

# ON THE EDGE OF THIRD SPACE

A Re-imagination of the Refugee Camp Boundaries

by  
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A thesis  
presented to the University of Waterloo  
in fulfillment of the  
thesis requirement for the degree of  
Master of Architecture

Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, 2023  
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## Author's Declaration

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I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis.  
This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.  
I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

## Abstract

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This thesis explores the pivotal moment in which a refugee camp transcends its original temporary purpose. Central to this exploration is the intersections of architecture and citizenship practices in politically grey lands.

This work focuses on the shift from refugee camps as a military issue to an international humanitarian problem post the 1951 UNHCR Refugee Convention. Following the Refugee Convention, standardized responses to such crises rolled out. These refugee camps, with no durational end point, evolve into unique city-camps with urbanization characteristics resembling a hybrid of home country and host country.

In this thesis, the Za'atari camp in Jordan, home to 80,000 Syrian refugees, serves as a representative model to imagine new spatial typologies for camps and new political structures. The thesis challenges the commonly accepted notion of a "better life" outside the camps. It proposes a counter-narrative, suggesting looking inward at the potential of the camps to evolve into empowering political entities.

Using the concept of a wall in the border zone of the camp as the main articulation point of the design, the camp's current fence, formally a symbol of division and repression, becomes a thickened zone of physical, social, and cultural infrastructure. It not only serves the camp's residents but is also designed to adapt and accommodate various programs over time. This new threshold to the camp, now a gateway rather than an exclusionary fence, challenges the very notion of the camp, hinting at a new idea of displaced citizenship - a third space or a transnational city-state.

## Acknowledgements

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I wish to express my sincere gratitude to the University of Waterloo School of Architecture for providing an enriching environment and resources that facilitated this incredible journey.

I would like to extend my deepest gratitude to my supervisor, Lola Sheppard. From the initial stages of my interest in this topic during our MB studio, her unwavering guidance, encouragement, and trust were invaluable throughout the course of my graduate education and thesis. Thanks for all the profound and extensive conversations.

To my panel, I am incredibly thankful to my committee member, Robert Jan Van Pelt for his depth of knowledge and expertise that have been pivotal in guiding my research journey. Many thanks to my wonderful internal reader, Tara Bissett, whose feedback has always brought new depths and dimensions to this topic. I would also like to extend my warmest thanks to my amazing external readers, Noheir Elgendy and Mohammed Soroor, for your generous comments. I really enjoyed the discussion of this topic with you both.

To my loving family, words fall short of expressing the depth of my appreciation. Your unconditional support, patience, and belief in me has been the cornerstone of my academic journey. It is your love and encouragement that sustained me during challenging times and propelled me towards my goals.

And lastly to my amazing circle of friends, a source of inspiration, having you alongside me has been a true blessing. The memories we've created together will forever hold a special place in my heart.

Thank you all!

## Dedication

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To all refugees and immigrants who have crossed into third space.

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Source: <https://flickr.com/photos/foreignoffice/9660899475>

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### **Author's Note**

For the best reading experience, it's advisable to consistently reference the glossary in the back matter. Key terms are linked to the glossary upon their initial appearance in each chapter. Although detailed exploration of concepts occurs within the chapter's text, it's crucial to note that certain terms may carry nuanced interpretations, particularly when contextualized across different languages.





## Introduction

Citizenship is a complex and multidimensional concept. Since refugeehood, in many aspects, embodies the absence of citizenship, it is important to first establish a clear understanding of the citizenship framework and its inherent implications. Citizenship could be divided into 4 main dimensions: Legal status, Membership, participation, and as a right - shown in figure 0.2. Citizenship as legal status concerns juridical inclusion refers to parentage, birth within a state's territory, marriage to a citizen and residency duration. Citizenship as membership, concerns cultural inclusion, and refers to the notion of insider and outsider from the national community. Citizenship as participation, concerns the responsibilities of a citizen, and includes but is not limited to, obligatory taxes, military service, and direct or indirect participation in lawmaking. And finally, citizenship as a right is about the privileges that come with it, including civil rights (property ownership, protection of individual's security and privacy), Political rights (voting, protesting), and social rights (welfare, opportunity, and compensations)<sup>[1]</sup>.

Aristotle defines ancient citizenship as an active participation both as the ruler and the ruled in a political system, and that the sovereignty lies within the citizens' bodies<sup>[2]</sup>. Romans also would allow civil rights, and social participation but not the right to political participation to those conquered<sup>[1]</sup>. However, modern citizenship is described by Roger Smith, an American political scientist and professor at the University of Pennsylvania, as a passive participation where the citizens assume obedience to a supreme sovereign as the ruler and the representatives of citizen's communities take part in the lawmaking process. The perception is that individuals today have less direct agency or influence over their political destinies than their counterparts might have had in historical or traditional settings. The latter is a difference between obligation-informed participation toward one's community versus the former which is a right-based membership given to the citizens of a community. Nevertheless, Smith, in his Article "Modern Citizenship" argues that the definition of a citizen within a nation has an evolving nature, while informed by some of its ancient characteristics, still could evolve into new forms<sup>[3]</sup> hinting at the current notions of globalization and transnationalism.

Additionally, citizenship is deeply interwoven with the concept of a homeland – a sanctuary to which one has the right and permission to return. It evokes images of comfort, belonging, and security. On the opposite side of this definition sits the notion of refugee; those who are denied this very comfort and security. Refugeehood, does not see any of the dimensions included in the framework of citizenship. Some of its social rights are protected by the United Nations High

<sup>[1]</sup> "Kristian Stokke, "Politics of Citizenship: Towards an Analytical Framework." ResearchGate, August 2017, [https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Dimensions-and-stratification-of-citizenship\\_fig1\\_319890279](https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Dimensions-and-stratification-of-citizenship_fig1_319890279), 4-8.

<sup>[2]</sup> David Burchell, "Ancient Citizens and Its Inheritors," in *Handbook of Citizenship Studies* (London: SAGE, 2002), 89-93.

<sup>[3]</sup> Rogers Smith, "Modern Citizenship," in *Handbook of Citizenship Studies*, by Engin Isin and Bryan Turner (1 Oliver's Yard, 55 City Road, London EC1Y 1SP United Kingdom: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2002), 105-114, <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781848608276.n6>.

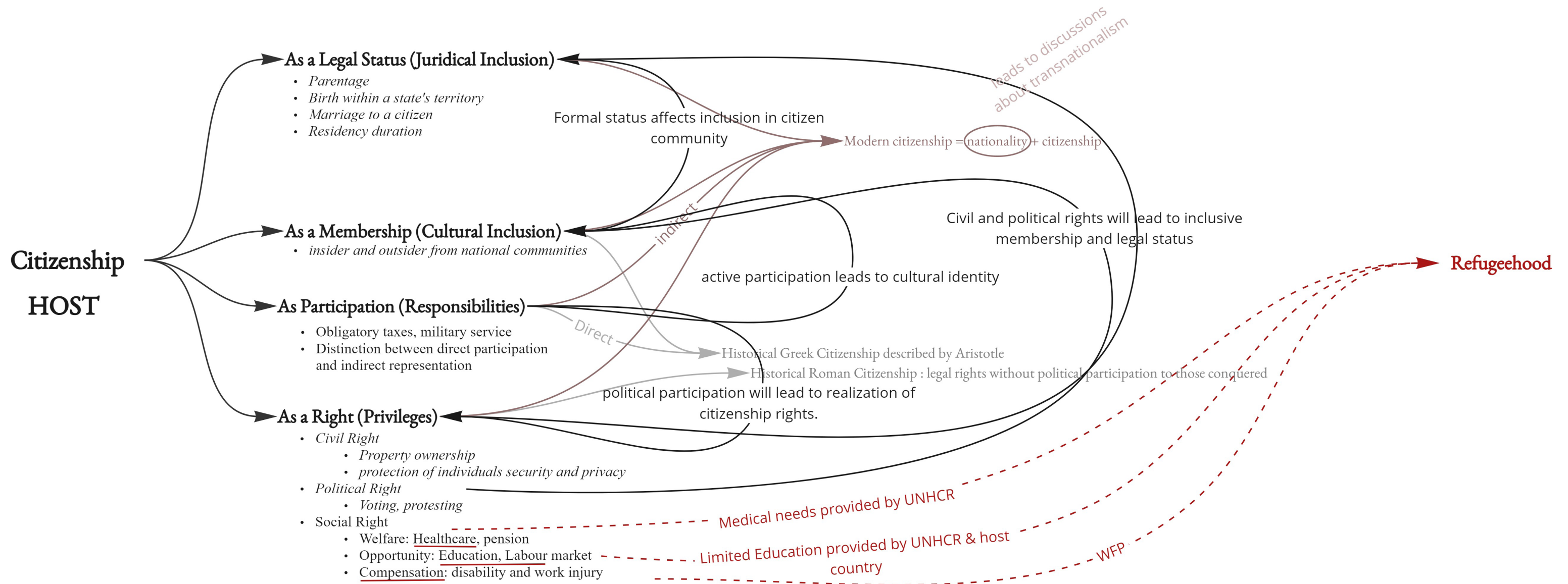


Figure 0.2

[See UNHCR] Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) for example medical care, partial education for longer-lasting camps, and World Food Program's (WFP) monthly vouchers only to be spent on food.

[See Refugee] The internationally recognized definition of a refugee is outlined by the UNHCR in "The Refugee Convention, 1951". It published a set of rules after World War II, and at first, limited refugees to Europeans who were affected by world events prior to 1951. In 1967 an amendment was made to the convention to remove geographical and date constraints. A refugee, according to the Convention, is "Someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion"<sup>[4]</sup>

[See Camp] The definition of a camp refers to a temporary facility set up to house large groups of people who are away from home as an emergency response. An essential element of the camp is the fence around its periphery, separating the inside and the outside worlds. A refugee camp is a temporary settlement built to receive refugees and is set up, regulated, and supervised by a collaboration between the host governments and non-governmental organizations like the UNHCR. These camps provide basic necessities for refugees, including shelter, food, water, and medical care. The goal is to offer a temporary haven for individuals and families while they await a more permanent solution, such as resettlement, or integration into the host country.

[See Citizenship] Why is this topic of architectural concern? One can argue that architecture often materializes the abstract concepts of citizenship, through the intersection of personal, political and spatial identities<sup>[5]</sup>. Nick Axel et al., head of the Architectural Design department at the Gerrit Rietveld Académie and Deputy Editor of e-flux Architecture argues in the book *Dimensions of Citizenship* that architecture influences how individuals engage with and perceive their roles in society, simultaneously reflecting and shaping collective values within spaces. Further to this point, Imre Szeman, a Canadian Cultural Theorist and Professor of Human Geography at the University of Toronto, in his article "On the Politics of Region" argues that citizenship transcends legal and political status and includes the experience of how one relates to and exists within geographical regions, environments, and spatial divisions<sup>[6]</sup>. Adrienne

<sup>[4]</sup>"Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees," UNHCR, accessed July 30, 2023, 16-21.

<https://www.unhcr.org/media/convention-and-protocol-relating-status-refugees>.

<sup>[5]</sup>Nick Axel et al., *Dimensions of Citizenship* (Los Angeles, CA: Inventory Press LLC, 2018), 26-35.

et al: editor.; Hirsch, Nikolaus, editor.; Atkinson, Niall, 1967- curator.; Lui, Ann (Architect) editor, curator.; Zeiger, Mimi, 1971- editor, curator.; Gil, Iker, curator.; Art Institute of Chicago. School. issuing body.; University of Chicago, issuing body.; International Architectural Exhibition (16th : 2018 : Venice, Italy).

<sup>[6]</sup>Imre Szeman, "On The Politics Of Region," *Dimensions of Citizenship*, March 19, 2018, <http://dimensionsofcitizenship.org/essays/on-the-politics-of-region/>, 90-101.

Brown, an English Professor at The University of Chicago Department of English Language and Literature, in her article "Architecture of Habit," emphasizes that physical spaces and built environments can influence, enforce, or challenge identities and citizenship practices<sup>[7]</sup>. Drawing from her writing, spatial arrangements absolutely shape social habits in the context of refugee camps; it can enable or disable its inhabitants. Architectural Historian, Ana Maria Leon, in her article "Space of Co-Liberation," brings to light that architecture and spatial arrangement can be used as a tool of both oppression and liberation<sup>[8]</sup>. She argues that it is through architecture that one can affirm or challenge existing notions of citizenship; and that is why architecture matters in the context of refugee camps.

For the scope of this thesis, I study the Za'atari camp as a representative model. While the conventional notion of refugee camps has a temporary nature, some refugee camps, such as Za'atari, have transformed into long-term dwelling places, but the regulations and the built environment remain suited for temporary residency. These include limited access to healthcare, food and water, and infrastructure, as well as civil rights such as education, freedom of mobility, and financial well-being. This affects not only the first-generation refugees but also, over time, the second and third generations that are born in camps like Za'atari.

Such mentioned issues are further analyzed through the theoretical framework presented in Chapter 1. Using insights from Michel Foucault, Giorgio Agamben, and Homi Bhabha, among others, the thesis explores life in refugee camps, their boundaries, and the interplay between their tangible and intangible spaces.

Chapter 2 explores an in-depth examination of the specific conditions within the Zaatari camp, starting from its beginning in 2012 to its current spatial evolution, as well as its demographics and their original homelands in Syria, the camp's grey economy and its issues. Furthermore, the chapter traces the urbanization that is happening in Za'atari due to its grey economies, as well as work permits outside the camp.

To situate the Za'atari camp within a broader national and international map of refugee camps, Chapter 3 provides a study on the refugee's degree of agency, political and regulatory conditions within other refugee camps in Jordan, and Iraq. Each camp reflects the geopolitical context of its host nation, the climate and location of the camp<sup>[9]</sup> as well as the pop-

<sup>[7]</sup> Adrienne Brown, "Architectures of Habit," *Dimensions of Citizenship*, March 9, 2018, <http://dimensionsofcitizenship.org/essays/architectures-of-habit/>, 46-57.

<sup>[8]</sup>Ana María León, "Spaces of Co-Liberation," *Dimensions of Citizenship*, March 19, 2018, <http://dimensionsofcitizenship.org/essays/spaces-of-co-liberation/>, 68-79.

<sup>[9]</sup> In warmer climates, refugee camps often have less sturdy shelters, leaving inhabitants more vulnerable to external weather conditions. For instance, camps in the Middle East or tropical countries rely on tents and caravans for extended periods, exposed to the elements. In contrast, in colder climates like Berlin, refugees are accommodated in

**Fig. 0.1 Aerial Photo of the Za'atari camp**, taken on July 18, 2013 from a helicopter carrying U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry. US Department Of State photo. Licensed under Public Domain & Wikimedia

**Fig. 0.2 Spectrum of Citizenship and Refugeehood.** Includes the 4 dimensions of citizenship (in black) and their interconnectivity, Ancient (in grey) and Modern (in pink) citizenship as well as refugeehood (in red) and the rights that are protected by the UNHCR. Credit: Author.

ulation inside the camp. Nevertheless, each camp reveals the profound dual role of architecture, in terms of spatial layouts and inhabitants' relationship to the spaces, both as an instrument of control and as a potential facilitator for community building<sup>[10]</sup>.

[See Third Space]

Chapter 4 explores new understandings of Za'atari camp as a third city-state, a term used by me driven from Bhabha's third space<sup>[11]</sup>, which is referred to a space of in between. Refugee camps are spaces that are not included inside the host country nor are they fully outside it, they exist in third spaces. The proposal envisions the camp's borders porous, positioning the camp as a future alternate, transnational city, that might support an ever-growing population of global refugee citizens. The fence previously embodying the idea of restriction of movement, is re-defined as a generous, linear civic realm, at the service of the refugees inside the camp. The proposal is an aqueduct wall that wraps around the camp and has room to support cultural, educational, agricultural, social and infrastructural services at the edge of the camp, that evolves and adapts to UNHCR-based and community-based programs over time. It also includes the necessary infrastructure to empower the residents inside the camp. It questions how porous the edge condition could become and how would the inside and outside of the camp interact with it. The aqueduct wall as a conceptual and theoretical device is used to explore the transformation of the camp from a place of imprisonment to a place of return.

## 1.2 Research Methodology

This thesis is structured in two main parts. The first part introduces the theoretical framework, which includes philosophies regarding the state of refugeehood as well as places of refuge in terms of institutional refugee camps. Followed by Za'atari camp chapter which includes details of its inner workings that have transcended the camp beyond its temporary nature (Chapters 1 &2).

The second part of the thesis starts with the case study chapter which covers conditions in other camps. Then follows the design chapter which speculates an architecture that might support a non-nation-bound "third city-estate" model. (Chapters 3&4).

I have not visited the Za'atari camp; therefore, most of the information that I write about is predominantly sourced from secondary sources. This includes discussions with architects and researchers who have worked extensively in the Za'atari camp, as well as studying published graduate and Ph.D. theses of those who conducted on-site research in the buildings, and the resettlement process tends to be expedited.

<sup>[10]</sup> Nishat Awan, *Spatial Agency: Other Ways of Doing Architecture* (Abingdon, Oxon [England] ; Routledge, 2011).

<sup>[11]</sup> For an in-depth discussion on "third space" please refer to chapter 1.

Za'atari camp, namely the work of Sara Al-Nassir (2018) and Ayham Dalal (2014). I have also watched many documentaries and videos Online about the atmosphere of the camp and its grey economies. Lastly, I consolidated information from various news articles to ensure an unbiased perspective on the events. To confirm the accuracy of the reports, I cross-referenced data collected from multiple sources. Specifically, I compared articles from both the UNHCR, which provides essential services in this context, and Syrian-based news outlets, which report from the perspective of the recipients of the aid provided by the UNHCR and the host country<sup>[12]</sup>.

[See UNHCR]

<sup>[12]</sup> For instance, while the UN might report having installed plumbing throughout the camp, Syrian sources might indicate that plumbing was only implemented in one specific area of the camp.

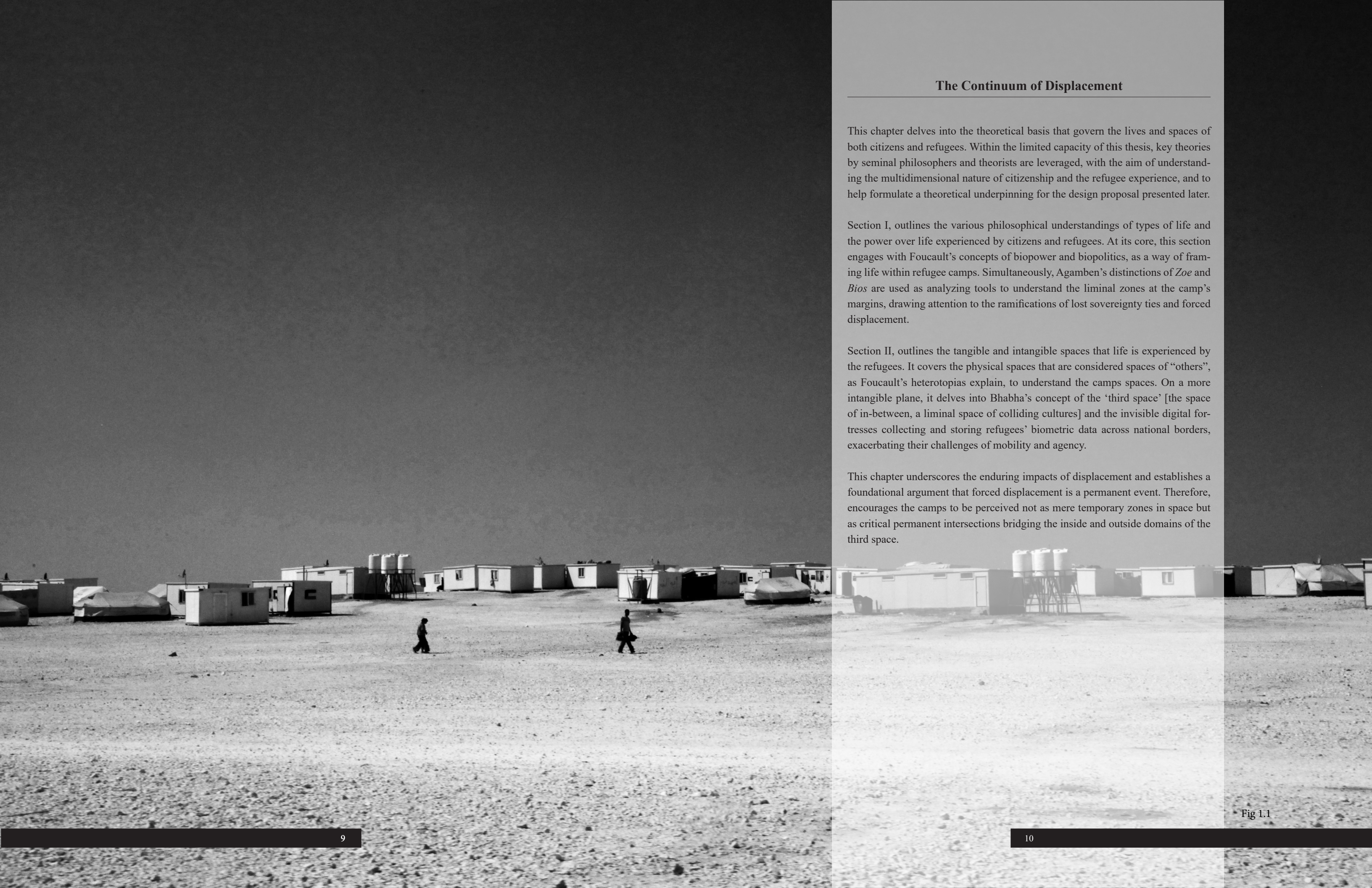
## The Continuum of Displacement

This chapter delves into the theoretical basis that govern the lives and spaces of both citizens and refugees. Within the limited capacity of this thesis, key theories by seminal philosophers and theorists are leveraged, with the aim of understanding the multidimensional nature of citizenship and the refugee experience, and to help formulate a theoretical underpinning for the design proposal presented later.

Section I, outlines the various philosophical understandings of types of life and the power over life experienced by citizens and refugees. At its core, this section engages with Foucault's concepts of biopower and biopolitics, as a way of framing life within refugee camps. Simultaneously, Agamben's distinctions of *Zoe* and *Bios* are used as analyzing tools to understand the liminal zones at the camp's margins, drawing attention to the ramifications of lost sovereignty ties and forced displacement.

Section II, outlines the tangible and intangible spaces that life is experienced by the refugees. It covers the physical spaces that are considered spaces of "others", as Foucault's heterotopias explain, to understand the camps spaces. On a more intangible plane, it delves into Bhabha's concept of the 'third space' [the space of in-between, a liminal space of colliding cultures] and the invisible digital fortresses collecting and storing refugees' biometric data across national borders, exacerbating their challenges of mobility and agency.

This chapter underscores the enduring impacts of displacement and establishes a foundational argument that forced displacement is a permanent event. Therefore, encourages the camps to be perceived not as mere temporary zones in space but as critical permanent intersections bridging the inside and outside domains of the third space.



## 1.1 Section I: Types of Life (Citizen & Refugee)

[See Biopower], [See Biopolitics]

French Philosopher Michael Foucault, in the late 1970s, introduced the notion of biopower and biopolitics as new forms of political power<sup>[1]</sup>, which describes the operational dimensions of power that control and shape life. Foucault believes that the shift from sovereign power, which is a direct display of power that “takes life or let live”<sup>[2]</sup>; to biopower; which is a subtle and systematic form of power that regulates the population’s life, is a defining factor of modernity<sup>[3]</sup>. He further explains that biopower can foster life, that is the establishment and access to public health, welfare, education, etc., or it can deny life, with the implantation of regulatory control and surveillance. The government that regulates populations using biopower strategies, such as neglecting a certain population’s health, education, etc., is referred to as biopolitics.

[See Refugee], [See Refugee Camp]

[See Camp]

Refugee camps when examined through Foucault’s biopower lens, exhibit spaces of heavy regulations, with varying rules and constant surveillance to ensure compliance. The power dynamics establish that the encamped remains dependent on the camp authorities to receive basic needs and services, further reinforcing the notion that the ability to foster life is in the hands of those in charge of the resources. Failure of the inhabitant’s compliance often leads to authorities’ deliberate neglect to provide adequate resources, leading to the manifestation of life denied<sup>[4]</sup>. Nevertheless, the biopolitical strategies shape the everyday life of the population inside the camp and their sense of non-belonging. It is worthwhile to mention that the strict regime of the refugee camps provides miserable conditions, and it is not a desirable place for soon-to-be refugees who are considering crossing the border to seek safety in the host country. The regime of the camp is to prevent the arrival of more refugees.

[See Bare Life (Zoe)], [See Bios]

[See Self-Actualization]

The Italian Philosopher, Giorgio Agamben, suggests that sovereignty and biopower are fundamentally interconnected<sup>3</sup>. In fact, he defines the sovereign as the threshold on which violence passes over into law and law passes over into violence . He reiterates the two types of life by Aristotle as Zoe, or/bare life, and Bios. Bare life is the life lived by the Homo Sacer; the one without civil rights, which refers to the bare minimum needed to remain alive where biological life is given priority over the quality of how life is lived. Bios is the life lived by citizens, where the quality of how life is lived and freedom to reach self-actualization is

<sup>[1]</sup> Michel; Foucault, and Michel; ; Senellart, “The Birth of Biopolitics,” 2008, [https://books-scholarsportal-info.proxy.lib.uwaterloo.ca/en/read?id=/ebooks/ebooks2/pda/2011-12-01/1/12975.9780230594180\\_185-213](https://books-scholarsportal-info.proxy.lib.uwaterloo.ca/en/read?id=/ebooks/ebooks2/pda/2011-12-01/1/12975.9780230594180_185-213).

<sup>[2]</sup> Michel Foucault, *The Will to Knowledge* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, Limited, 2017), 136.

<sup>[3]</sup> Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 1st Vintage Books ed (New York: Vintage Book, 1988), 138.

<sup>[4]</sup> A discussion with Pouya Khazaeli, an architect who has extensively worked on architectural; projects in Za’atari camp, brought to light that if the refugees in the camp protest, they risk being denied water as a punitive measure.

given. However, Agamben states that modern citizenship makes no one [See Citizenship]

immune to being reduced to bare life, he mentions that the sovereign power gives citizens Bios as loans, and this can be taken away at any point upon suspension of citizenship. “Humans were made to feel that they were the object and not subjects, that nothing was their right but everything merely a favour by official grace”<sup>[5]</sup>.

Agamben’s description of biopolitics focuses on the control of these two types of life often contextualized in the concentration camps. Richard Ek brings those ideas into humanitarian camps for refugees. Ek in his article “Giorgio Agamben and the Spatialities of the Camp”, reiterates Agamben’s notion of camps as spaces of exception, a place where the host country strips individuals of their rights and reduces them to mere biological entities or “bare life”; where power is used to create a new form of inclusive exclusion <sup>[5.1]</sup>.

For refugees, reduced to bare life for indefinite periods of time, the notion of human migration is treated as a crime which goes back to the idea of modern biopower and the sense of control over bodies. The exclusion does not mean that refugees are outside of the system (or above the law), but rather, are often excluded from certain rights by the host country while their lives are kept under the tight control of the same entity. Zoe is protected by the camp authorities (which are often a collaborative effort between the host country and the UNHCR) and Bios is promised to be waiting outside the camp in their final resettlement destination. However, the notion of forced displacement is a long process that in most cases becomes a permanent event. Once temporary camps become permanent habitation spaces, Bios inside the camp under refugee status becomes an important matter. [See UNHCR]

While Foucault’s theories depict what biopower looks like inside the camp, including the spatial hierarchies and regulatory systems in place, Agamben focuses on the divide between the two existential conditions of life, the immediate inside versus outside. Architectural elements such as the fence on the edge of the camp, serve as a symbol of this item of the divide. These theories discuss life under refugee status as a condition that lacks agency, however, the Za’atari camp captures how the inhabitants reclaim aspects of Bios, through their collective agency in reshaping their living arrangements and communities within their tangible living spaces which is further discussed in the next section.

**Fig. 1.1 Refugees Walking Toward Their Caravan in the Za’atari Camp.**

The image showcases the scale and the vastness of the camp. In a more metaphorical sense, it shows the notion of being a human and being stuck existing in this biopolitical third space. The colour and saturation of the image was changed by the author. Picture by Russell Watkins. Licensed under UK Department for International Development, open source with some rights reserved: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0/>

<sup>[5]</sup> Deborah Dwork and R. J. van Pelt, *Flight from the Reich: Refugee Jews, 1933-1946*, 1st ed. (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 2009), 53 & Zweig, Stefan. *The World of Yesterday*, an Autobiography. New York: The Viking Press, 1943, 308.

<sup>[5.1]</sup> Richard Ek, “Giorgio Agamben and the Spatialities of the Camp: An Introduction,” *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography* 88, no. 4 (2006): 363–86.

## 1.2 Section II: Types of Spaces that Life is Experienced by the Refugees (Tangible and Intangible)

This section delves into understanding the refugee camps as spaces of in-between. They are transitional spaces that shift into permanence, yet the rights of the refugees do not progress with such a shift. This section looks at the permanence of such spaces with an optimistic lens defining the areas of potential. Homi K. Bhabha, an Indian-British Academic and Critical Theorist, presents the concept of Third Space, which is an intangible and theoretical space that immigrants and refugees occupy once they cross international borders. The concept of Third Space is influential in understanding the refugees' lived experiences in camps and beyond. His arguments align with the notion of refugee camps as spaces of "in-between" or hybrid zones. Zones that are neither home (first space) nor host countries (second space), but instead are dynamic places of constant negotiation of the inhabitants' identities, often in the face of hostile or oppressive conditions<sup>[6]</sup>. Bhabha's concept of the third space allows room to understand how hybridity, the combination of first and second spaces, leads to the creation of new forms of culture<sup>[7]</sup>. Third spaces are depicted as spaces of resiliency which challenge power. Understanding the notion of hybridity in the context of refugee camps is inherent to visualizing third space, which is a place of transformation where different cultures and identities come together, interact, and create something new.

[See Third Space]

[See Hybridity]

[See Heterotopia]

In 1967, Foucault introduced the idea of Heterotopias, as a tangible place, where norms of behaviour are suspended<sup>[8]</sup>. In the context of this thesis, it might be understood as an embodiment of the idea of third space. Some of the principles that Foucault outlines for heterotopias align with the notion of refugee camps. For instance, the change in the intended function, or duration over time, refugee camp shift from the condition of temporary (intended) to permanence. Refugee camps have identifiable starting points often linked to specific events, but no clear endpoints, resulting in the permanence of temporary. This ambiguous timeline leads to a state of limbo, where inhabitants endure a timeless, placeless existence dominated by waiting - for basic services and life to progress. Heterotopias can include multiple incompatible functions simultaneously. In the case of refugee camps, they serve as sites of protection while at the same time enacting biopolitical strategies. Heterotopias are spaces that isolate yet remain penetrable, with a strict system of entrance and exit. Similarly, gaining access to refugee camps is paradoxical; one's entry

<sup>[6]</sup> Felipe Hernandez, *Bhabha for Architects*, ed. Jonathan A. Hale, Hilde Heynen, and David Leatherbarrow, vol. 04, 18 vols., Thinkers for Architects (Routledge (imprint of Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business), 2010), 60-72.

<sup>[7]</sup> Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London ; New York: Routledge, 1994), 199-209.

<sup>[8]</sup> Michel Agier, "Camps, Encampments, and Occupations: From the Heterotopia to the Urban Subject," *Ethnos* 84, no. 1 (January 1, 2019): 14–26, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00141844.2018.1549578>.

often signifies exclusion from non-heterotopias, leading to the isolation that makes exit difficult. In the case of refugee camps, the inhabitants are not allowed to leave the camp until a decision is made regarding their application. Given how long many refugees are left in the limbo state that are refugee camps, with little agency over their destiny, when viewed through the lens of hybridity and heterotopias, camps evolve into distinctive entities as city-camps. These spaces grow complex and take on many of the attributes of a city, presenting a unique blend of civic organization, sociocultural dynamics, and emergent identities separate from formally recognized cities. The activities within the camp can solidify its presence on the site, gradually fostering a deeper connection to the neighbouring areas as well. This is observed in Za'atari camp among other camps, where diverse economies, including shops and bazaars and services such as barbers, bakers etc., appear in the camp, and consumers both on the inside and outside come to the borders of the camp to purchase the goods and services produced by camp residents.

[See Camp]

[See City-Camp]

Physical borders in the form of walls and fences between countries and around the periphery of refugee camps are architectural elements of separation. Architect Ronal Rael, in his book *Border Wall as Architecture* brings forth the conversation about communities who occupy the borderlands or live close to the peace lines between the United States and Mexico. The book outlines how such communities, Mexican and American, that are very close to the borders, their culture and vitality are a direct correlation to their constant negotiations over the border. Borders are underutilized no-man's lands, often militarized areas, but also a location where different cultures meet and negotiate. At this border fence, the book captures a U.S. guard purchasing barbecued food from Mexicans through the porous parts of the fence<sup>[9]</sup>. The fence itself has both a static and dynamic effect; the static being the fence itself and the dynamic being the culture and behaviours which subvert its presence as a barrier. The book argues that building walls to stop the movement will never work because walls create third nations. Rael argues that the architectural act of making spaces of otherness creates a culture of negotiation immediately surrounding the wall/fence/ border. Which can lead to a thriving in-between space beneficial to both sides.

In the case of refugee camps, the boundaries of the camp are the first architectural elements that get built. While border walls vary in materiality, in the case of the Za'atari camp, the northern border of the camp has both barbed wire fences and solid walls. Citizens cannot see inside the camp, likewise, the encamped cannot see the world beyond, tucked away unseen (please see Fig 4.2 for an in depth analysis of types of fences around Za'atari camp). It is important to mention that unlike solid walls, fences and barbed wires as borders are see-through. The different ways in which

<sup>[9]</sup> Ronald Rael, *Borderwall as Architecture: A Manifesto for the U.S.-Mexico Boundary* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2017), 85.

barbed wire, as a simple material, has been used throughout modern history carries profound symbolic and political weight<sup>[10]</sup>. Early on, it was a tool that farmers first used to keep the cattle in and the “beasts” away. However, over the years barbed wire has become a symbol of political violence and exclusion. As a result, placing refugees behind barbed wire comes with a narrative in which they are transformed into biopolitical beasts and are a threat to the host nation<sup>[10]</sup>. Unfortunately, this narrative is pushed to justify how they are treated behind these wires.

Moving away from the physical borders to invisible borders. Foucault emphasizes that the modern notion of security is no longer simply a question of defending a state’s territorial integrity or the citizen’s rights but that it is also about the essence of human mobility<sup>[2]</sup>. His argument introduces the notion of traceability<sup>[11]</sup> on international border crossings to identify unauthorized movement and the control of documents such as passports<sup>[12]</sup>. Passports have existed since the 15<sup>th</sup> century. During those times, passports were issued by the church and unlike the modern requirements, passports were required for those leaving the walled cities, not for those arriving<sup>[13]</sup>. During World War I the European governments implemented border controls as a form of passports in order to secure the borders and prevent able-bodied men from fleeing the country, but the notion continued to increase in importance over time<sup>[14]</sup>. Traceability is particularly seen in immigrant and refugee communities where the implementation of digital surveillance technologies is heavily embedded on the national borders and in refugee camps. It is unfortunate, as one observes, that the process of modern citizenship cannot be fulfilled without individuals waving their rights to their data and privacy by having to provide the sovereign with their biometric data such as their facial image, fingerprints, eye colour, iris scans, height, etc. to be analyzed and stored indefinitely and transnationally upon receiving the citizenship for us all. This is particularly concerning for the refugees, because, these invisible borders of data persist<sup>[15]</sup>. These digital trails that were collected upon their registration in the camps, such as their interview, their application for asylum, biometric data, etc., could affect the lives of the refugees well beyond their initial days of displacement.

Moreover, today’s transnational economies, digital technologies, and geopolitical transformations are questioning conventional notions of cit-

<sup>[10]</sup> Olivier Razac, *Barbed Wire: A Political History* (New York: New Press, 2002), 89.

<sup>[12]</sup> While passports apply to cross-border travel; identity papers are also needed by the people in many countries in order to live their day-to-day life.

<sup>[13]</sup> Theo Deutinger, *Handbook of Tyranny*, 2nd edition. (Zürich: Lars Müller Publishers, 2018). Shows the most and least powerful passports belong to Germany and Afghanistan respectively but both countries are about the same size of land, 18-31.

<sup>[14]</sup> Deborah Dwork and R. J. van Pelt, *Flight from the Reich: Refugee Jews, 1933-1946*, 1st ed. (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 2009), 53 & Zweig, Stefan. *The World of Yesterday*, an Autobiography. New York: The Viking Press, 52-54.

<sup>[15]</sup> Paul Virilio, *The Lost Dimension* (New York: Semiotexte, 1991), 9-27.

<sup>[16]</sup> Tatiana Bilbao, *Two Sides of the Border: Reimagining the Region* (New Haven, CT: Yale School of Architecture, 2020), 255-264.

izenship, and with that comes a deeper exploration of the relationship between modern citizenship and the built environment as a source of belonging<sup>[16]</sup>. On this note, Nishat Awan, argues that immigrants protesting events occurring in their home countries while residing in host nations is, in a sense, an act of exercising their transnational citizenship; hinting at the notion that transnational citizenship may already be here indirectly.

[See Protest]

## 1.4 Conclusion

These theoretical lenses help us better understand the spatial and political implications of refugee camps such as Za’atari in Jordan. They offer the potential for an alternative approach to refugee spaces, as a new model of political urban structures which embraces the transnational/non-nation city-state, co-opting the very structures put in place to dis-empower and subvert them to re-imagine a new idea of displaced citizenship.

It becomes evident that the world beyond refugee camps is saturated in layers of exclusion. Refugees’ entrance into the Third Space starts from the moment they cross the international borders, where they grapple with biopolitical frameworks that govern both tangible and intangible domains. The camps’ evolving nature, mirrored in the emergence of heterotopic city-camps that operate much like cities outside, presents untapped potential. This realization suggests a re-evaluation of the camps in their current form - almost pondering a way out of the biopolitical systems, and into a new form of system perhaps to be called Third-City-State. It is imperative, then, to re-envision the edge conditions, shifting from barriers that isolate to structures that foster empowerment and integration. One that gives agency to its inhabitants and leverages the unique transborder dynamics at play. This chapter hopes to reframe the refugee camp not as a site of bare life and containment, but as a vibrant, active space of negotiation, transformation, and perhaps the potential for a site of return and stay by choice.

**Fig. 1.2 Extended Spectrum of Citizenship and Refugeehood.** Includes the 4 dimensions of citizenship (in black) and their interconnectivity, Ancient (in grey) and Modern (in pink) citizenship as well as refugeehood (in red) and the rights that are protected by the UNHCR. Credit: Author.



