

**THE JORDANIAN REFUGEE CAMPS BETWEEN TEMPORARY SETTLEMENTS AND
PERMANENT SETTLEMENTS: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ZA'ATARI REFUGEE CAMP
AND THE SURROUNDING TERRITORY**

Enrico Pulitani¹

SUMMARY

According to data released by UNHCR, there are over 65 million of refugees around the world. They are forced, by different reasons, to leave their homes or their country. About a third of these people are registered as refugees with UNHCR and 16% of them are hosted in refugee camps specifically realized. The resulting external migration flows are directed mainly towards the neighboring countries. The Syrian crisis has produced, to date, about 7 million of refugees, the majority of which hosted in Turkey, Jordan and Lebanon.

Zaatari refugee camp has started its activities in mid-2012 in northern Jordan and it's one of the camps realized to accommodate Syrian refugees. With an extension of more than 6 km² nowadays it hosts about 80.000 refugees after reaching a peak of 200.000 refugees in mid-2013. Despite its location, close to small pre-existing urban settlements, the camp is completely fenced and offers scarce opportunity of human relations and spatial integration between its inhabitants and the surrounding territory and conversely.

The article focuses on the relationship between Za'atari refugee camp and the surrounding territory, or rather, between temporary and permanent settlements and how these two elements are trying to interact between them, analyzing issues relating to: territorial imbalances, misaligned urban geography, social disparities and ghettoization phenomenon, as well as tools realized to face up this complex spatial integration process.

Keywords: Syrian refugees - Refugee camps - Zaatari refugee camp - Temporary vs Permanent settlements - Spatial integration - Jordan Kingdom.

¹ - *Interuniversity Department of Regional and Urban Studies and Planning, Politecnico di Torino, Turin, Italy.*

1. Introduction

Currently, in the world, according to data provided by UNHCR in its last report published, over 65 million people (24 every minute) are forced to live away from their place of origin and their homes for various reasons: climate, armed conflicts, environmental, socio-economic, racial and religious persecution, etc. Of these over 21 million (of which over 5 million are Palestinians) have taken refuge. As reported in the article 1, section A / paragraph 2, of the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (Geneva, 1951) as amended by the Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees (New York, 1967) the refugee population is composed of:

"Anyone in founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, unwilling to request protection of that State; or who, not having a nationality and being outside of his home state after such events, is unable or, because of the fear mentioned above, is unwilling to return."

Unlike refugees, who turn away from their places of origin to further causes related to armed conflicts, refugees, as specified by the Convention, they are forced to move away from their places of origin for reasons of persecution. They can obtain protection through the asylum, the countries in which they are housed. The number of refugees worldwide (disregarding the other 40 million people who although forced to flee their homes do not have the status of refugees), which roughly corresponds to a third of the Italian population, as specified in Article of the Convention mentioned above, they are forced to abandon their spaces creating experiences of migration, both internal to a single country, and external, such as for those who take refuge in neighboring countries or in others countries.

Home to refugees who have been forced to leave their homes or even their own country ? If they are unable to procure dwelling which alternatives are available ? Refugees who have a better economic situation have the option to rent or buy a home in the place where they have taken refuge, or, are not uncommon in cases of family reunification. Those who unfortunately cannot afford to rent or buy a home. If they are lucky, they can be accommodated in those that are called refugee camps. A refugee camp is a temporary settlement of various sizes and with varying numbers of refugees hosted (usually these settlements are characterized by high population density) that varies depending on the consistency of the humanitarian emergency in place. Camps usually are placed relatively close to the borders of the country of origin of refugees and can be found or not in the vicinity of other preexisting urban settlements. From the latest UNHCR estimates on June 01 2016 almost 50% of refugees, over 9.4 million people(including Palestinians refugee), live in these camps. Of these almost 9 million live in camps managed often made jointly by the host governments, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) which is concerned, specifically the Palestinian refugees. In the world there are more than 1.000 refugee camps spread over 60 different countries (Herz, 2008:281), and geographical areas most hit by this phenomenon are, the Middle East and Africa Sub-Saharan, regions where, in recent years, they have become more acute phenomena of civil wars and persecutions of character ethnic-religious.

This research thesis, focuses on the issue of Housing of refugees, and their relationship with the surrounding territory. These new places sometimes can change the urban dynamics already present and consolidated over time. The case study is aimed deepening is that the Middle East and specifically to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

Jordan has developed, with regard to construction of refugee camps in the last seventy years a great experience. The first refugee camp was built in 1949 near the capital Amman, and hosts, even today, Palestinian refugees of the First ArabIsraeli War. The fifteenth and last camp instead was produced in 2014, and hosts Syrian refugees in the Syrian Civil War broke out in 2011 and still in progress. The penultimate constructed camp, which is the case study of this thesis, is Za'atari refugee camp. This camp, which is home to Syrian refugees, is the largest, by extension, between those in Jordan and the fifth worldwide. Opened in July 2012, currently it hosts some 80,000 refugees, coming in most cases from the city of Daraa, and had peaks of over 120,000 admissions in 2014.

