associated stakeholders in the District Karak to enhance their skill, craft and art of living. This proposal strives to make a pitch attaining seed capital for this embryonic concept to be incubated and accelerated for its onward implementation. The Model also provides an avenue for those IDPs who have funds but lack the societal apparatus and cognitive strength as well as support to initiate their own enterprises.

The Model concept is innovative in the sense that no prior efforts have been undertaken by individuals to tap the existing skills, knowledge and abilities of IDPs. The concept inculcates a spirit of self-reliance during complex circumstances through bootstrapping other people resources. Moreover, the concept envisages an effectuation

based approach as against causation based view in an effort to germinate entrepreneurial spirit, awaken self-reliance and install a spirit of contribution to society.

The Model strives for value creation through accumulation of needed funds through contacts with financial institutions, Not-for-profits institutions and philanthropists for a social benefit which inwardly falls in the domain of social entrepreneurship. It is estimated that the Model will attain financial sustainability within two years' time period. Moreover, the concept upon completion may also be replicated in other areas which warrant similar initiative.

### **Differentiation**

They focus, mainly, on financial support of people. As such, though people get their livelihood but cannot get courage and confidence to live by themselves and earn for their daily needs. This Model primitively focuses enabling people believe their potentialities and have ample courage and confidence to realize that they too are normal people and can do anything for their earning and respectable livelihood through skilled entrepreneur. The already in vogue Models target general population whereas through this Model a specific entity of population i.e. IDPs of Waziristan residing in District Karak is supposed to be targeted.

As compared to this Model the others may be termed as short term Models as the focus of the existing Models revolve around monetary and instalment based non skilled, no motivational aid. On the other hand instead of terming some monetary aid the Model may be called long term Human Resource Development Model.

Most of the earlier Models emphasize on infra-structure or social development i.e. they target specific walks of life but the Model in hand covers almost all the aspects of life of IDPs i.e. their social development through trainings, counselling and education. Their psychotherapy through enhancement in earning and capacity building and cultural development through revival of local, culturally inherited handicrafts etc. The organization of Jirgas for the purpose shall add to the Model the exception that would not have been introduced before.

### **Conclusive Remarks:**

This model played a vital role in accomplishing the stated goals and objectives. As a result of its partial execution led to engage hundreds of displaced people, and approximately one hundred and forty-three families were benefited at different levels.

Moreover, this model has high capacity to implement anywhere across the globe and hopefully, will give remarkable outcomes and results.



# CHILDREN AS SOCIAL ACTORS IN THE CONTEXT OF FORCED MIGRATION AND INTEGRATION IN GERMANY

CATERINA ROHDE-ABUBA

Governmental and non-governmental actors as well as the general public in Germany are discussing intensively challenges and chances of integrating 'refugees', who to a large share have arrived in Germany since summer 2015.

The number of children and juveniles from up to 15 years of age is increasing and in June 2018 has reached 42% of the overall 'refugee' population in Germany (compare: bpb 2018). Children and juveniles through their contacts with the local population in child care and the educational system in Germany have a unique integration experience that is not shared by adults. Especially young children are benefitted by a greater capacity to learn new languages. Research also shows that they more easily absorb and adapt to a new set of social and cultural norms, and that they are able to negotiate the belonging to different cultural backgrounds in the construction of so-called "both/and-identities".

However, little is known about the perspective of children on flight and integration, even though their contribution for the cohesion of the local and the newly immigrated population may be crucial.

This paper seeks to discuss the potential role of children as actors of integration. It is based on a theoretical framework that regards children and juveniles as social actors who purposeful influence their social environment and construct relationships. This approach implicates that children as social actors are able to report and discuss their experience (compare Mayall 1999). The paper draws on results of two recent studies published by World Vision Germany, which aim to give voice to children. The World Vision "Child Study 2018" shows attitudes of local children to flight and 'refugee' integration. As integration preconditions that the local population gets into contact with newcomers and allows their inclusion in social institutions, these results help to discuss how local children may act to include 'refugee' children. However, the main focus of this paper will be on data from the World Vision study "Arrived in Germany" of 2016, that shows how 'refugee children' cope with experiences of flight and actively co-construct their integration into various social institutions in Germany. The analysis will also discuss how the ability of 'refugee' children to integrate quicker into the receiving society may bear the risk of parentification, which is the role reversal of children and parents, that potentially overburdens children with responsibilities of the family.

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# MIGRANT CITY : ARCHITECTURE OF MIGRANCY FOR MIGRANT WOMEN WITH CHILDREN IN BERTRAMS, JOHANNESBURG

TEBOGO RAMATLO

'Human beings have always moved from one place to another, and every continent was settled at various points in its history by migrants. People leave one area and move to another for many different reasons. They may decide to go in search of more fertile land to farm, work opportunities or education. Or on the other hand driven out of their homes by war or persecution, or by floods, earthquakes or famine'. Davies, W. (1995),

This paper explores, how migrant women with children access places of refuge, work and socialization in Johannesburg. It focusses on Bertram's located in Johannesburg inner city's eastern gateway. The area acts as both gateway and a filter offering opportunities for diverse ethnic groups and nationalities to access the city, regardless of their legal status. The project explores through writing, diagrams and short films the journey of migrant women with children with or without official citizen status. The project unpacks the points of intersection between the migrants and the city from eastern gateway to the western gateway.