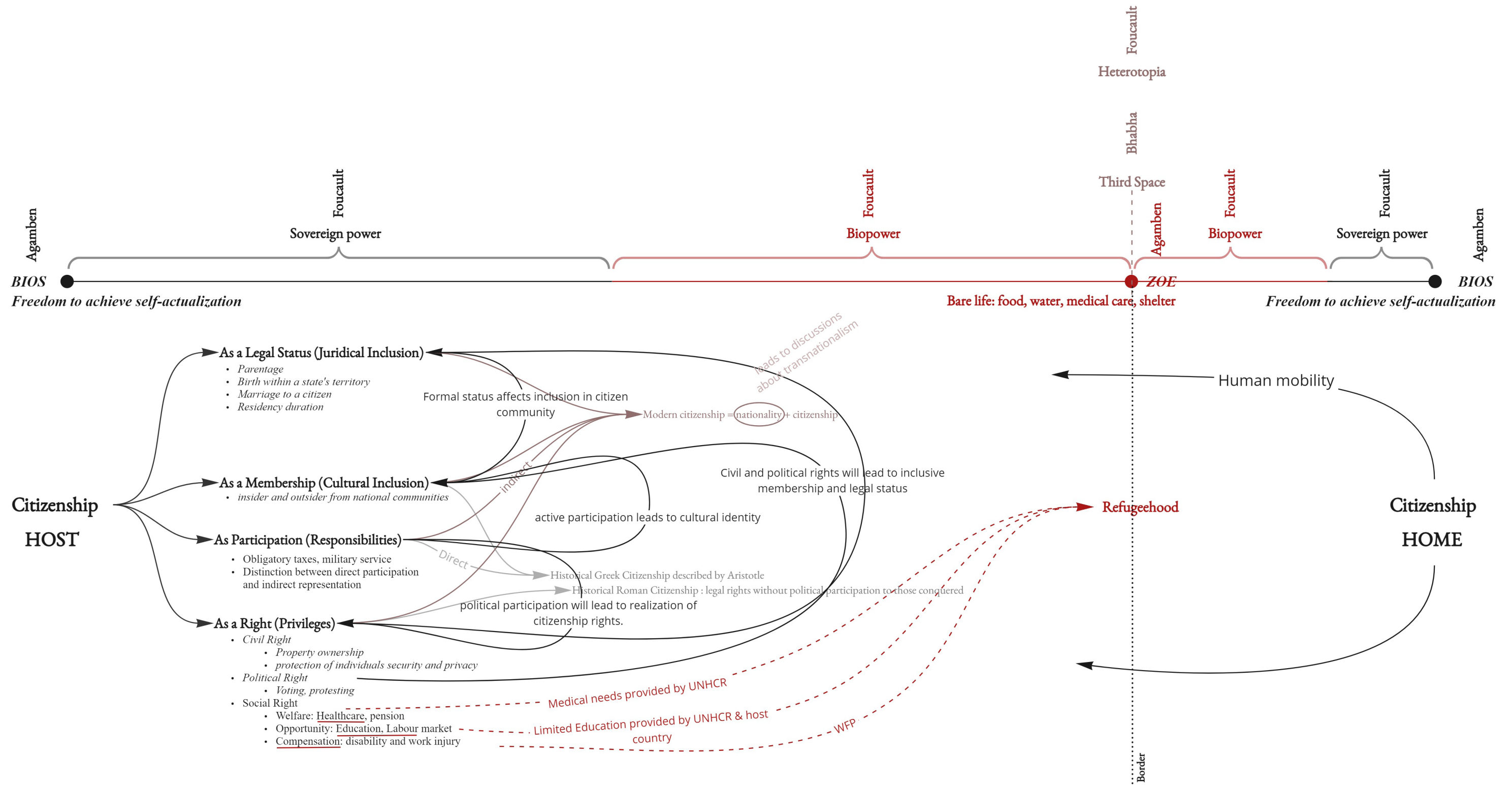


Fig 1.2



## Za'atari Camp as a Third City State

Za'atari camp is the biggest Syrian refugee camp in the world, located in the northern Jordan desert, 10 km east of Al-Mafraq City and 12 km south of the Syrian border<sup>[1]</sup>.

What was done with this site, by the inhabitants, makes a compelling study in terms of understanding emerging models of cities regarding its evolution from a conventional model of a refugee camp to a dawning informal city. It remains dependent on help from the Jordanian government and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) due to rules applied to refugee camps. However, it possesses elements which move beyond bare life, including having its own unique grey economy, a spatial evolution from grid master plan to vernacular order, street leaders, relationship to other camps, etc., all of which showcases its resilience and developing bottom-up order. Such qualities identify the Za'atari camp an emerging typology of city I call a 'third city state.'

Za'atari's resiliency is a double-edged sword. The community has proven to be economically and socially relatively resourceful, however, coupled with international crises including COVID-19 and the Ukrainian refugee situation, this affects the resettlement of the refugees from Za'atari camp in the EU and North American countries over time<sup>[2]</sup>. Furthermore, Jordan is not willing to integrate Syrian refugees within its society, as citizens, contrary to what it did with Palestinian refugees<sup>[3]</sup> in 1948.

It is crucial to delve into the intricacies of Za'atari and its ties to other camps in Jordan, despite its fenced-up boundaries.

<sup>[1]</sup> Ayham Dalal, *Camp Cities between Planning and Practice* (Ain Shams University & University of Stuttgart, 2014), 42.

<sup>[2]</sup> "Syria Refugee Crisis Explained," accessed August 29, 2023, <https://www.unrefugees.org/news/syria-refugee-crisis-explained/>.

<sup>[3]</sup> Palestinian refugees who came to Jordan in 1948 were granted Jordanian citizenship. However, those who came to Jordan in 1967 were not given Jordanian citizenship due to Jordan's concerns regarding the sheer number of Palestinians entering the country (3 Million), and they stayed in the refugee camps since. Jordan has also received Palestinian refugees from Syria and their camps and rights are significantly more strict than Syrian refugees in Jordan. "Refugees In Jordan - Syrians & Palestinians," Anera, accessed August 30, 2023, <https://www.anera.org/where-we-work/jordan/>.

Fig 2.1

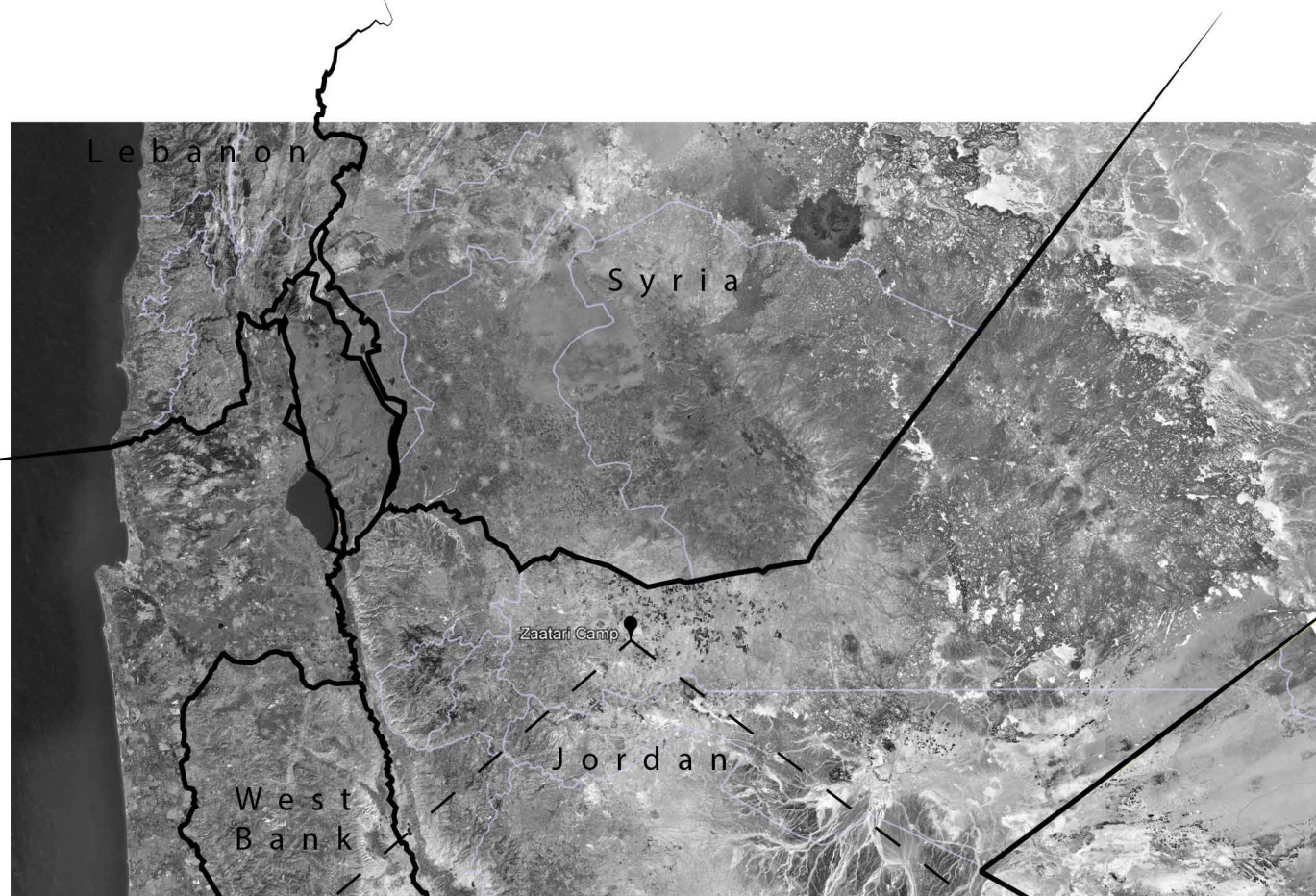


Fig. 2.2



Fig. 2.3

## 2.1 History

Za'atari camp was established on July 28, 2012, as a response to incoming Syrian refugees. The Camp's area is 5.3 km<sup>[4]</sup> and its capacity is designed to house 60,000 refugees. Over the past 11 years, the population of the camp rose to 120,000, and currently, has stabilized at 80,000 inhabitants. The camp authorities are no longer accepting new refugee arrivals<sup>[5]</sup>.

[See Refugee]

[See Camp]

The camp is supervised by different entities from the government of Jordan to different departments of UNHCR. The process of registration of the refugees upon arrival on site includes an initial interview, in the registration caravan, which gets recorded plus the collection of biometric data such as iris scans<sup>[6]</sup> in order to set up their UNHCR account and their World Food Program (WFP) incentives for their monthly financial help. Then each family is allocated either a caravan or tent, depending on what is available in addition to the UNHCR's Core Relief Items which includes plastic tarpaulins, a blanket, a sleeping mat, and plastic buckets 10, 15 Liter, cooking and serving utensils. Once the registration process is complete, refugees are not allowed to leave the camp unless they have work permits, a few days of "vacation permit", or they get "bailed out"<sup>[7]</sup> by Jordanian relatives outside the camp.

[See UNHCR]

[See Biometric]

[See Iris-Scanning]

[See Core Relief Item]

Referring to figure 2.5, Syria's civil war started in March 2011 and as its spread across the country, many Syrians escaped to neighbouring countries such as Turkey (3.3 Million), Jordan (1.3 Million), Lebanon (1.5 Million), Iraq(280,000), and Egypt (1.5 Million) seeking refuge (Figure 2.4). Although 92% of Syrian refugees who have fled the country live in rural or urban areas, only 5% live in refugee camps. Nevertheless, living outside of a refugee camp does not imply that the refugee is well integrated in local civil society. This thesis, however, focuses on the population who are living in Za'atari camp because it has become larger than many of Jordan's own cities. With 6.6 million people living in camps worldwide, these spaces/territories raise questions regarding how we understand extra-jurisdictional spatial entities.

<sup>[4]</sup> United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, "Jordan's Za'atari Refugee Camp: 10 Facts at 10 Years." UNHCR, accessed November 1, 2022, <https://www.unhcr.org/news/stories/2022/7/62e2a95d4/jordans-zaatari-refugee-camp-10-facts-10-years.html>.

<sup>[5]</sup> Angelina Jolie visited the camp in 2012, followed by King Charles III in 2015, among many other celebrities since. After reporting on the Za'atari camp, journalists also explore Jordan's landmarks and attractions, boosting its economy. A travel agency even offers airport pick-ups for such camp visits. (Michael Kimmelman, "Refugee Camp for Syrians in Jordan Evolves as a Do-It-Yourself City," *The New York Times*, July 5, 2014, sec. World, <https://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/05/world/middleeast/zaatari-refugee-camp-in-jordan-evolves-as-a-do-it-yourself-city.html>).

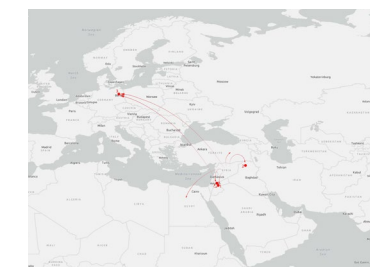
<sup>[6]</sup> The iris is often considered superior to fingerprints in terms of identification because it is a protected part of the body. Fingerprints can degrade over time, especially in individuals engaged in manual labour, like construction workers. While iris scanning technology is relatively new compared to fingerprinting, there are concerns about its long-term effects. Studies suggest that prolonged and repeated exposure to near infrared light in the iris scanning machines may lead to cataracts, altering the iris's texture leading to unrecognizable scans.

<sup>[7]</sup> "Behind the Scenes of the 'Most Complex' Refugee Operation in the World - Jordan | ReliefWeb," July 9, 2013, <https://reliefweb.int/report/jordan/behind-scenes-most-complex-refugee-operation-world>.

**Fig. 2.1 Aerial Photo of the Za'atari Refugee Camp (2).** The spatial arrangement as well as materiality of the shelters are seen. Credit: U.S. Department of State photo, *Licensed under public domain & Wikimedia: <https://creativecommons.org/publicdomain/mark/1.0/deed.en>*

**Fig. 2.2 Indicating the site in Jordan.** Its location relative to the Syrian border. Credit: Author; base map is taken from ArcGIS Pro.

**Fig. 2.3 Indicating the site in Jordan (2).** Its location relative to the nearest town in Jordan. Credit: Author; base map is taken from ArcGIS Pro.



**Fig. 2.4 Map of where the Syrian refugees fled to.** Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt, Iraq, EU countries mainly Germany. Source: Created by Author; Map is from ArcGIS Pro.

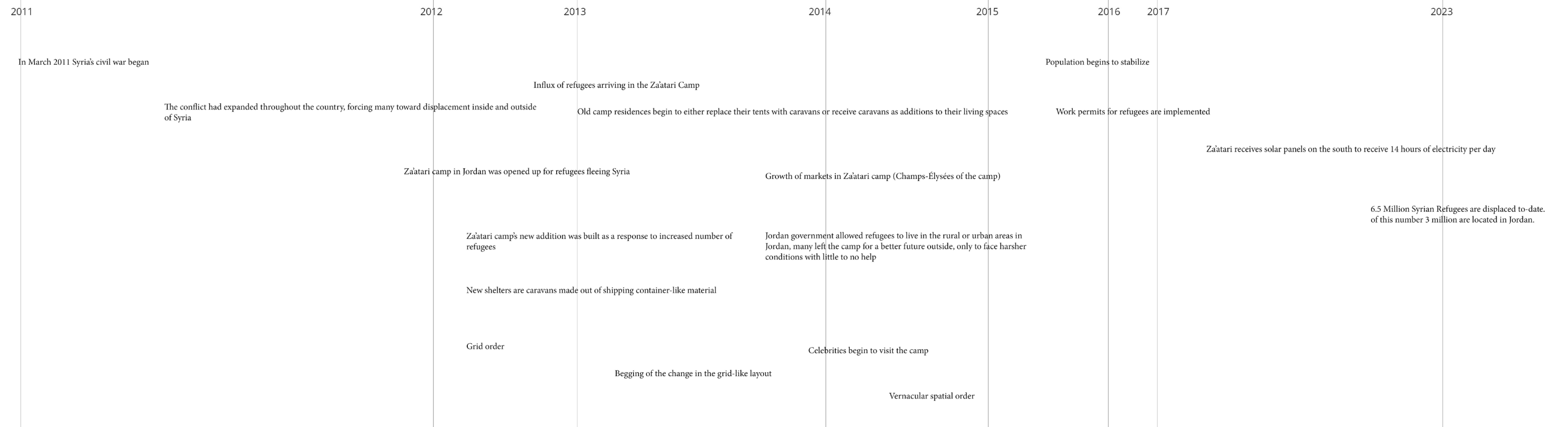
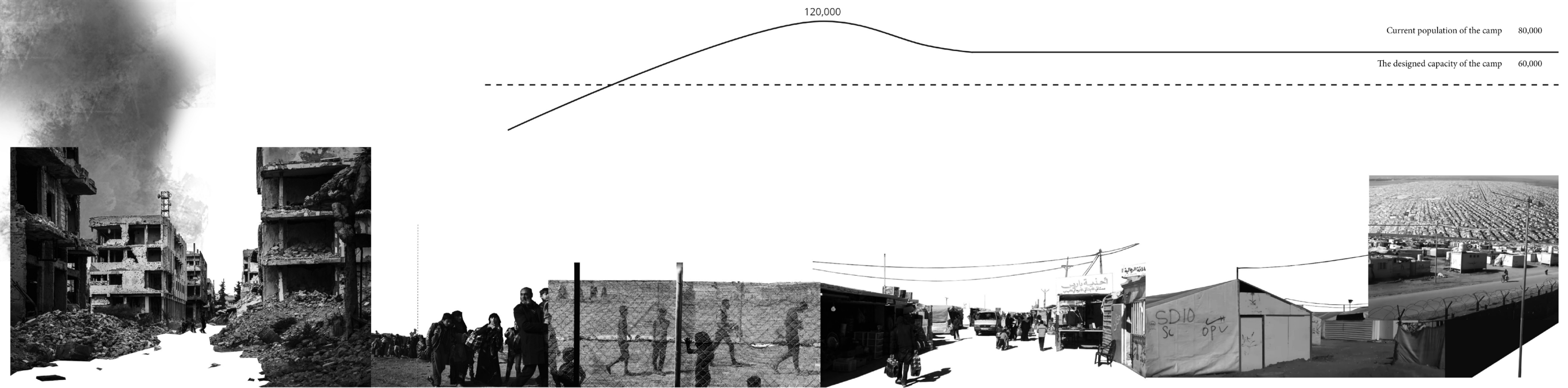


Figure 2.5

Fig. 2.5 Timeline. Indicating the course of events from the 2011 civil war in Syria till the present. Credit: Author.

## 2.2 Architectural Layout and its Evolution

The satellite images prior to the camp ever existing in this region, show an airport runway in the middle of the desert. One source mentions that before the establishment of the Za’atari camp, this northern part of the Jordanian desert served as military land, however, the author is unable to find further information regarding this matter. Nevertheless, it is an interesting piece of information regarding the history of this site. What follows is the chronological order of the evolution of the camp.

### 2.2.1 Old Camp: unplanned

2012 - The camp opens with tents given to refugees provided by UNHCR as they arrive in this area. They self-organize at first and set up their tents next to one another. By November of 2012, the population of the camp increases enough for UNHCR to establish a road running North to South in order to bring services to all camp members. The old camp slowly develops around this UNHCR-based road. However, the Jordanian authorities realize that the more the camp grows spontaneity, the less control they have over the development of the camp, and it gets harder for the services to get to all refugees. Therefore, authorities decide to expand the camp, called the new camp, but with a master plan of a grid-like spatial layout to control the development of the camp and authorities’ reachability to all parts.

### 2.2.2 New Camp: Planned

2013 - The new camp, implemented by the government of Jordan and the UNHCR, is constructed in such a way as to always permit the UN vehicles access to all parts. Here, caravans are brought in, at the same time families with tents in the old camp are slowly given a caravan as well. These Caravans are prefabricated shipping container-type material at 7.5x 3 meters in dimension, some have concrete flooring as well as built it kitchen sinks and toilets<sup>[8]</sup>. Ayham Dalal, a Palestinian-Jordanian architect and Assistant Professor of architecture at the German University in Cairo (GUC), who visited the camp, believes that “The planning of the new camp was as much a response to an emergency as it was for discipline and control”<sup>[9]</sup>.

2014-2016: The camp receives an influx of arriving refugees. They are seen in the satellite images setting up tents in empty spaces between the caravans. The refugees are also seen moving caravans around to house

<sup>[8]</sup> Detailed information about these caravans is available on the UNHCR’s website. This thesis specifically targets the lesser-discussed edge conditions of the camp, omitting in-depth discussions on the caravans and internal camp conditions due to their extensive coverage in scholarly articles and videos. For more insights, refer to these documents.

<sup>[9]</sup> Ayham Dalal, *Camp Cities between Planning and Practice*, 75.

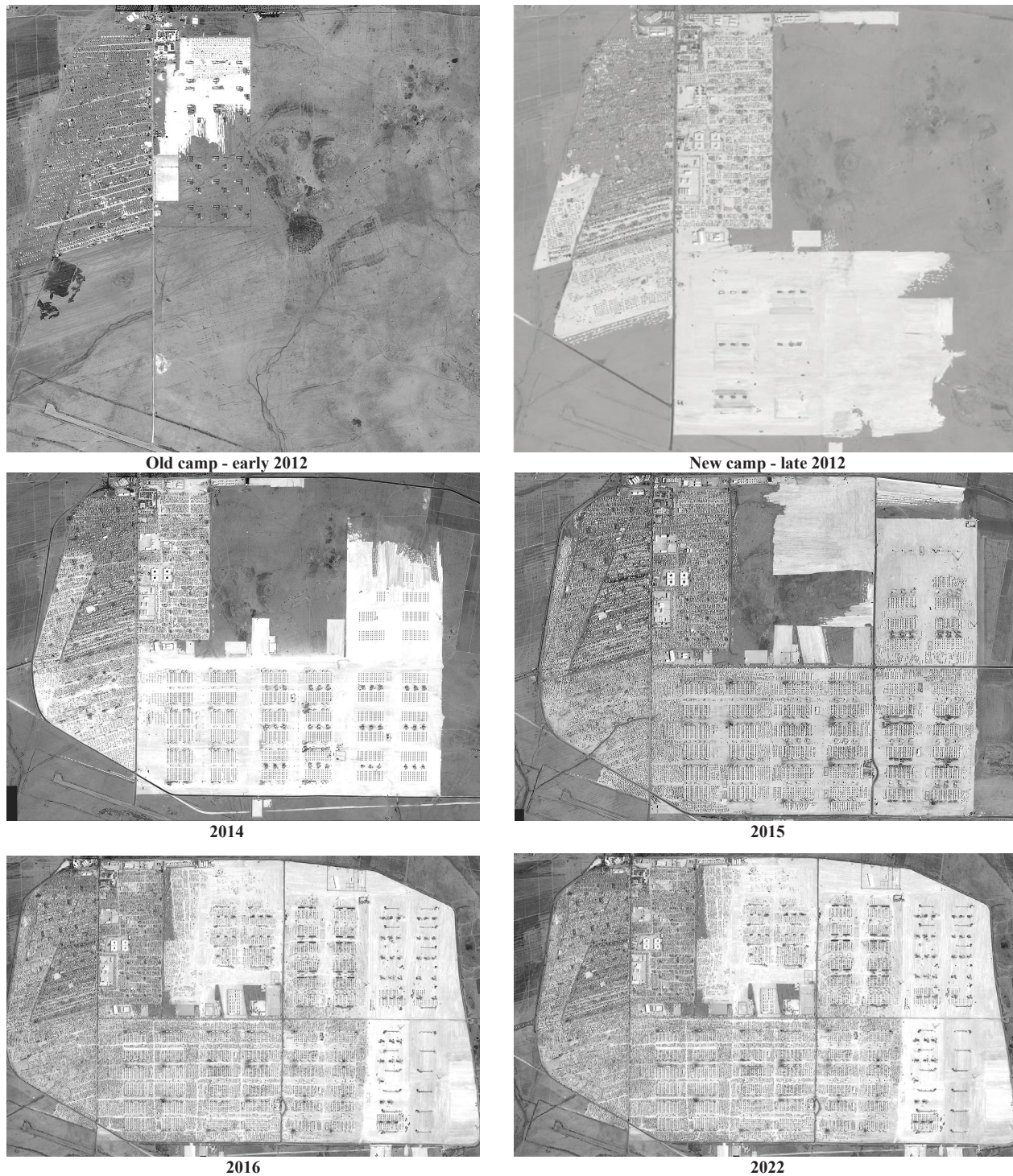


Figure 2.6

Fig. 2.6 Satellite Images of the Camp. The order reads from left to right, up to down. The upper left image is the old camp from 2012 and the lower right image is from 2022. Sources: Google Maps Pro licensed with Public Domain: <https://creativecommons.org/publicdomain/mark/1.0/deed.en>. Attributions: Google Earth, Image ©2023 Maxar Technologies.



Fig. 2.7 Satellite Images of the Southwest District of the Camp. It is separated by the main street that runs north-south. The series of images shows the evolution of the spatial layout of the camp from 2012 - to the present. Sources: Google Earth Pro licensed with Public Domain: <https://creativecommons.org/publicdomain/mark/1.0/deed.en>. Attributions: Google Earth, Image ©2023 Maxar Technologies.

more of their bigger families close by. During these years the camp witnesses its first refugee-led shops open on the second main street running West to East.

2017 - present: Progressively, most refugees have received Caravans by this time. While keeping their tents, the camp sees many new typologies of living spaces using caravans, tents, and scraps of old torn-apart UNHCR relief items to add to their living spaces creating courtyards, backyards, or vestibules. Satellite images show that the original master plan is slowly replaced by the new vernacular order. Professor Dalal explains the surroundings of the camp as follows: “Surrounded with trenches, earthworks and surveillance towers (military points with tanks); opening up to the outer world through only one gate that is not directly connected to the Jordanian transportation network, but through a long road that increases the possibility to control via another gate at the end of that road can give a hint of how the camp is being isolated from its surrounding”<sup>[10]</sup>.

Additionally, the oldest parts of Zaatari now have streets; one or two are paved, some lined with electric poles. The most elaborate houses are put together from shelters, tents, cinder blocks and shipping containers, with interior courtyards, private toilets, and jerry-built sewers<sup>[11]</sup> and some plumbing. The new arrivals who are settled in the New Camp hope (in the south east side of the camp) to be able to one day buy caravans in the Old Camp and move there which leads to a compelling inner “migration” desire within the camp itself.

## 2.3 Demographic

In Za’atari, the population is almost equally divided between men and women, most of the inhabitants are of working age with an average age of 21 years old. Some of the available documentaries suggest that the streets of Za’atari are primarily male-dominated while women stay in shelters or in more gendered spaces such as communal kitchens<sup>[12]</sup>. It is

<sup>[10]</sup> Jonathan Crowe, “Mapping Where Syrian Refugees Have Settled in Canada,” *The Map Room* (blog), March 3, 2016, <https://www.maproomblog.com/2016/03/mapping-where-syrian-refugees-have-settled-in-canada/>.

<sup>[11]</sup> Michael Kimmelman, “Refugee Camp for Syrians in Jordan Evolves as a Do-It-Yourself City,” *The New York Times*, July 5, 2014, sec. World, <https://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/05/world/middleeast/zaatari-refugee-camp-in-jordan-evolves-as-a-do-it-yourself-city.html>.

<sup>[12]</sup> *Our Home In The Desert: Life Inside A Refugee Camp Part 2 (Refugee Documentary) | Real Stories*, 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0K71eER8QY0>.

Za’atari Camp is entirely a Syrian Sunni refugee camp. Syria’s population in June 2012, when UNHCR declared the country’s civil war, was approximately 21 million. Based on a report published by UK House of Commons Library, half of the original population of Syria has been displaced either internally or externally in form of refugees abroad. UNHCR data shows that more than 6.8 million Syrian refugees and asylum seekers have officially been registered, although this number might be higher. Jordan’s Population is 11.15 million of this number 2.9 million are non-Jordanian and 1.2 million of them are Syrian. “Population Stands at around 9.5 Million, Including 2.9 Million Guests,” *Jordan Times*, January 30, 2016, <https://jordantimes.com/news/local/population-stands-around->

worth noting that the birth rates in the camp are also higher than the rates within Jordan or Syria prior to the war.

The majority of the population comes from Homs<sup>[13]</sup>, rural Damascus, and Dara’a. Za’atari is no longer accepting refugees causing those already inside to be hesitant about leaving. They fear that if they depart for resettlement within Jordan or another country and face challenges in the process, they will not be permitted to return to Za’atari<sup>[14]</sup>. As a result, the majority of the refugees do not wish to leave the camp permanently even if the opportunity comes their way.

## 2.4 Economy

Over the years refugees have set up shops along the North-South and East-west streets, some continuing their skills from their hometowns, for example opening up barbershops, others needed to expand their sources of income by opening up bike repair shops, etc. They include services such as barbershops, bakeries, and pizza shops with delivery service on bicycles (donated by Netherlands, hinting at an internal address system<sup>[15]</sup>). Also products that are not provided by the UNHCR are smuggled into the camp such as fruits, Syrian spices and more<sup>[16]</sup>. In addition to the jobs that are initiated by the inhabitants, mentioned above, the UNHCR and the government of Jordan recently collaborated to give work permits to the camp residents in order to work legally inside (driving water truck around the camp) and outside the camp (primarily working in construction or agriculture-related). Other than systematic regulations that only qualify them for non-Jordanian citizen jobs, referring to Jobs that are not popular among Jordanian citizens resulting in these positions to slowly becoming non-citizen positions, the limited job market for Syrian Refugees is primarily due to their education level which has been interrupted by the war and elongated displacement.

### 2.4.1 Gray Economies: Initiated by the refugees

The security of the camp is Jordan’s responsibility, however, the Za’atari camp has self-elected street leaders some of whom are part of a gangs, as UNHCR describes, that oversee the grey economy and smuggling of the goods in and out of the camp.

95-million-including-29-million-guests.

<sup>[13]</sup> It is ironically interesting that Homs was guarded by a citadel, which is, by definition, a castle or fortress that does not function as a city but controls a city. Now its refugees are living in a walled/fenced controlled city-like space.

<sup>[14]</sup> “Axios in Jordan: Growing up in the World’s Largest Syrian Refugee Camp,” accessed July 19, 2023, <https://www.axios.com/2022/11/17/jordan-worlds-largest-syrian-refugee-camp>.

<sup>[15]</sup> “Syrian Refugee Starts Pizza Delivery Service in Za’atari Camp,” UNHCR, accessed August 26, 2023, <https://www.unhcr.org/news/stories/syrian-refugee-starts-pizza-delivery-service-zaatari-camp>.

<sup>[16]</sup> “Haves and Have-Nots in Jordan’s Za’atari Camp - Jordan | ReliefWeb,” October 8, 2013, <https://reliefweb.int/report/jordan/haves-and-have-nots-jordans-zaatari-camp-0>.

Syrian refugees that are sent to Al Azraq camp in Jordan, which is another Syrian refugee camp (coming up in the next chapter) often try to get transferred to other camps due to its prison-like conditions. Hanna Davis, a reporter who covers refugee stories on the ground, documented that Syrian refugees from Al Azraq often move to Palestinian camps near Amman, the capital, where they are expected to pay rent for their dwelling that is owned by previously Palestinian refugees. Some of these Palestinian ‘apartment’ owners in the old Palestinian camps are now citizens, who have since moved to the capital and are integrated into society, where they rent their old apartments to Syrian refugees. Once Syrian refugees move to these Palestinian camps, UNHCR reevaluates their financial status and based on the results of the evaluation some receive World Food Program<sup>[17]</sup> (WFP) in the form of paper food vouchers on a monthly basis. Davis further reports that Syrian refugees in Palestinian camps sell their food vouchers to smugglers in order to afford their rent<sup>[18]</sup>. She reports that the vouchers then get brought into Za’atari camp and sold by these smugglers inside the camp, where these paper food vouchers are used as cash. It is important to note that in Za’atari camp, the WFP is used as a digital currency only accessed by the Iris scan technology in Za’atari’s grocery shops, which restricts the refugees on how to spend their monthly allowance, while the unauthorized access to paper food vouchers provides them with the freedom to spend their “cash” on what they want<sup>[19]</sup>.

[See Third Space]

The interconnected web of the grey economy linking Syrian and Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan suggests an enduring undercurrent that seems to operate as its own government under the nose of the Jordanian government in these fenced-off third spaces within Jordan. These areas effectively function as a collective refugee nation, providing support to each other. Za’atari’s connection to this grey economy is established using these smuggled-in food vouchers from other camps to be used as cash, ultimately bringing a sense of autonomy over spending their money on things beyond groceries.

<sup>[17]</sup> Edgar Luce, a Senior Humanitarian Assistance Officer in his WFP report called “Evolution of WFP’s food assistance program for Syrian refugees in Jordan” explains that Za’atari camp received warm food distributed by WFP from the restaurants in nearby cities in 2012. Then in 2013-2014 they introduced paper vouchers, then in 2014-2016 WFP introduced the E-vouchers which were possible via using master cards, then in 2016 they introduced Iris scans for monthly food incentives. This applied to all new and future refugees from 2016 and onward entering Za’atari camp. It slowly included those who had to renew their refugee status. Over time all refugees in Za’atari got their iris scans done. In the same WFP report, the iris scan cash benefits could be seen used by refugees outside of camps, namely in Amman, who use Iris scanning technology with the banks in the city to withdraw money. Edgar Luce, “Evolution of WFP’s Food Assistance Programme for Syrian Refugees in Jordan,” *Reliefweb*, 2016.

<sup>[18]</sup> Hanna Davis, “A Life of Isolation for Syrian Refugees in Jordan’s Azraq Camp,” accessed August 29, 2023, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/3/29/a-life-of-isolation-for-syrian-refugees-in-jordans-azraq-camp>.

<sup>[19]</sup> Michael Kimmelman, “Refugee Camp for Syrians in Jordan Evolves as a Do-It-Yourself City,” *The New York Times*, July 5, 2014, sec. World, <https://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/05/world/middleeast/zaatari-refugee-camp-in-jordan-evolves-as-a-do-it-yourself-city.html>.

Inside the camp, residents’ self-initiated shops and bakeries for the community are also considered grey economy as they do not have permits to own businesses. Nevertheless, these shops act as a self-sustaining local economic enterprise. Furthermore, the thriving market along the main streets increase the value of Caravans that are close to such areas within the camp.

Areej Abuqudairi, an Amman-based Journalist, reports that for those living in caravans, these structures become valuable assets, their worth growing based on their placement within the camp. While some refugees struggle to afford these caravans, others acquire additional ones to expand their living quarters. Although refugees are expected to return all UNHCR-provided items, including tents and caravans, when they leave the camp, many often sell these items instead<sup>[20]</sup>. This highlights the emergence of a self-initiated grey real estate market within the camp. Most of the grey economy is a result of host countries’ difficulties in meeting all the criteria of the Refugee Convention Act. One wonders that if the camp authorities and the host governments fail to fully abide by the refugee convention rules, then would the self-initiated actions in terms of these grey economies not be vital for both parties, the host nations and the refugees? And if so, why are they criminalized by the Jordanian government to the point of deportation to Syria?

[See Refugee Convention Act]

#### 2.4.2. UNHCR-led economy: not initiated by the refugees.

The UNHCR and Jordanian government have recently started to issue work permits to refugees who would want to work outside of the camp, however, as mentioned earlier, these permits only allow certain non-Jordanian citizens, primarily in the construction or agriculture sector, in order to help refugees earn a bit more money. The UNHCR officials are also planning to use online education for the young population of the camp “Wifi could have educational, personal, and career benefits”. – Said a UNHCR official. One also wonders if more access to wifi could allow those not granted work permits, use the Internet to tap into a global marketplace<sup>[21]</sup>.

#### 2.5 Issues of the Camp

Fire is a significant issue since most of the electricity is repaired by the people in the camp and not by professionals, resulting in regulations and safety procedures not being followed. Most of the fires are caused by overdrawn, unsafe electrical work, this calls for attention towards skills that refugees need and are lacking in order to maintain a safe living

<sup>[20]</sup> “Haves and Have-Nots in Jordan’s Za’atari Camp - Jordan | ReliefWeb,” October 8, 2013, <https://reliefweb.int/report/jordan/haves-and-have-nots-jordans-zaatari-camp-0>.

<sup>[21]</sup> Borgen Project, “Wi-Fi ‘Saves’ Residents in Jordan Refugee Camp,” *The Borgen Project* (blog), August 1, 2015, <https://borgenproject.org/wi-fi-jordan-refugee-camp/>.

space, such as electricians. Climate conditions such as sandstorms and seasonal weather (extreme heat and winters) pose a big risk to refugees. Many have reported upper respiratory disease due to sandstorms. Also, the old camp gets flooded during winter. This issue shows that the refugees are extremely exposed to the elements, partly due to the climate of this region, allowing the prolonged tent and caravan living conditions, nevertheless there are clear issues and actions must be taken.

Moreover, Jordan is the third driest country on earth. Currently, the majority of Jordan's potable water is taken from underground water channels. Za'atari camp is located on top of these underground water channels. However, there are plans in place regarding access to water from the Dead Sea once the underground water channels run out<sup>[22]</sup>. In Za'atari camp, trucks would bring water in for the people at the early stages of the camp. As the camp grew, the UN and Government created three boreholes inside the camp and trucks filled up water from these boreholes and delivered it to the water tanks for shelters<sup>[23]</sup>. This issue is addressed in the proposal section of the book.

There has been a widespread record of hepatitis disease in the camp due to insufficient cleanness of potable water. The camp manager has mentioned that installing a permanent municipal water system in the camp would cost what the United Nations now spends every year trucking water within the camp, and it would be an investment in long-term development<sup>[24]</sup>.

Additionally, the electricity is generated by solar panels located in the south of the camp. Since their installation, the inhabitants receive electricity 14 hours per day compared to the 8 hours prior. The camp also needs to be well-lit at night in order to provide a sense of safety for the residents, especially with the existence of gang groups within the camp.

Safety and criminal activities are a major issue – Abuqudairi reports that in addition to class division in the camp, the gangs create chaos in the camp in order to rub the residents and resell their aid items for money<sup>[25]</sup>. She further explains that due to tensions between gang members and the Jordanian security responsible for the camp's safety, if camp residents cooperate with Jordanian security, they will be socially shunned from

<sup>[22]</sup> Karen Zraick, "Jordan Is Running Out of Water, a Grim Glimpse of the Future," *The New York Times*, November 9, 2022, sec. World, <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/09/world/middleeast/jordan-water-cop-27.html>.

<sup>[23]</sup> It was told (by Pouya Khazaeli, an Architect who built a school in Za'atari camp) that in 2016 if the people of the camp would protest, the government would refuse to distribute water to the people of the camp for a few days as a punishment.

<sup>[24]</sup> Michael Kimmelman, "Refugee Camp for Syrians in Jordan Evolves as a Do-It-Yourself City," *The New York Times*, July 5, 2014, sec. World, <https://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/05/world/middleeast/zaatari-refugee-camp-in-jordan-evolves-as-a-do-it-yourself-city.html>.

<sup>[25]</sup> "Haves and Have-Nots in Jordan's Za'atari Camp - Jordan | ReliefWeb," October 8, 2013, <https://reliefweb.int/report/jordan/haves-and-have-nots-jordans-zaatari-camp-0>.

their community.

Recent Humanitarian initiatives have started to address some of these issues with more countries donating and funding programs, nevertheless, refugees' dependency on humanitarian and host government aid remains the same.

### Conclusion

This chapter seeks to reveal some of the inner social, economic and infrastructural workings of the Za'atari camp. It also reveals that, despite humanitarian measures and the 1951 Refugee Convention, regulations are sometimes overlooked, or the situation on the ground is complex, leaving refugees vulnerable for extended periods. Through the camp's transition, over the years, from temporary to permanent, it is evident that gaps left by authorities are often filled by the refugees themselves. The UNCHR's senior camp manager believes that refugee camps are potential urban incubators, places that can develop and even benefit the host countries, "We design refugee camps; refugees build cities"<sup>[26]</sup>.

<sup>[26]</sup> Michael Kimmelman, "Refugee Camp for Syrians in Jordan Evolves as a Do-It-Yourself City," *The New York Times*, July 5, 2014, sec. World, <https://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/05/world/middleeast/zaatari-refugee-camp-in-jordan-evolves-as-a-do-it-yourself-city.html>.





## Architectural Spectrum in Refugee Camps

This Chapter discusses Syrian refugee camps within Jordan, as well as camps in neighbouring countries. The aim is to not only compare the conditions and spatial arrangements of these camps across a broader variety of jurisdictions but also to trace the spectrum of “bare life” and the degree of restrictions as well.

One can see that the least planned camps, such as Adu Abdullah village camp, in which the whole community relocated from Syria to Jordan, thrive faster than camps that are more planned out, like Al Azraq. The latter has been segregated by Jordanian and UNHCR camp planners into villages that are not walkable from one another, for the purposes of crowd and protest management strategies. Each of these case studies, raise questions regarding architecture and planner’s role in their identities and communities.