According to the last census of 2015 Jordan has a population of over 9.500.000 inhabitants, of which about 3.000.000 are foreign. In this total are not taken into account other non-resident aliens refugees in the country and in particular the strong presence of citizens of Egyptian origin. So more than a third of the national population is of non-Jordanian origin, and this factor also makes us a sense of how Jordan is a country with a strong experience of socio-cultural integration. To understand the reasons for the presence of such a high number of refugees, and camps to house them, just look on a map, and see what the neighbouring countries are. Israel, which since its creation to now we have seen the beginning of numerous conflicts, and consequent changes of state borders, causing many refugees. To the east of Iraq, since 2003, the year that began the US occupation against the regime of Saddam Hussein, to the more recent still ongoing civil war, has seen much of the population to take refuge in neighbouring countries. In northern Syria, where the current situation and also derived here from a civil war, is the most cruel and unpredictable in the region (to date, after nearly five years of conflict, there are over 4.000.000 of Syrian refugees fled the country, representing the highest number of refugees in a single country since World War II). To create further humanitarian problems in the

region is the presence of the self-styled Islamic State (Isis) that occupying territories on horseback between Syria and Iraq has increased the number of refugees, asylum-seekers.

Of the estimated 3.000.000 refugees in Jordan, 2,117,361 are Palestinians from Israel, 655,217 are Syrians, over 200.000 Iraqis have (do not know the exact number of Iraqi refugees in the country) and the rest are mostly Kurds and Yemenis. Of these three million about 20% live in refugee camps, of which, ten camps for Palestinian refugees managed by UNRWA and other five camps for Syrian refugees (some Palestinians live in these camps because they were refugees in Syria cause first Arab-Israeli War now are refugees once again cause Syrian crisis). Four of these camps are directly managed by UNHCR and one by the United Arab Emirates Government cooperation with the UNHCR support.

The case study was further deepened when I went in person to Jordan in May 2016.

This experience has allowed me to explore issues relating to the objectives proposed by this thesis engines and some assumptions made including: the development of the Jordanian urban system concentrated in the north-west of the country along the axis of the Jordan River and strongly polarized on capital Amman; the presence within the urban territorial system of traditionally established entities (referring to the birth, evolution, structure, functions and the demography of a settlement) as the set of towns and villages on the national and local entities instead artificially settled (referring to a process of evolution of the settlements that diverges from that of traditionally located entity, for temporal and emergency issues) as the set of refugee camps; The aim of the camps to assume, as in the case of Za'atari, of connotations more and more similar to those of traditional cities increasingly weakening more the imaginary boundary that separates these two entities differ in nature and design but more and more approachable in their structural, functional, spatial and social.

The research proposed in this thesis is divided into six chapters:

In the first chapter, I propose a critical review of the definitions of the settlement concept and how this concept has evolved over time. Then I will introduce a new concept of distinction or that between "permanent and temporary settlements" that is the key element of differentiation between a traditionally evolved town and a camp for refugees artificially evolved with the times and in different ways. Finally, as the temporary camps for some, over time, it is transformed into permanence and how the characters appear now in the camps and functions that will always draw near more to a permanent settlement.

In the second chapter, I will explain the reasons for the choice of Jordan as a geographic area of study and will provide physical and morphologic characteristics of its territory and will mention demographic developments of the country and its important recent developments. Finally, it will deepen the regional geopolitics in which Jordan is inserted with particular reference to the Middle East exposing past and current geopolitical tensions that have characterized the region in the last century.

In the third chapter, it will deepen the Jordanian permanent settlement development and its strong acceleration initiated by the creation of the current state (since independence from the UK in 1946). In particular, they analyse the processes of human settlement and urbanization of the country in relation to the topography of the area; the geographical position of the main urban centres; the urban networks and urban

functions and specifically highlight is a strong feature and territorial evolution of the mono-centric country where the capital Amman is the focus of the development of the country as well as the centre of political and economic powers.

In the fourth chapter, will deepen rather the question of refugee camps and how in the last seventy years have evolved and the settlement policies and urban and regional instruments created ad hoc for the emergency are modified. They will deepen diplomatic relations between the Jordanian government and international organizations operating in the area about the refugees. Then highlight the differences between the Palestinian camps and the Syrians regarding especially their position in the region and their integration with it. The first made, all close to the main urban agglomerations Jordan (Amman, Zarqa, Irbid, Jarash) preexisting, and now integral parts of their urban fabric in the form of quarters. The Syrian camp are realized in the most isolated areas of the urban centres and in any case in geographical areas urbanistically less relevant and consistent. It will mention also the types of governance that apply in the camps according to the contexts and most relevant problems and how they are planned and designed spaces within the camp and how it performs the lives of refugees inside and all outside of the camp.

In the fifth chapter, I've reported an overview on the main instruments produced specifically to deal with the arrival of many Syrian refugees in Jordan cause of the civil war in their country. So, we will see how the Jordanian government together with the United Nations fielded actions and practices to mitigate that impact producing specific tools for its management. In addition, it will deepen the Emergency Handbook containing information on the implementation and management of specially made refugee camps to meet emergency housing for refugees.

In the sixth and final chapter, I will drop to greater geographic scale relating to Governorate of Mafraq and the homonym capitol city in the north of the country. This governorate, which borders Syria for about 300 km, and one of the largest but also one of the least by population and urbanization. It hosts, on its territory, the refugee camp of Za'atari with a current population of about 80,000 people, and it is also one of the largest camp in the world with an area approximately of 6 km². Moreover, considering the camp as an actual urban settlement, it would represent in the top ten of the Jordanian cities (in Jordan there are more than 50 municipalities with a population of more than 6,000 inhabitants). Furthermore, I will compare the information on the minimum standards provided for the Emergency handbook with those actually present in the field of Za'atari. After having completed a spatial analysis of the governorate relatively urbanization and socio-economic system, it will deepen the relationship between the camp and the surrounding area in which it is inserted and the relationship with the capital city, Mafraq, which is less than 10 km from the camp, and the towns and villages closer to the camp. I will analyze the territorial relations between the various entities and will try, after processing the data collected directly in the field and interviews with figures involved in this strategic territorial process of mutual adaptation, to trace a result of the relationship of the camp on the territory complementarily and the impact of refugees residing in the

nearby town of Mafraq they almost doubled its population. Also in this last part, relatively to the Governorate examined, I have tried to detect the effectiveness of policies and measures introduced by both the national government and by international organizations and especially the UNHCR.