The central aim of the project is to shift normative conceptions of urban development which usually separate issues of migration from urbanization. The projects brings awareness to migrant women with children's challenges in accessing basic human rights in their country of refuge. The aim of the project is to locate, secure and emancipate migrant women with children as legitimate citizens of society to foster an inclusive possible African urbanism. The other aim is speculate an interwoven architectural infrastructure with a social infrastructure to provide spaces of educational interaction, economic collaboration and individual agency through temporary housing. How can architecture support effective structures for migrant women with children? What kind of spaces can be created beyond refugee camps? What kind of agency can the built environment offer people who live along the blurred boundaries of the official and unofficial, informal and formal, temporary and permanent?

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# MEASLES MASS VACCINATION PROGRAMMES IN REFUGEE CAMPS, 2010-2018

ANN WANG, MIKE CLARKE

**Introduction:** Measles is an important vaccine-preventable disease of concern in displaced populations, especially in the context of the current unprecedented global scale of forced migration. Displaced people are especially susceptible because of disrupted health services, malnutrition, and overcrowded living conditions in settlements like refugee camps (RCs). The effective large-scale delivery of measles-containing vaccines (MCVs) in these settings is a key public health (PH) intervention to prevent mortality and morbidity, especially in children. Systematic reviews (SRs) are a rigorous scientific method to combine existing knowledge in PH research, but have not been extensively conducted in this area. The review describes measles mass vaccination programmes (MVPs) in RCs across the globe between 2010 and 2018, in order to build on previous work and expand the evidence base.

**Methods:** Systematic searches were run in EMBASE, MEDLINE, SCOPUS, UNOG, and REFWORLD for all documents published between 1 January 2010 and 30 June 2018. Articles types included journal articles, media reports, and UN reports and documents. One reviewer assessed the articles for eligibility, consulting a supervisor if needed.

**Results:** Out of 583 total sources identified, 38 described measles MVPs carried out in an RC in that timeframe, reporting a total of 28 MVPs in 14 countries, mostly on the African continent. Their key characteristics were summarised in a table, while displacement context, MVP setting, and other details were discussed in individual sections. Overall, the interventions tended to be underreported and faced numerous logistical challenges, indicating the need for additional research and setting-specific guidelines.

**Discussion:** This review has certain strengths, including its comprehensive scope in geography, source type, and timeframe, which allow it to elaborate on previous research and contribute to existing knowledge. Its limitations include likely publication bias, lack of information, ambiguity of definitions, inaccurate reported figures, and the absence of an independent second reviewer to check eligibility. Additional database searches, stricter eligibility criteria, and fewer extraction categories would have been useful in this review.

**Conclusion:** MVPs in RCs are vital PH interventions in mass population displacements, but are often under-reported in epidemiological research and popular media. Due to the continued emergence of measles in context-specific settings, further research is needed to inform future programmes. The changing epidemiology of conflict areas, new emerging innovations, and irreversible climate change are important considerations for the field.

# **CBRNE THREAT AND REFUGEE CRISIS: MITIGATING THE RISKS AND PROTECTING THE HEALTH**

**JAROSLAV KRASNY**

When the “refugee crisis” hit in 2015, the European Union was caught unprepared, without any emergency plan and what is more, internally divided in regards of what should be done. Various political parties, right-wing groups, left-wing groups, NGOs and many other individuals and institutions used the situation to maximize their profits or to gain political support.

However, with the uncontrolled flow of unchecked not only refugees but migrants in general Europe saw a steep rise in violent crime, lone-wolf attacks, coordinated terrorist attacks, several threats of attacks with chemical weapons and more recently a threat of attack using ricin.

Together with these dangers another, very often ignored risk, is threatening not only the local population but also the refugees and migrants themselves. This threat is represented by infectious diseases, viruses and other health issues. There are proven cases of untreated migrants suffering from tuberculosis, scabies etc. Given the fact that Ebola virus has an incubation period of up to 20 days without proper health checks and with the rising number of migrants from sub-Saharan Africa it is highly possible that an infected person gets on the ship and manages to reach European soil well within this incubation period.

This situation is dangerous not only for migrants and local population but such an incident of an infected migrant infecting locals could cause further social tensions and stir up more violence towards refugees.

This article therefore examines in more detail the possible CBRNe threat with a special focus on biological risks since these are underestimated by the local authorities. Refugees and migrants are improperly checked, health examination is virtually non-existent and this represents a possible time bomb in current issue of migration.