The one common element at the core of all the case studies is the importance of bottom up community-driven space making and the degree of agency in such practice. In most camps this aspect is oppressed by the policies and by the spatial planning that enables the policies to be enforced on the inhabitants easier. The spatial planning and evolution of refugee camps and how they impact their inhabitants’ autonomy, sense of community, well-being, the organic growth driven by the refugees themselves, and the balance (or lack thereof) between the two, is explored. The case studies highlight the interplay between planned spatial design and organic development, demonstrating the profound effects that design decisions can have on camp residents’ daily lives and long-term prospects.

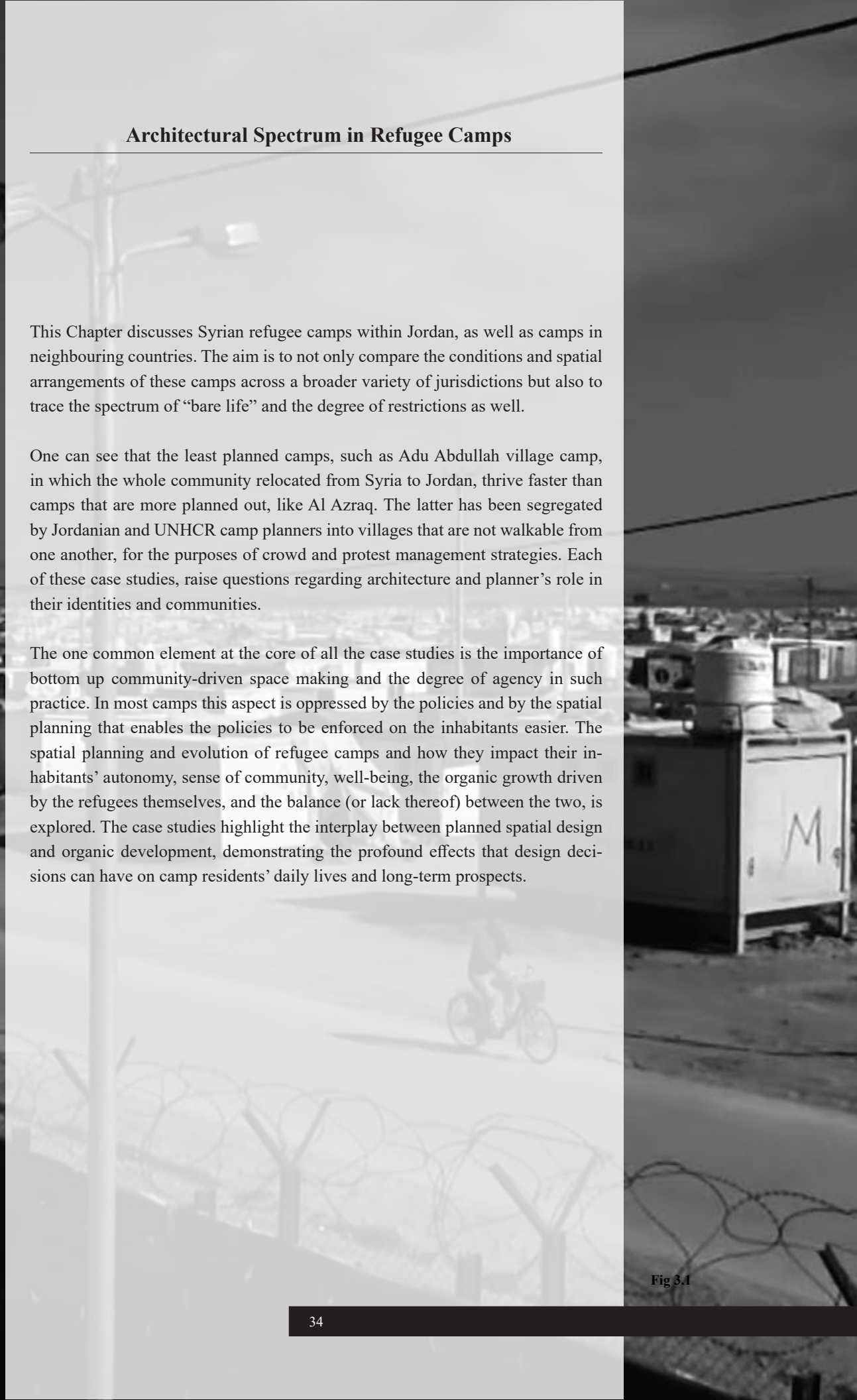


Fig 3.1



Fig. 3.2



Fig. 3.3

### 3.1 Al Azraq Camp, Jordan

Opening date: April 2014

Location: 90 km from the Jordan-Syrian border in the region of Zarqa, 75km southeast of Za'atari

Population: Approximately 45,000 (2023)<sup>[1]</sup>

Main point: Too much planning leads to the control of every aspect of the refugees' life, leaving no room or permission for any form of bottom-up place making participation.

This camp is located in a remote part of North-East Jordan in between the mountains of the Zarqa region. Unlike other camps, this camp was not built over a few days, that is normally how long it takes for refugee camps to get set up as a response to emergency situations. The UNHCR took months to study all other refugee camps that existed and proposed a model to be "possibly one of the best refugee camps in the world" said a UNHCR official<sup>[2]</sup>. The layout is based on insights gained from the spatial development of the Za'atari camp, where organic community formation empowered its residents, resulting in the reduced grip of power by the authorities. To prevent a similar scenario, the government of Jordan and the UNHCR planners intentionally decided on a layout to obstruct the natural formation of communities; by placing people in already planned out and segregated villages, aiming to maintain tighter control over its growth<sup>[2]</sup>.

Al-Azraq consists of four main village clusters. As illustrated in Figure 3.2, the base camp which houses most of the management staff is strategically designed to avoid being controlled by the crowd, placed far enough to easily avoid being accessible by foot from any of the villages<sup>[3]</sup>. This design choice was made to reduce the impact of refugees' protest against the challenging living conditions within the camp<sup>[4]</sup>.

The refugees in this camp have significantly less autonomy over their living spaces compared to those in the Za'atari camp. Various sources note that many refugees here express a desire to relocate to the Za'atari camp. In Al Azraq, they are not permitted to modify the caravans to suit their needs, and they are under more rigorous surveillance than in Za'atari. This refugee camp might be compared to a remote military base

[1] "Situation Syria Regional Refugee Response," accessed July 20, 2023, <https://data.unhcr.org/en/situations/syria/location/42>.

[2] "Inside Azraq, Jordan's Prefab Refugee Camp - National | Globalnews.ca," Global News, accessed August 25, 2023, <https://globalnews.ca/news/1378547/inside-azraq-jordans-prefab-refugee-camp/>.

[3] The distance is to avoid being controlled by the crowd. This matches the old rule that a citadel constructed to dominate a city should always be located at the edge of the city, and never in the centre, so the crowd cannot control all accesses to the citadel.

[4] Ayham Dalal et al., "Planning the Ideal Refugee Camp? A Critical Interrogation of Recent Planning Innovations in Jordan and Germany," December 2018, [https://www.researchgate.net/figure/The-planning-of-Zaatari-camp-and-its-suggested-spatial-hierarchy-Source-Dalal-based-on\\_fig1\\_329837447](https://www.researchgate.net/figure/The-planning-of-Zaatari-camp-and-its-suggested-spatial-hierarchy-Source-Dalal-based-on_fig1_329837447), 1-15.

[See Refugee]

[See Refugee Camp], [See UNHCR]

[See Protest]

**Fig. 3.1 Image of the Northern Edge of the Za'atari Camp.** This area is heavily guarded with two layers of barbed wire and metal fences. The colour and saturation of the image was changed by the author. Picture by John Green. Licensed under Creative Commons on Wikimedia: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/>

**Fig. 3.2 Al Azraq camp.** Credit: Created by Author, map taken from ArcGIS Pro software.

**Fig. 3.3 Views of the Empty Rows of Shelters.** Many of the huts remain empty as the harsh location and basic conditions are unpopular among Syrian refugees. Credit: D-Stanley, on Wikimedia. Licensed under Creative Commons: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/>



Fig. 3.4



Fig. 3.5

camp<sup>[5]</sup>, and to the early stages of Za’atari’s master plan layout.

Despite hot temperatures in the summer months, there are chronic absences of electricity and high food prices, the most pressing concern of all is underpopulation. The camp is built to accommodate 120,000-130,000<sup>[6]</sup> refugees but its population rose to only slightly over 54,000 at its peak in 2016-2018. The most recent data shows that the camp’s population has stabilized at 45,000<sup>[7]</sup>. Although the camp was expected to reach and even exceed its capacity, the current situation falls short of such expectations. Many refugees choose to live without resources and aid on the streets of Jordan in order to avoid this camp, largely due to the lack of a sense of community resulting from extreme surveillance and restrictions. “You ticked all the boxes,” an aid worker well-versed in camp construction said, “But it doesn’t have a soul, does it?”<sup>[4]</sup> Even though this camp is secure, there is a saying that goes: “The only risk is that you will die from boredom”<sup>[8]</sup>.

This case study showcases how design can serve as an instrument of control. For instance, in its remote location, the white caravans uniformly spread throughout each village, creating eerily quiet housing rows set in a rigid grid. Moreover, the distance between the shelters and essential facilities such as the market and water pumps further augments the feeling of isolation. Mirroring the concepts of exclusion and homogenization, Al Azraq provides real-world evidence of the role that planning, and architecture play in supporting the agenda of the ruling authorities. The spatial planning enables easier enforcement of rigid rules for the authorities on the ground.

The parallel origin stories of Za’atari and Al Azraq, are juxtaposed by the different trajectories of their development. In Al Azraq, there’s a prevailing negative sentiment against the excessive and authoritarian planning which forces inhabitants to reside, even more so, in a state of “bare life.” On the other hand, the Za’atari camp’s spatial evolution has become more organic and vernacular due to its residents’ agency.

<sup>[5]</sup> The dichotic spatial similarities yet functional differences between the remote military base camps and the modern institutional refugee camps is explored further in the Author’s essay “On A Loop”. While both designs are purposed for efficiency, one enables, the other disables. The paper delves into the influence of various stakeholders (such as the UN who play different roles in these opposing settings), site selection, spatial layout, and functional programs on the camps. The main point is about considering the permanent notion of displacement as a premise, therefore, arguing that refugee camps should be designed with refugees’ social needs and deeper layers of engagement in mind. Please see Appendix C.

<sup>[6]</sup> “UNHCR Jordan: Azraq Refugee Camp - Factsheet, June 2022 - Jordan | ReliefWeb,” March 8, 2023, <https://reliefweb.int/report/jordan/unhcr-jordan-azraq-refugee-camp-factsheet-june-2022>.

<sup>[7]</sup> “Situation Syria Regional Refugee Response,” accessed July 20, 2023, <https://data.unhcr.org/en/situations/syria/location/42>.

<sup>[8]</sup> “The Grey Ghost Town and the Camp in Search of a Soul,” accessed July 19, 2023, <https://www.churchtimes.co.uk/articles/2016/4-march/news/world/the-grey-ghost-town-and-the-camp-in-search-of-a-soul>.

**Fig. 3.4 Views of the Empty Rows of Shelters.** Many of the huts remain empty as the harsh location and basic conditions are unpopular among Syrian refugees . Credit: Philweb, Licensed under Attribution-Share A like 3.0 Unportedon Wikimedia: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>

**Fig. 3.5 Entrance of the camp.** Credit: Philweb, Licensed under Attribution-ShareAlike 3.0 Unportedon Wikimedia: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>



Fig. 3.6

### 3.2 Dar Abu Abdullah Camp Village, Jordan

Opening date: Estimated in 2014<sup>[9]</sup>

Location: 4 km east of Al Mafraq town.<sup>[10]</sup> - 6 km West of Za'atari Camp.

Population: 66 people (2022)

Main point: The thriving environment that is observed due to minimal top down planning, the success is mostly due to the amount of agency the refugees' in this camp had to practice bottom-up place making.

Originally a neighbourhood of 66 people from rural Damascus crossed the Syrian-Iraqi borders and arrived in the Za'atari camp. During the 2014-2016 the Jordanian government implemented a rule were refugees were allowed to leave the camp and stay in the rural or urban areas in Jordan, but with that, there would be lesser or no help at all (this rule was abolished in 2016 due to economic concerns). During this time, the author believes that they left Za'atari camp and made their own then-camp, now formally recognized village, of Dar Abu Abdullah.

From their initial arrival in the village, they worked toward self-sustainability because they were aware that outside the camp there is less help from UNHCR. Today, their electricity is fully sourced from solar panels, and they grow their own food and livestock<sup>[11]</sup>. Their efforts of negotiation with the government over the years have proven fruitful as their village camp is now recognized as a permanent residential region/ village. With this recognition, their children can attend Jordanian schools.

This case study stands in contrast to the previous one. Their case is unique because they moved their community across the borders<sup>[12]</sup>. Dar Abu Abdullah emphasizes the benefits of community creation and allows room for individual agency and initiative. The spatial growth of this village happened organically and there was no master plan done by, representing an ideal tangible scenario in the spatial evolution of a refugee camp.

Za'atari camp fits somewhere between these two different ends of the spectrum. Images below are moments within the village.<sup>[13]</sup>

<sup>[9]</sup> Between 2014-2016 the government of Jordan allowed refugees to live in the urban or rural areas of cities outside the camps. Then the government abolished such rule do to Jordanian's concerns over economic impacts on the towns that received refugees.

<sup>[10]</sup> "April 2022 – Visiting Independent Community Outside Mafraq – Uri-Mena," accessed July 20, 2023, <https://www.uri-mena.org/portfolio-item/april-2022-visiting-independent-community-outside-mafraq/>.

<sup>[11]</sup> It appears that they only need water from the government to be trucked in. Detailed information regarding this info is difficult to achieve.

<sup>[12]</sup> Further specifics regarding the UN and Jordan governments' leniency in permitting such degree of autonomy under a Syrian refugee status is difficult to obtain.

<sup>[13]</sup> *URI Volunteers at Abu Abdullah Camp / Visit & Teaching*, 2022, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xKmZ1J65RxA>.



Fig. 3.7



Fig. 3.8



Fig. 3.9



Fig. 3.10

**Fig. 3.6 Dar Abu Abdullah Camp.**  
Credit: Created by Author, map taken from ArcGIS Pro software.

**Fig. 3.7 An example of a typical unit within the camp with its own water tank.** Credit: *URI Volunteers at Abu Abdullah Camp / Visit & Teaching*, 2022, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xKmZ1J65RxA>, 00:26.

**Fig. 3.8 Livestock in the village.** Credit: *URI Volunteers at Abu Abdullah Camp / Visit & Teaching*, 2022, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xKmZ1J65RxA>, 00:46.

**Fig. 3.9 View of the village street.** Credit: *URI Volunteers at Abu Abdullah Camp / Visit & Teaching*, 2022, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xKmZ1J65RxA>, 00:32.

**Fig. 3.10 Children playground.** Credit: *URI Volunteers at Abu Abdullah Camp / Visit & Teaching*, 2022, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xKmZ1J65RxA>, 01:56.



Fig. 3.11

### 3.3 Domiz Camp, Iraq

Opening date: April 2012<sup>[14]</sup>

Location: 19 km from Dohuk, Iraq - 1280 km from Za'atari Camp,

Population: 57,953 people (2022) <sup>[14]</sup>

Main point: a bit more balance between authorities and agency of the refugees.

Another example of autonomy within refugee camps is the Domiz camp located in the Kurdistan region of Iraq, which opened around the same time as Za'atari. Both camps began with comparable spatial layouts. Domiz shelters Syrian Kurds, a community that has been stateless for almost a century, relocating there once the Syrian conflict erupted.

The camp's master plan looks like an early version of Za'atari's grid-like layout. It has since evolved into permanent structures that follow the original footsteps of the master plan. Although the planned capacity for the camp was 38,135 individuals, there are currently 57,953 refugees registered here and it is no longer receiving new arrivals.<sup>[14]</sup> The camps' demographic is divided almost evenly between men and women, and the majority are of working age, with an average age of only 21. The pictures in Figure 3.12 are a series of sketches done by Submarine Channel, a production channel that focus on story telling in an interactive and immersive way, that show how a tent in this camp goes through different stages and finally becomes a permanent structure<sup>[14]</sup>.

The camp has different districts categorized as construction areas (upgrading the built fabric), money(bazaars), sustainability (self-sustaining strategies throughout the camp), etc. This quality of the camp, distinctive zones, has inspired the design programs and their relationship to one another, which is discussed in the next chapter. Over the years, Domiz's conditions has risen above bare life. Domiz serves as a pathway or model for Za'atari's direction, with a balance between planning and individual autonomy. Nonetheless, it remains a refugee camp, its inhabitants are under refugee status and are in a permanent state of permanent waiting with regard to their futures.

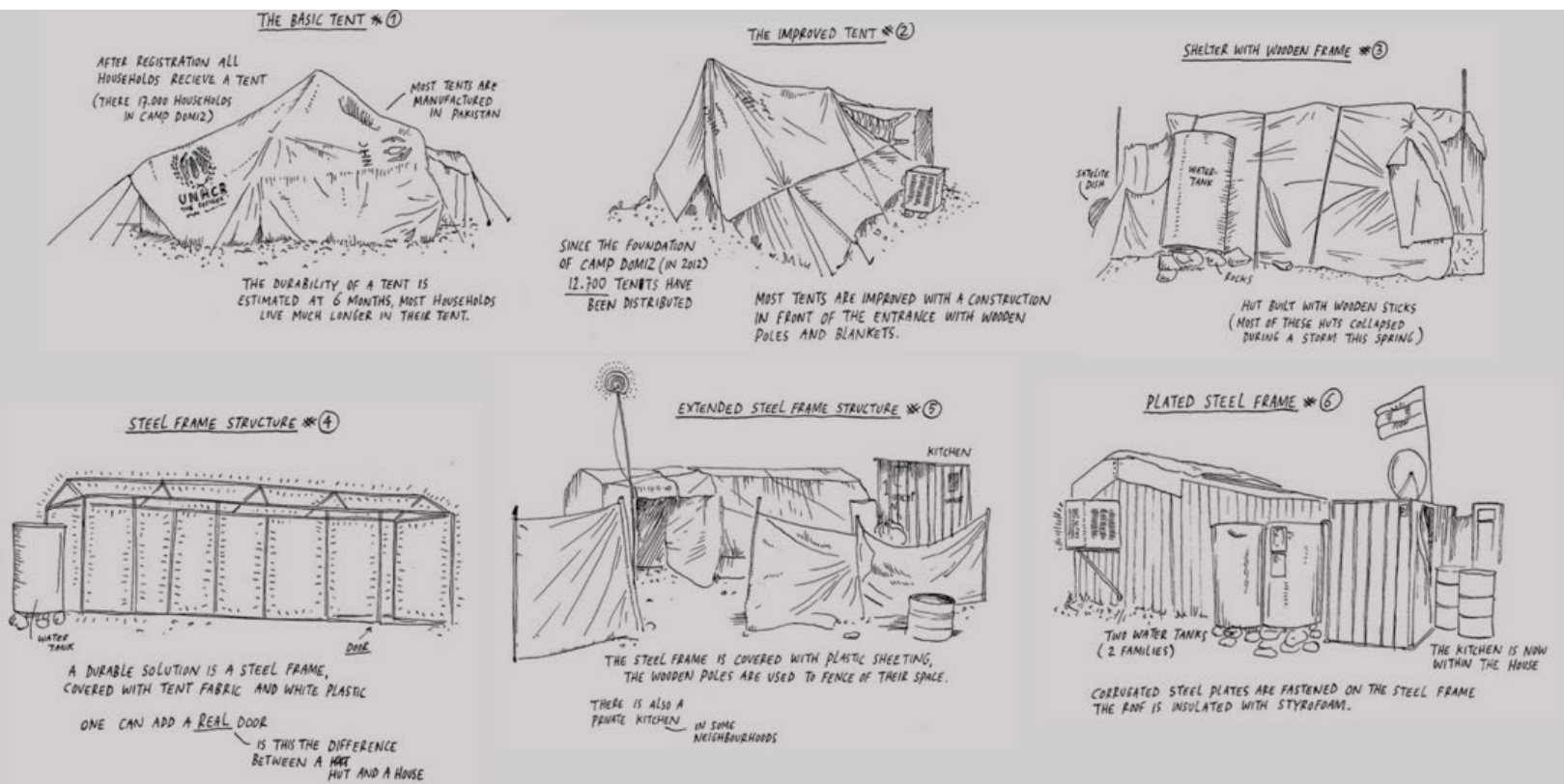
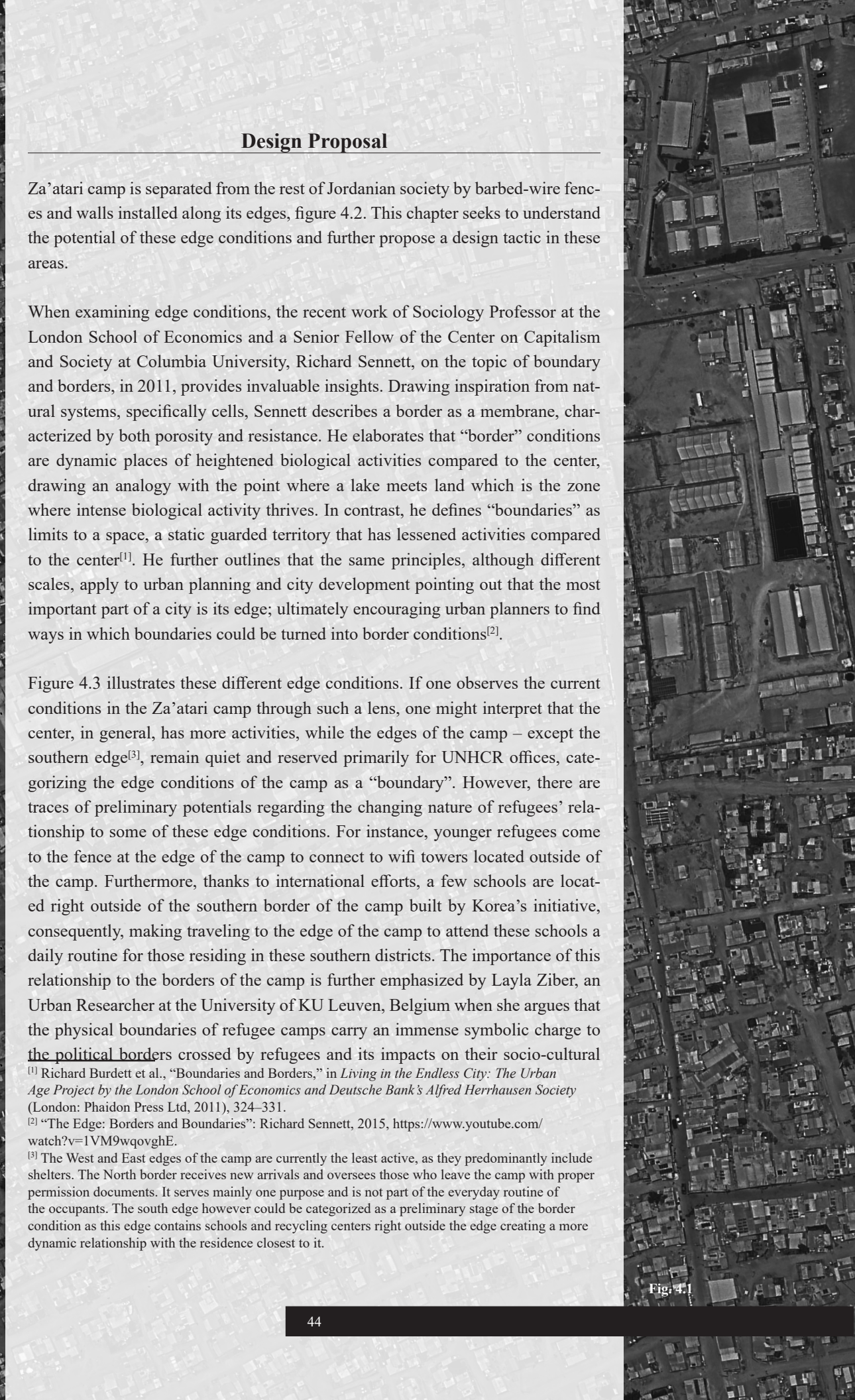
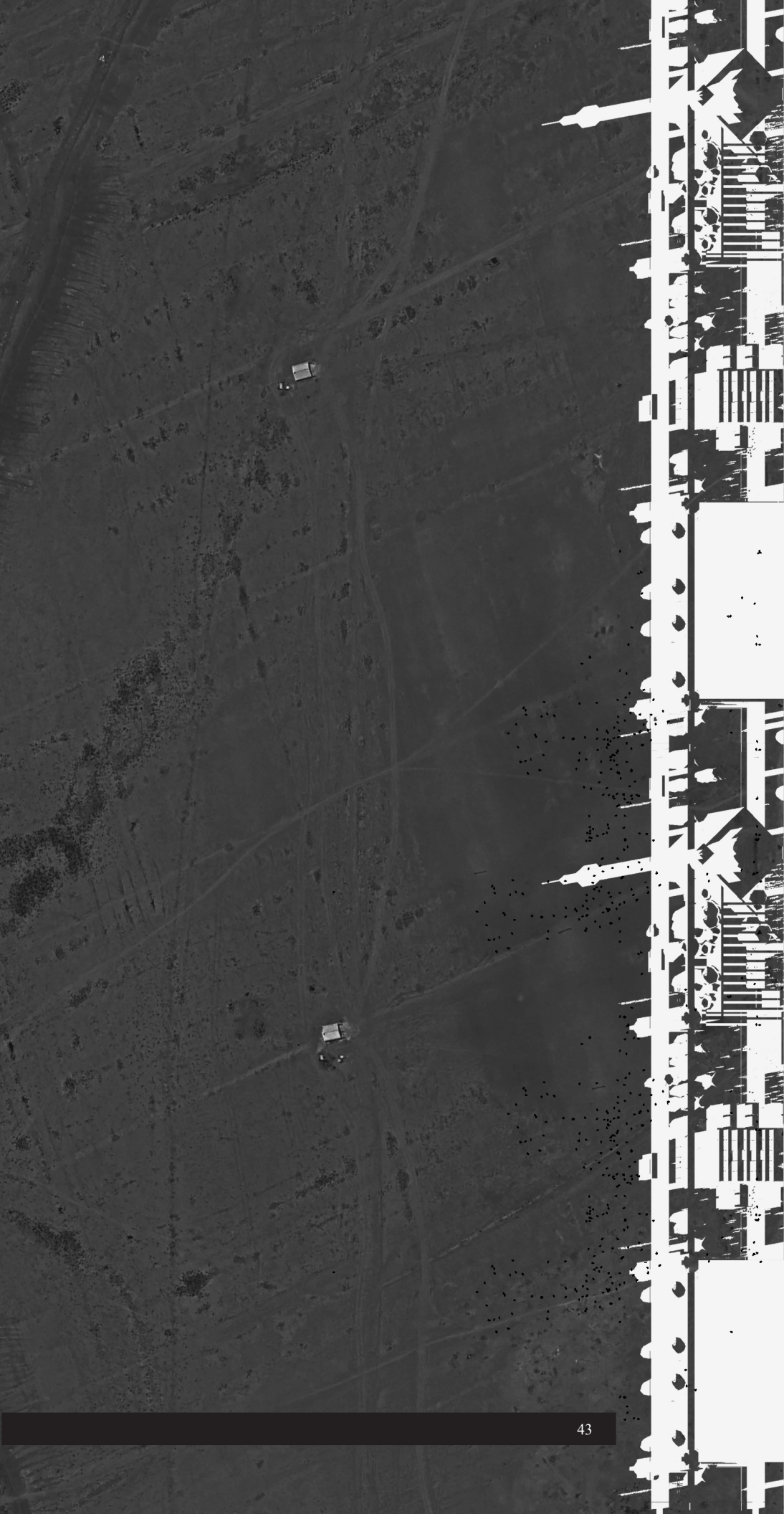


Fig. 3.12

<sup>[14]</sup> "Refugee Republic," Refugee Republic, accessed November 18, 2022, [https://refugeerepublic.submarinechannel.com/intro\\_en.php](https://refugeerepublic.submarinechannel.com/intro_en.php). [https://refugeerepublic.submarinechannel.com/intro\\_en.php](https://refugeerepublic.submarinechannel.com/intro_en.php). The camp and its evolution are best documented by the project called "Refugees Republic", which includes sketches, video recorded, sound recorder, and many interviews with the refugees. It offers a glimpse into the potential future of Za'atari, especially as it experiences less strict oversight compared to Za'atari.

Fig. 3. 11 Domiz camp. Credit: Created by Author, map taken from ArcGIS Pro software.

Fig. 3. 12 . Refugee Republic Project Created by Submarine Channel.



## Design Proposal

Za'atari camp is separated from the rest of Jordanian society by barbed-wire fences and walls installed along its edges, figure 4.2. This chapter seeks to understand the potential of these edge conditions and further propose a design tactic in these areas.

When examining edge conditions, the recent work of Sociology Professor at the London School of Economics and a Senior Fellow of the Center on Capitalism and Society at Columbia University, Richard Sennett, on the topic of boundary and borders, in 2011, provides invaluable insights. Drawing inspiration from natural systems, specifically cells, Sennett describes a border as a membrane, characterized by both porosity and resistance. He elaborates that “border” conditions are dynamic places of heightened biological activities compared to the center, drawing an analogy with the point where a lake meets land which is the zone where intense biological activity thrives. In contrast, he defines “boundaries” as limits to a space, a static guarded territory that has lessened activities compared to the center<sup>[1]</sup>. He further outlines that the same principles, although different scales, apply to urban planning and city development pointing out that the most important part of a city is its edge; ultimately encouraging urban planners to find ways in which boundaries could be turned into border conditions<sup>[2]</sup>.

Figure 4.3 illustrates these different edge conditions. If one observes the current conditions in the Za'atari camp through such a lens, one might interpret that the center, in general, has more activities, while the edges of the camp – except the southern edge<sup>[3]</sup>, remain quiet and reserved primarily for UNHCR offices, categorizing the edge conditions of the camp as a “boundary”. However, there are traces of preliminary potentials regarding the changing nature of refugees' relationship to some of these edge conditions. For instance, younger refugees come to the fence at the edge of the camp to connect to wifi towers located outside of the camp. Furthermore, thanks to international efforts, a few schools are located right outside of the southern border of the camp built by Korea's initiative, consequently, making traveling to the edge of the camp to attend these schools a daily routine for those residing in these southern districts. The importance of this relationship to the borders of the camp is further emphasized by Layla Ziber, an Urban Researcher at the University of KU Leuven, Belgium when she argues that the physical boundaries of refugee camps carry an immense symbolic charge to the political borders crossed by refugees and its impacts on their socio-cultural

<sup>[1]</sup> Richard Burdett et al., “Boundaries and Borders,” in *Living in the Endless City: The Urban Age Project by the London School of Economics and Deutsche Bank's Alfred Herrhausen Society* (London: Phaidon Press Ltd, 2011), 324–331.

<sup>[2]</sup> “The Edge: Borders and Boundaries”: Richard Sennett, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1VM9wqovghE>.

<sup>[3]</sup> The West and East edges of the camp are currently the least active, as they predominantly include shelters. The North border receives new arrivals and oversees those who leave the camp with proper permission documents. It serves mainly one purpose and is not part of the everyday routine of the occupants. The south edge however could be categorized as a preliminary stage of the border condition as this edge contains schools and recycling centers right outside the edge creating a more dynamic relationship with the residence closest to it.

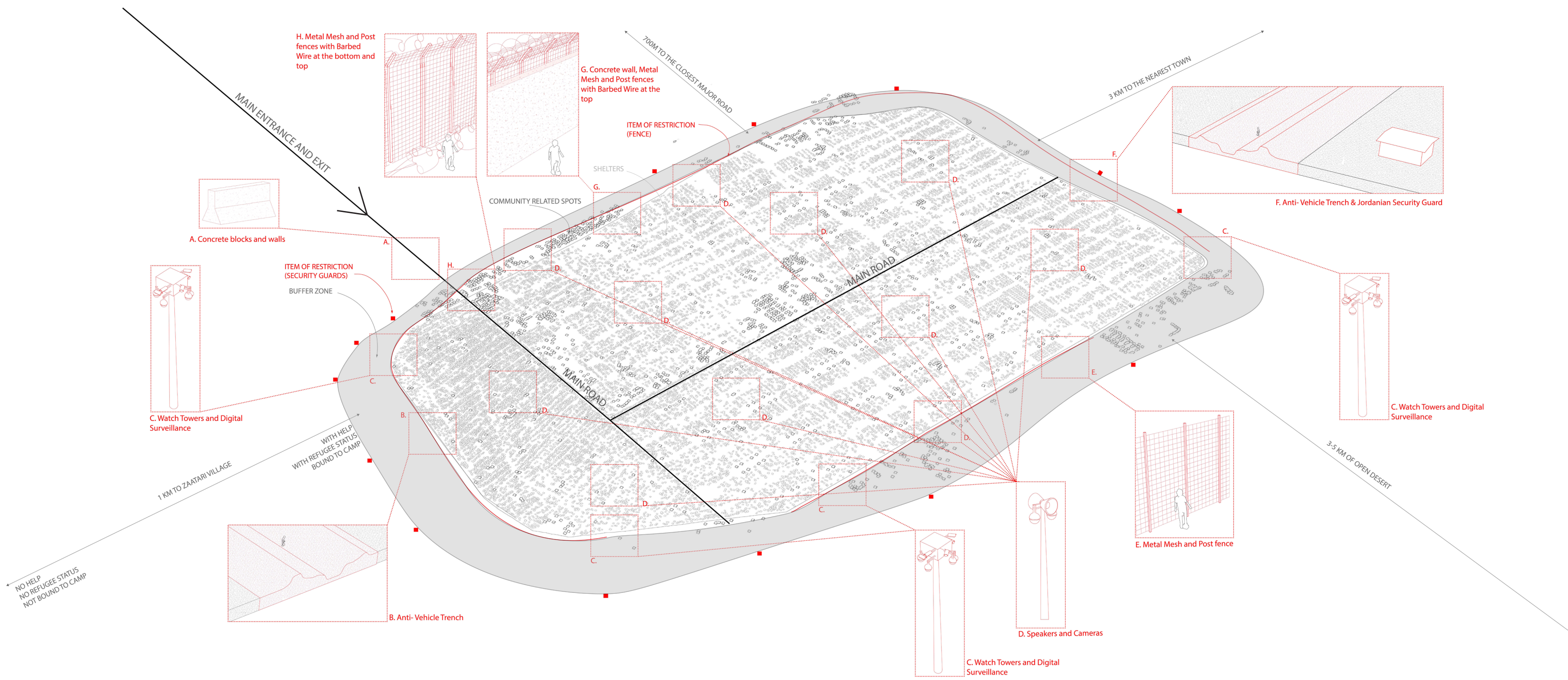
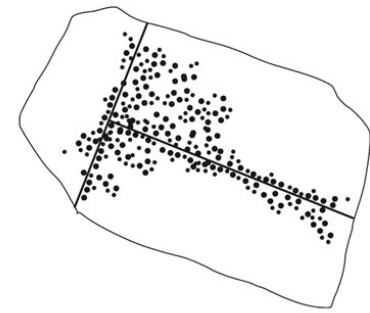
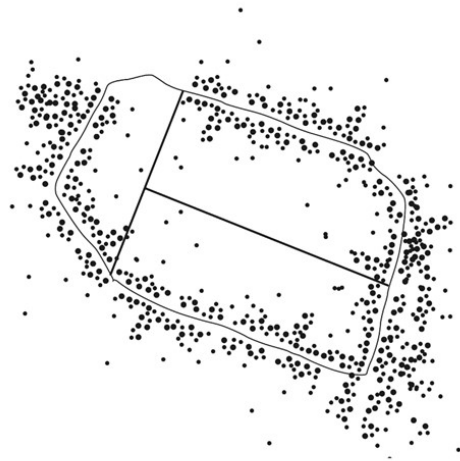


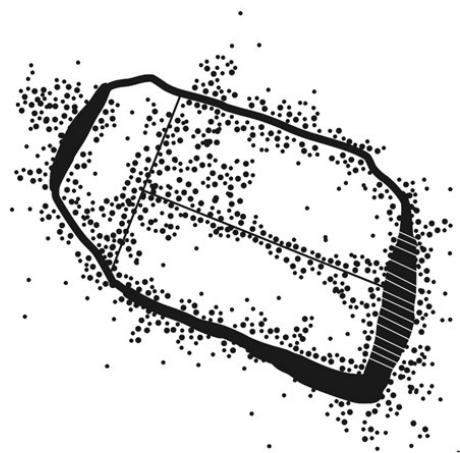
Fig. 4.2



Boundary Condition



Border Condition



Proposal

Fig. 4.3

identities.<sup>[4]</sup>

Therefore, the design concept is to transform the fence, replacing it with a thickened “border” condition full of activity, creating a new edge, an encircling linear public realm forming a new periphery of the camp. The new edge is rich in social, and cultural life. In the first step, the fence is replaced with an aqueduct wall which brings water to the entirety of the camp; to create a new relation between the residence and the edge conditions. Instead of formally having to stay away from the edges of the camp, the residents would now be encouraged to go to the wall in order to access water. The new aqueduct wall has a scope and importance far greater than just achieving self-sustenance of the camp. Water enables a number of key services which are currently lacking in the camp: more public bathrooms, hammams, communal kitchens, and irrigation for agriculture. The camp’s buffer zone is to be populated over time, with social, cultural, educational and agricultural infrastructure. While some of the elements of programs around the aqueduct wall are UN-based services with the help of international donations, the vision is ultimately to allow room for community-driven place-making participation.

Moreover, the aqueduct wall is porous, allowing movement and activities from inside the camp to spill onto the outside, for example setting up shops and communal kitchens, as well as education, communication and ultimately meaningful negotiations between the culture on the inside and the society on the outside in pursuit of Bhabha’s characteristic of third space.

This discussion brings forth the notion of “town gates” and their historical existence especially within the context of the Middle East varying from defensive purposes<sup>[5]</sup> to places of gathering as well as places of judgment. For example, in the Old Testament, it is mentioned in Deuteronomy 21:19<sup>[6]</sup> “Then his father and mother shall seize him and bring him out to the elders of his city at the gateway of his hometown.” This verse discusses a disobedient son to be brought to the city elders at the gates by his parents. The role of the city wall is outlined as a place of judgment. The punishment towards the son would be watched by the town’s community in hopes of ridding the community of evil and serving as an example of the consequences of excessive disobedience. Such biblical references are plenty when discussing the edges/threshold/gates of

<sup>[4]</sup> Layla Zibar, Bruno de Meulder, and Nurhan Abujidi, “Who/What Is Doing What?,” in *Making Home(s) In Displacement - Critical Reflections On A Spatial Practice* (Brandenburg University of Technology, Germany, KU Leuven, BelgiumZuyd University, The Netherlands | KU Leuven, Belgium, 2022), 83–117.

<sup>[5]</sup> Kathleen M. Kenyon, “Excavations at Jericho,” *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 84, no. 1/2 (1954): 103–10, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2844004>.

<sup>[6]</sup> *Deuteronomy 21:18-23 Compare All Versions*, accessed September 11, 2023, <https://www.bible.com/bible/compare/DEU.21,18-23>.

[See Third Space]

[See City]

**Fig. 4.1 “New Wall” Proposal Diagram** Credit: Created by Author, map taken from Google Earth Pro licensed with Public Domain: <https://creativecommons.org/publicdomain/mark/1.0/deed.en>. Attributions: Google Earth, Image ©2023 Maxar Technologies.

**Fig. 4.2 Current Edge Conditions of Za’atari Camp.** The “Items of Restriction” which are marked in red indicate different barrier types in the entirety of the edge of the camp in order to keep the refugees inside. The northern edge has the most number and types of fences because the entrance and exist happens through the north edge. The west and East edges have anti-vehicular trenches and the southern border has moments of openness due to the vast desert in the south of the camp. Credit: Author.