2. Methodology

The methodology for collecting the data necessary for achieving the set goals of the research is mainly based on three modes which are:

- Analysis of a selection of scientific literature produced relatively in-depth issues in the thesis.
- Online data collection from databases of: Jordanian public institutions, international public institutions, private companies with activities related to research purposes.
- Direct on the spot data collection by Jordanian public institutions and actors.
- Direct on-site inspection concerned from the deepening of the dissertation.

- Interviews with public and private privileged subjects directly involved in-depth issues in the thesis.

Then crossing the data and information collected and with the help of cartographic media (processed through ArcGIS 10.2 software), was possible to elaborate and outline the answers to the questions of this thesis research.

3. Thesis theoretical paradigms

A key question, which led to the development of the research of this thesis, is that related to where these individuals live once abandoned their places of origin. Sometimes they can find solutions identical to the previous ones even if in geographically different places at other times the alternative is different from places of origin.

Different places and spaces on the Earth's surface are occupied by settlements that are defined as temporary or which may be designated as such. Historically, since the appearance of man on the earth's surface have been created, lived and dismantled temporary settlements, and it's due, for example, the phenomenon of nomadism. This phenomenon is own those people whose main livelihood resources, in economic terms, was that of hunting and herding and for which they were forced to move constantly in search of new pastures and new game. The above reasons, like historical, cultural or socio-economic, which led certain people to develop their lives in temporary settlements, were characterized not only by the needs but also the own will to make such a choice.

3.1 Refugee camps: temporariness or permanence ?

“The camp is officially a transitory, so to say, ‘exceptional’ space, in which the refugee is supposed to spend only a limited amount of time. Yet, everywhere the refugee camp has today become a ‘permanent’ location and the transient condition of the refugee extends indefinitely, becoming an irrevocable and permanent situation, freezing into non-negotiable, rigid structures.”

(Diken, 2004)

With the words of Dicken (2004) just mentioned, he poses emphasis to a problem that for some contexts, such as that Palestinian who will be deepened later on, represents the normality. The conception the refugee camps should be an arrangement of *temporary partiality*. A partiality understood how to live own existence not enjoying fully the main fundamental human rights as benefit of freedom of movement.

But as mentioned, to some extent, we could define the camp entity as a "non-place" (Augé, 1995), or rather an area without identity, relatedness and historicity and therefore making them not anthropological places.

But as mentioned, in some contexts, the inexorable passage of time allows the camp with its space, its order, its people, its events, its routine, its being suspended in time and space, it is perceived, in a certain somehow, as its own space. A space in which, even if not intentionally, refugee recognize themselves. A maturing of this feeling, it's given, in addition to the passage of time, even to the material consequences that its spending entails, such as seeing transform own house by a tent into a prefabricated or even better in a masonry house thus returning that sense of permanence or "permanently impermanent" (Sayigh, 2005; Harker, 2009). Contributing to this feeling also in the habitude of attending and live certain spaces within the camp, where refugee can meet other people and stop for talking providing, in this case, a sense of relatedness. Non-place of Augé described places are fast places and the people who live there, and they permeate through them quickly, taking care only of themselves. For camps, it isn't and cannot be so. According to Dicken (2004), however, “non-places” identified by Augé and refugee camps would have a common denominator, the *extraterritoriality* and according to Bauman (2002) about “the two kinds of extraterritoriality”, referring to the mutation of temporal relationship between the individual and camp, but I have wanted to explicate the extraterritoriality also relatively to the camp as a spatial element of the human geography of the territory in which it is made and as

such the juridical relationship is created. Having said that, from my point of view, we must understand extraterritoriality with two acceptations.

The first is linked to the almost total lack of integration and relations of the camp *in* and *with* the surrounding territory and its actors, in spatial and socio-economic terms (this question will be more thorough in the sixth chapter) and thus representing an extraneous component for the territory and conceptually outside of it.

For the second acceptation, we need to do at first a digression. Camps made on the national territories of the states can be self-built by those who need it, or created and managed by national governments and international organizations. The camps can then be divided according to the reasons that led to their creation. Normally the camps that are made are used to accommodate people fleeing from situations where their lives are endangered. People have two possibilities.

The first is that they can flee to safer areas but remaining still within the borders of their country of origin thus becoming *internal displaced persons (IDPs)* or in more serious cases they can flee across the border of the neighboring countries asking for hospitality and becoming *refugees* (the Syrian Civil War, for example, has produced both internal displaced people that refugees neighboring countries for a total of more than 4 million of displaced persons). Countries that decide to accept them can provide for themselves to their accommodation or they can use, as in the case of Jordan, both economic and logistical aid from international organizations (UNHCR, UNRWA, etc.) or other foreign national governments. Returning to the second meaning for the refugees who flee to other countries and that are hosted in organized camps, living a double extraterritoriality. They live in a place that goes back to the first acceptation described above, plus being foreign nationals do not enjoy the right of citizenship in that country and in most cases they are forced to live almost locked inside the camps being deprived of the right to free movement except restricted exceptions. Somehow, the refugees live in a sort of *temporary exclave* of their country and as a *temporary enclave* for the country in which it's the camp.