# **SOUTH SUDANESE REFUGEES' LIVING IN NORTHERN UGANDA: EXPERIENCES OF SEXUAL AND GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE AND TORTURE AND THE HEALTH AND JUSTICE RESPONSES**

**HELEN LIEBLING, HAZEL BARRETT, FADDY GLADYS CANOGURA, JULIET WERE-OGUTTU, LILLY ARTZ**

This paper presents the findings of a British Academy/Leverhulme-funded research project carried out with South Sudanese refugees living in settlements in Northern Uganda. The conflict in South Sudan is characterised by human rights violations, including sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) and torture, with large numbers of refugees fleeing to Northern Uganda. There is limited research on the lived experiences of South Sudanese refugees who are currently living in Northern Uganda who are SGBV and torture survivors. Reports cite high levels of sexual abuse and torture of both men and women refugees from South Sudan yet the service provision is limited. Using health and justice perspectives, this qualitative research uses thematic analysis to investigate the experiences of 50 South Sudanese refugees living in settlements in two Ugandan districts. It focuses on the impact of SGBV and torture on refugees' health and rights, including psychological and reproductive well-being and access to justice. It analyses the health, welfare and justice experiences and needs of men and women refugees. It also evaluates responses by state and non-state justice and health services and community-based organisations. The research provides empirical evidence that will contribute to the debates surrounding international and national gendered efforts to reduce disparities in healthcare, access to justice and policies to improve refugee well-being; an essential part of post-conflict recovery. The research also provides knowledge that will lead to policy and practical recommendations to ensure services improve their responses to refugees' needs, gender and experiences.

# INTERIORITY AND THE POLITICS OF CONTAINMENT

RANA ABUDAYYEH

In recent years, population displacement reflected by an unequivocal surge in refugee numbers has emerged as a significant global force. While crises both natural and manmade have triggered mass relocations in the past, the current patterns of displacement are transgressing regional boundaries, simultaneously affecting local and global narratives. Such settings of rapid change and shifting milieus challenge conventional notions of physical bearings, reconfiguring contextual parameters and implications. Within these reconfigured terrains, what becomes of identity as association with place/placement degrade? How does this affect modes of spatial production? The paper examines interior design's aptitude for negotiating disputed limits and assesses its capacity to perform in states of instability.

The shift induced by any type of massive displacement carries vast implications socially, politically, geographically, and economically, just to name a few. Displacement is becoming a prevalent contextual modality redefining tolerances of boundaries and identities. Within the shifting parameters that population displacement ensues, this research evaluates the role of interior design on two scales: the scale of the refugee shelter unit and that of the refugee camp. A study assessing distress factors among refugees found that the lack of residential stability provokes a sense of perpetual homelessness within them. This affects a refugee's mental and physical health (1). While buildings' predisposition to permanence restrict architecture's ability to actively operate in the extremes of sudden occupancy flux and respond to the states of instability it entails, interiority offers an alternate trajectory towards spatial production. Interior spaces carry the code of the everyday life and formulate the backdrop for spatial memories that in turn play an integral role in foregrounding identity. The transferability of such native patterns of occupancy offers a common denominator in the midst of changing typologies of dwelling, community, and culture. Under the continual instability of displacement, interior patterns and their spatial memories have a proven fidelity that is particularly valuable when negotiating disputed limits and addressing contextual shifts. The resilience of interior spaces stems from their haptic nature that is often tied to cultural practices and domestic habits. Unlike buildings, interiors or their traces and reproductions are easily transferred from one geographic location to another. This agility is often the only assertion of identity a refugee is able to carry through the relocation process. Composed of fragments of memories and impositions of necessity, a hybrid interiority emerges within the containment of the refugee camp. It assumes an autonomous registry while asserting a territorial agency. It offers comfort and familiarity, yet blurs the line between the unit and the camp as the domestic experience now depends on the provisions of the collective setting. Here, inside and outside designations degrade, and a fertile elasticity between interior and exterior forms, ushering a liminal domain that demands the designer's attention and imagination.

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# MENTAL HEALTH OF YOUNG REFUGEES: A LONGITUDINAL STUDY ACROSS A TWO-YEAR INTERVAL

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The research project is designed within the frame of the Consortium YOURHEALTH project "Stress, Health and Integration of Young Refugees: Discovering the Interrelations and Improving Access to Healthcare". The main objective of this longitudinal study is to analyse the developmental trajectory of young refugees (N=1240) in their new environment after their arrival in Germany. The general expectation is that psychological health and well-being show improvements during the two year-interval. There may be different developmental trajectories associated with more or less appropriate adjustment processes. A second main objective is to search for influential factors, which may explain the emergence of different developmental trajectories. Possible impacts are expected from (a) previous or current traumatic experiences, (b) personal and social resources, (c) acculturation strategies, (d) coping strategies, (e) parental and familial influences and (f) the utilization of support offers. The purpose of this research project is to identify risk factors associated with adverse developmental trajectories as well as resources associated with favourable developmental trajectories in young refugees. This knowledge can be used to provide support tailored to the specific needs of young refugees (in reducing barriers to utilize support offers, in improving personal or social resources needed for favourable adjustment processes etc.). As a consequence, this research project has implications for preventive as well as interventive efforts for young refugees as a target group.