**Fig. 4.3 Boundary and Border Condition.** Top: Boundary condition (current condition) of Za’atari through the lens of Richard Sennett. Middle: Border condition typology. Bottom: the condition that the design proposal is aiming for. Credit: Author.



a town<sup>[7]</sup>. Moreover, the importance of the city gate as an evaluated entrance point in cities of refuge is mentioned in Joshua 20:4 “He shall flee to one of these cities, and shall stand at the entrance of the gate of the city and state his case in the hearing of the elders of that city; and they shall take him into the city to them and give him a place, so that he may dwell among them”. This passage directly resonates with the current entrance process of refugees to the Za’atari camp. Upon arrival at the camp, refugees explain their case, to UNHCR officers in the registration offices located at the northern edge of the camp. Interviewers then evaluate the individual’s case and make a decision to grant entrance to the camp or transfer to other camps.

[See Refugee]

[See UNHCR]

[See Camp]

The significance of the city gate in the ancient Middle East is recognized in these verses as a focal point of gathering for administrative and judicial proceedings. The elders, who were respected leaders in the community, often are said to be found at the gates, serving as judges and decision-makers. A similar principle applies to the edges of the Za’atari camp with the Jordanian authorities being placed around the edges to maintain peace within the camp as well as to control and monitor the edge condition.

However, over time, as the need for defensive walls diminished, many cities expanded beyond these fortifications, leading to the demolition or adaptation of them. Analogously, in the context of a refugee camp, the fence was originally placed to prevent refugees from escaping. However, it has proven to not be able to entirely prevent people and goods from moving in and out of the camp, as evidenced by the camp’s grey economy. The refugees choose to stay in the camp not because of the existence of the fence, but rather due to the external systematic barriers and potential risks associated with resettling in other nations that make the refugees want to stay in the camp and improve their living conditions within the camp. Suggesting that perhaps it’s time to reconsider the fence’s role or even its existence.

#### 4.1 Proposal: The Thickened Boundary

The design vision looks at moments on the Western, Northern and Eastern sides of the camp informed by the existing conditions of each edge. For the scope of this thesis, I will not be visualizing the conditions for the southern edge, due to programs already existing outside of this edge at the service of the people of the camp, including recycling centers, as well as schools and youth centers. Nevertheless, the wall is envisioned to

<sup>[7]</sup> Similarly, the practice of judgment at the city gate is reiterated in bible. In it not happening once Deuteronomy 25: 7-10 “But if the man does not desire to take his brother’s wife, then his brother’s wife shall go up to the gate to the elders and say, ‘My husband’s brother refuses to establish a name for his brother in Israel; he is not willing to perform the duty of a husband’s brother to me.’ Then the elders of his city shall summon him and speak to him.”

run continuously along the periphery of the camp. The thickness of the proposed border condition on each edge varies based on their program specificity and existing edge conditions. The proposed edge conditions are visualized to evolve over phases, starting with UNHCR “Overall Design Unit” (figure 4.4 & 4.5) as the base unit and evolve into “Regional Design Developments” based on community-driven place making (figure 4.7 & 4.8). The design considers the UNHCR to be a part of the growth of the camp as a third city-state.

The orientation of some programs towards the camp and others away from it, along with their location near the camp’s edge, indicates the varying levels of supervision from the UNHCR versus the camp’s residents. For instance, primary schools catering to younger children are expected to be under stricter UNHCR supervision. Therefore, they are situated facing away from the camp to minimize interference from local street leaders. In contrast, high schools serve older students who are presumed to be better equipped to fend for themselves and hence might have less direct UNHCR oversight (see figure 4.11).

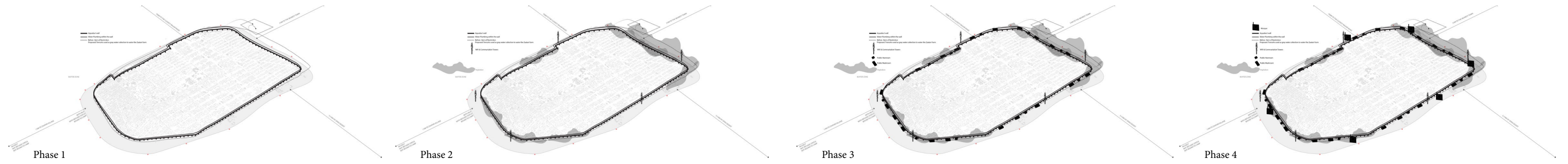
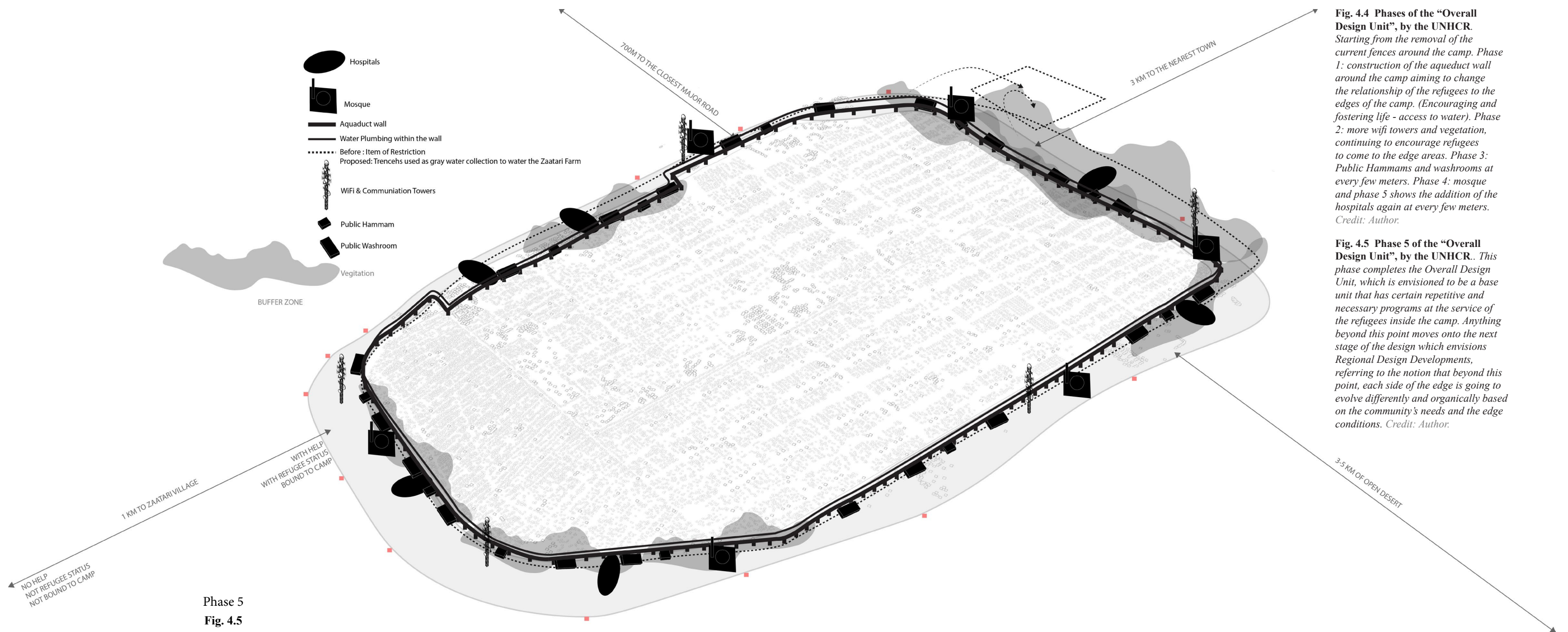
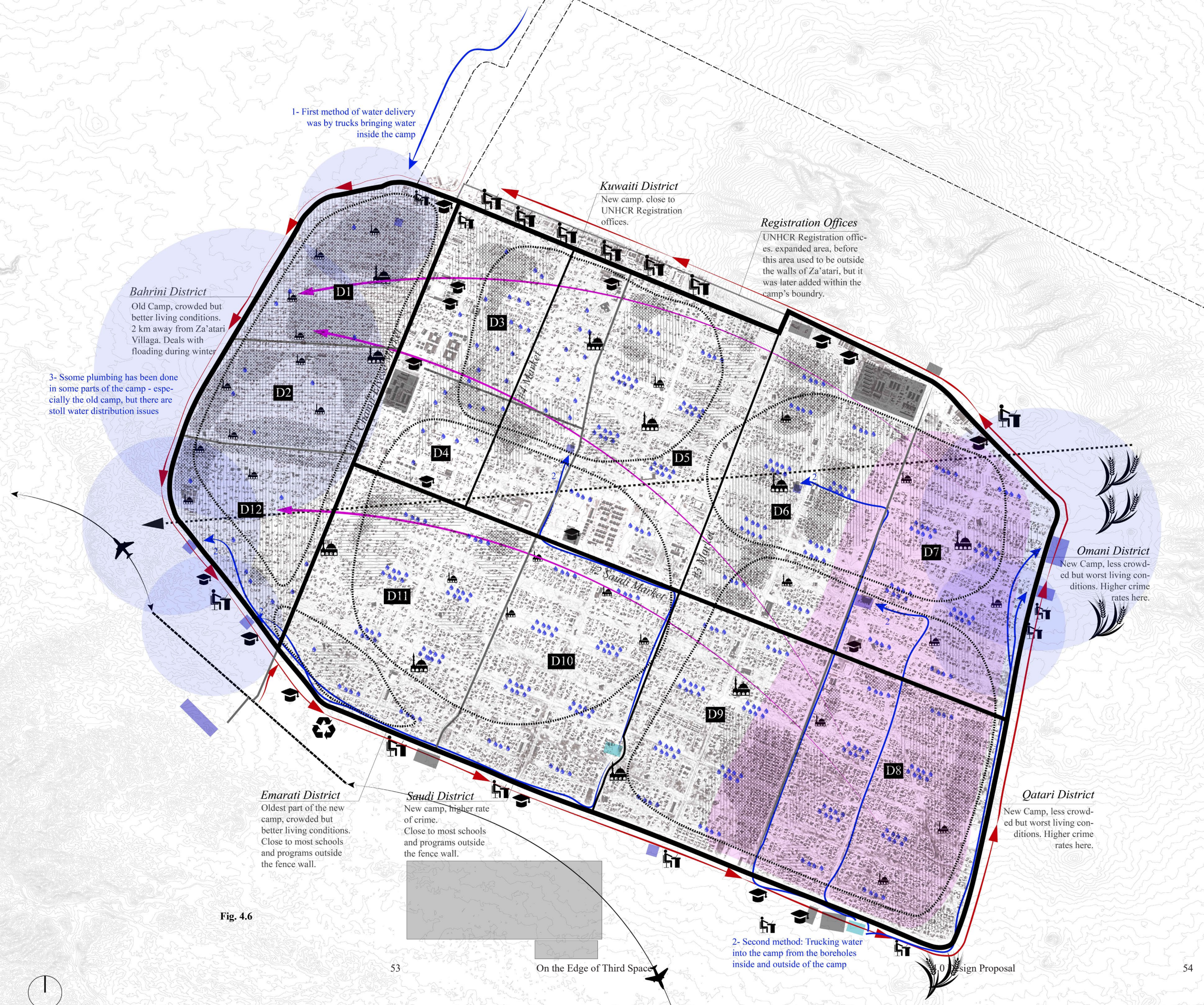


Fig. 4.4



**Fig. 4.4 Phases of the “Overall Design Unit”, by the UNHCR.** Starting from the removal of the current fences around the camp. Phase 1: construction of the aqueduct wall around the camp aiming to change the relationship of the refugees to the edges of the camp. (Encouraging and fostering life - access to water). Phase 2: more wifi towers and vegetation, continuing to encourage refugees to come to the edge areas. Phase 3: Public Hammams and washrooms at every few meters. Phase 4: mosque and phase 5 shows the addition of the hospitals again at every few meters. Credit: Author.

**Fig. 4.5 Phase 5 of the “Overall Design Unit”, by the UNHCR.** This phase completes the Overall Design Unit, which is envisioned to be a base unit that has certain repetitive and necessary programs at the service of the refugees inside the camp. Anything beyond this point moves onto the next stage of the design which envisions Regional Design Developments, referring to the notion that beyond this point, each side of the edge is going to evolve differently and organically based on the community’s needs and the edge conditions. Credit: Author.



1- First method of water delivery was by trucks bringing water inside the camp

**Kuwaiti District**  
New camp, close to UNHCR Registration offices.

**Registration Offices**  
UNHCR Registration offices, expanded area, before this area used to be outside the walls of Za'atari, but it was later added within the camp's boundary.

**Bahri District**  
Old Camp, crowded but better living conditions. 2 km away from Za'atari Villaga. Deals with flooding during winter

3- Some plumbing has been done in some parts of the camp - especially the old camp, but there are still water distribution issues

**Omani District**  
New Camp, less crowded but worst living conditions. Higher crime rates here.

**Emarati District**  
Oldest part of the new camp, crowded but better living conditions. Close to most schools and programs outside the fence wall.

**Saudi District**  
New camp, higher rate of crime. Close to most schools and programs outside the fence wall.

**Qatari District**  
New Camp, less crowded but worst living conditions. Higher crime rates here.

2- Second method: Trucking water into the camp from the boreholes inside and outside of the camp

Fig. 4.6 Existing conditions inside Za'atari camp. Credit: Author.

**Drawing Legend**

- Agriculture
- Mosque
- Schools and youth centers
- Neighbourhood water tanks
- Population density, the denser the pattern the higher the population
- plumbing
- Desire for internal migration
- High crime area
- Boreholes for water
- Water Facilities
- Distribution centers
- Solar Panels
- UNHCR road
- Main Jordanian Road
- Airplane runway
- UN recognized districts
- Informal neighbourhoods
- Direction of water runoff

Fig. 4.6

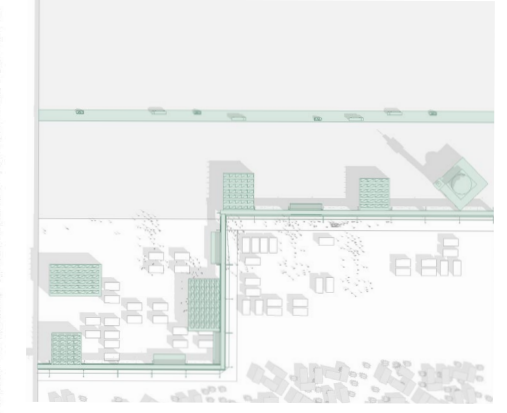


Fig. 4.7

1. West Wall Proposal



2. North Wall Proposal



3. East Wall Proposal

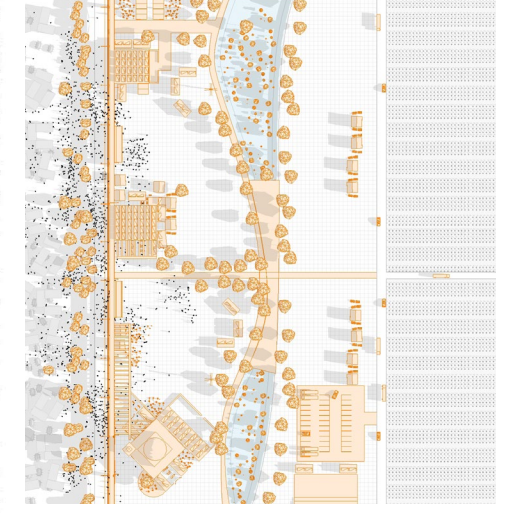


Fig. 4.8

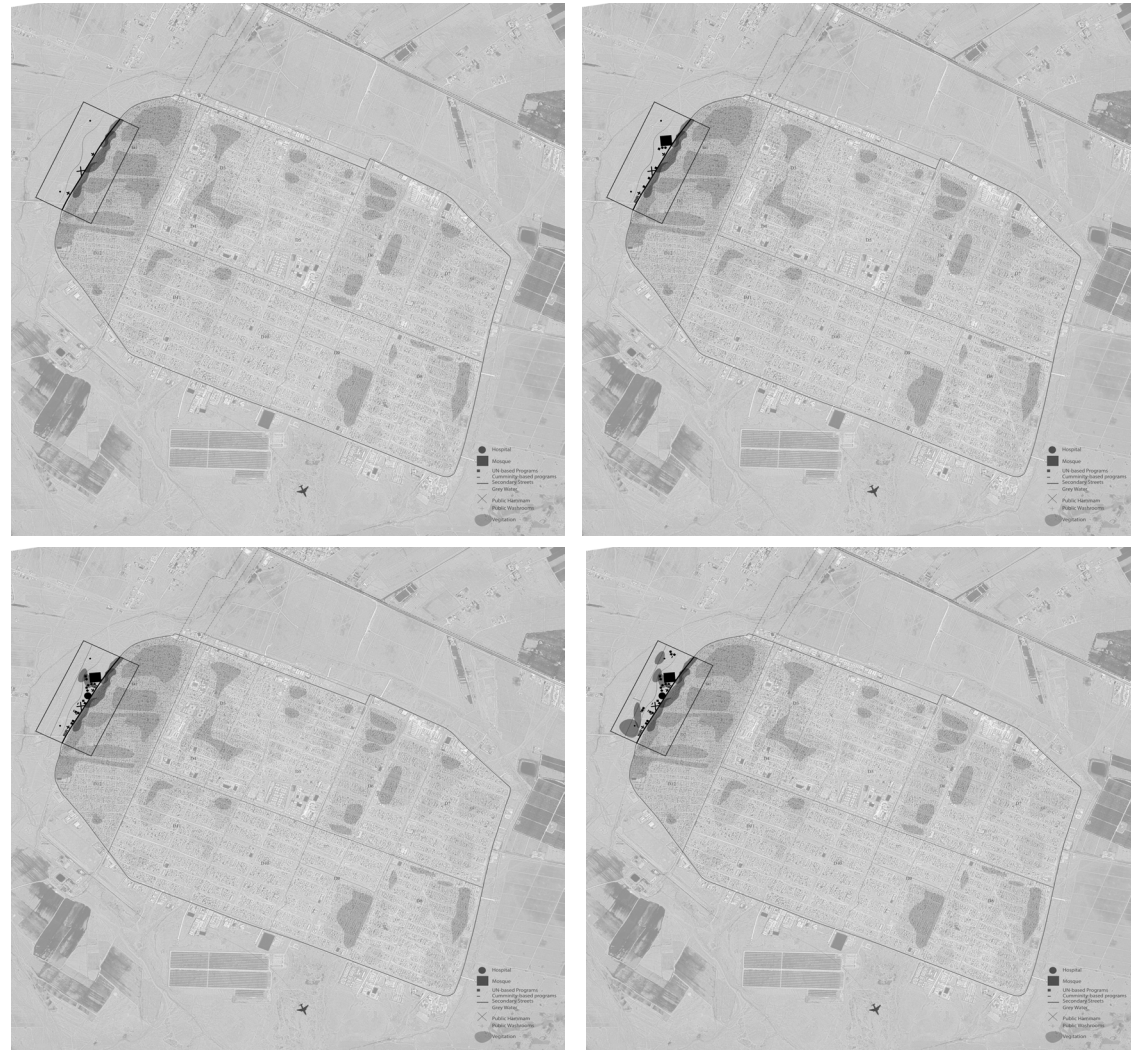


Fig. 4.9

#### 4.2 The Western Wall – Educational, Cultural and Connection

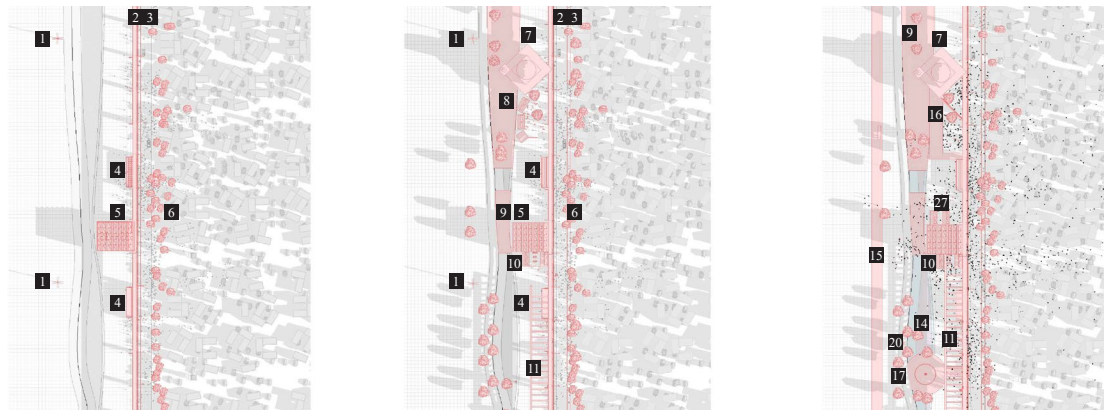
This edge is currently separated by an anti-vehicular trench separating Za'atari village from Za'atari camp (see Fig. 4.2). This area is the old camp, which mainly houses families with children in different ages. The fabric of the area closest to the edge consists of modified tents and caravan shelters mainly residential, without any community-oriented programs.

The proposal envisions this edge to be the educational and cultural hub, as it evolves through years. The program starts with phase 1 UNHCR design base units, including the aqueduct, public bathrooms, a public hammam and Wi-Fi towers that are built at every few meters. Phase 2 includes community-making programs such as a mosque as well as a communal kitchen using UNHCR caravans. Phase 3 is about encouraging participation in place-making by the refugees using community-based initiatives such as makeshift classes close to the mosque, pop-up markets closer to the edge of the camp, and food vendors that cater to residents of the camp as well as Jordanian citizens coming to the edge of the camp from urban areas. Phase 4 focuses on the connection of the camp to the outside world by a secondary road and a parking space, as well as drifting into the organic growth and self-organization of this edge while moving closer to the notion of a third city state and a place of heightened activity, exchange and communication.

Fig. 4.7 Moments on the Wall. West, north, east edge to run the design experiment on. This stage take place after "Overall Design Unit" and is referred to as "Regional Design Development" Colour codes indicate which side of the camp they are. Credit: Author.

Fig. 4.8 Close-up Moments on the Wall. The colour coded drawings indicating west as pink, north as green, east as yellow. Credit: Author.

Fig. 4.9 West wall. Program progress through different phases. Top left is phase 1, top right is phase 2, bottom left is phase 3, bottom right in phase 4. Credit: Created by Author, map taken from ArcGIS Pro software.



Phase 1 - UNHCR-Initiated programs Phase 2 - Refugee Community-Initiated programs Phase 3 - Refugee Community-Initiated programs

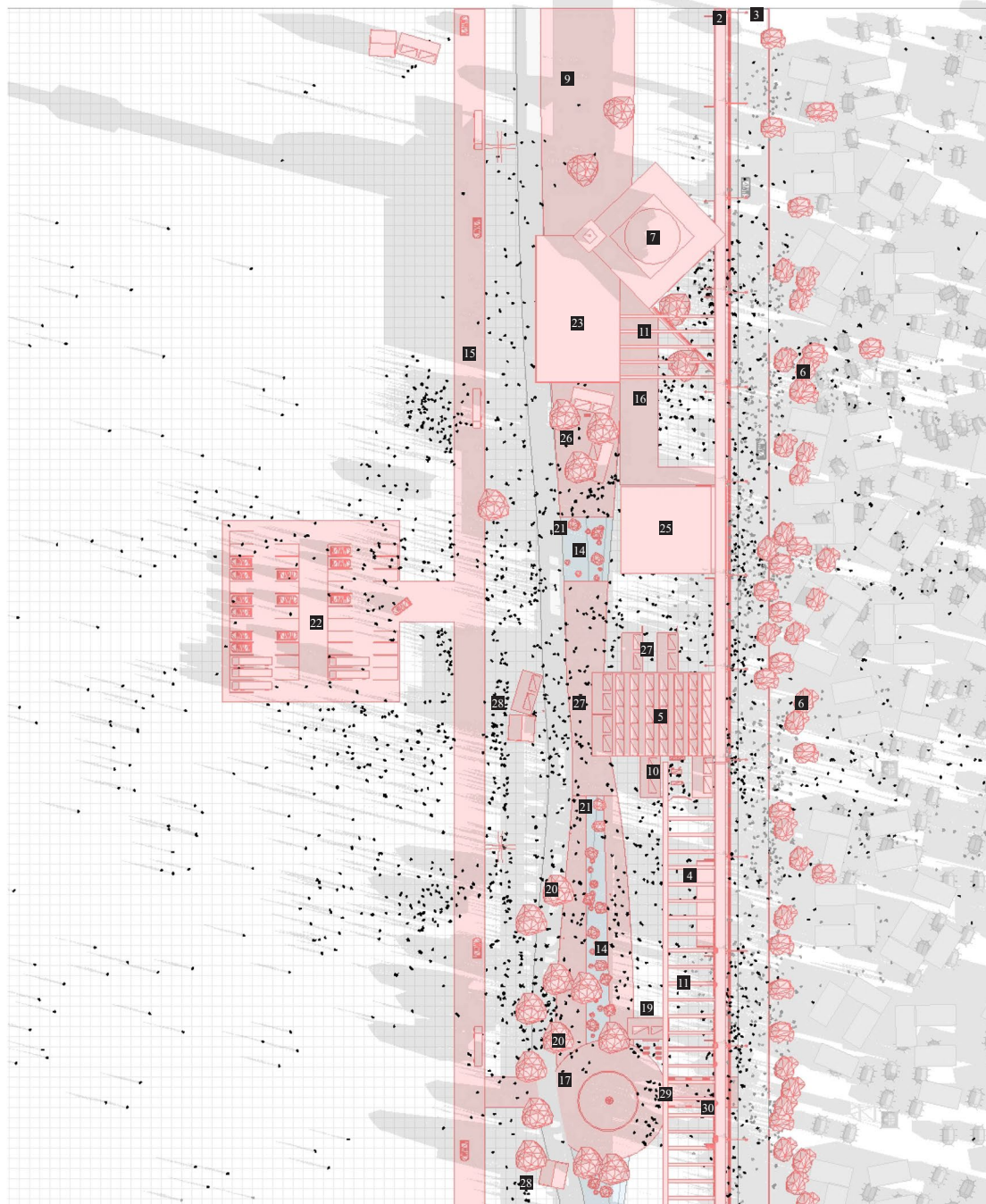


Fig. 4.10

Phase 4 - Both Refugee and the bigger Community-Initiated programs

## Drawing Legend

### UN-Initiated Programs

1. Wifi Tower
2. Aqueduct Wall, carrying water throughout the camp
3. Street Lights on the either side of the aqueduct wall
4. Public Washrooms
5. Public Hammam
6. Planting Trees as part of UNHCR's plan
15. Secondary Road for Jordanians to come to the border condition for the bazaars

### Community-Initiated Programs

7. Mosque
8. Make-shift classes near the mosque, access from inside the camp (opening faces the camp)
9. Filled in areas of the trench to allow passage
10. Communal Kitchen, using caravans
11. Trellis to provide shading, using already built structures to hold the material for this shading structure
12. More trees
13. Make-shift bazaars using caravans
14. Grey water collection in the existing trench
16. Makeshift classes near the mosque become solidified with permanent material.
17. Public gathering area
19. Food Vendors operating from caravans
20. More trees
21. More planting in the trench that gets filled with grey water
22. Public Parking for Jordanians who arrive by car for the bazaar
23. Educational Center, access from outside of the camp (opening of the school faces away from the camp) - UN's supervision is stronger than schools closer and facing the camp.
25. Hospital/clinic
26. Public space for refugees to use
27. More Bazaars facing away from the camp indicating that they don't just sell to refugees in the camp but to Jordanians too
28. More public space for refugees to use
29. Public art made by refugees, using arches made in the traditional way. Resembling elements that look like Syrian public spaces (Please also see drawings on the next page)
30. Creeper plants grow on top of the trellis creating more shading (Please also see drawings on the next page).

Fig. 4.10 Progress of the West Wall Over Time. Phase 1 is the Overall Design Unit. Phase 2 - 4 are Regional Design Development for community based place making unique to the west wall. On top there are the first 3 phases and the main image is phase 4. Credit: Author.

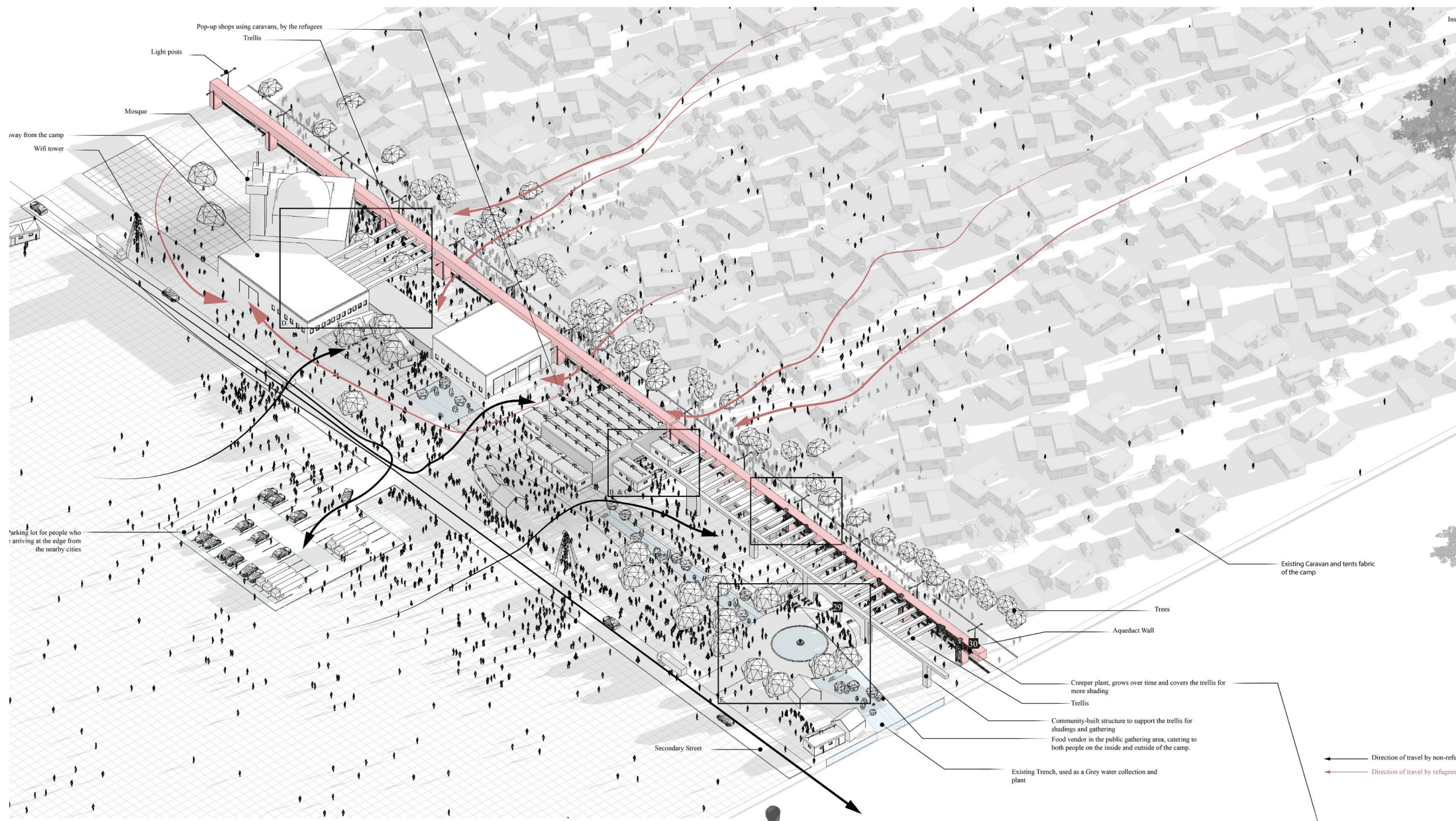
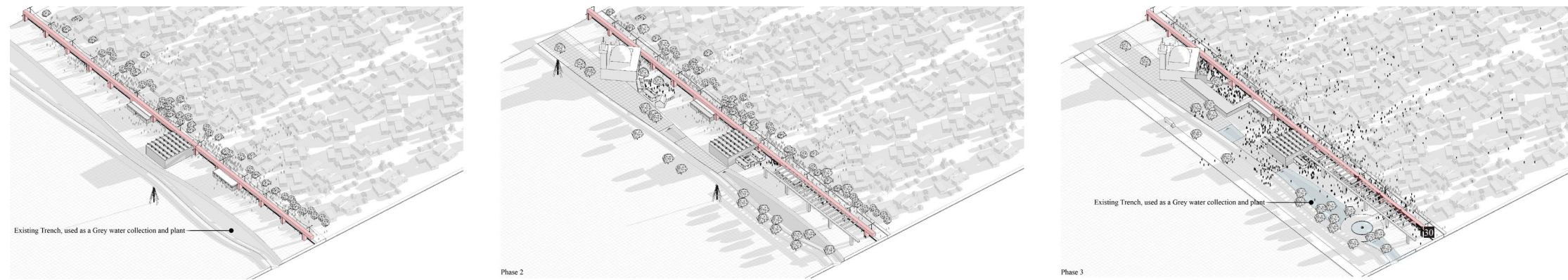


Fig. 4.11

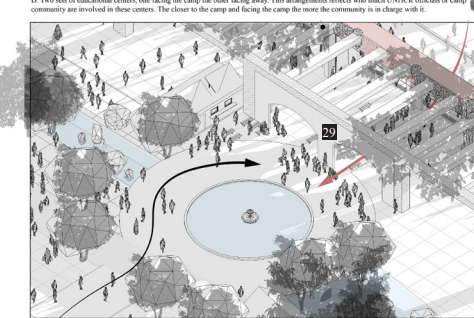
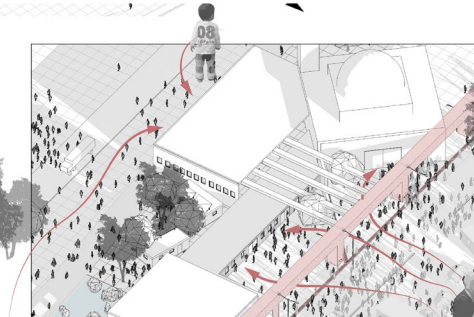
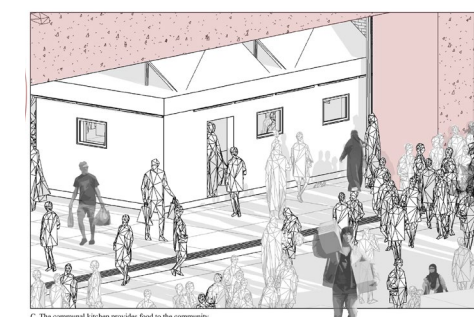
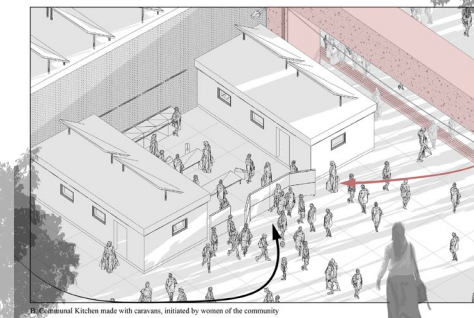
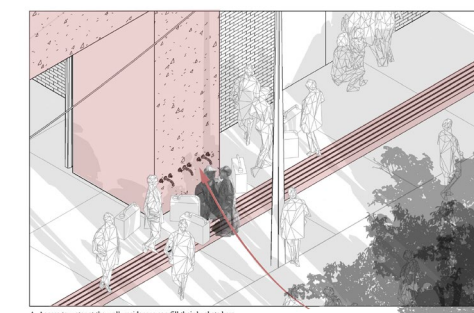
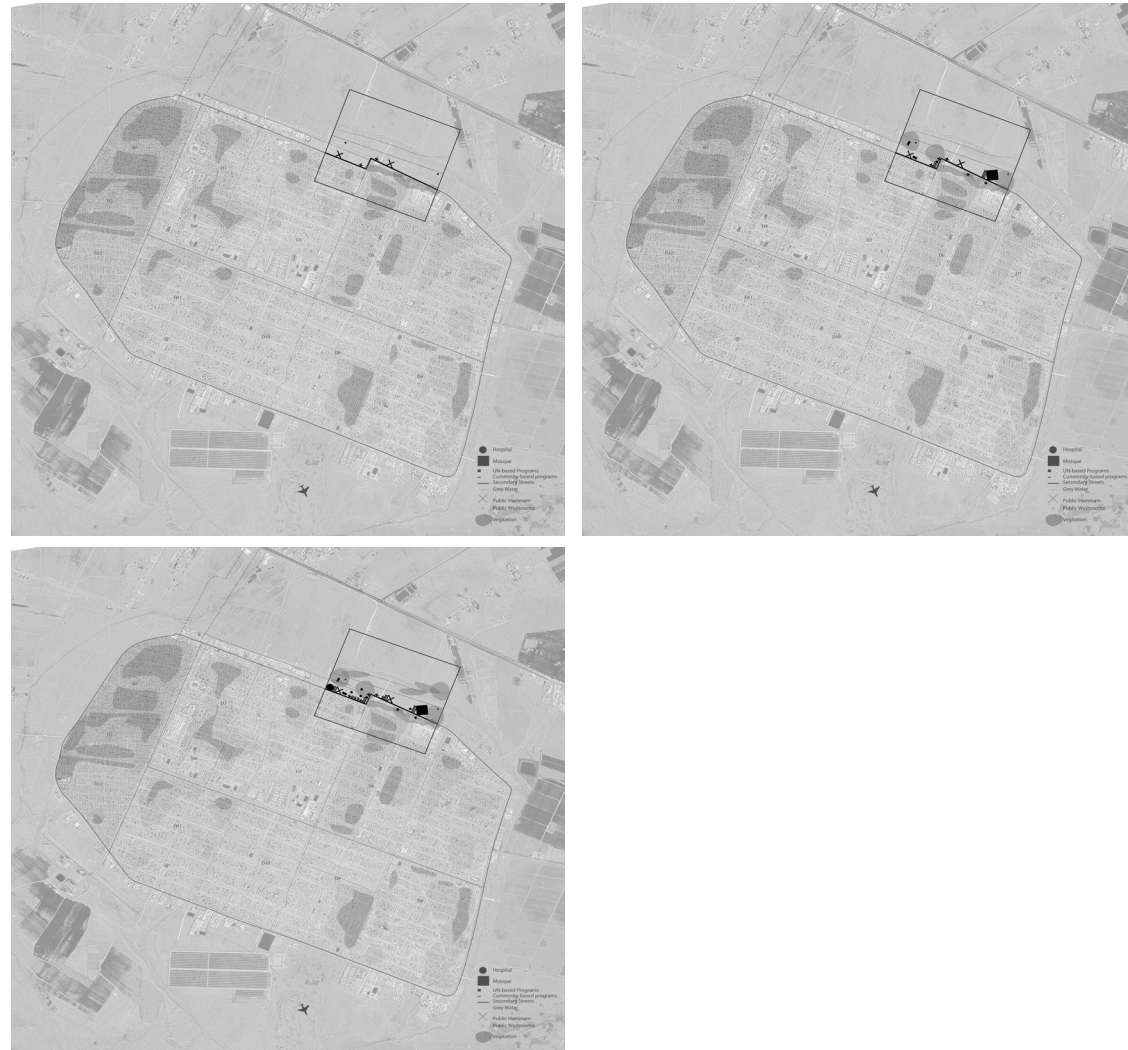


Fig. 4.12

**Fig. 4.11 Western Edge of the Camp.** Shows progression of the edge condition and its thickening over time in 4 phases. Starts from top left with phase 1 and base programs created by UNHCR (Overall Design Unit). Moving one image over to phase 2 with more programs that are initiated by the refugees. Moving one more image over to the right at phase 3, there is more programs as well as more population coming from inside the camp to the edge. There is also more population approaching the edge condition from outside of the camp. The main image is Phase 4, the pink arrows are the movement of refugees from inside the camp, black arrows are non-refugees (Jordanians). *Credit: Author.*

**Fig. 4.12 West wall Vignettes.** Top image shows access to water at the wall, residences are seen to fill their buckets here. Second Image moving down, shows a communal kitchen made with caravans, initiated by women of the community. Third image down shows the side of the communal kitchen that is facing the camp, women are seen to make food here and sell it to the people of the camp. Next image down shows two sets of educational centers. One is facing the camp and the other faces away. This arrangement reflects how much UNHCR officials or camp community are involved in these centers. The closer to the camp and facing the camp the more the community of the camp is in charge of the facility and vice versa. Last image shows public gathering space with room for refugees to create art around the aqueduct. *Credit: Author.*



**Fig 4.13**

### 4.3 The Northern Wall – New Arrivals

Currently, in the Za’atari camp, the north wall marks the entrance to the camp, and functions as the gate where judgment takes place; in the form of interviews conducted by UNHCR officers of the new arrivals in order to grant them entrance to the camp. The current program distribution along the northern border of the camp consists of a registration center for new arrivals as well as for those seeking to renew their refugee status, two warehouses, a hospital an innovation center and youth training centers. Therefore, this edge condition is envisioned to be thinner than the edges on the west and east of the camp.