In these terms, the camps populated exclusively by foreign refugees do not enjoy the *juridical recognition* of territorial entity by the host country. They live a kind of *territorial abstraction*, "an order without localization" (Agamben, 1998). The camp becomes just an anthropized space suspended in time in a determined geographical site. A kind of *gated settlement* in which trying to avoid any kind of territorial contamination both literally and figuratively, and where those who can enter and who can exit and who can stay and who has to go, is decided by who is outside the camp in a another place and another *dimension*.

Even Bauman (2002), highlights two types of extraterritoriality. "The first offers transience as a facility chosen at will" prevails where the intentionality of the choice made and the benefit that this choice can cause.

"The second makes it permanent and irrevocable, an ineluctable fate," with this second type of extraterritoriality the intentionality it is less and stay in that place becomes necessary undeniable. In this way, the will gives way to the convenience and resignation on the part of individuals who live these places.

3.2 The camp sedimentation process

Taking borrowed the concept of non-place of Augé and velocity that distinguishes them, made up of people and objects that frantically penetrate it and through it, it can be compared with the beginning of a refugee camp. Usually when a refugee camp is realized and is opened an alternating flow of the population made of waves of people, arriving, in most cases on foot, asking for hospitality. People come from the refugee centers that sort the refugees in the camps set up. The amounts of arrivals are directly proportional to the severity of the ongoing conflict in their country. It's indicative the case of Za'atari refugee camp, in northern Jordan near the Syrian border, where between 2012, the year the opening of the camp, and 2013, the camp population grew, albeit oscillating, over 200,000 with a consequent sudden expansion of the camp size, and then steadily decrease and reaching, almost two and a half years ago, under 85.000 units. This total is imposed by UNHCR who manage the camp. This decision has resulted in both a reduction of the population and its density and a demographic stabilization. The persons now are the same and the inflows and outflows are minimized. People strolling in the camp recognized each other, they stop and talking and they will exchange opinions. Za'atari is an exception because nearly all of the population is Syrian and in addition most of them have fled the city of

Daraa and neighboring villages. The camp, therefore, has allowed some people who already knew each other to meet again. The camp begins to transform itself from a gated settlement in a gated community.

There are people who are in the camp since its opening (over four years), many children are born and are growing there, this has led these individuals to have "new identities crystallize and [a phenomenon of] subjectivation takes root [inside them, and the camp became enabler for the] "construction and negotiation of identity" (Agier, 2002).

It triggers a process of sedimentation of the various components of the camp. Process that occurs on the territory but not in the territory and only addressing to the inside and space of the camp. The increase of velocity and the circumscribe grade of this process is directly proportional to the degree of a-territoriality and decontextualization of the camp phenomenon.

This process encompasses not only in the aspects closely related to the people, even the built environment with its structural and infrastructural elements and their intended use and that contribute to the presence of different types of actors. First of all the structures for services and leisure: schools, hospitals and health care centers, playgrounds, public areas equipped, entertainment centres, workshops; structures for the management and security of the camp: police office, administrative offices for the registration and shelters assignment, warehouses and offices; and ultimately structures that encourage socialization: youth center, community center, child friendly space and mosques. "The camp's ability [is that of] produce and reproduce spatial symbolics" (Agier, 2002), by which the refugees interact with the camp and they feel as an integral part of it. Other element characterizing the Za'atari camp is the presence of commercial activities with real shops, hosted as for homes in prefabricated or inside spaces self-made, that sell the most diverse goods and who cook and serve food and drinks. Also the presence of street vendors running around the camp with a cart drawn by a donkey selling fruit and vegetables, the main roads asphalted or the presence of the public bus service complete with bus stop along the main roads. These uses and practices that are usual outside the camp we find them also in the camp by increasing even more the sense of belonging to that place that is becoming to take more the character of a permanent settlement.

3.3 Camp planning vision

So far, I have tried to understand the needs that led to the creation of the refugee camps, as their temporary tends to extend continuously over time and the factors that lead people to feel a sense of belonging to the camp.

But who make the camp with what purpose does it ? UNHCR is the agency that more than other deals with the creation and management of the refugee camps in the world and in particular, in Central Africa and the Middle East. As reported in Emergency Handbook (2015), UNHCR said that the camps created are temporary and that they are responding to an emergency situation and cannot be considered as a permanent accommodation. They are designed to guarantee the satisfaction of basic needs and to temporarily accommodate people forced to flee their country. If these people are permanently unable to return to their country the alternative to the camp that UNHCR proposed is resettlement in another country. Unfortunately data in hand the good UNHCR assumptions are not as immediate to realize and refugees as so often are forced to stay for a long time within the camps.

UNRWA, for example, which deals exclusively with the management of the Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Gaza Strip and West Bank, do not mind the time factor, it cannot. The first camps were built in fact almost seventy years ago, in 1948, and still are there. Often built close to urban centers that have incorporated them while expanding their tissue and turning them into *ghettoized* neighborhoods. Over time, especially for camps in Jordan and Lebanon, the tents and shacks have given way and replaced by brick homes conforming to the city that grew around them, but beyond that, the high population density, degradation and precarious living conditions still reign supreme. The Palestinian camps can be considered as the symbol par excellence of a *temporarily permanent* situation. Despite UNHCR carries out the camps as a temporary solution are provided precise directions on how, where and when to carry out the camps in addition to the information regarding operation and maintenance. These indications, among other things, are contained in the

Emergency Handbook that since 1982 provides guidelines for the management of emergencies related to refugees. This scheme will be discussed in more detail in later chapters. What we want to know is the attention that the international community, by UNHCR, aimed at those forced to leave their homes. UNHCR provides, with the mandate of the United Nations to find accommodation for the refugees either in an urban environment or in a refugee camp made specifically. The document provides a camp of vision which is the one issued by UNHCR.

Another document related to the Emergency Handbook is the Global strategy for settlement and shelter 2016-2018 that more specifically contains directions for the construction of the settlement and the composition of the shelters. These instruments conform those interventions by UNHCR in various contexts ensuring a uniform implementation of the camps anywhere in the world and by agreement with national governments that host the camps. Before 1982 there are not tools products that provided guidance and rules of conduct in the event that there had been an emergency. Basically any emergency situation until then had managed independently. However, given the inadequacy of the camps made for refugees generated by conflicts after World War II, it was decided to draw up the document.

Updated and reissued in 1998, 2007 and 2015, an interesting aspect of the Handbook for the purpose of the thesis lies in the content of its indications. Among other things, for example, it indicates the size and the maximum population that a camp should have, determines planning standards to be respected, gives the indices regarding the density of the population and shelter, regulates the use of land and provided guidance on the design and layout of the camp, the intended use of the structures and suggests methods for identifying the geographic site on which to build the camp.

Despite the camp's vision is to create a structure that is able to provide for the satisfaction of basic needs for the support of refugees, UNHCR has tried to not even leave out the more technical aspects of the camp planning to try to make the camp environment most effective, practical and efficient as possible. One thing that UNHCR should do is to take the knowledge that some situations appear to be overt and that in some camps of temporary remained only hope. For this it should produce the tools that favor, by common agreement with the host countries, a process of real camps permanent and providing for the i of interventions of implementation, regeneration and modernization of the infrastructure as a whole.

3.4 Camp as “gated city”

“This was the realization that when large numbers of people are concentrated in a small geographic area, in effect a camp ceases to be a camp; in actuality, it becomes a town or a small city with all the accompanying problems. A refugee camp must have housing, water, sewers, roads, clinics, fire protection, garbage disposal, parks, schools - everything found in a town. Thus, development plans for refugee camps should be considered with the same detail as a master plan for a town.”

(Cuny, 1977)

We have seen how the passage of the existence of an individual is conditioned by the places where he lives it. To live in an initially hostile place, that then with the passage of time and growth of the habitude, individuals develop a sense of belonging. This is what can happen to those who live in a refugee camp. Then I explained how the camps are conceptualized and manufactured following precise criteria. The relationship between ordered space of the camp and the people who live it and to which they feel to belong are part of the sedimentation process where the camp and the refugee begin to recognize the one with the other.

Despite the continuing suspension of time, which puts the camp in a limbo between temporariness and permanence, the relationship just described, somehow makes us imagine the camps a town or a city with so characters of a permanent settlement. We might then consider the camp as a city ? According to what was said in the previous chapter regarding the permanent settlement we couldn't say that. In addition, a permanent settlement, be it a village or a metropolis is interconnected with the surrounding territory and anyone can

circulate freely to and from the settlement. For the camp this isn't true, it is fenced and to get out and to enter in everyone must ask permission and there are no connections between the inside and the outside. However, we could define the camp as a gated city and for to use a metaphor a city under a glass bell from which those inside can see out and those outside can see inside but without being able to interact. Even the words of Frederick Cuny, who contributed to the first draft of the Emergency Handbook of 1982, in the beginning of this paragraph explain in a certain way his concept of camp and the approach to be followed in their realization "with the same

detail as a master plan for a town " (Cuny, 1977). His citation has a purely urban tone but also Cuny shows interested in the relationship between the individual and the built environment of the camp.

According to Grbac (2013: 18), "the technicians' study of the lived experience of camp life in Honduras [in the] three months following the construction of the Choloma camp by a consortium of agencies, Cuny's team Examined Both how the camp residents altered the built space and how These alterations affected the overall layout of the camp". The Cuny's team identified and described three different moments, one consequential to the other, in which they highlight the behavioral changes in the relationship between the individual and the camp built environment. The three moments, as described by Cuny, are:

"The first stages, initial occupancy, consisted simply of refugees Following the orders of the humanitarian aid organizations and taking what was provided to them. There was minimal (if any) involvement of refugee participation " (Cuny, 1977). In this first stage, the impact with a new environment is strong and moreover the camp represents salvation because who comes, runs away from a dangerous situation and is no longer sustainable. As mentioned previously, the initial phase of the life of a camp often sees mass arrivals of refugees and for a certain time happens to live not having guaranteed the minimum standards provided from the Emergency Handbook. It does not develop even the creation of a social fabric.

[In] "the second stage, re-organization, was characterized by adjustments to the layout camp. The refugees re-positioned Their tents, re-grouped Their units, centralized Their services, and established organizations. Socially, new friendships were made and old friendships were rekindled [...] the camp-as-city vision, However, that Recognizes refugees adapt, change, and structure Their built spaces to suit their own demands, desires, and needs "(Cuny, 1977). This second stage described is very attractive for the work of this thesis. This practice appears to be a kind of self-made urbanism. Take for example the camps of Za'atari and Azraq both in Jordan and distant about 50km as the crow flies. This practice described is very common inside Za'atari.

In addition to the shift of the shelters with the use of sheet metal and other materials refugees have been able to implement their homes and create additional spaces adjacent to the shelter already given to him; furthermore the same materials are used for the realization of the shops present in large quantities inside the camp; Refugees told to me and Prof. Safran that in the camp there is a relevant black market for shelter, materials and various products. In the camp of Azraq however, opened in 2014 two years after Za'atari opening, UNHCR has closed for refugees to move the shelter anchoring them to the ground and it's forbidden the entry of goods and construction materials for resale. Nor it's not allowed to create additional self-made spaces in addition to shelter assigned to each family and then not even realize structures for the marketing of goods. Azraq from this point of view is more like a concentration camp.