In the proposal, the registration area is envisioned as an arrival point located on the outer edge of the wall, where the displaced population has access to the public washroom, food vendors, public hammams, a hospital and a mosque facing away from the camp while they wait to be recorded with UNHCR before being granted entrance to the camp. Almost like a lobby/hotel area. These edges are well-lit as well for safety.

**Fig. 4.13 North Wall.** Program progress through different phases. Top left is phase 1, top right is phase 2, bottom left is phase 3. *Credit: Created by Author; map taken from ArcGIS Pro software.*



## Drawing Legend

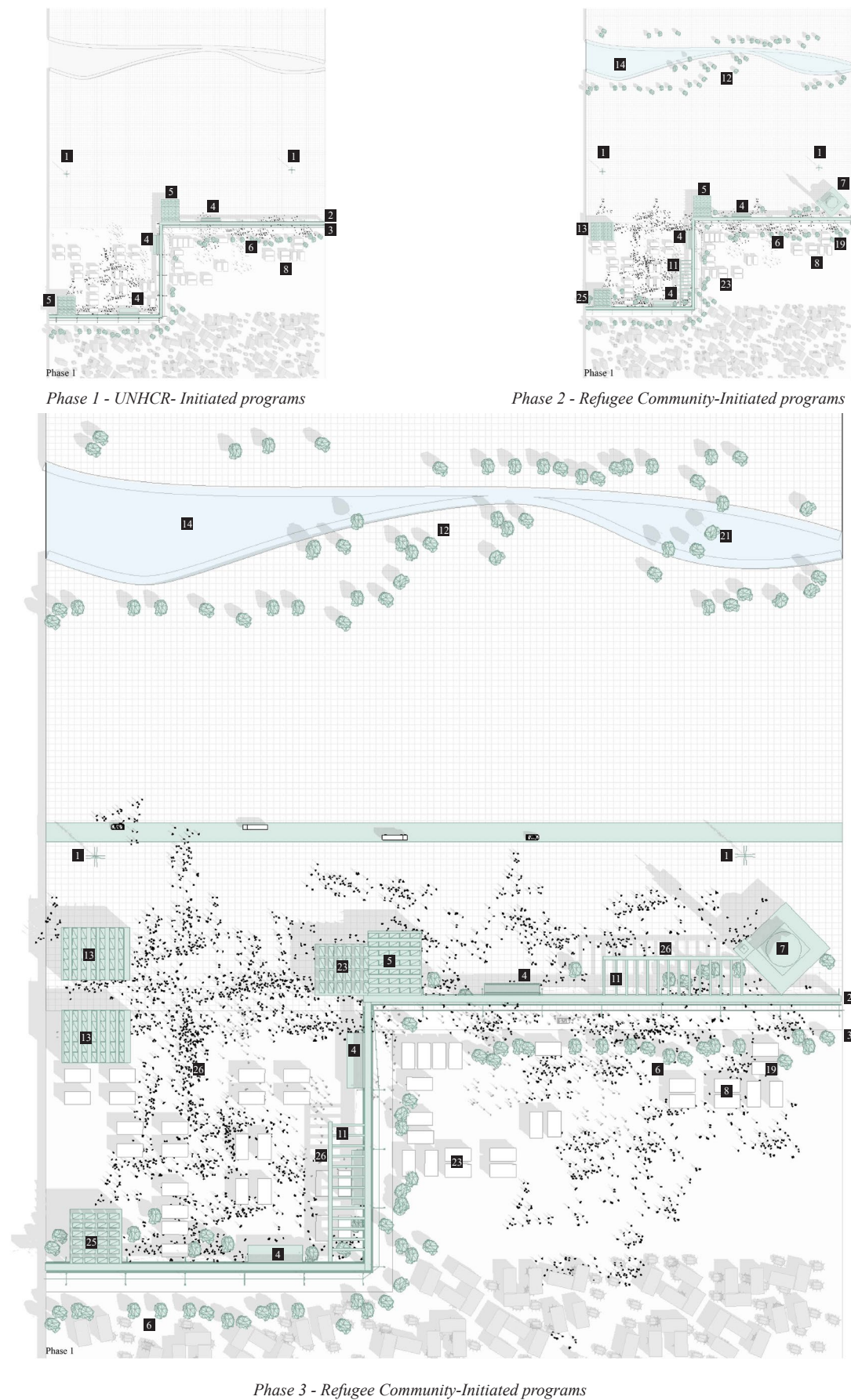
### UN-Initiated Programs

1. Wifi Tower
2. Aqueduct Wall, carrying water throughout the camp
3. Street Lights on the either side of the aqueduct wall
4. Public Washrooms
5. Public Hammam
6. Planting Trees as part of UNHCR's plan
15. Secondary Road for Jordanians to come to the border condition for the bazaars

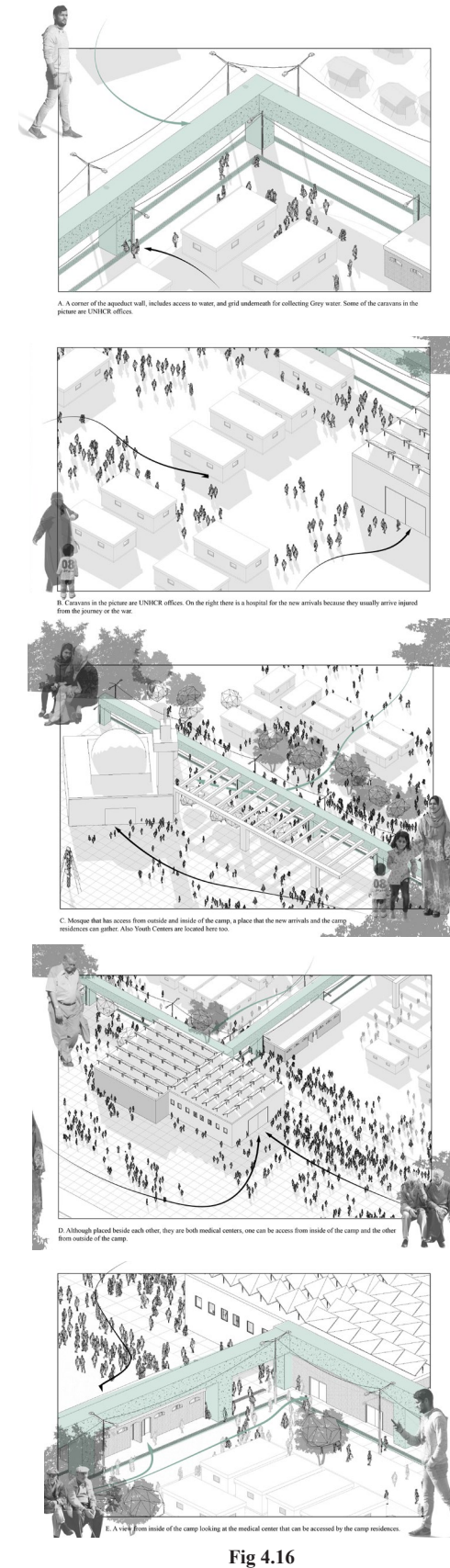
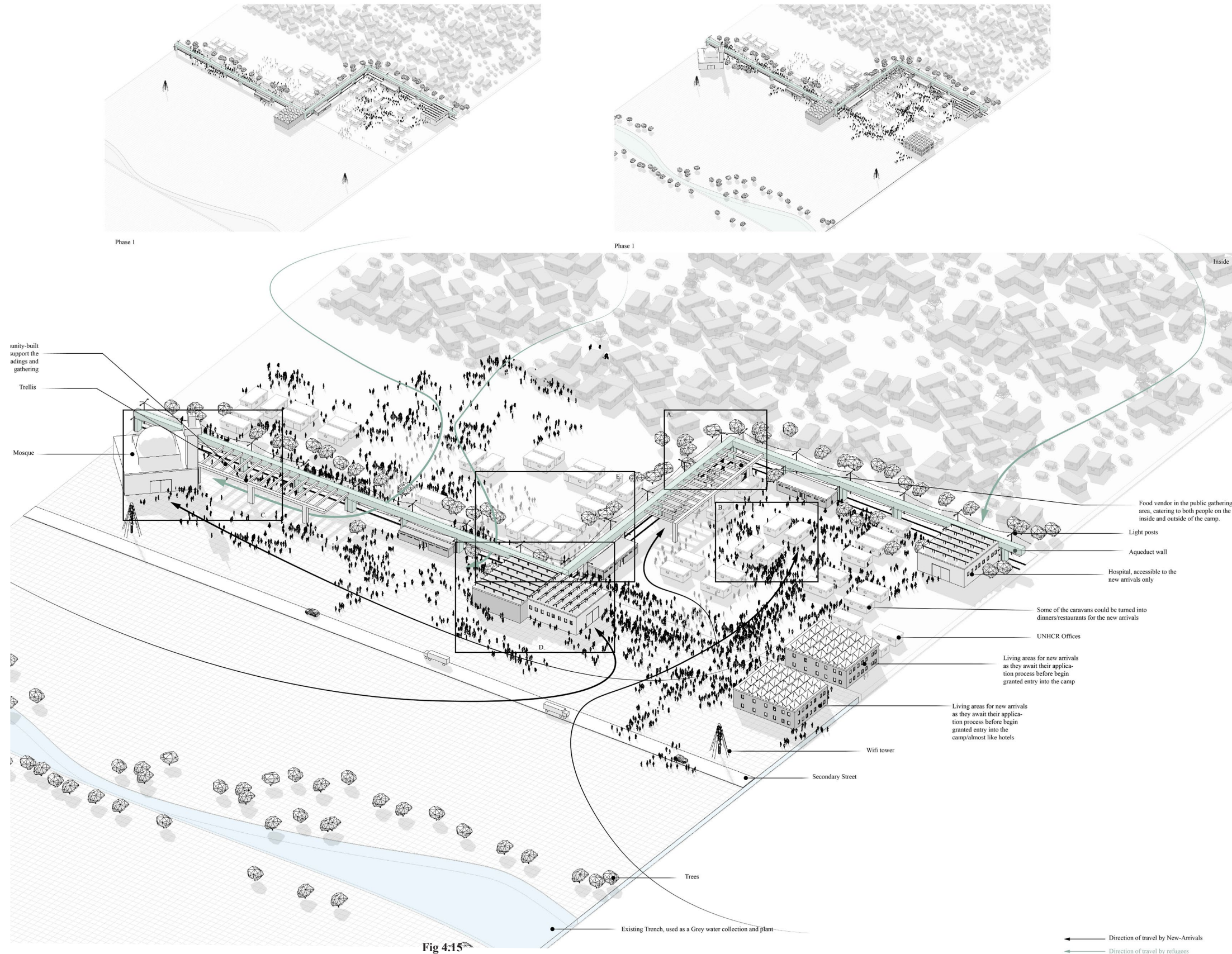
### Community-Initiated Programs

7. Mosque
8. Make-shift classes near the mosque, access from inside the camp (opening faces the camp)
11. Trellis to provide shading, using already built structures to hold the material for this shading structure
12. More trees
13. Living spaces for the new arrivals, while they wait to receive permission to enter the camp.
14. Grey water collection in the existing trench
19. Food Vendors operating from caravans
21. More planting in the trench that gets filled with grey water
23. Educational Center, access from outside of the camp (opening of the school faces away from the camp) - UN's supervision is stronger than schools closer and facing the camp.
25. Hospital/clinic
26. Public space for refugees to use

**Fig. 4.14 Progress of the North Wall Over Time.** Phase 1 is the Overall Design Unit. Phase 2 - 3 are Regional Design Development for community based place making unique to the north wall. On top there are the first 2 phases and the main image is phase 3. *Credit: Author.*



**Fig 4.14**



**Fig. 4.15 Northern edge of the camp,** shows progression of the edge condition and its thickening over time in 3 phases. Starts from top left with phase 1 and base programs created by UNHCR (Overall Design Unit). Moving one image over to phase 2 with more programs that are initiated by the refugees and more spaces for the new arrivals. Moving one more image over to the right at phase 3, there is more programs as well as more population coming from inside the camp to the edge, as well as a bigger population approaching the edge condition from outside of the camp. Green arrow is the movement of the refugees from inside the camp and the black is the direction of movement of the new arrivals outside of the camp. *Credit: Author.*

**Fig. 4.16 North wall Vignettes.** Top image shows a corner of the aqueduct wall, includes access to water, and grid underneath for collecting Grey water. Some of the caravans in the picture are UNHCR offices. Second Image moving down, Caravans in the picture are UNHCR offices. On the right there is a hospital for the new arrivals because they usually arrive injured from the journey or the war. Third image down Mosque that has access from outside and inside of the camp, a place that the new arrivals and the camp residences can gather. Also Youth Centers are located here too. Next image down, although placed beside each other, they are both medical centers, one can be access from inside of the camp and the other from outside of the camp. Last image shows A view from inside of the camp looking at the medical center that can be accessed by the camp residences. *Credit: Author.*

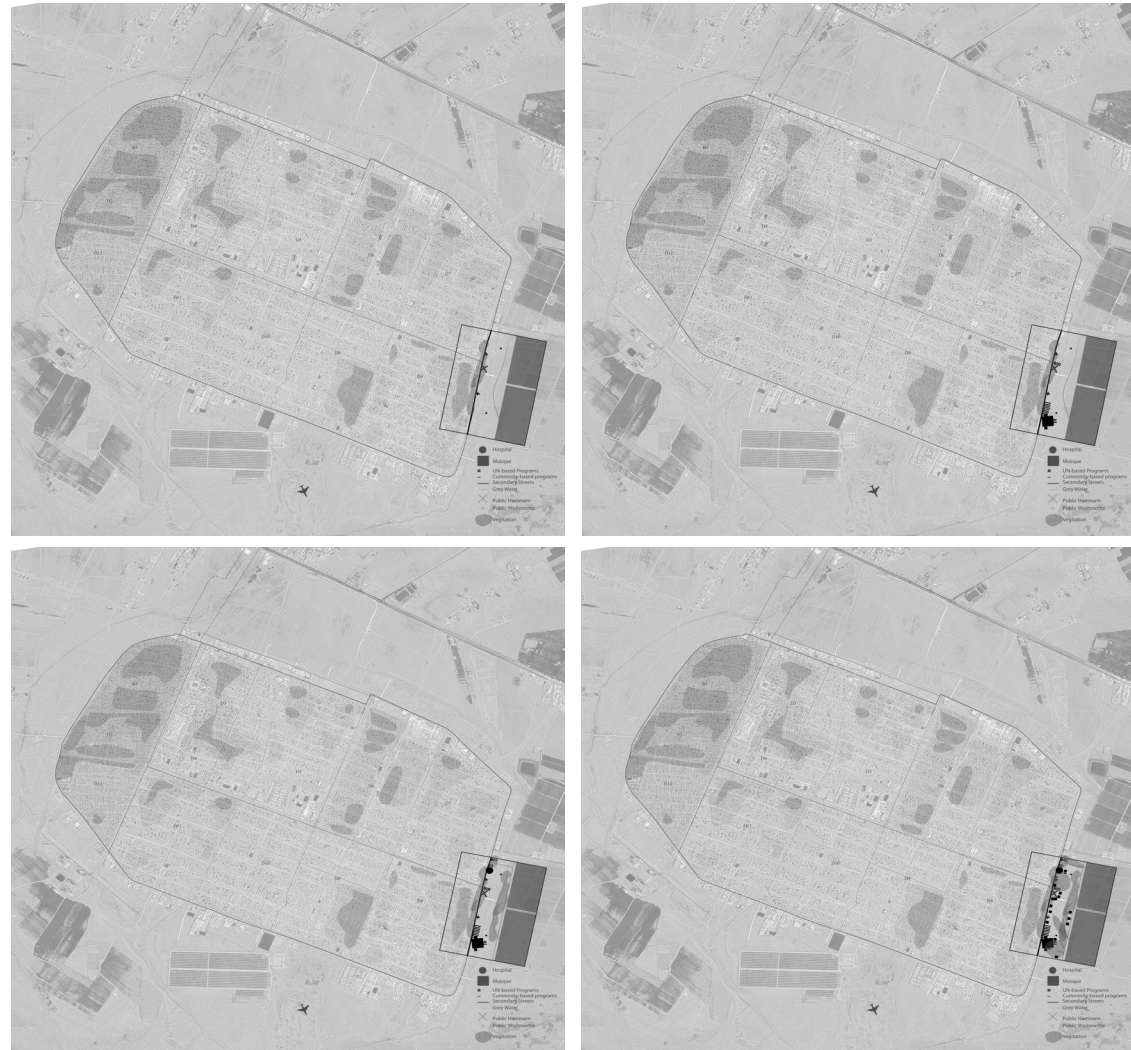


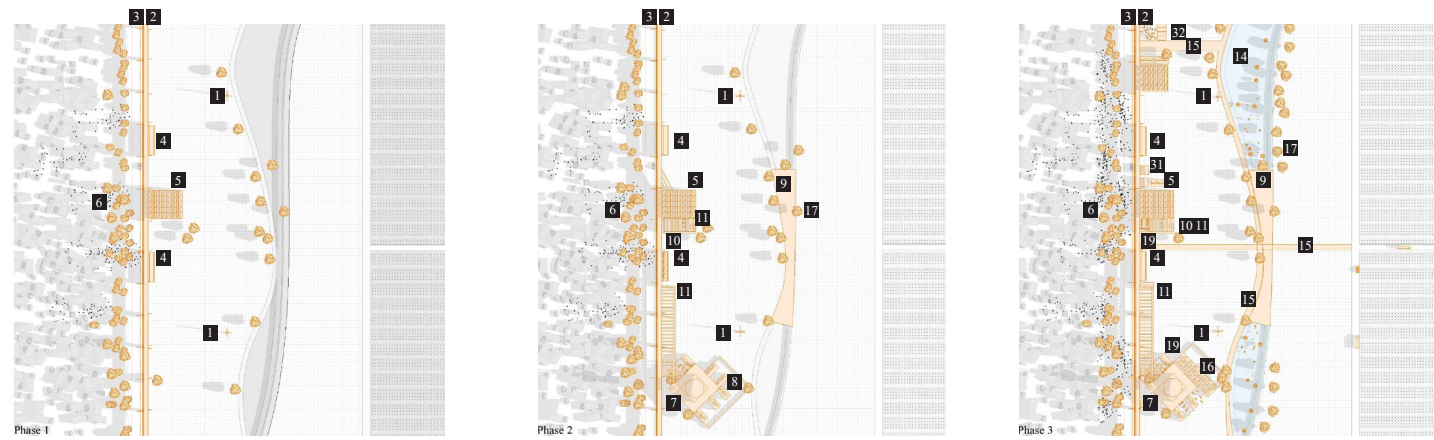
Fig 4.17

#### 4.4 The Eastern Wall - Agricultural and Prosperity

This edge is currently very similar to the western edge separated by an antivehicular trench. However, this edge has farming lands and agricultural development which is incorporated in the design proposal. The fabric of the city closest to the edge consists of modified tents and caravan shelters mainly residential, without any community-oriented programs. However, the rate of crime is higher in this edge as more single men are housed in these districts. As mentioned in the previous chapter, families who are assigned caravans in this side of the camp aspired to one day move to the old camp on the west which is more family-oriented.

The proposal envisions this edge to be the agricultural, food-oriented and income-generating edge of the camp throughout the years to come. Like the rest of the wall around the entire camp, the program starts with phase 1 UNHCR base units, including the aqueduct, public bathrooms, a public hammam and Wi-Fi towers that are built every few meters. Phase 2 includes community-making programs such as a mosque as well as a communal kitchen using UNHCR caravans and make-shift classes. These smaller programs are envisioned to develop more cautiously and closely to the mosque clustered together rather than more sporadically, unlike the western wall, due to high rates of crime on this side of the camp. Phase 3 is about encouraging participation in place-making by the refugees using community-based initiatives such as the development of community gardens, pop-up farmers' markets bringing fresh produce to the inhabitants of the camp closer to the edge of the camp, and food vendors that cater to residents of the camp as well as Jordanian citizens coming to the edge of the camp from urban areas. also make-shift classes develop into permanent classes close to the mosque. Phase 4 focuses on the connection of the camp to the outside world by a secondary road and a parking space, as well as more farmer markets for residents inside and citizens outside of the camp, as a way of participating in the bigger economy of Jordan, this phase envisions a drift into the organic growth and self-organization of this edge while moving closer to the notion of a third city state and a place of heightened activity, exchange, and communication.

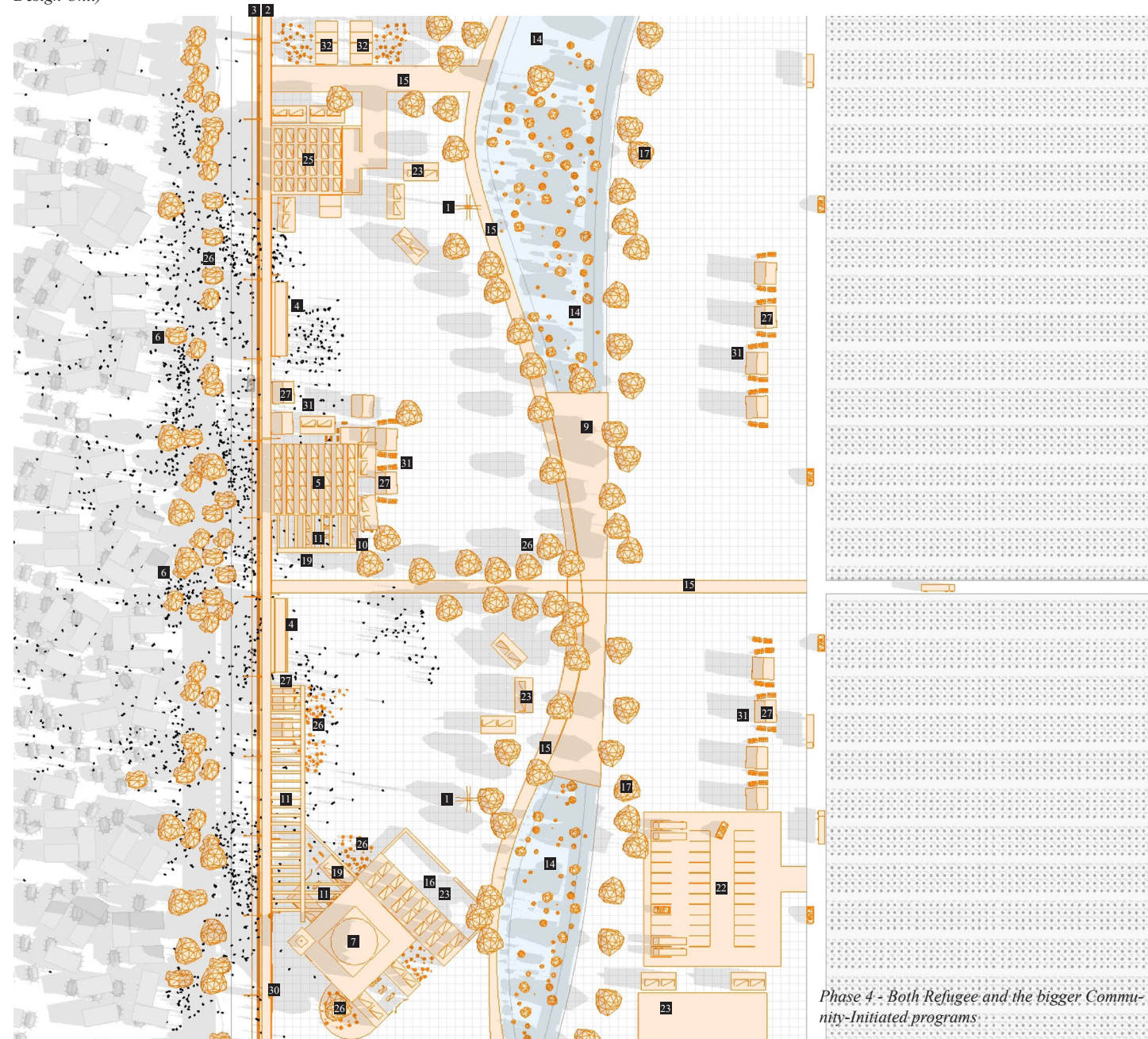
Fig. 4.17 East Wall. Program progress through different phases. Top left is phase 1, top right is phase 2, bottom left is phase 3, bottom right is phase 4. Credit: Created by Author, map taken from ArcGIS Pro software.



Phase 1 - UNHCR- Initiated programs (overall Design Unit)

Phase 2 - Refugee Community-Initiated programs

Phase 3 - Refugee Community-Initiated programs



Phase 4 - Both Refugee and the bigger Community-Initiated programs

Fig 4.18

## Drawing Legend

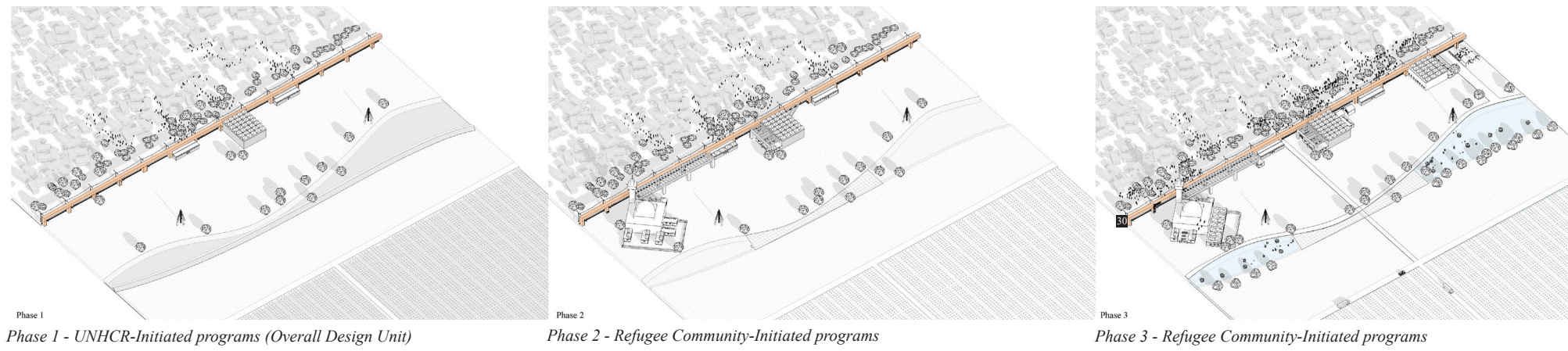
### UN-Initiated Programs

1. Wifi Tower
2. Aqueduct Wall, carrying water throughout the camp
3. Street Lights on the either side of the aqueduct wall
4. Public Washrooms
5. Public Hammam
6. Planting Trees as part of UNHCR's plan
15. Secondary Road for Jordanians to come to the border condition for the bazaars

### Community-Initiated Programs

7. Mosque
8. Make-shift classes near the mosque, access from inside the camp (opening faces the camp)
9. Filled in areas of the trench to allow passage
10. Communal Kitchen, using caravans
11. Trellis to provide shading, using already built structures to hold the material for this shading structure
12. More trees
13. Make-shift bazaars using caravans
14. Grey water collection in the existing trench
16. Makeshift classes near the mosque become solidified with permanent material.
17. Public gathering area
19. Food Vendors operating from caravans
22. Public Parking for Jordanians who arrive by car for the bazaar
23. Educational Center, access from outside of the camp (opening of the school faces away from the camp) - UN's supervision is stronger than schools closer and facing the camp.
25. Hospital/clinic
26. Public space for refugees to use
27. More Bazaars facing away from the camp indicating that they don't just sell to refugees in the camp but to Jordanians too
30. Creeper plants grow on top of the trellis creating more shading (Please also see drawings on the next page).
31. Farmer's Market
32. Communal garden for growing herbs and other plants.

**Fig. 4.18 Progress of the East Wall Over Time.** Phase 1 is the Overall Design Unit. Phase 2 - 4 are Regional Design Development for community based development unique to the East wall. On top there are the first 3 phases and the main image is phase 4. *Credit: Author.*



Phase 1 - UNHCR-Initiated programs (Overall Design Unit)

Phase 2 - Refugee Community-Initiated programs

Phase 3 - Refugee Community-Initiated programs

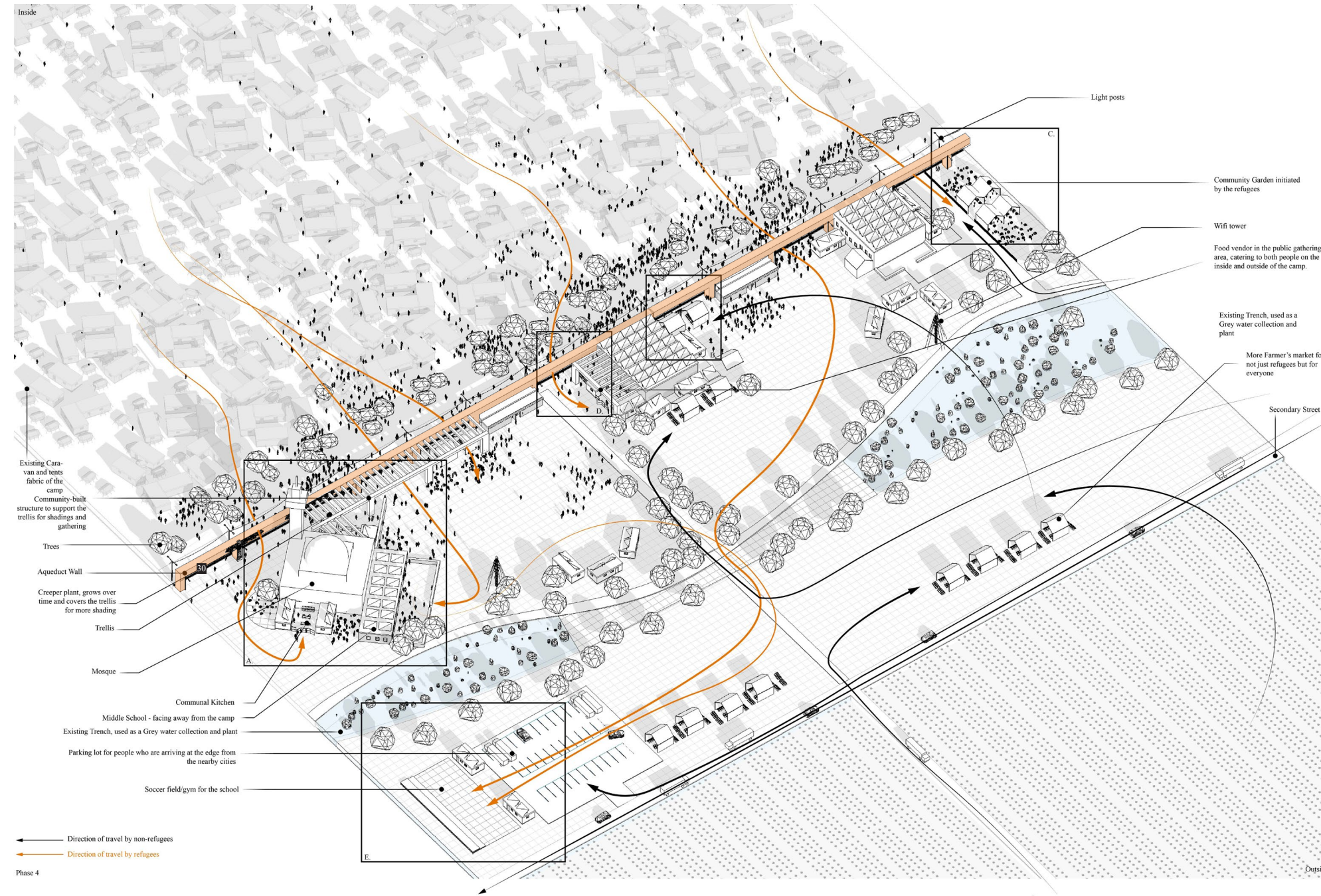
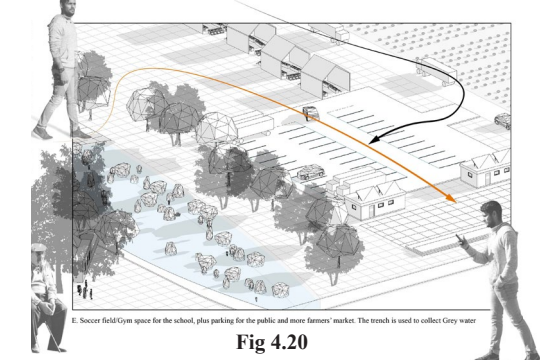
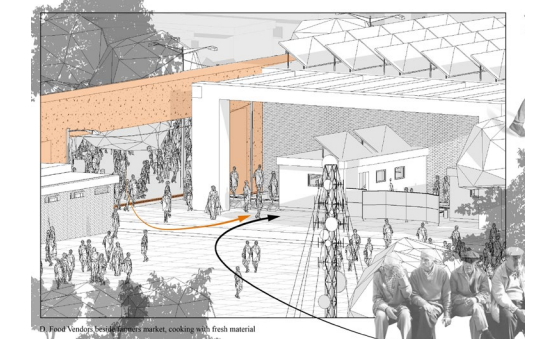
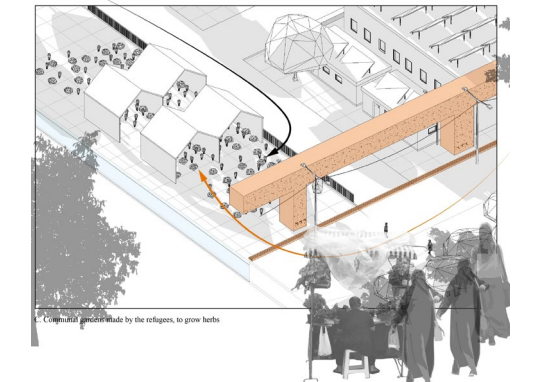
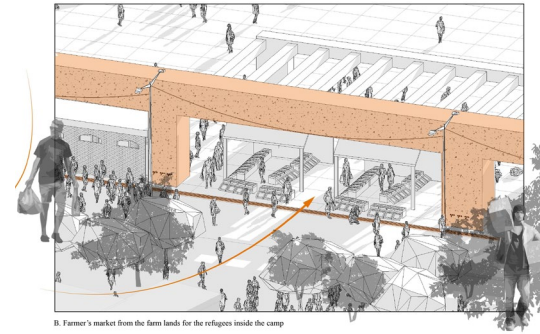
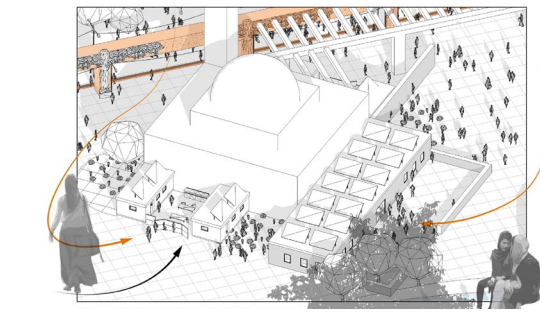


Fig 4.19



**Fig. 4.19 Eastern Edge of the Camp.** Shows progression of the edge condition and its thickening over time in 4 phases. Starts from top left with phase 1 and base programs created by UNHCR (Overall Design Unit). Moving one image over to phase 2 with more programs that are initiated by the refugees. Moving one more image over to the right at phase 3, there is more programs as well as more population coming from inside the camp to the edge. Phase 4 is the main image, there is more population approaching the edge condition from outside of the camp. Orange arrows are the movement of refugees from inside the camp, black arrows are non-refugees (Jordanians). *Credit: Author.*

**Fig. 4.20 East wall Vignettes.** Top image shows a Mosque and the classrooms and community kitchen in very close proximity to the mosque due to safety issues. Second Image moving down, shows a farmer's market from the farm lands for the refugees inside the camp. Third image down shows communal gardens made by the refugees, to grow herbs. Next image down shows food Vendors beside farmers market, cooking with fresh material. Last image shows Soccer field/Gym space for the school, plus parking for the public and more farmers' market. The trench is used to collect Grey water. *Credit: Author.*

Fig 4.20

## Conclusion

The design concept envisions transforming refugee camps from mere places of confinement to hubs of opportunity. Rooted in the ‘third space’ theory, which emphasizes negotiation, communication, and the fostering of a hybrid culture, this design seeks to lay the foundation for resilience. Such resilience is especially crucial in the face of systemic barriers that often relegate refugees to mere existence.

Challenging conventional spatial and social norms, the design leads with a cautious role of the architect, not merely as a designer of static objects but as an organizer of a continuous place-making process. This cycle is rooted in the innate human journey from bare life to belonging and self-actualization (Bios).

[See Self-Actualization], [See Bios]

A key element in this vision is the removal of existing fences, blending the camp’s boundaries with the external world. This shift from a thin metal fence that functions as an element of the divide between the inside and outside to a thriving, porous space, allows for not just infrastructure and services but also facilitating the cycle of place-making.

Furthermore, the presence of the gray economy within the camp and its connections to other refugee camps in Jordan underscores a deep unity among the fragmented refugee communities in the host nation of Jordan. This gray economy serves as a pillar in the conceptualization of the Za’atari camp as a third city-state.

This design places emphasis on the camp evolving into a third city-state—a place thriving with local economies and societies, underpinned by architectural infrastructure and culturally resonant spaces. The potential of such a space is vast, from bolstering the economy to reducing the conventional waiting period for refugees before finding stability.

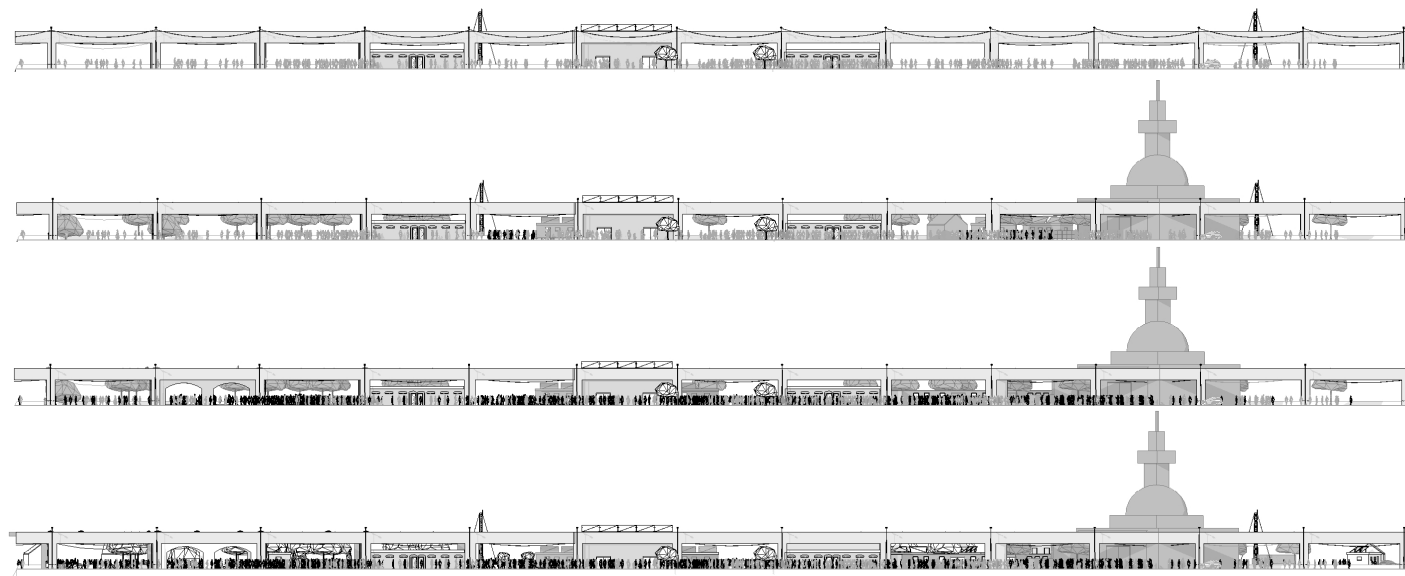


Fig 4.21

**Fig. 4.21 Progress Elevation of the Wall.** First elevation shows the wall in phase 1 with the “Overall Design Unit”. The wall is seen to have the main programs with many voids to be filled in between the pillars. As the design progresses to phase 4 moving downward in the image one can see the gradual filling of the voids by programs that are created as the border condition thickens. *Credit: Created by Author.*

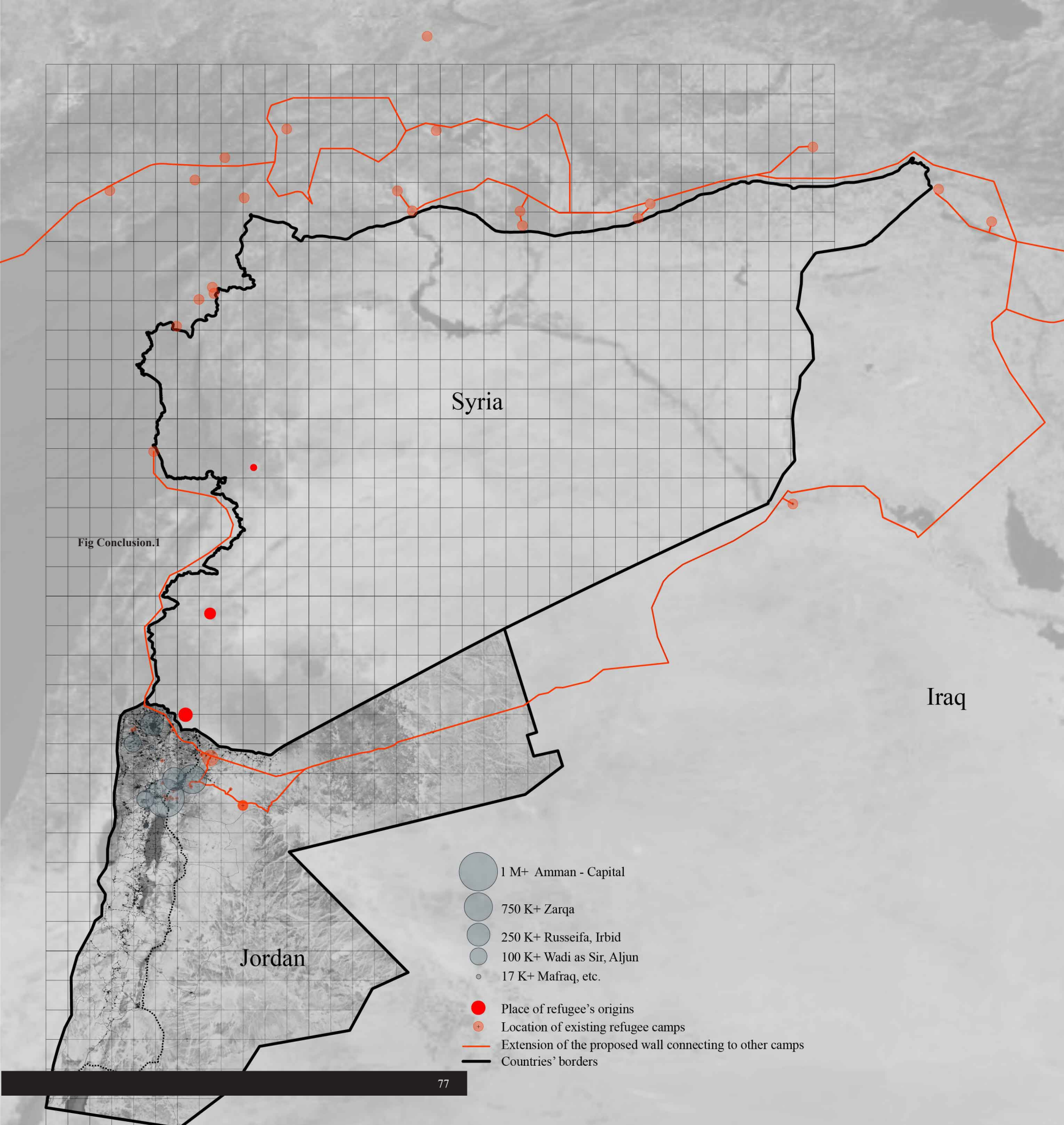


Fig Conclusion.1

## Conclusion

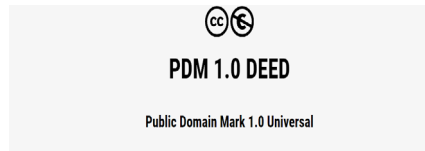
In this thesis, the interplay of modern jurisdictions, Foucault's biopower, and Agamben's theories on Zoe and Bios were explored to understand types of life and spaces that life is experienced by refugees. Through examining both tangible barriers, like Foucault's Heterotopias, and intangible ones, including Bhabha's Third Space as well as digital surveillance, the study concludes that layers of exclusion persist both within and beyond refugee camp boundaries. As a result, the premise of the thesis explored forced displacement as a permanent event, and therefore the design concept focused on potentials within the camp space. Additionally, the essence of spatial agency was discussed in relation to citizenship practices. In a space where refugees bound by both tangible and intangible barriers transform the camp from confinements into sanctuaries of empowerment, community, and continuous spatial production as a tool of resilience. Camps like Za'atari offer the possibility to imagine a new type of state - a third city-state. On the edge, the transformation of the fence from a thin line of divide into a thickened boundary, where the civic realm becomes the manifestation of this transformation from camp to new urban condition is celebrated. In this new linear edge, the thickened infrastructure becomes an interface between the world inside and the world outside embodying Bhabha's idea of the third space of in-between where it experiences a heightened activity due to its hybrid nature leading to its thrive. The shift from a non-porous fence to a porous border to connect and to become a choice for those living in and around the camp rather than an encampment. One could speculate that the development of the edge condition would certainly affect the new spatial opportunities on he inside of the camp. Potential future research could further explore how the evolution of these edge conditions over time influences the internal dynamics of the camp. The thesis therefore suggests that refugee camps should be viewed as integral parts of the host countries, allowing room for them to contribute to the growth and progress of the host countries benefiting all parties involved. As the design phases progress over time, one can question what the end state of such boundary conditions and the transnational third state looks like. Inspired by the Dutch-American Sociologist Saskia Sassen's work on the global cities<sup>[1]</sup>, whom defines a transnational urban system as "a system wherein cities are crucial nodes for the international coordination and servicing of firms, markets, and even whole economies that are increasingly transnational" (Sassen, 2000:33) In an attempt to envision this thought, in terms of the design progress over the next 10-15 years, one can go deeper into the Utopian realm and envision the aqueduct wall and the boundary condition extending like arms to other Syrian refugee camps around the region connecting them into a third city nation, with each camp becoming a node of transnational hub of activities. This is shown in the map in Figure Conclusion.1. Collectively creating a network of camps and the idea of a distributed transnational state where citizens of this international nation could move from camp to camp - a new idea of nation and a new idea of citizenship.

<sup>[1]</sup>Saskia Sassen, "The Global City: Strategic Site/New Frontier," American Studies 41, no. 2/3 (2000): 79-95.

Fig. Conclusion.1 Map of Jordan and Syria showing the location of the refugee camps around the region, as well as the population of the cities in Jordan. Credit: Created by the Author, map taken from ArcGIS

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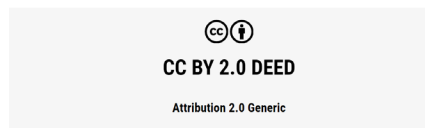
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Fig 0.1, 2.1, 2.6, 2.7, 4.1, Appendix A.1, A.2



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Fig 1.1, 3.3, 3.5



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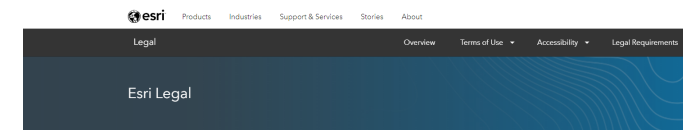
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Fig 3.1



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Fig 3.4, B.7

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Appendix B.2, B.5


Morris Rohof <morris@submarine.nl>  
To: Sepideh Rajabzadeh  
Cc: Stijn Calis <stijn.calis@submarine.nl>  
Hi Sepideh,

That's very nice to hear! Hope the thesis is coming along well.

Yes, you may freely use screenshots from our content as long as you credit Submarine Channel as the producer of Refugee Republic.

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Fig 3.12

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The camp and its evolution are best documented by the project called “Refugees Republic”, which includes sketches, video recorded, sound recorder, and many interviews with the refugees It offers a glimpse into the potential future of Za’atari, especially as it experiences less strict oversight compared to Zaatari

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## **Appendix A**

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This section includes an additional case study of a camp in Berlin at the Tempelhof airport.



Fig Appendix A.1



Fig Appendix A.2

## 24 Tempelhof camp, Berlin

Opening date: April 2015

Location: 3,841 km from Za'atari Camp, within Berlin City

Population: 7000 (2016)<sup>[1]</sup>

Main point: Complete lack of agency. Maximum top down planning, no permission for any bottom-up place making. Different communities of refugees are merged in this camp.

Shifting to a more stringent setting than Al-Azraq Camp, this camp is situated within the abandoned Tempelhof airport in Berlin. While most refugees hope to be able to return to their home countries, their second biggest hope is to be resettled in an EU country such as Germany, France, Canada, etc. This is, therefore, viewed as one of their final destinations before receiving their citizenship and stepping into the host country.

[See Citizenship]

The history and the context of this building make the decision to place refugees here controversial because the building airport was built by Nazis in the 1930s to support their war, it was meant to be the most modern airport in the world to serve the capital of the German Reich. After World War II the airport continued to run until 2008 when it closed, and the main building was registered as a historical monument in 1995. The formally recognized historical importance of the building explains its very strict interior camp space for refugees). Such strict rules include a curfew, no alterations to the layout of the camp, and no placement of anything against or close to the walls. Here, refugees come from different countries, Iraq, Syria, Somalia, Afghanistan, etc. Occupying the same “tents,” where they mark their only personal space <sup>[2]</sup>.

Tempelhof is a reminder that regardless of where the refugees find themselves geographically, camps remain a space of exception, of otherness. This thesis will posit that this shared, international otherness may offer a new model of the third city-state.

**Fig. Appendix A. 1 . Aerial view of the now retired Tempelhof airport, Berlin.** Credit USAF licensed under Public Domain: <https://creativecommons.org/publicdomain/mark/1.0/deed.en>.

**Fig. Appendix A. 2 . Map of the Tempelhof camp, Berlin.** Credit Pim Menkveld on Unsplash. Licensed under Public Domain: <https://creativecommons.org/publicdomain/mark/1.0/deed.en>.

**Fig. Appendix A. 3 Inside the camp.** Credit: Inside Tempelhof Airport - Europe's Biggest Refugee Camp, 2016, 00:10. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kTSt8xkX\\_fE](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kTSt8xkX_fE).



Fig Appendix A.3

<sup>[1]</sup>“Berlin’s Tempelhof Airport Transforms into Germany’s Largest Refugee Camp.” World Architecture Community, accessed July 20, 2023, <https://worldarchitecture.org/articles/cecgz/berlins-tempelhof-airport-transforms-into-germanys-largest-refugee-camp.html>.

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Fig Appendix B.1

## Appendix B

This section includes the presentation script of the defence.

# ON THE EDGE OF THIRD SPACE

A Re-imagination of the Refugee Camp Boundaries

By  
Sepideh Rajabzadeh

A thesis  
presented to the University of Waterloo  
in fulfillment of the  
thesis requirement for the degree of  
Master of Architecture

Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, 2023  
© Sepideh Rajabzadeh

Fig. Appendix B.1 An image of the **Physical CNCed model** of the topography of the site, with the map projecting onto the model. *Credit for model and photography: Author.*

*\*Please note that all the images in this Appendix have already been credited and extensively addressed in the list of figures - unless noted otherwise.*

This thesis explores the pivotal moment in which a refugee camp transcends its original temporary purpose. Central to this exploration is the intersections of architecture and citizenship practices in such politically grey land. In this thesis, the Za'atari camp in Jordan, home to 80,000 Syrian refugees, serves as a representative model to imagine new spatial typologies for camps and new political structures.

The thesis challenges the commonly understood notion of a better life

outside the camps. It proposes a counter-narrative, suggesting to look inward, at the potential of this camp to evolve into empowering political entities.

A big part of this thesis is the unfolding of a few theories regarding the state of refugeehood and citizenship and why it matters to study it through the lens of architecture.



Since refugeehood, in many aspects, embodies the absence of citizenship, it is important to first establish a clear understanding of the citizenship framework and its inherent implications.

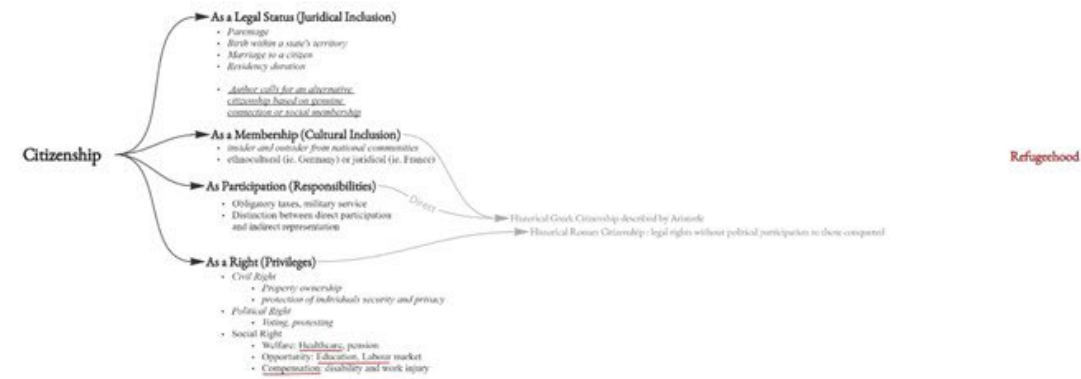
**Same as Fig 0.2: Spectrum of Citizenship and Refugeehood.** Includes the 4 dimensions of citizenship (in black) and their interconnectivity, Ancient (in grey) and Modern (in pink) citizenship as well as refugeehood (in red) and the rights that are protected by the UNHCR. Credit: Author.



Citizenship could be divided into 4 main dimensions (Legal status, Membership, participation, and as a right). Citizenship as legal status which concerns juridical inclusion refers to parentage, birth within a state's territory, marriage to a citizen and residency duration. Citizenship as membership which concerns cultural inclusion, refers to the notion of insider and outsider from the national community. Citizenship as participation which concerns the responsibilities of a citizen includes but is

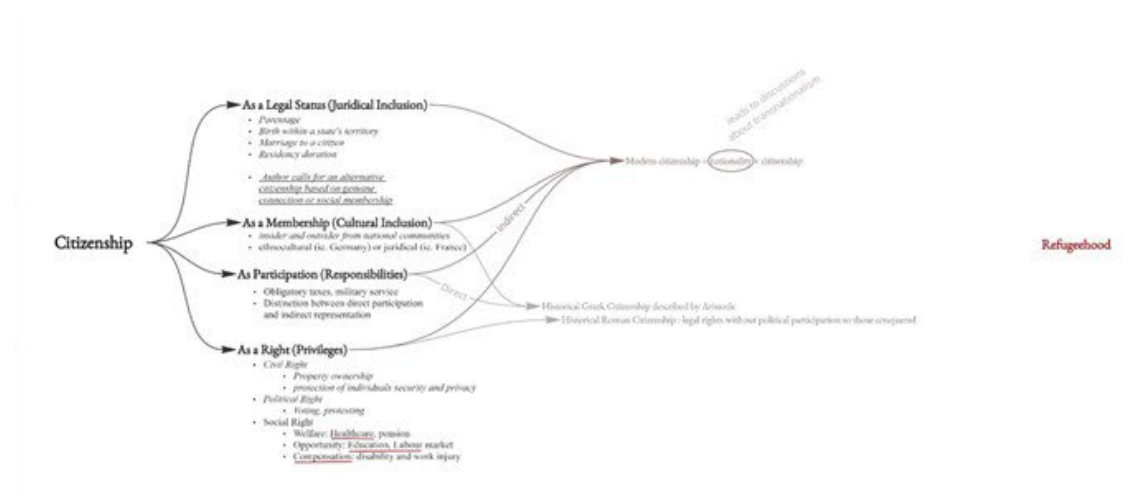
not limited to, obligatory taxes, military service, and direct or indirect participation in lawmaking. And finally, citizenship as a right is about the privileges that come with it, including civil rights (property ownership, protection of individual's security and privacy), Political rights (voting, protesting), and social rights (welfare, opportunity, and compensations).

**Same as Fig 0.2: Spectrum of Citizenship and Refugeehood.** Includes the 4 dimensions of citizenship (in black) and their interconnectivity, Ancient (in grey) and Modern (in pink) citizenship as well as refugeehood (in red) and the rights that are protected by the UNHCR. Credit: Author.



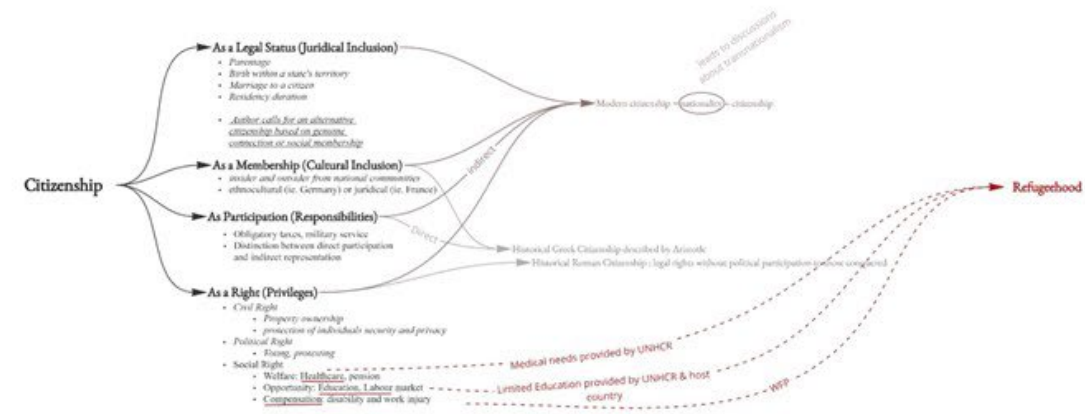
Ancient citizenship in Greece that was described by Aristotle indicates that it included membership as well as direct participation of the citizens in law making, as the ruler and the ruled body in society. Romans also would allow civil rights, and social participation but not the right to political participation to those conquered.

**Same as Fig 0.2: Spectrum of Citizenship and Refugeehood.** Includes the 4 dimensions of citizenship (in black) and their interconnectivity, Ancient (in grey) and Modern (in pink) citizenship as well as refugeehood (in red) and the rights that are protected by the UNHCR. Credit: Author.



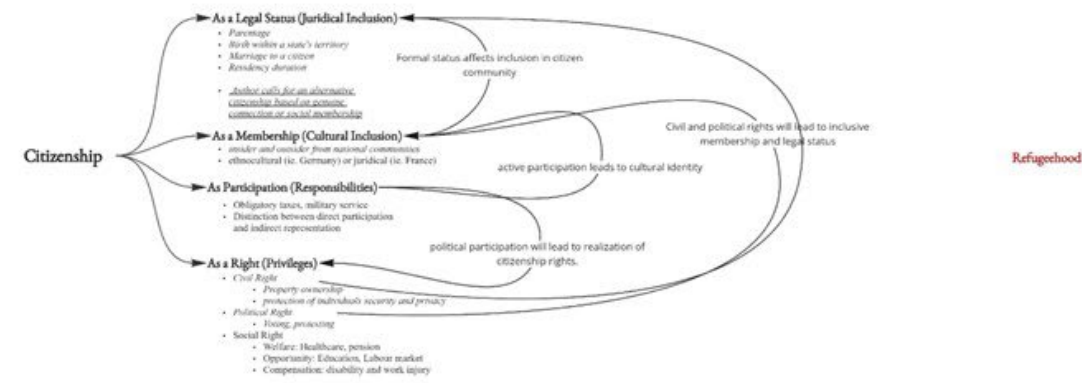
Modern citizenship, includes all dimensions, the only different is the indirect participation in lawmaking through representatives of communities.

**Same as Fig 0.2: Spectrum of Citizenship and Refugeehood.** Includes the 4 dimensions of citizenship (in black) and their interconnectivity, Ancient (in grey) and Modern (in pink) citizenship as well as refugeehood (in red) and the rights that are protected by the UNHCR. Credit: Author.



Refugeehood, on the other hand, does not see any of the dimensions included in citizenship. Some of its social rights are protected by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) for example medical care, partial education for longer-lasting camps, and WFP's monthly vouchers only to be spent on food. Refugees refer to those unwilling or unable to return to their home country due to fear of prosecution and their safety. (based on 1951 Refugee Convention)

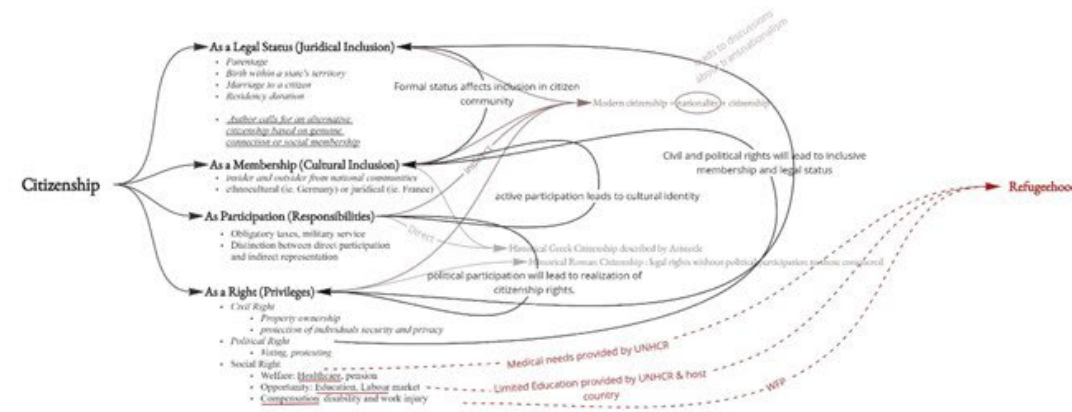
**Same as Fig 0.2: Spectrum of Citizenship and Refugeehood.** Includes the 4 dimensions of citizenship (in black) and their interconnectivity, Ancient (in grey) and Modern (in pink) citizenship as well as refugeehood (in red) and the rights that are protected by the UNHCR. Credit: Author.



Each of these dimensions are also interlinked, for example: political participation will lead to the realization of citizenship rights, and active participation also leads to cultural identity. Formal status affects inclusion in citizen communities. Civil and political rights will lead to inclusive membership and legal status.

**Same as Fig 0.2: Spectrum of Citizenship and Refugeehood.** Includes the 4 dimensions of citizenship (in black) and their interconnectivity, Ancient (in grey) and Modern (in pink) citizenship as well as refugeehood (in red) and the rights that are protected by the UNHCR. Credit: Author.





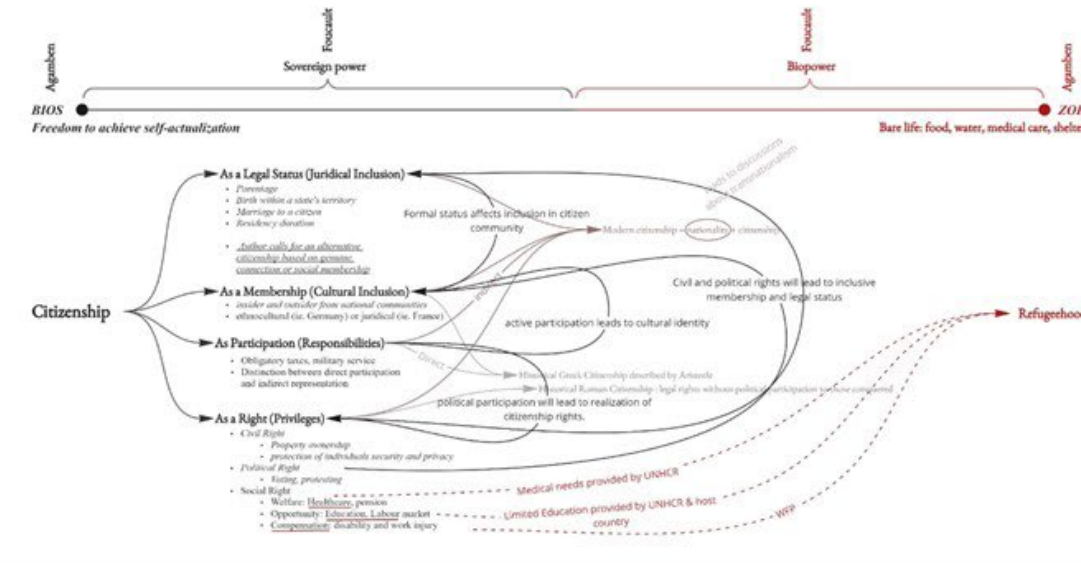
This is the full scope of the map to visualize how multidimensional and complicated this topic gets. Why is this topic of architectural concern? One can argue that architecture often materializes the abstract concepts of citizenship, it is tied to culture, employment, education, and agency. I referred to a few articles from the book Dimensions of Citizenship that argues citizenship transcends legal and political status and includes the experience of how one relates to and exists within spatial divisions.

It also emphasizes that physical spaces and built environments can influence, enforce, or challenge identities and citizenship practices. Drawing from this point, spatial arrangements absolutely shape social habits in the context of refugee camps; spatial arrangement can be used as a tool for both oppression and liberation. Through architecture one can affirm or challenge existing notions of citizenship, and that is why architecture matters in the context of refugee camps.

**Same as Fig 0.2: Spectrum of Citizenship and Refugeehood.** Includes the 4 dimensions of citizenship (in black) and their interconnectivity, Ancient (in grey) and Modern (in pink) citizenship as well as refugeehood (in red) and the rights that are protected by the UNHCR. Credit: Author.



Same as Fig 1.1: Refugees Walking Toward Their Caravan in the Za'atari Camp. The image showcases the scale and the vastness of the camp. In a more metaphorical sense, it shows the notion of being a human and being stuck existing in this biopolitical third space. The colour and saturation of the image was changed by the author. *Picture by Russell Watkins. Licensed under UK Department for International Development, open source with some rights reserved: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0/>*



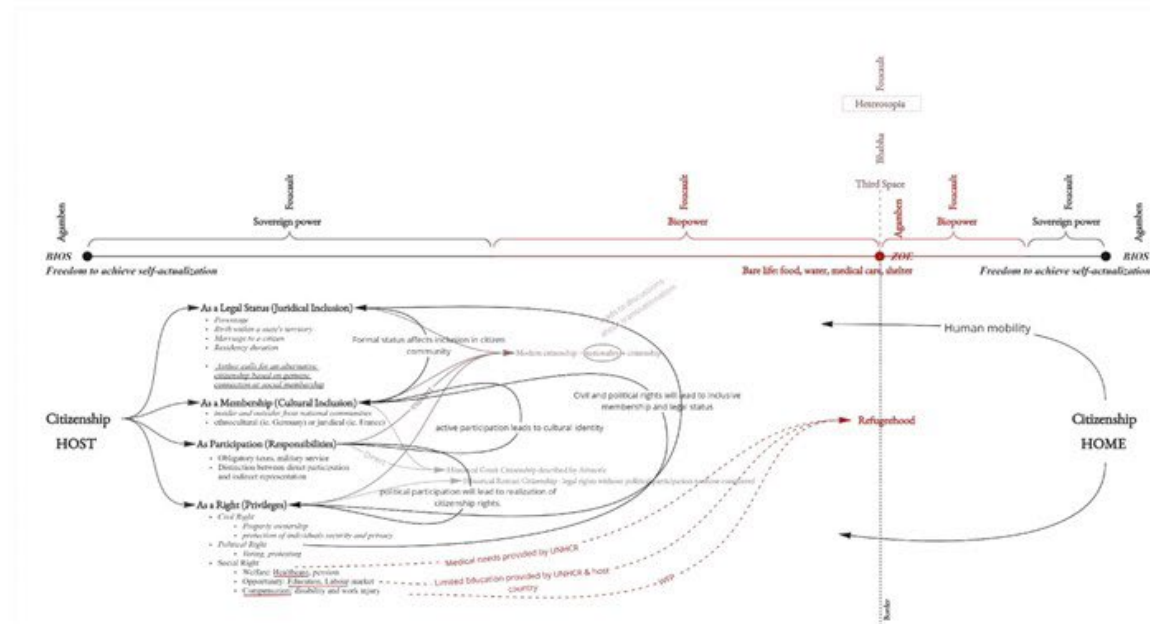
In order to Understand Types of Life within this spectrum: Zoe vs. Bios I have overlaid the theories on top of this spectrum.

“I refer to Agamben ‘s theory between ‘Zoe’ (bare life) and ‘Bios’ (qualitative life). Refugees are often reduced to Zoe, or mere existence, while the promise of Bios, or a meaningful life, awaits them outside. The camp’s fence stands as a symbol, marking the divide between these two existential conditions.”

Foucault’s biopower and biopolitics are tools to understand the modern

shift from traditional overt displays of power (exile, life or death) to subtle regulatory mechanisms (that control how life is lived). Here, refugee camps are places of regulations and surveillance, where how life is lived is controlled by the authorities. These camps evolve into biopolitical arenas where non-compliance can lead to deprivation.”

**Same as Fig 0.2: Spectrum of Citizenship and Refugeehood.** Includes the 4 dimensions of citizenship (in black) and their interconnectivity, Ancient (in grey) and Modern (in pink) citizenship as well as refugeehood (in red) and the rights that are protected by the UNHCR. Credit: Author.



Moving from types of life into spaces that life is experienced by refugees: or the spaces of In-Between.

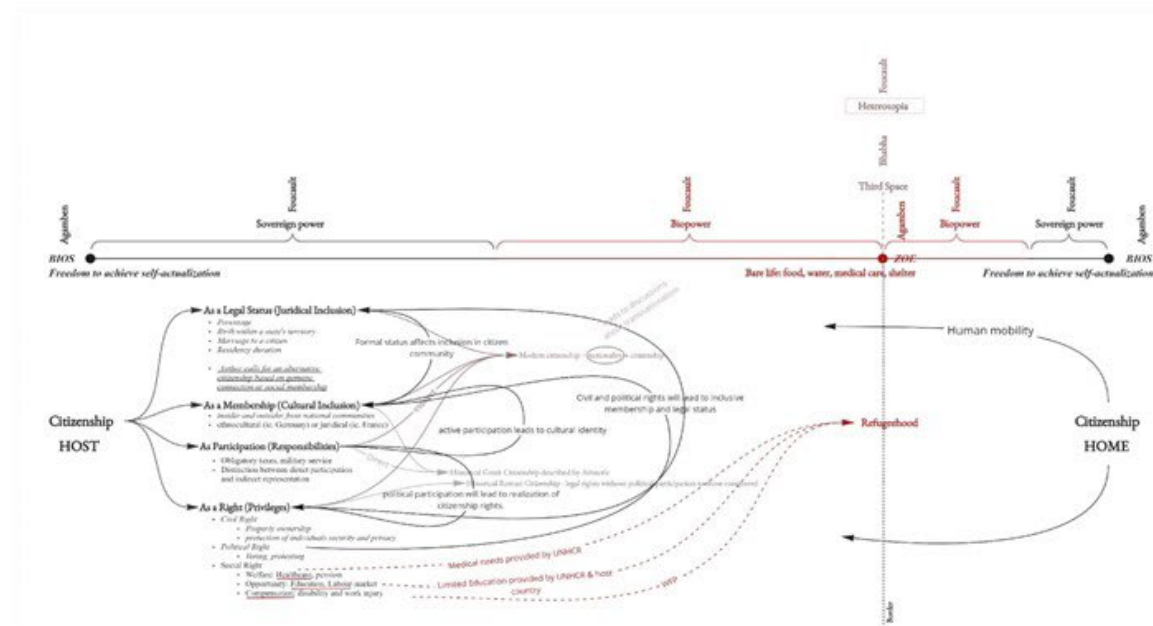
“Foucault describes heterotopias as tangible spaces where norms are suspended (this will come into more focus in chapter 3 Za’atari camp’s inner workings). Refugee camps align with this concept, especially in their evolution from temporary shelters to permanent habitats without a proper end date in sight. Their dual function – protection and regulation – makes them complex. They become both isolating and penetrable, serving multiple contradictory roles.” All within the category of heterotopia or the spaces of “other”.

“Over time, as observed in camps like Za’atari, these spaces morph into city-camps. They take on the characteristics of a city, developing diverse economies, services, and even in some cases attracting outside consumers. Nevertheless they remain as prolonged waiting spaces.

Foucault highlights modern security’s focus on human mobility and traceability, emphasizing how modern citizenship, particularly for refugees, intertwines with the surrender of personal data and privacy by crossing international borders.

Bhabha’s concept of the ‘third space’ (home 1st space, host 2ndspace) [the space of in-between, a liminal space of colliding cultures] positive aspect.

**Same as Fig 0.2: Spectrum of Citizenship and Refugeehood.** Includes the 4 dimensions of citizenship (in black) and their interconnectivity, Ancient (in grey) and Modern (in pink) citizenship as well as refugeehood (in red) and the rights that are protected by the UNHCR. Credit: Author.



While on the topic of spaces, I would like to quickly mention the parallel digital realms of data that gets stored indefinitely and transnationally. These digital trails especially in refugees are collected upon their registration in camp such as their interviews, their asylum applications, biometrics, iris scans, leading to persistent invisible borders. This is concerning particularly for refugees because even if one day they cross the physical borders of the camp, the invisible borders of data persist and can affect their lives well beyond initial days of displacement.

It becomes evident that the world beyond refugee camp is saturated in layers of exclusion. Refugees' entrance into 3rd space starts from the moment they crossed international borders where they grapple with bio-

political framework that governs both tangible and intangible domains. In essence this theoretical framework underscores the enduring impacts of displacement and establishes a foundational argument that forced displacement is a permanent event therefore my thesis encourages the camps to be perceived not as mere temporary zones in space, but as critical permanent intersections bridging the inside and outside domains of the 3rd space.

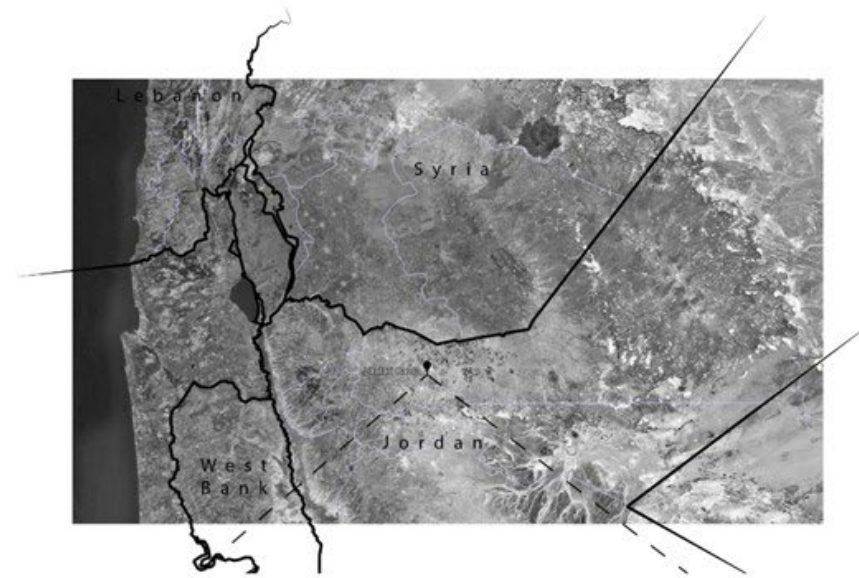
**Same as Fig 0.2: Spectrum of Citizenship and Refugeehood.** Includes the 4 dimensions of citizenship (in black) and their interconnectivity, Ancient (in grey) and Modern (in pink) citizenship as well as refugeehood (in red) and the rights that are protected by the UNHCR. Credit: Author.



PART ONE: Theoretical Framework & Za'atari Camp

Chapter 2

Same as Figure 2.1: Aerial Photo of the Za'atari Refugee Camp (2). The spatial arrangement as well as materiality of the shelters are seen. Credit: U.S. Department of State photo, *Licensed under public domain & Wikimedia: <https://creativecommons.org/publicdomain/mark/1.0/deed.en>*



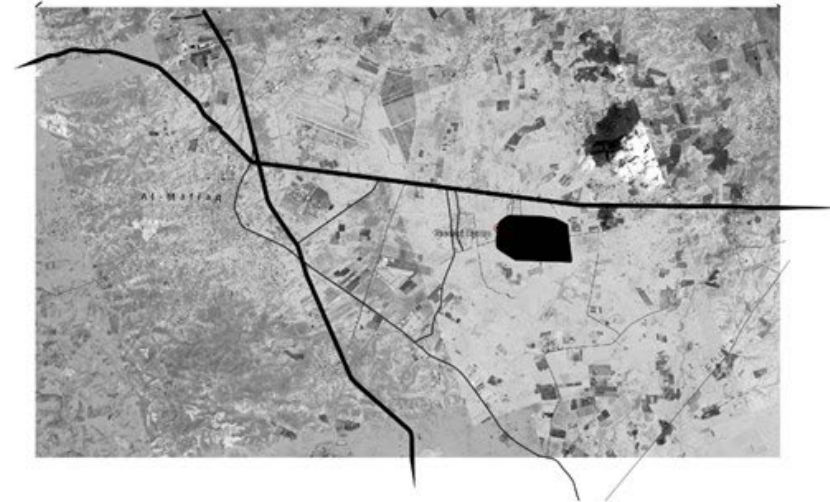
On the Edge of Third Space

Sepideh Rajabzadeh

Za'atari Camp

Za'atari camp, located in the north of Jordan, 12km away from the Syrian border.