UNHCR counteracting always the vision of the camp-as-city and seeing what is happening in the camp of Za'atari decided to restrict even more the freedom of initiative by refugees trying to avoid the process of sedimentation and relatedness between the individual and the built environment.

The excessive rationality of Azraq camp layout already gives an idea of how the approach to the camp is radically changed from Za'atari approach as a show of not wanting to allow repetition of what is happening inside Za'atari and prevent in any way that the people inside get used in a positive way to that reality and nipping in the bud the third phase, given below, which Cuny refers.

[During] "the third and final stage, tenure, Represents the transition from temporary facilities to the installation of permanent facilities" (Cuny, 1977). With this last phase Cuny leaves no space for doubt about trigger of sedimentation process that in his view starts from the materiality of the camp, looking structure, changing its appearance and transmitting a message of stability, solidity and stasis.

4. Conclusion

4.1 Time, space, place

In the work of this thesis I have shown that the time factor affects the evolution of the settlements, and how it has contributed to the presence on the terrestrial surface of permanent and temporary settlements.

A particular type of temporary settlement emerged from the analysis, they are refugee camps. They are designed to respond to humanitarian emergency situations, hosting within them people forced to leave their homes and their places of origin for reasons of force majeure such as natural disasters, conflicts, etc. Naturally that such a motivation presupposes a state of exceptionality and, hopefully, their temporariness.

The natural resolution to which every refugee ambition is to return both physically and mentally to live their homes and to revive the lived space previously abandoned.

Despite the conditions the current situation of many refugee camps in the world, continues indefinitely over time, due to several factors, and setting the stage for an alleged constant development of these settlements. The peculiarity emerged in the thesis, with respect to this development, there is an evident in the structuring of the camps and in their spatial and social organization. But in contrast there is, and you do not want to have, in certain situations, an acknowledgment of this evolutionary process by the individuals responsible for their control and management, and even more seriously by the international community that regulates and plans their implementation, in agreement with the host country governments. This condemnation policy fields to be an oxymoron, a *permanent temporariness*.



Figure 1 - Geographic position of the thesis case study

This inadequacy in recognizing the importance of such phenomena is to be found, more simply, even in their designation. Despite their evolution, similar to that of permanent settlements, and their temporal duration, these spaces have become complex and articulated in time, continue, in some cases, to be defined by the nickname of "the camp". This phrase, which only in the name already expresses all its precariousness, turns out to be completely inappropriate in some contexts and anachronistic.

Despite such blindness or even better, not wanting to see and be aware of these situations, the camps evolve and change over time. Their populations conscious of not being able to return to their homes and in their own city begin to perceive the camp

as their new home, their new city.

4.2 Camps and spatial contexts

Important result emerged from work is how temporary and permanent settlements share, albeit in different ways and practices different each other, the tendency to an own evolutionary autonomy, achievable by means of the individuals who inhabit them, and puts them in harmony or in contrast with the geographical context in which they are inserted. Juridical recognition of territorial entities and the right to belong to a delimited and

autonomous space, affecting the development and spatial evolution of any type of settlement and life of the people who inhabit it.

For example, after nearly 70 years of life, the case of the Palestinians "camps", especially those in larger and developed cities of Jordan as Amman (camps of Al-Hussein and Wihdat) and Irbid (homonym camp of the city), no longer have the iconographic characters of a temporary settlements and in their contexts, have become an integral part of the urban fabric that contains them becoming real urban neighborhoods.