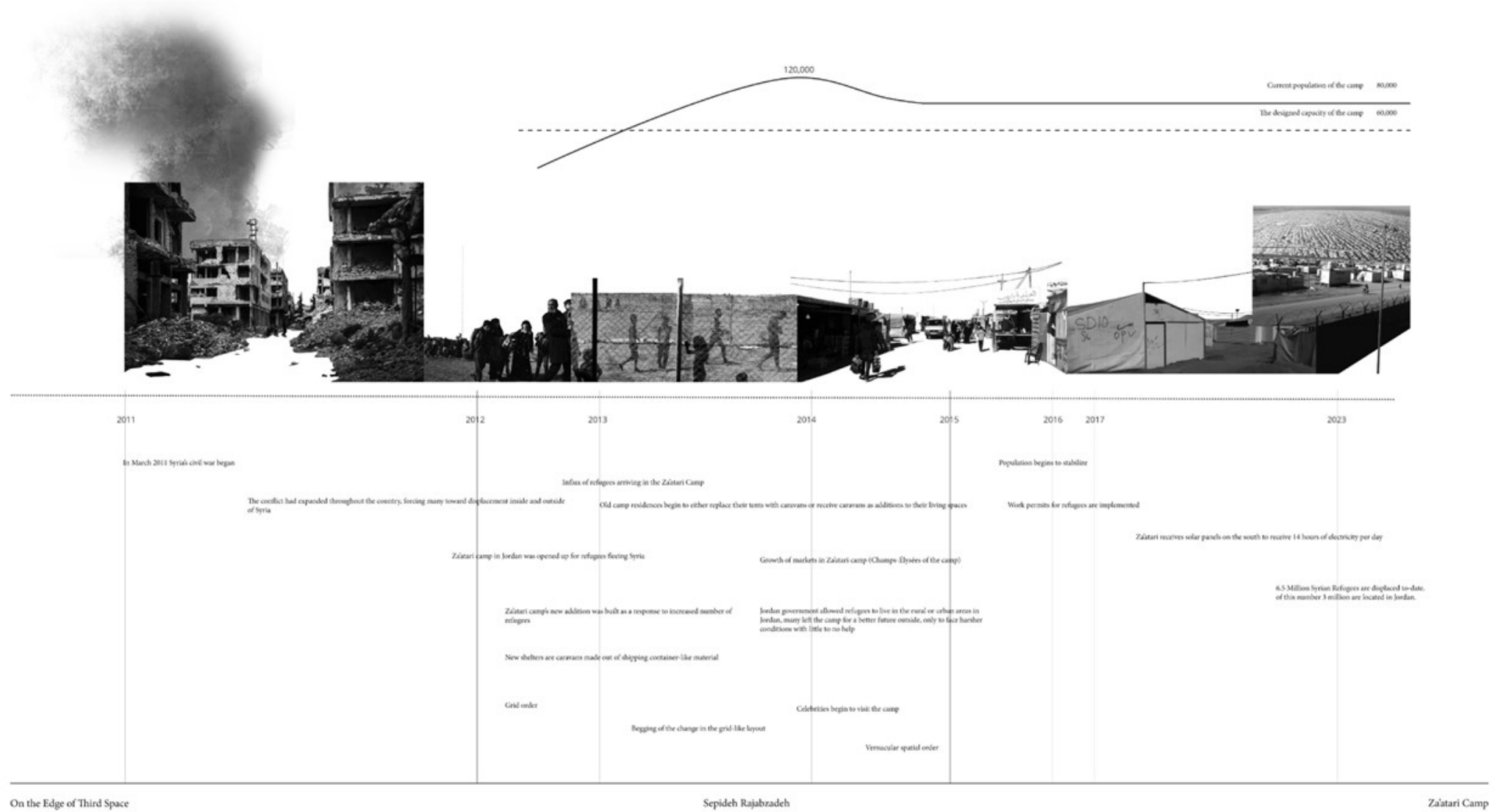
**Same as Fig 2.2: Indicating the site in Jordan.** Its location relative to the Syrian border. *Credit: Author, base map is taken from ArcGIS Pro.*



10 km east of the closest town in Jordan called al Mafraq.

Same as Fig 2.3: Indicating the site in Jordan (2). Its location relative to the nearest town in Jordan. Credit: Author, base map is taken from ArcGIS Pro.



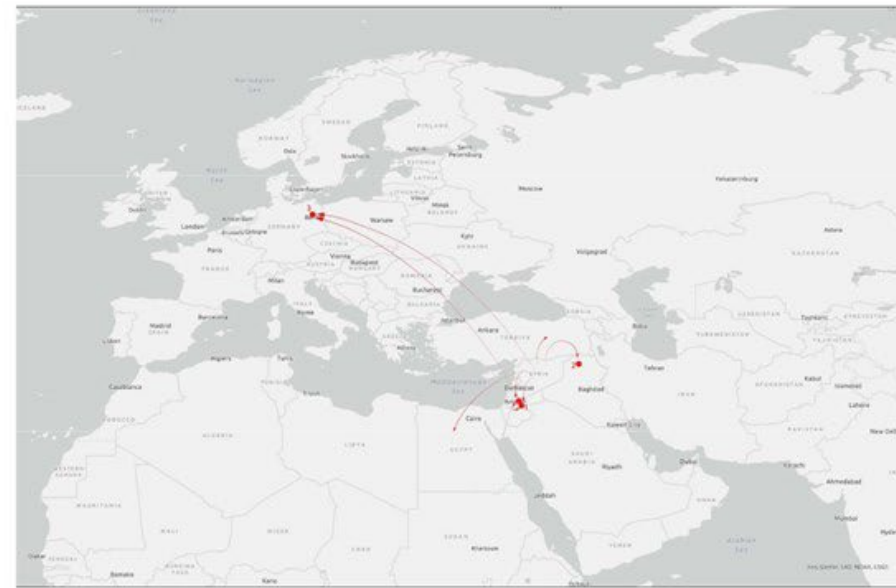


Just a quick time line:

- 2011- civil war began
- 2012 – conflict expanded across Syria causing internal and external displacement, when Za’atari was established as a response to this emergency
- 2012 late – expansion of Za’atari into new camp

- 2014 – growth of self initiated markets on the main streets
- 2016 – population stabilized at 80000 capacity is 60000
- 2017 – Jordan Gov and UN give work permits for construction or agriculture
- 2023 – 6.5 million Syrian refugee of those 3 MIL in Jordan

Same as Fig 2.5: Timeline. Indicating the course of events from the 2011 civil war in Syria till the present. Credit: Author.



On the Edge of Third Space

Sepideh Rajabzadeh

Za'atari Camp

Same as Fig 2.5: Map of where the Syrian refugees fled to. Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt, Iraq, EU countries mainly Germany. Source: Created by Author, Map is from ArcGIS Pro.



Early 2012  
Same as Fig. 2.7



Fig. B.2



Fig B.3

Same as Fig 2.7: Satellite Images of the Southwest District of the Camp. It is separated by the main street that runs north-south. The series of images shows the evolution of the spatial layout of the camp from 2012 - to the present. Sources: Google Earth Pro licensed with Public Domain: <https://creativecommons.org/publicdomain/mark/1.0/deed.en>. Attributions: Google Earth, Image ©2023 Maxar Technologies.

On the Edge of Third Space

Sepideh Rajabzadeh

Za'atari Camp

I am going to walk you through the chronological order of the evolution of the camp (its morphology from grid to vernacular)

**Fig. Appendix B.2** An Image of the Early Days of Za'atari Camp with tents as shelters. Credit: Foreign Commonwealth & Development Office Licensed under some rights reserved (please see Copyright permission section)

**Fig. Appendix B.3** An image of the Physical CNCed model of the topography of the site. The evolution of the camp is projected onto the physical model (early 2012). Credit for model and photography: Author.



Early 2012  
Same as Fig. 2.7



Same as Fig. B.2



Fig B.4

Same as Fig 2.7: Satellite Images of the Southwest District of the Camp. It is separated by the main street that runs north-south. The series of images shows the evolution of the spatial layout of the camp from 2012 - to the present. Sources: Google Earth Pro licensed with Public Domain: <https://creativecommons.org/publicdomain/mark/1.0/deed.en>. Attributions: Google Earth, Image ©2023 Maxar Technologies.

On the Edge of Third Space

Sepideh Rajabzadeh

Za'atari Camp

The camp started by providing tents as shelters for the refugees in the early days of its assembly. Refugees would self organize next to one another, setting up their tents.

Same as Fig. B.2: An Image of the Early Days of Za'atari Camp with tents as shelters. Credit: Foreign Commonwealth & Development Office Licensed under some rights reserved (please see Copyright permission section)

Fig. Appendix B.4 An image of the Physical CNCed model of the topography of the site. The evolution of the camp is projected onto the physical model (late 2012). Credit for model and photography: Author.



2013 - 2014 Caravan and tents

Same as Fig. 2.7



Fig. B.5



Fig B.6

**Same as Fig 2.7: Satellite Images of the Southwest District of the Camp.** It is separated by the main street that runs north-south. The series of images shows the evolution of the spatial layout of the camp from 2012 - to the present. Sources: Google Earth Pro licensed with Public Domain: <https://creativecommons.org/publicdomain/mark/1.0/deed.en>. Attributions: Google Earth, Image ©2023 Maxar Technologies.

Slowly as the new camp continued to develop, most refugees started mixing and matching the tent and caravan to modify their livings spaces.

On the Edge of Third Space

Sepideh Rajabzadeh

Za'atari Camp

**Fig. Appendix B.5 An Image of the Evolution of Za'atari Camp with tents and caravans as shelters.** Credit: Foreign Commonwealth & Development Office Licensed under some rights reserved (please see Copyright permission section)

**Fig. Appendix B.6 An image of the Physical CNCed model of the topography of the site.** The evolution of the camp is projected onto the physical model (Early 2013). Credit for model and photography: Author.



2015-present  
Same as Fig. 2.7



Fig. B.7



Fig B.8

Same as Fig 2.7: Satellite Images of the Southwest District of the Camp. It is separated by the main street that runs north-south. The series of images shows the evolution of the spatial layout of the camp from 2012 - to the present. Sources: Google Earth Pro licensed with Public Domain: <https://creativecommons.org/publicdomain/mark/1.0/deed.en>. Attributions: Google Earth, Image ©2023 Maxar Technologies.

On the Edge of Third Space  
And over time more of the mix and match of the materials is seen in the camp

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Za'atari Camp

Fig. Appendix B.7 An Image of the Champs-Élysées street inside the Za'atari Camp with tents and caravans and other found material as shelters. Credit: John Green Licensed under Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 (please see Copyright permission section)

Fig. Appendix B.8 An image of the Physical CNCed model of the topography of the site. The evolution of the camp is projected onto the physical model (Early 2014). Credit for model and photography: Author.



2015-present  
Same as Fig. 2.7



Fig. B.7



Fig B.9

Same as Fig 2.7: Satellite Images of the Southwest District of the Camp. It is separated by the main street that runs north-south. The series of images shows the evolution of the spatial layout of the camp from 2012 - to the present. Sources: Google Earth Pro licensed with Public Domain: <https://creativecommons.org/publicdomain/mark/1.0/deed.en>. Attributions: Google Earth, Image ©2023 Maxar Technologies.

And with that slowly the rigid grid-like layout changed into the camp's own spatial order.

Same as Fig. B.7: An Image of the Champs-Élysées street inside the Za'atari Camp with tents and caravans and other found material as shelters. Credit: John Green Licensed under Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 (please see Copyright permission section)

Fig. Appendix B.9 An image of the Physical CNCed model of the topography of the site. The evolution of the camp is projected onto the physical model (Early 2015). Credit for model and photography: Author.



2015-present  
Same as Fig. 2.7



Fig. B.7



Fig B.10

Same as Fig 2.7: Satellite Images of the Southwest District of the Camp. It is separated by the main street that runs north-south. The series of images shows the evolution of the spatial layout of the camp from 2012 - to the present. Sources: Google Earth Pro licensed with Public Domain: <https://creativecommons.org/publicdomain/mark/1.0/deed.en>. Attributions: Google Earth, Image ©2023 Maxar Technologies.

On the Edge of Third Space

This shows the most recent map and the spatial arrangements of the camp mainly organized by the refugees.

Sepideh Rajabzadeh

Za'atari Camp

Same as Fig. B.7: An Image of the Champs-Élysées street inside the Za'atari Camp with tents and caravans and other found material as shelters. Credit: John Green Licensed under Creative Commons Attribution 3.0 (please see Copyright permission section)

Fig. Appendix B.10 An image of the Physical CNCed model of the topography of the site. The evolution of the camp is projected onto the physical model (Early 2017). Credit for model and photography: Author.





Fig B.11

This map shows the rectangular “neighborhood” districts that UNHCR planners originally planned for the camp, the dashed circular areas are the actual neighbourhoods on the ground that refugees feel belonged to. The blue arrow shows that the food and water was trucked in, during the early days of the camp.

**Fig. Appendix B.11** An image of the **Physical CNCed model**. The existing conditions inside Za’atari camp is projected onto the physical model - Water and food trucks in early 2012.  
*Credit for model and photography: Author.*

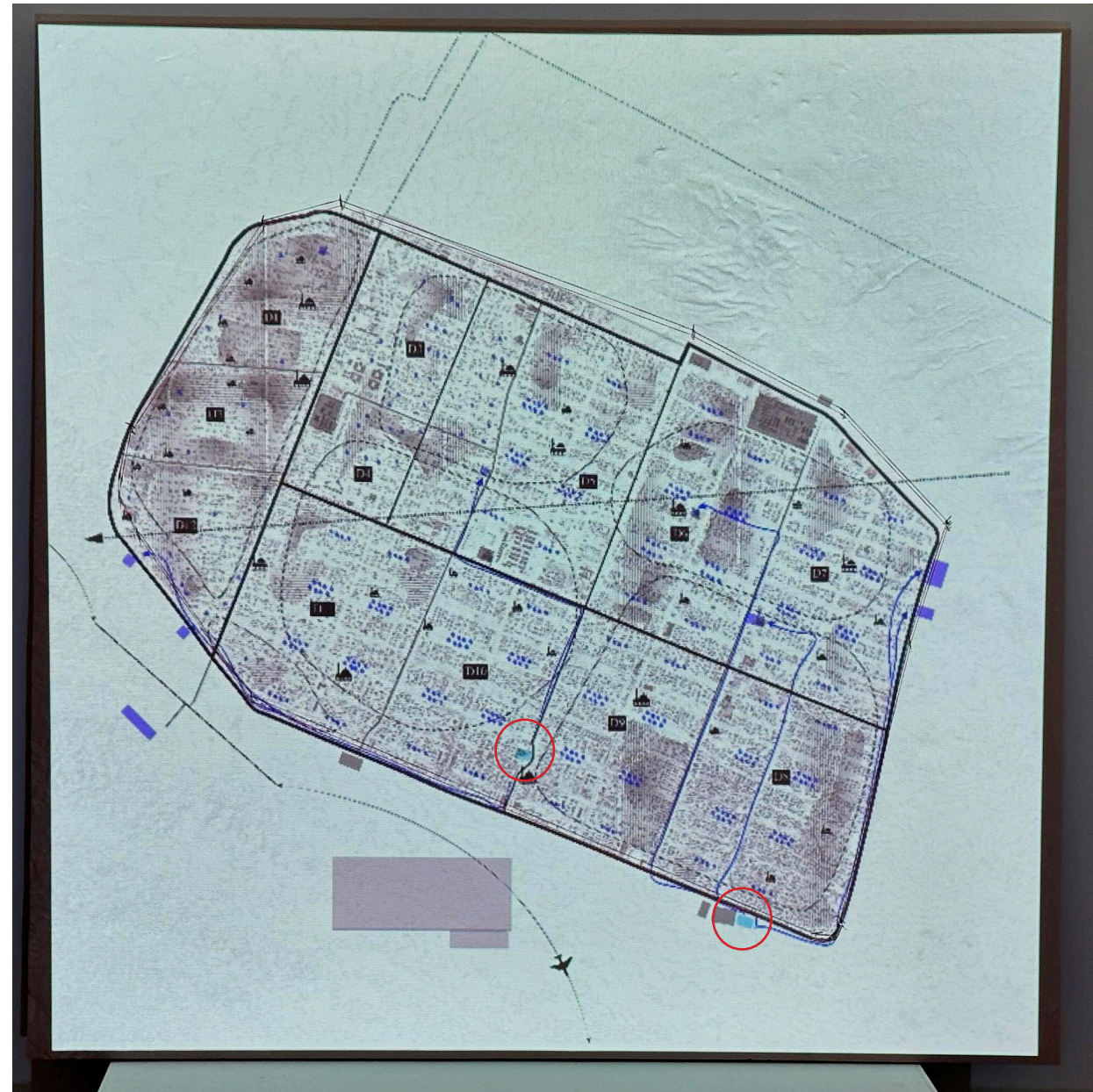


Fig B.12

Then over time the authorities decided to have one borehole on the outside of the camp and one on the inside to distribute water easier. Driving water trucks across the camp created employment opportunities for the refugees of the camp. The arrow running east-west shows the slope of the typology and how the old camp gets flooded during winters.

**Fig. Appendix B.12** An image of the **Physical CNCed model**. The existing conditions inside Za'atari camp is projected onto the physical model - Bore wholes placed in the camp in 2013. *Credit for model and photography: Author.*



Fig B.13

Slowly community- based programs start to appear in the camp, for example mosque. as well as UNHCR offices around the camp on the other side of the fence.

**Fig. Appendix B.13** An image of the **Physical CNCed model**. The existing conditions inside Za'atari camp is projected onto the physical model - mosques (inside the camp) and UNHCR offices (outside around the edge of the camp). *Credit for model and photography: Author.*



Fig B.14

as well as educational centers on the inside of the camp and on the outer southern edge of the camp. On the west of the camp farm lands started to appear as well as a recycling center both creating more employment opportunities for the refugees. Also the red arrow shows the UNHCR road around the camp that was built to allow services get distributed easier across the camp.

**Fig. Appendix B.14** An image of the Physical CNCed model. The existing conditions inside Za'atari camp is projected onto the physical model - Educational centers, Recycling center (Place of employment for refugees) and farm land (Place of employment for refugees) are appearing on the map. Credit for model and photography: Author.

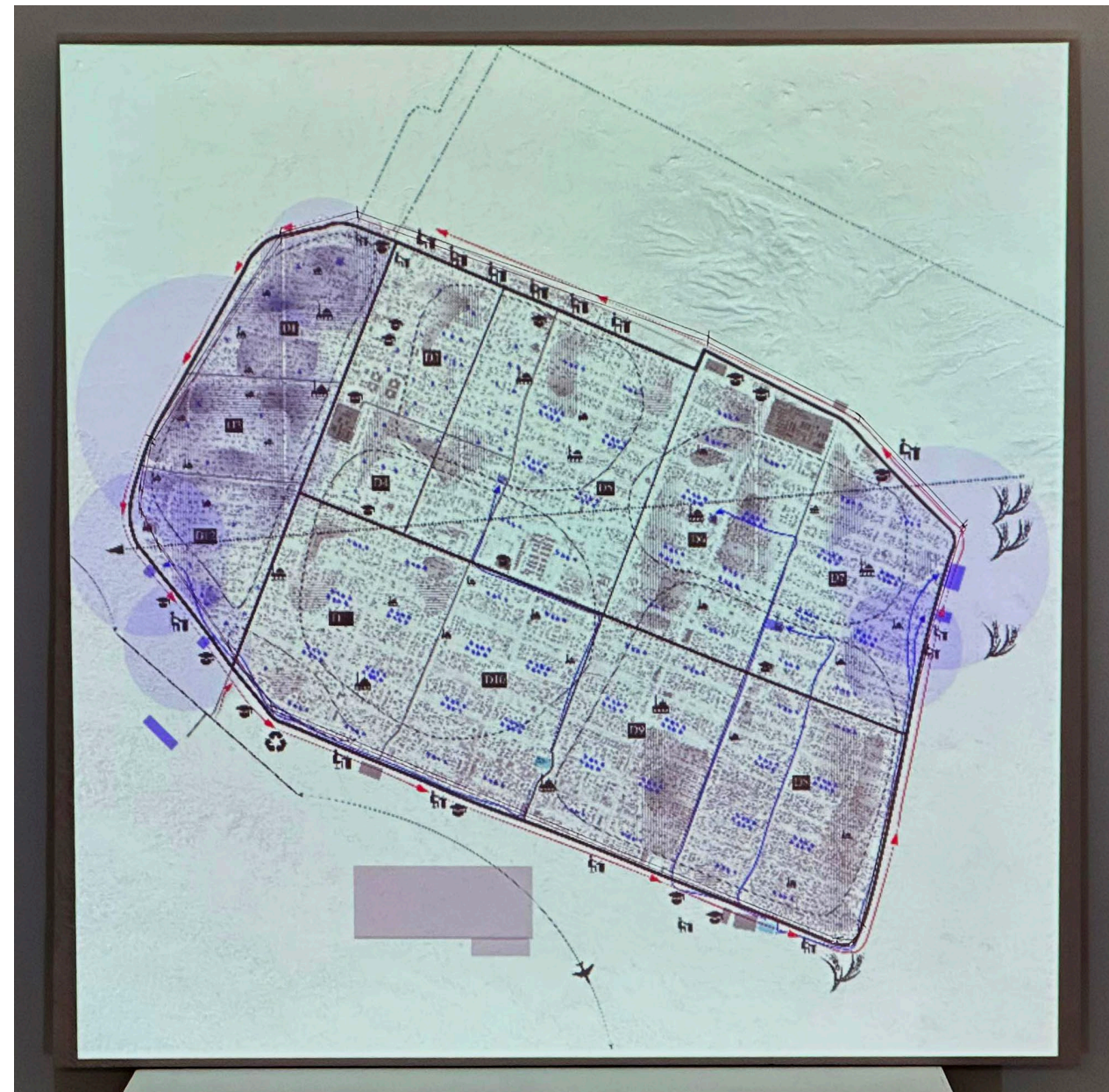


Fig B.15

The blue areas show plumbing in the camp. Most of the old camp, plus some areas close to the farm lands are equipped with plumbing.

**Fig. Appendix B.15** An image of the **Physical CNCed model**. The existing conditions inside Za'atari camp is projected onto the physical model - the blue areas are locations with plumbing. *Credit for model and photography: Author.*

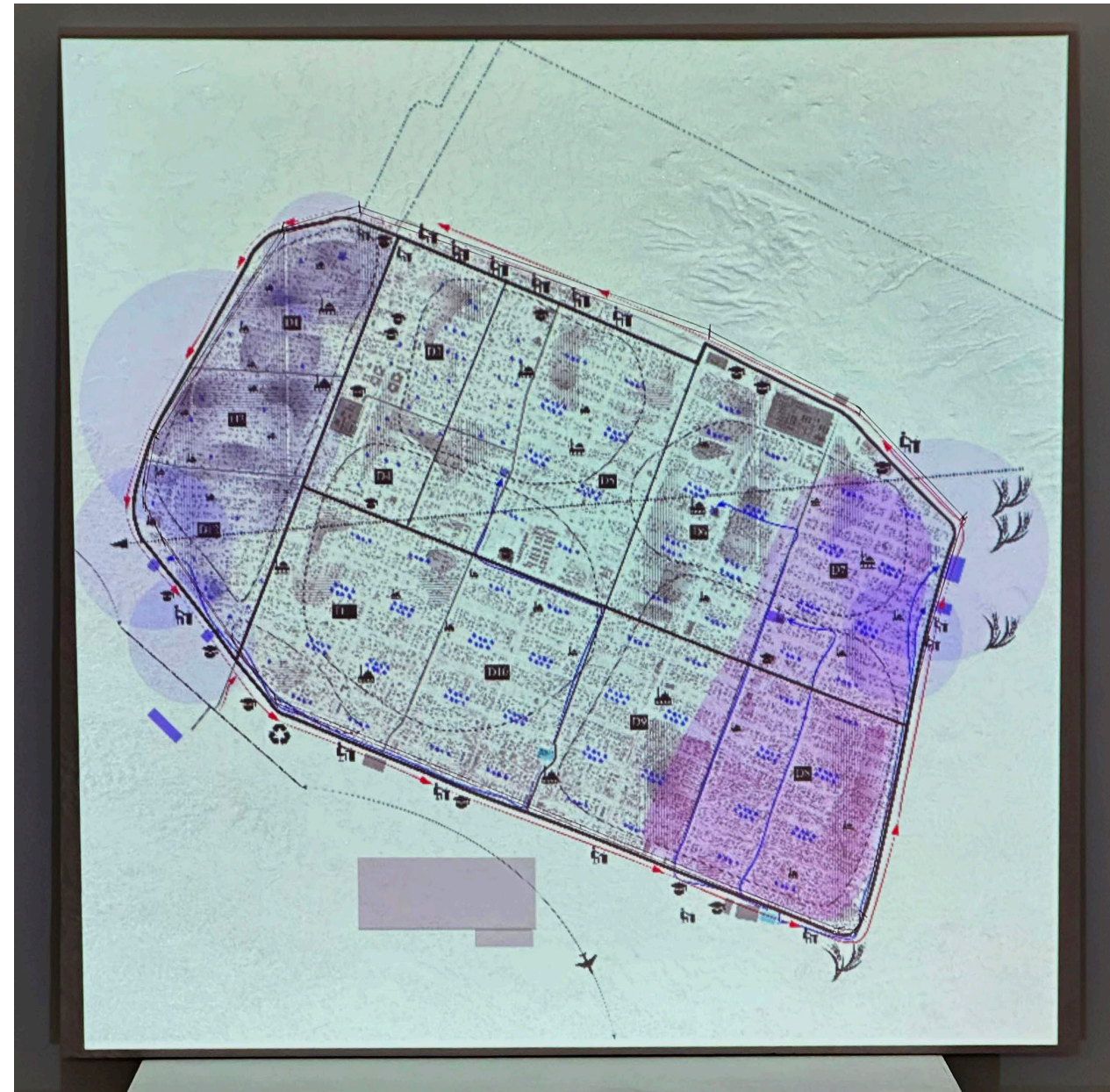


Fig B.16

The purple shows high rate of crime in the east side of the camp. This area mainly houses single men and new families who were the last to arrive in Za'atari. The camp is no longer accepting refugees, those inside don't want to leave because if they do, and get in trouble, they might not be able to get back into Za'atari. Therefore they wish to stay permanently even if the opportunity to leave comes by.

Although the security of the camp is the responsibility of the Jordanian military, the camp has street leaders that are in tension with these security guards and do not want them inside the camp. The street leaders are also part of gangs that create chaos, robbing people's houses to sell their UN core relief items in the "black market". They also deal with smuggling of the goods into the camp.

**Fig. Appendix B.16** An image of the Physical CNCed model. The existing conditions inside Za'atari camp is projected onto the physical model - the purple areas show the location of higher crime activities. Credit for model and photography: Author.

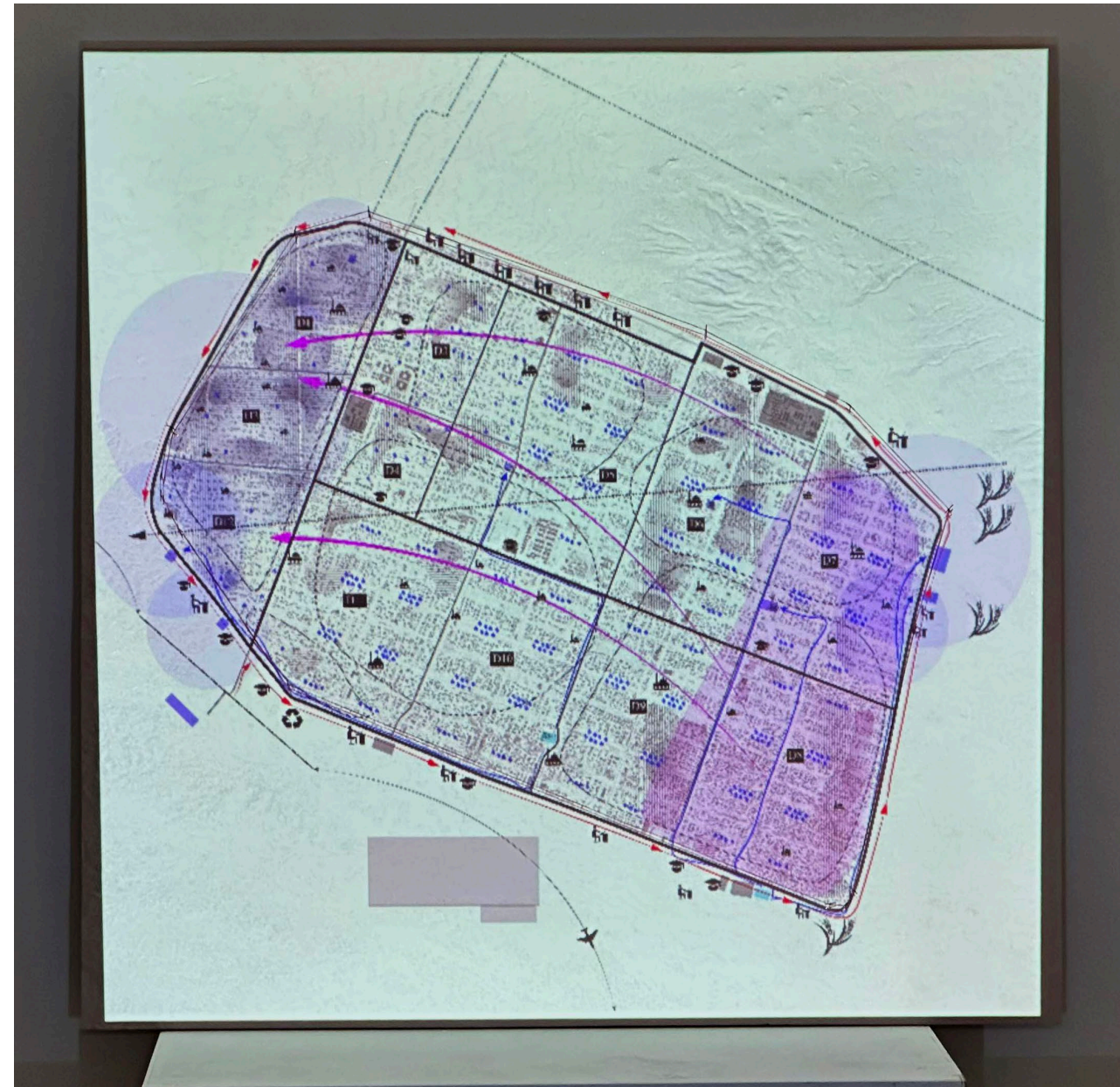


Fig B.16

The purple arrow shows that the families and single men who get married look forward to saving money from their employment to be able to buy a caravan in the west side of the camp (in the old camp). This shows an interesting desire for internal migration rather than leaving the camp. I mentioned “buying the caravans” and that brings me to the grey real estate that exists in the camp.

Grey real estate - Za'atari's also has a grey real estate market. Although they are required to return items belonged to UN, but those who move they sell their caravan to new comers or other people. For example houses those close to the market streets are high in value/an example of self-initiated grey real estate economy.

Grey economy/ grey cash – Za'atari residences don't receive cash or

**Fig. Appendix B.17** An image of the **Physical CNCed model**. The existing conditions inside Za'atari camp is projected onto the physical model - the purple arrows show the internal migration from east to west of the camp. *Credit for model and photography: Author.*

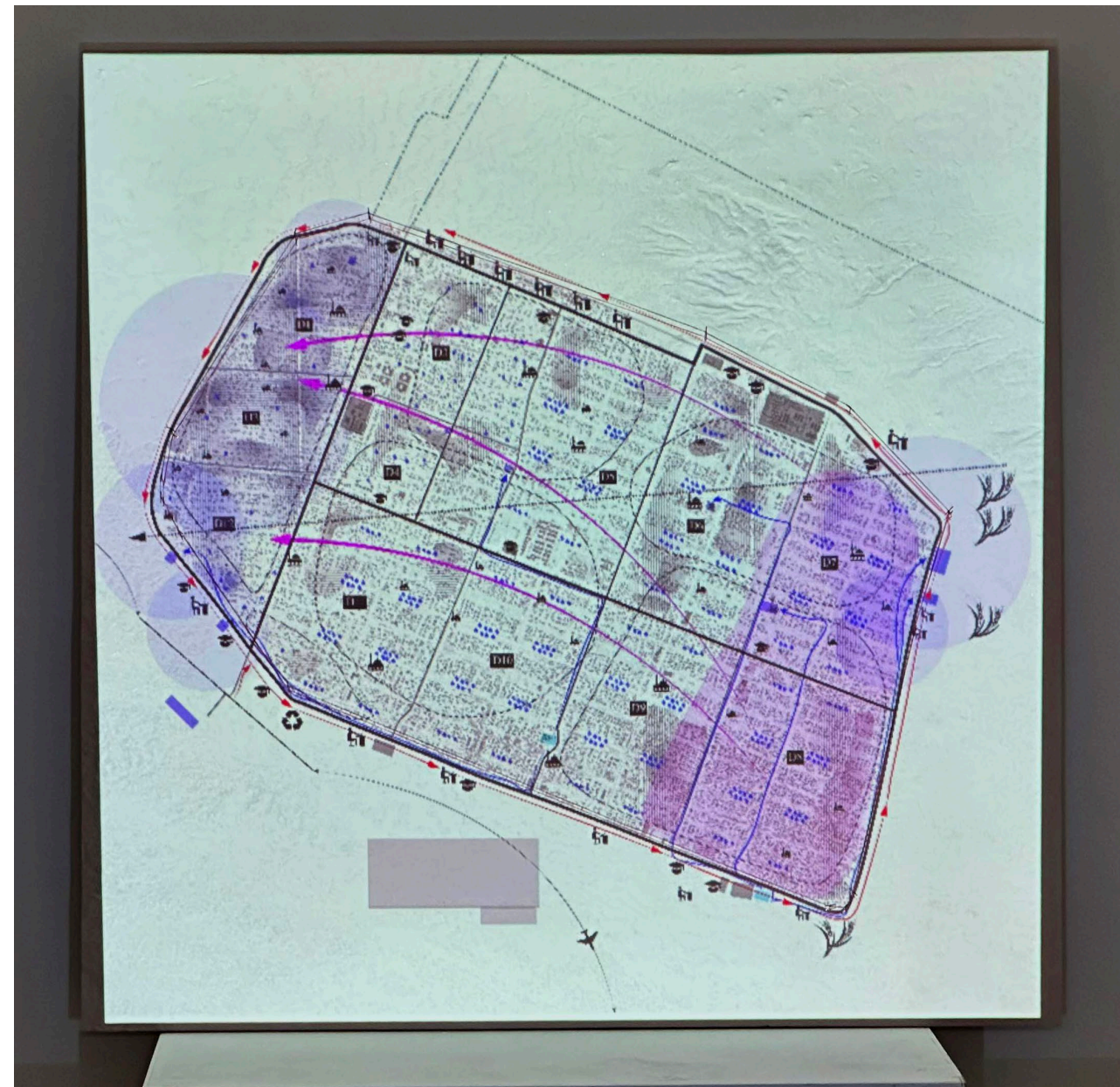


Fig B.16

On the Edge of Third Space

physical voucher, it's online the only way they can access it through the grocery shopping, but story from Azraq residences, they move to Palestinian refugee camps, in there they receive monthly physical food voucher, which then they sell to pay rent. Smugglers bring the vouchers in and they get used as cash (heterotopia).

This chapter seeks to reveal some of the inner social, economic and infrastructural workings of the Za'atari camp. It also reveals that, despite

Sepideh Rajabzadeh

humanitarian measure regulations are sometimes overlooked, or the situation on the ground is complex, leaving refugees vulnerable for extended periods. Gaps left by authorities are often filled by the refugees themselves. UNCHR's senior camp manager views refugee camps as potential urban catalysts, suggesting that refugee camps are places that can develop and even benefit the host countries, "We design refugee camps; refugees build cities"

Za'atari Camp

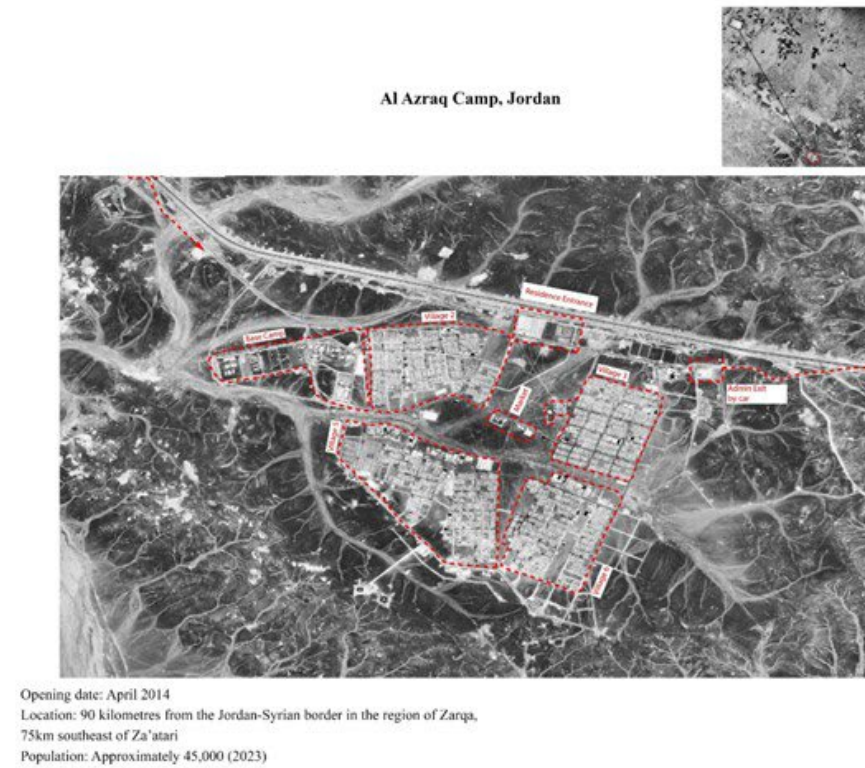
**Same as Fig. B.16:** An image of the Physical CNCed model. The existing conditions inside Za'atari camp is projected onto the physical model - the purple arrows show the internal migration from east to west of the camp. Credit for model and photography: Author.





Moving onto the case study chapter, I am going to show you the morphology of the camps, just as we would understand the morphology of a city and its physical and governance structure.

**Same as Fig 3.1: Image of the Northern Edge of the Za'atari Camp.** This area is heavily guarded with two layers of barbed wire and metal fences. The colour and saturation of the image was changed by the author. *Picture by John Green. Licensed under Creative Commons on Wikimedia*



Unlike other camps, they are usually built in a few days to respond to emergency situations. The UNHCR took months to study all other refugee camps that existed and proposed a model to be “possibly one of the best refugee camps in the world” said a UNHCR official. The layout is based on insights gained from the spatial development of the Za’atari camp, where organic community formation empowered its residents, resulting in the reduced grip of power by the authorities. To prevent a sim-

ilar scenario, the government of Jordan and the UN intentionally decided on a layout to obstruct the natural formation of communities; starting by the camp in a remote mountainous area with a harsher topography. People are placed in already planned out and segregated villages, aiming to maintain tighter control over its growth. Management is strategically placed on the far left, away from the villages to reduce the impact of refugees’ protest

**Same as Fig 3.2: Al Azraq camp.**  
 Credit: Created by Author, map taken from ArcGIS Pro software.

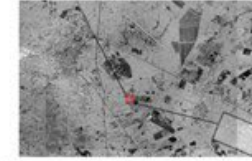


The camp is built to accommodate 120,000-130,000 refugees but its population rose to only slightly over 54,000 at its peak in 2016-2018. Refugees try to avoid this camp because of the planning layout enables stricter rules to be implemented and enforced on the ground.

This case study showcases how design can serve as an instrument of control. the role that planning and architecture play in supporting the agenda of the ruling authorities.

**Same as Fig 3.2: Views of the Empty Rows of Shelters.** *Many of the huts remain empty as the harsh location and basic conditions are unpopular among Syrian refugees . Credit: D-Stanley, on Wikimedia. Licensed under Creative Commons.*

Dar Abu Abdullah Camp, Jordan



Opening date: Estimated in 2014  
 Location: 4 km east of Al Mafraq town. - 6 km West of Za'atari Camp.  
 Population: 66 people (2022)

Originally a neighbourhood of 66 people from rural Damascus crossed the Syrian-Iraqi borders and arrived in the Za'atari camp.

During the 2014-2016 the Jordanian government implemented a rule where refugees were allowed to leave the camp and stay in the rural or urban areas in Jordan, but with that, there would be lesser or no help at all (this rule was abolished in 2016 due to economic concerns).

During this period, this neighbourhood of 66 left Za'atari camp and made their own then-camp, now a formally recognized village, only 6 km west of Za'atari.