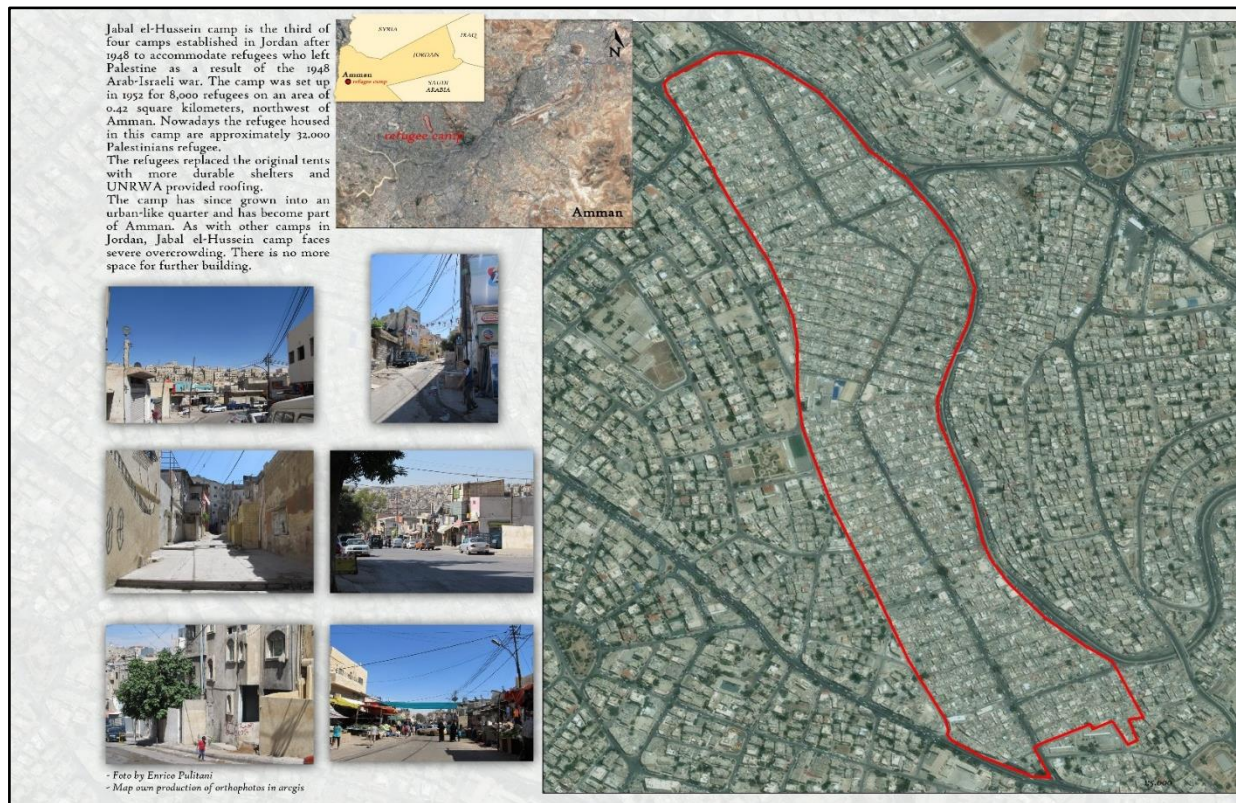


Figure 2 - Jabal al-Hussein Palestinian refugee camp, in Amman urban fabric, Amman, Jordan, May 2016.

Despite this spatial integration, it is now taken place for decades, albeit with large differences from the rest of the city in terms of quality of urban space, building density and population, the presence of services, sewerage and waste disposal, characteristics of residential buildings, etc., their socio-economic and cultural integration have been much less with the rest of the city by making these places similar to the ghettos. All this has an impact on people who live there as well as on the environment by communicating a strong sense of marginalization and abuse. The temporary nature in this context seems to take the form of an excuse, used as a pretext

not to take actions in tangible and intangible assets necessary to stabilize and regularize their situation now overt and aimed at the integration of these places.

With regard to the Palestinian camps, Al-Hussein and Wihdat in Amman, these characteristic manifests itself through a process of segregation and inequality that affects them. Even the urban and architectural interventions that have occurred over time transforming them from tent camps in real neighborhoods with brick houses and fitting within the tissues in which they arise, witness their diversity to the rest of the city and the nearest other neighborhoods. The quality of urban environment makes them often degraded areas. The services, even essential ones such as water, often are limited or malfunctioning. In addition, there are technical and structural deficiencies such as a sewage system and proper waste disposal. Even the layout and urban design of these places is claustrophobic and promiscuous. Many families live crammed into a few square meters in contravention in some cases even to basic health hygiene indications. Such diversity helps to develop a sense of danger and mistrust on the part of those who live outside the camps.

In contrast, for the recent camps built to accommodate Syrian refugees, the policy adopted was completely different. For Syrian refugees at the time the temporary nature takes on different traits because for them it is not just a lack of recognition of a residence status but also of a territorial isolation process which cuts in a net every chance to integrate both spatial it, socio- economic or cultural. We have seen how the Syrians camps, by their place, look like cathedrals in the desert, completely fenced and with an armed surveillance inside and outside of the camp.

4.3 Za'atari camp "on" the territory, but not "in" the surrounding territory

The camps analyzed in the thesis, especially those Syrians who are the most recent, that should have been planned and implemented according to the recommendations and good practices reported in specially tools products such as the “The Sphere Project: Humanitarian Charter and Minimum Standards in Humanitarian Response” (2011), “Global Strategy for Settlement and Shelter 2014-2018” and in particular the “Emergency Handbook” (2015) drawn up by the UNHCR. It is apparent from the analysis made as to Syrian refugee camps the indications provided by instruments in large part have not been respected. In the case of Za'atari with its current population is four times the maximum size expected by the Handbook to a refugee camp or 20,000 refugees. This situation leads to the management difficulties also from the large abstention reached by the camp that now is close to 6 km². Even the selection of the geographic site and morphology are contrary to the instructions provided.



Figure 3 - Za'atari refugee camp aerial view, photo by Mandel Ngan, 2016.

An important peculiarity emerged from the analysis of the Za'atari camp is its location. Indeed, comparing it with that of other Syrians camps realized in the desert or with those Palestinians that now are an integral part of the urban expansion of the city of which they were the periphery before, the camp of Za'atari is located in a rural area near two small municipalities and 10 km away from the nearest city, Mafraq.

Then I can define the location of the Za'atari camp as a hybrid choice. An analysis carried out such a choice entailed two types of problems: The first concerns the camp that even in a rural area with the presence of other

settlements remains in an isolated area behaving traveling difficulties for the refugees and the lack of territorial integration opportunities.

The second problem instead is related to the two villages close to the camp that within two years they have seen growing just a few hundred meters of distance a settlement with an area and a population far greater than their acting numerous and varied problems of structural and socio-economic.



Figure 4 - Temporary meets permanent settlement, a territorial setting of Za'atari refugee camp, ArcGIS 10.2 elaboration, May 2016.

This situation has been going on for almost five years and although the camp is completely fenced and surrounded by a moat, the inflow and outflows of refugees from the camp through the checkpoint at the entrance this will impact on the surrounding territory and in particular on the villages neighbors. In addition to make matters worse, further complicating the situation is already the presence of other refugees living outside the camp of Za'atari in nearby villages and in the city of Mafraq that have doubled the populations of these pre-existing settlements and caused the occurrence of a series of problems associated with them. Moreover, the lack of housing and the consequent rise in rental prices has led to the emergence of informal settlements with tents and shacks next to the towns and along the roads.

In the case of the selection of geographical sites on which to build the two new camps for Syrian refugees, those of Mrajeeb Fhood and Al Azraq, it highlights even more the choice of the isolated location of the camps aimed at preventing any kind of relationship or relapse on centers urban and the population that make up the surrounding area.

In the case of Azraq localization of the camp it does not comply with almost no indication on the "Site Planning" than those contained in the Emergency Handbook condemning the camp and its inhabitants to a life, in fact, in the desert with even less possibilities about the free movement of refugees outside the camp and reducing any possibility of integration with the surrounding area.

Also, regarding the design and the layout of the camp there are profound differences with that of Za'atari. While, in my view, have made improvements as the camp of spatial planning that has been divided into small independent villages of size and population contained and spaced trying to avoid, as in the case of Za'atari, the formation of a camp of size and population in excess of any of the Emergency Handbook indication, or the

location of shelters prepared with internal services (bathroom, shower, kitchen) and not in common. The other side was condemned even further up the camp to a fatal isolation. A sort of *territorial exile*.

In conclusion, I can say that the current situation in the Middle East with the Syrian crisis in full evolution continues to make the unstable area causing continuous migration of people fleeing from war zones. Countries like Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan are the ones most affected by these arrivals. In Jordan, the majority of refugees live in urban or rural settings, and a fraction (about 20%) live in the specially prepared camps. The already high number of refugees in urban and rural areas has led to a localization policy of dispersion for not burdening the presence of camps in contexts with an already high presence of refugees. Looking in fact, the location of the last three Syrian camps realized, they were moved progressively away from existing towns and coming up to the extreme case of the Azraq camp.



Figure 5 - Inside detail of the Za'atari refugee camp, photo by Enrico Pulitani, May 2016.

Much has been done to improve planning and functionality of the camps made but these improvements were directly proportional to the degree of spatial isolation of refugees and inversely proportional to the degree of territorial integration. In my way of seeing some of the recommendations and insights for further discussion may include:

- The recognition of a status of permanent settlements and

the start of a socioeconomic integration with the surrounding area through a participatory process and inclusive involving the inhabitants of the camp, the host communities and the central state.

- Modification in the planning of the camps using the model used for the camp of Azraq or by creating dimensions contained villages that form a *cluster*.
- Realization of the refugee camps near urban centers with similar physical characteristics to the physical characteristics that you intend to take to the field itself.

This relative to the size, population and socio-economic situation of territories hit by this phenomenon.

- Possibility of conversion of prefabricated structures made using alternative materials and preferably the area concerned.
- Encourage tax relief and economic policies for refugees wishing to carry out their work in Jordan taking of Jordanian nationality workers.

- Exempt from paying taxes and regulate the supply of goods of the leading Jordanian and Syrian wholesalers in the camp.

5. Selected references

- Agamben G., Heller-Roazen D., (1998), *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, Stanford University Press, Stanford.
- Augé, M., (1995), *Non-places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*, Verso, London.
- Bauman, Z., (2002), *Society Under Siege*, Polity, London.
- Boano C., Floris F., (2005), *Città nude: Iconografia dei campi profughi*, Franco Angeli, Milano.
- Brun C., (2001), *Reterritorializing the relationship between people and place in refugee studies*, Geografiska Annaler Series B: Human Geography, vol. 83, pp. 15–25.
- Cuny F., (1977), *Refugee Camps and Camp Planning: The State of the Art*, in, *Disasters*, n°1, vol.2.
- Cuny F., (1980), *UNHCR Emergency Preparedness and Response Study*, II-IV.
- Dalal A., (2015), A Socio-economic Perspective on the Urbanisation of Za’atari Camp in Jordan, in, *Migration Letters*, vol. 12, n° 3, pp. 263-278.
- Department of Statistics of Jordanian Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation, (2015), *Report of the General Census of Population and Housing 2015*, Amman.
- Diken B., (2004), From Refugee Camps to Gated Communities: Biopolitics and the End of the City, in, *Citizenship Studies*, vol. 8, n° 1, pp. 83-106.
- Grbac P., (2013), Civitas, polis, and urbs: reimagining the refugee camp as the city, in, *Refugee Studies Centre, Working paper series n° 96*, Oxford Department of International Development, University of Oxford.
- Herz M., (2008), Refugee Camps or Ideal Cities in Dust and Dirt, in, *Ruby I., Ruby A., Urban Transformation*. Ruby Press, p. 276.
- Kennedy J., (2008), *Structures for the Displaced: Service and Identity in Refugee Settlements*, Delft University of Technology, Delft.
- Malkki L.H., (2002), News From Nowhere: Mass Displacement and Globalized: Problems of Organization, in, *Ethnography*, n°3, vol.3, pp. 351-360.
- Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and the Jordan Response Platform for Syria Crisis, (2015), *Jordan Response Plan for the Syria Crisis 2016-2018*, Amman.
- Ramadan A., (2012), *Spatialising the refugee camp*, Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers.
- Stave S. E., Hillesund S., (2015), *Impact of Syrian refugees on the Jordanian labour market: Findings from the governorates of Amman, Irbid and Mafraq*, International Labour Organization Regional Office for the Arab States and Fafo.
- UN, (2015), *Regional Refugee & Resilience Plan 2016-2017 Regional Strategic Overview In Response to the Syria Crisis*.
- UNHCR, (2016), *Global Trends 2015: Global displacement in 2015*.
- UNHCR, (2014), *UNHCR’s Global Strategy for Settlement and Shelter 2014-2018*.
- UNHCR, (2015), *UNHCR Emergency Handbook*.