**Same as Fig 3.6: Dar Abu Abdullah Camp.** Credit: Created by Author, map taken from ArcGIS Pro software.



Knowing that they would not receive much help from UNHCR, they made the camp self-sustainable, by growing their own food and live stock. As well as making their homes with more permanent materials like mud. This case study stands in contrast to the previous one. Dar Abu Abdullah emphasizes the benefits of community creation and allows room for individual agency and initiative.

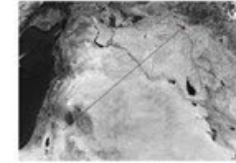
**Same as Fig 3.7: An example of a typical unit within the camp with its own water tank.** Credit: URI Volunteers at Abu Abdullah Camp / Visit & Teaching, 2022, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xKmZ1J65RxA>, 00:26.

**Same as Fig 3.8: Livestock in the village.** Credit: URI Volunteers at Abu Abdullah Camp / Visit & Teaching, 2022, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xKmZ1J65RxA>, 00:46.

**Same as Fig 3.9: View of the village street.** Credit: URI Volunteers at Abu Abdullah Camp / Visit & Teaching, 2022, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xKmZ1J65RxA>, 00:32.

**Same as Fig 3.10: Children playground.** Credit: URI Volunteers at Abu Abdullah Camp / Visit & Teaching, 2022, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xKmZ1J65RxA>, 01:56

Domiz Camp, Iraq



Opening date: April 2012  
 Location: 19 km from Dohuk, Iraq - 1280 km from Za'atari Camp,  
 Population: 66 people (2022)\*

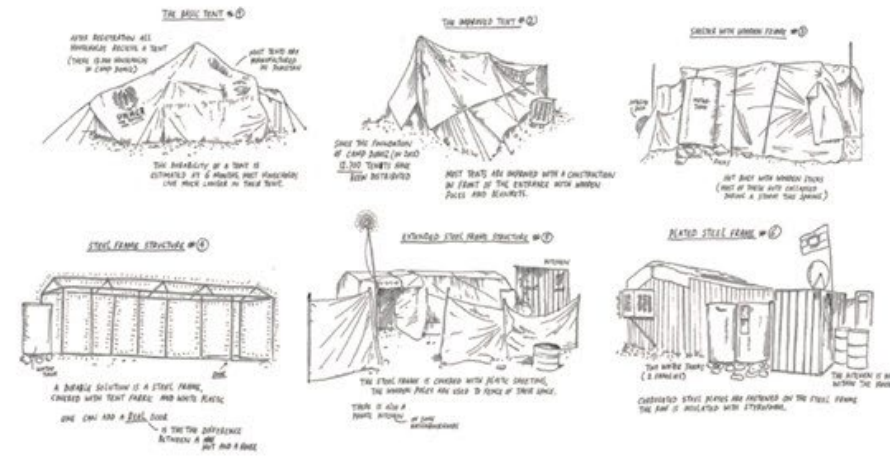
Opened around the same time as Za'atari camp did.

The camp has different districts categorized as construction areas (upgrading the built fabric), money(bazaars), sustainability (self-sustaining strategies throughout the camp), etc. And they serve as a pathway or model for Za'atari's direction, with a balance between planning and individual autonomy. Nonetheless, it remains a refugee camp, its inhabitants are under refugee status and are in a permanent state of suspended tem-

porary with regard to their futures.

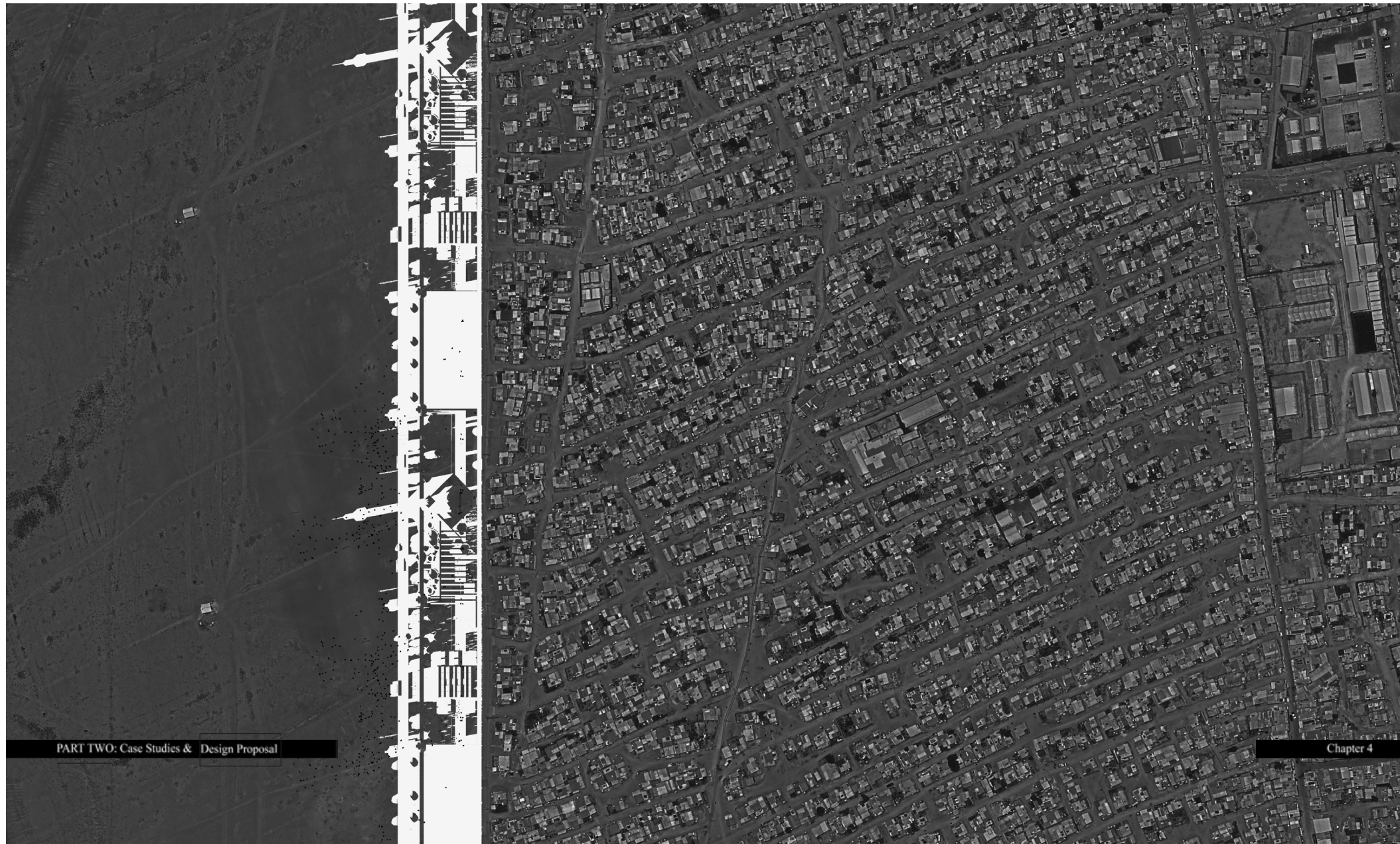
In essence this chapter mainly observes and questions the role of architect and architecture in these spaces.

**Same as Fig 3.11 Domiz camp.** :Credit: Created by Author, map taken from ArcGIS Pro software.



This drawing shows the evolution of the temporary tents to permanent dwellings.

Same as Fig. 3.12: Refugee Republic Project Created by Submarine Channel.

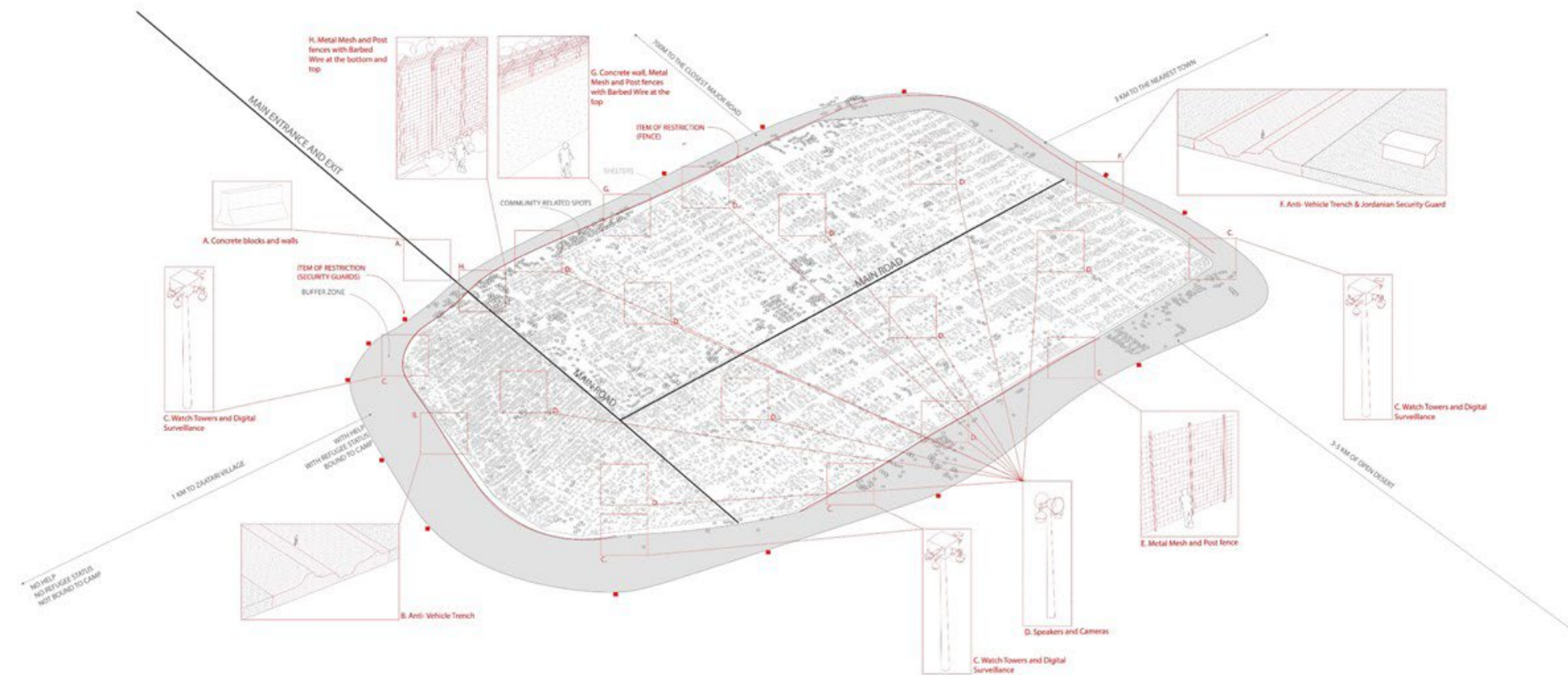


PART TWO: Case Studies & Design Proposal

Chapter 4

Same as Fig. 4.1: "New Wall"  
**Proposal Diagram** Credit: Created by  
Author, map taken from Google Earth  
Pro licensed with Public Domain:  
<https://creativecommons.org/publicdomain/mark/1.0/deed.en>. Attributions:  
Google Earth, Image ©2023 Maxar  
Technologies.

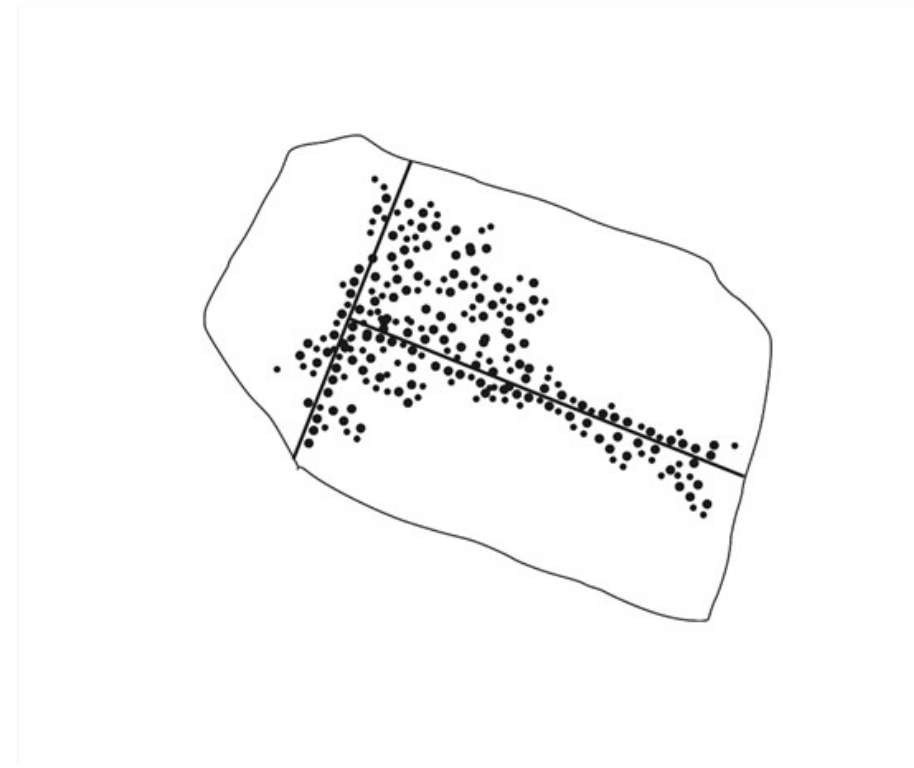




Za'atari camp is separated from the rest of Jordanian society by barbed-wire fences and walls along its edges. When examining edge conditions, the discussion about the difference between boundaries and borders is important. Drawing from the recent work of Sociology Professor Richard Sennett, in 2011, he begins describing borders in natural cells as a membrane, characterized by both porosity and resistance. He elaborates that "border" conditions are dynamic places of heightened biological ac-

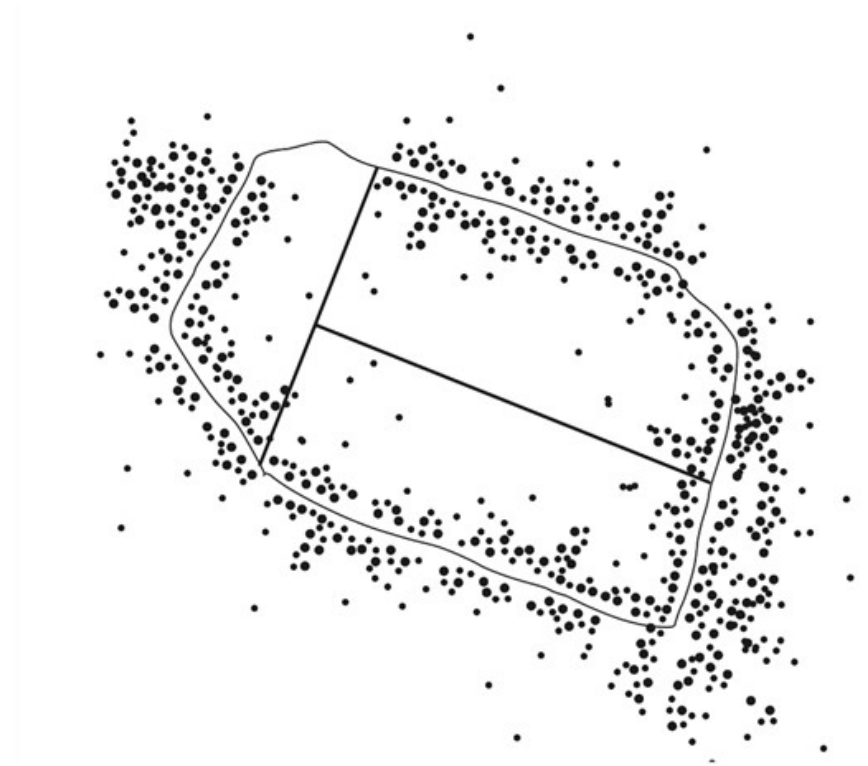
tivities compared to the center. In contrast, he defines "boundaries" as limits to a space, a static guarded territory that has lessened activities compared to the center. He further outlines that the same principles, although different scales, apply to urban planning and city development pointing out that the most important part of a city is its edge; ultimately encouraging urban planners to find ways in which boundaries could be turned into border conditions.

**Same as Fig. 4.2: Current Edge Conditions of Za'atari Camp.** The "Items of Restriction" which are marked in red indicate different barrier types in the entirety of the edge of the camp in order to keep the refugees inside. The northern edge has the most number and types of fences because the entrance and exist happens through the north edge. The west and East edges have anti-vehicular trenches and the southern border has moments of openness due to the vast desert in the south of the camp.  
*Credit: Author.*



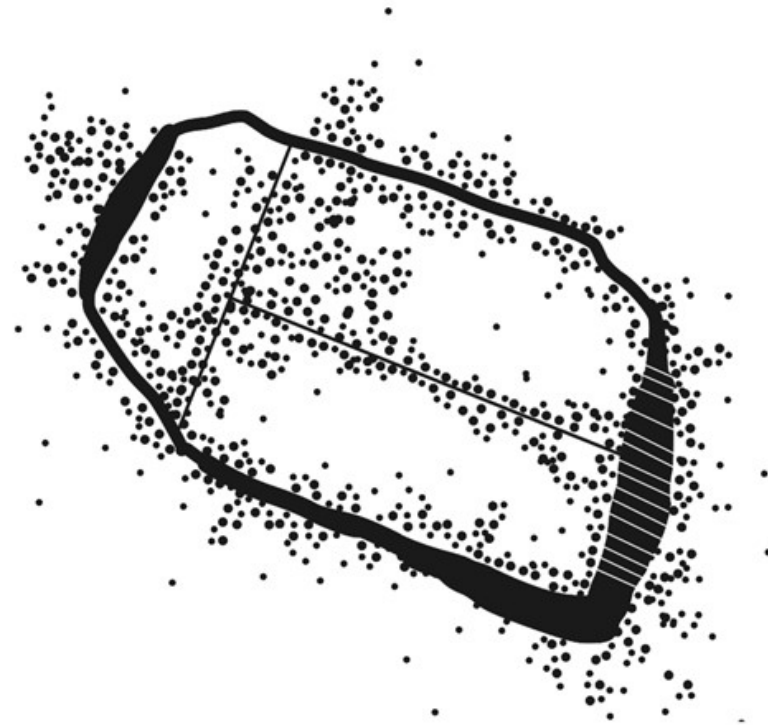
The current conditions of Za'atari camp through such a lens, suggest that the edge conditions are boundaries with the static guarded territory that have lessened activities, primarily reserve for Jordan securities and UN-HCR Offices, compared to the center where the main bazaars are located. Therefore, the design concept is to transform the fence, replacing it with a thickened "border" condition full of activity, creating a new edge, an encircling linear public realm forming a new periphery of the camp.

**Same as Fig. 4.3: Boundary and Border Condition.** *Top: Boundary condition (current condition) of Za'atari through the lens of Richard Sennett. Middle: Border condition typology of Za'atari camp through the lens of said theorist. Bottom: the condition that the design proposal is aiming for. Credit: Author.*



This is how a border condition typology looks like

**Same as Fig. 4.3: Boundary and Border Condition.** *Top: Boundary condition (current condition) of Za'atari through the lens of Richard Sennett. Middle: Border condition typology of Za'atari camp through the lens of said theorist. Bottom: the condition that the design proposal is aiming for. Credit: Author.*

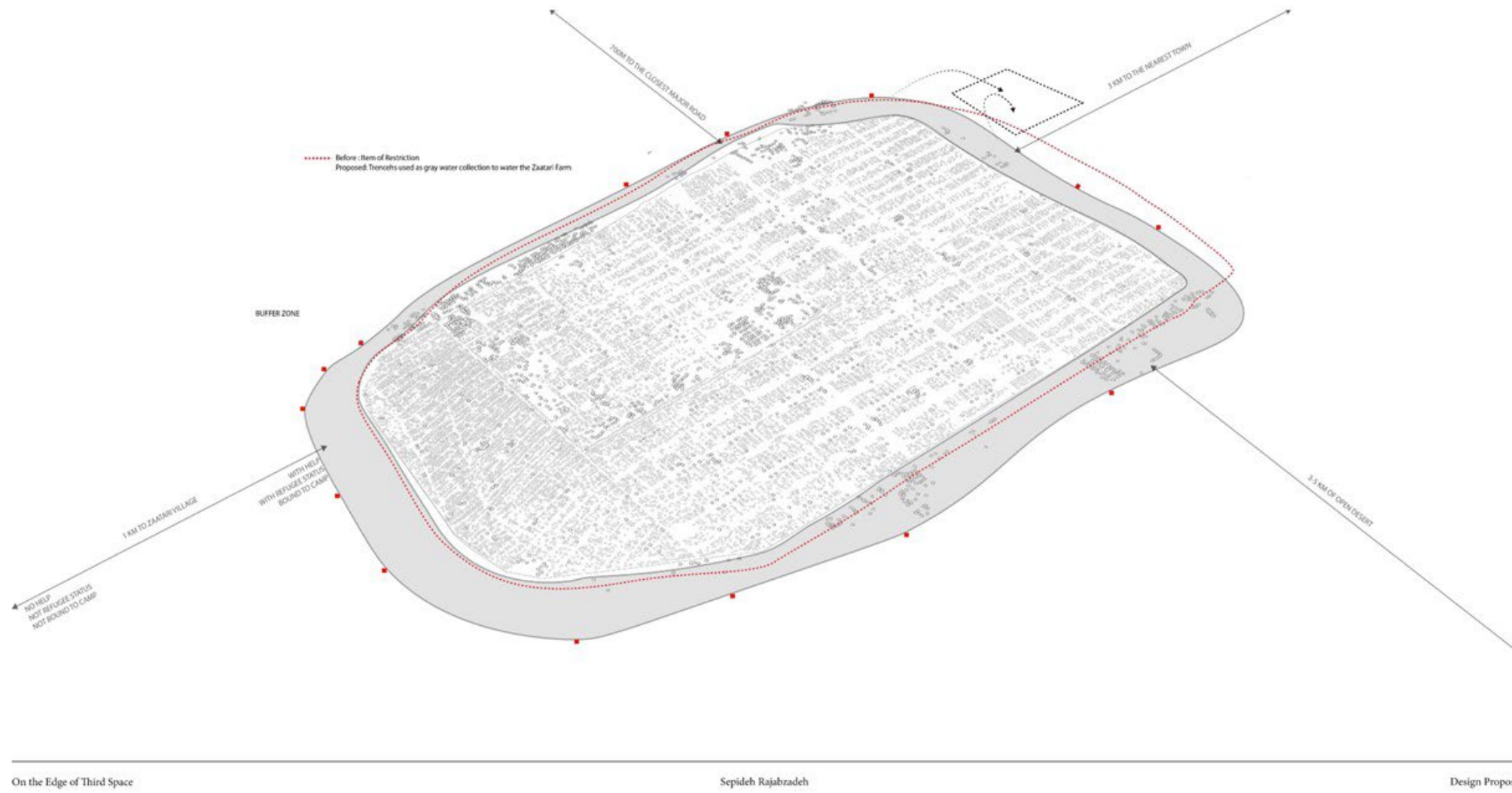


This is the condition that the design hopes to achieve.

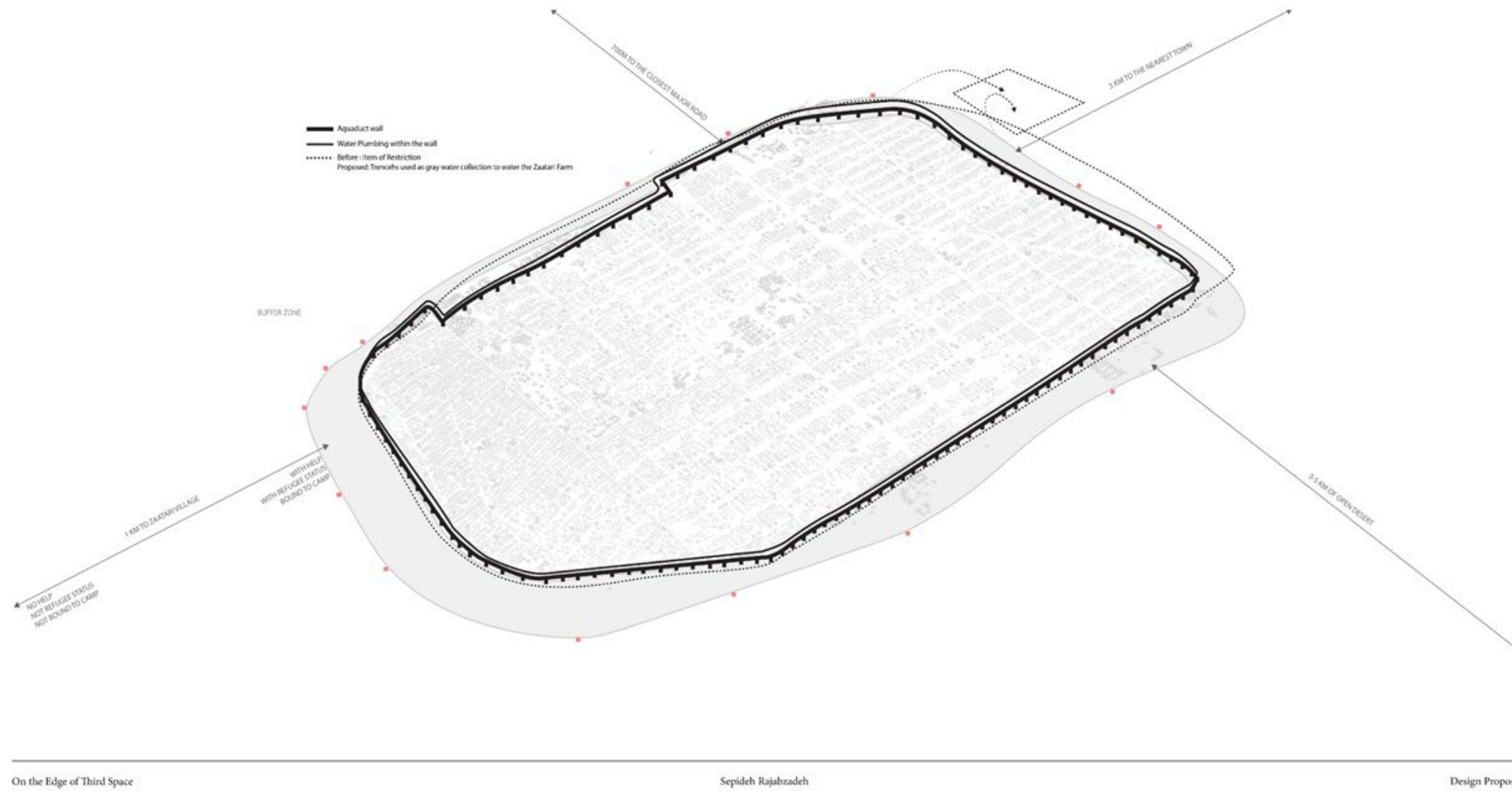
Currently, in the camp there are traces of preliminary potentials regarding the changing nature of refugees' relationship to some of these edge conditions. For instance, younger refugees come to the fence to connect to wifi towers located outside of the camp. Also, the southern border where programs like bore hole for water, solar panels, recycling center,

and schools. Consequently, making traveling to the edge of the camp to attend these schools a daily routine for those residing in these southern districts. So I am carrying through with this rhythm.

**Same as Fig. 4.3: Boundary and Border Condition.** *Top: Boundary condition (current condition) of Za'atari through the lens of Richard Sennett. Middle: Border condition typology of Za'atari camp through the lens of said theorist. Bottom: the condition that the design proposal is aiming for. Credit: Author.*

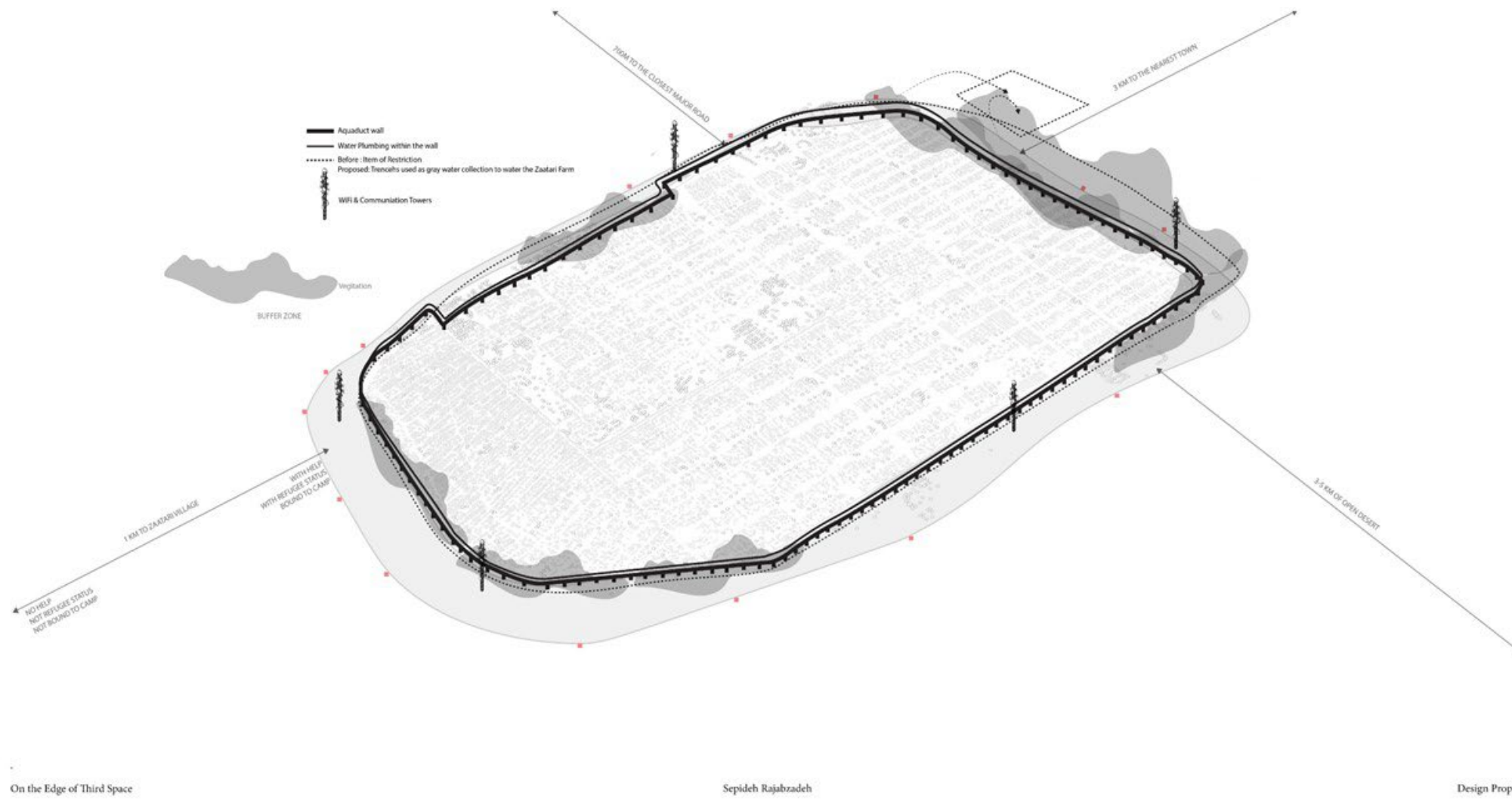


Same as Fig. 4.2: Current Edge Conditions of Za'atari Camp. The "Items of Restriction" which are marked in red indicate different barrier types in the entirety of the edge of the camp in order to keep the refugees inside. The northern edge has the most number and types of fences because the entrance and exist happens through the north edge. The west and East edges have anti-vehicular trenches and the southern border has moments of openness due to the vast desert in the south of the camp. Credit: Author.



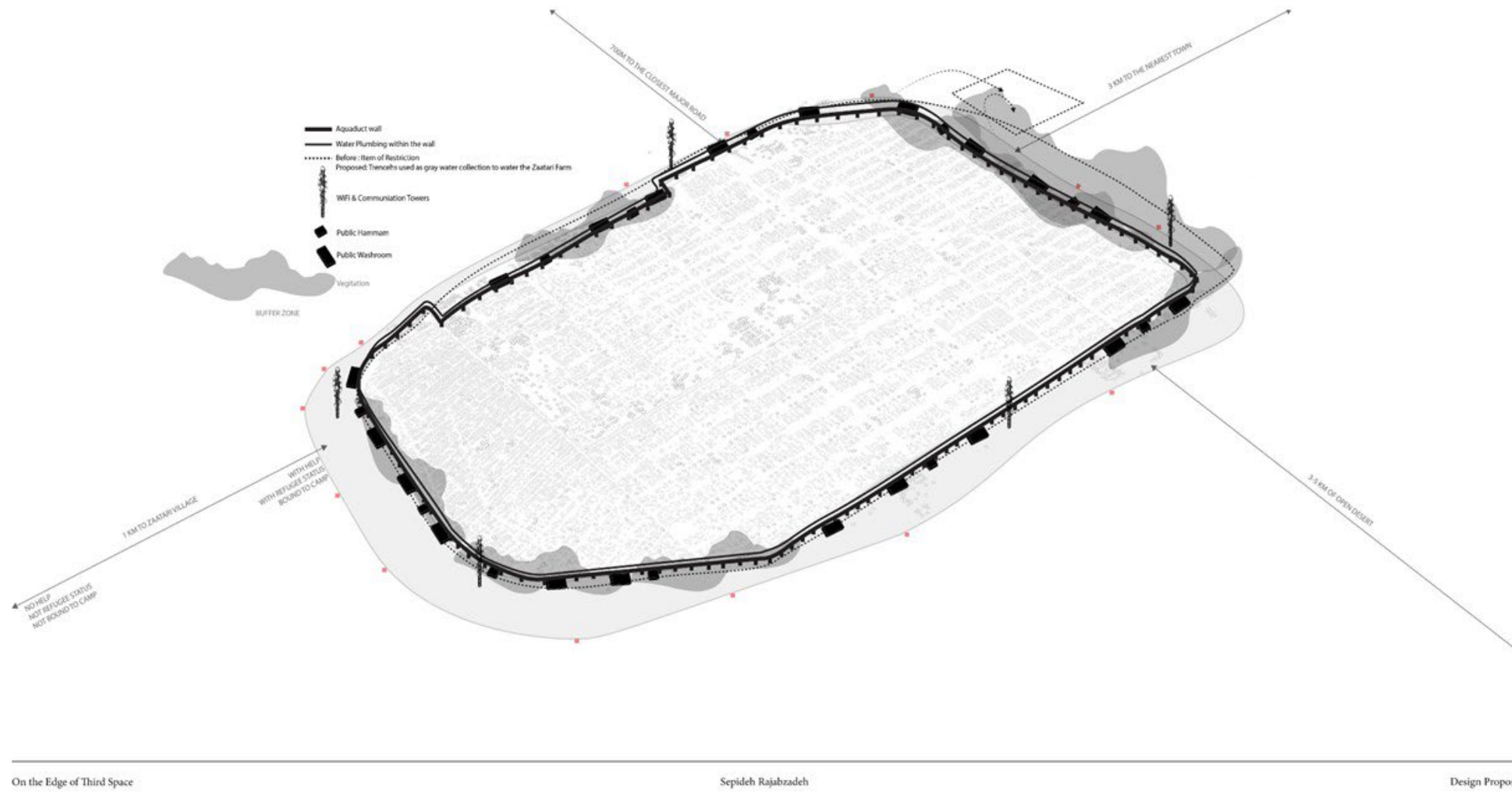
In the first step, the fence is replaced with an aqueduct wall which brings water to the entirety of the camp; to create a new relation between the residence and the edge conditions. Instead of formally having to stay away from the edges of the camp, the residents would now be encouraged to go to the wall in order to access water.

Same as Fig. 4.4: Phases of the “Overall Design Unit”, by the UNHCR. Starting from the removal of the current fences around the camp. Phase 1: construction of the aqueduct wall around the camp aiming to change the relationship of the refugees to the edges of the camp. (Encouraging and fostering life - access to water). Phase 2: more wifi towers and vegetation, continuing to encourage refugees to come to the edge areas. Phase 3: Public Hammams and washrooms at every few meters. Phase 4: mosque and phase 5 shows the addition of the hospitals again at every few meters. Credit: Author.



Then addition of more wifi towers and vegetation at the edge.

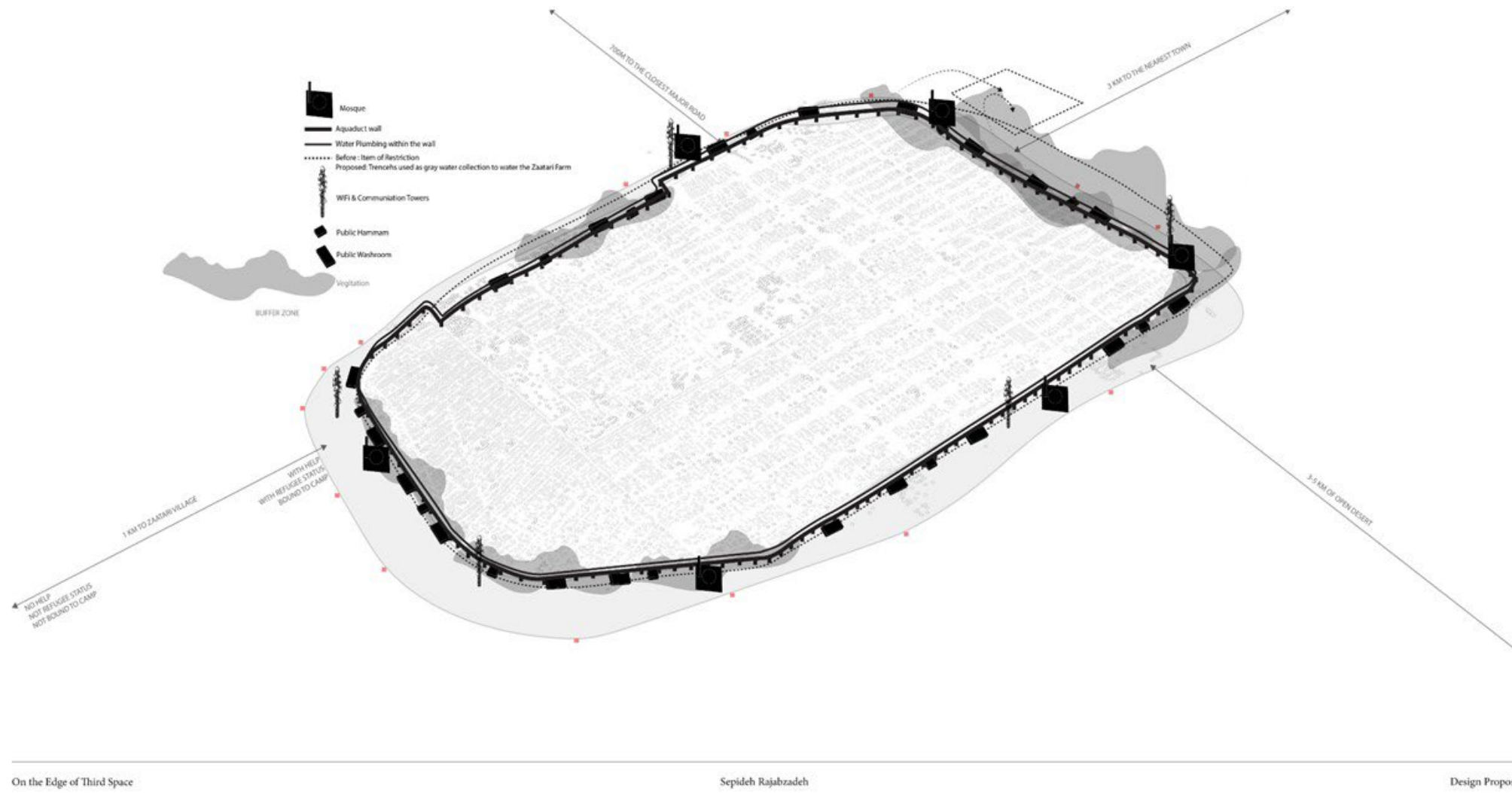
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Then public hammams and washrooms

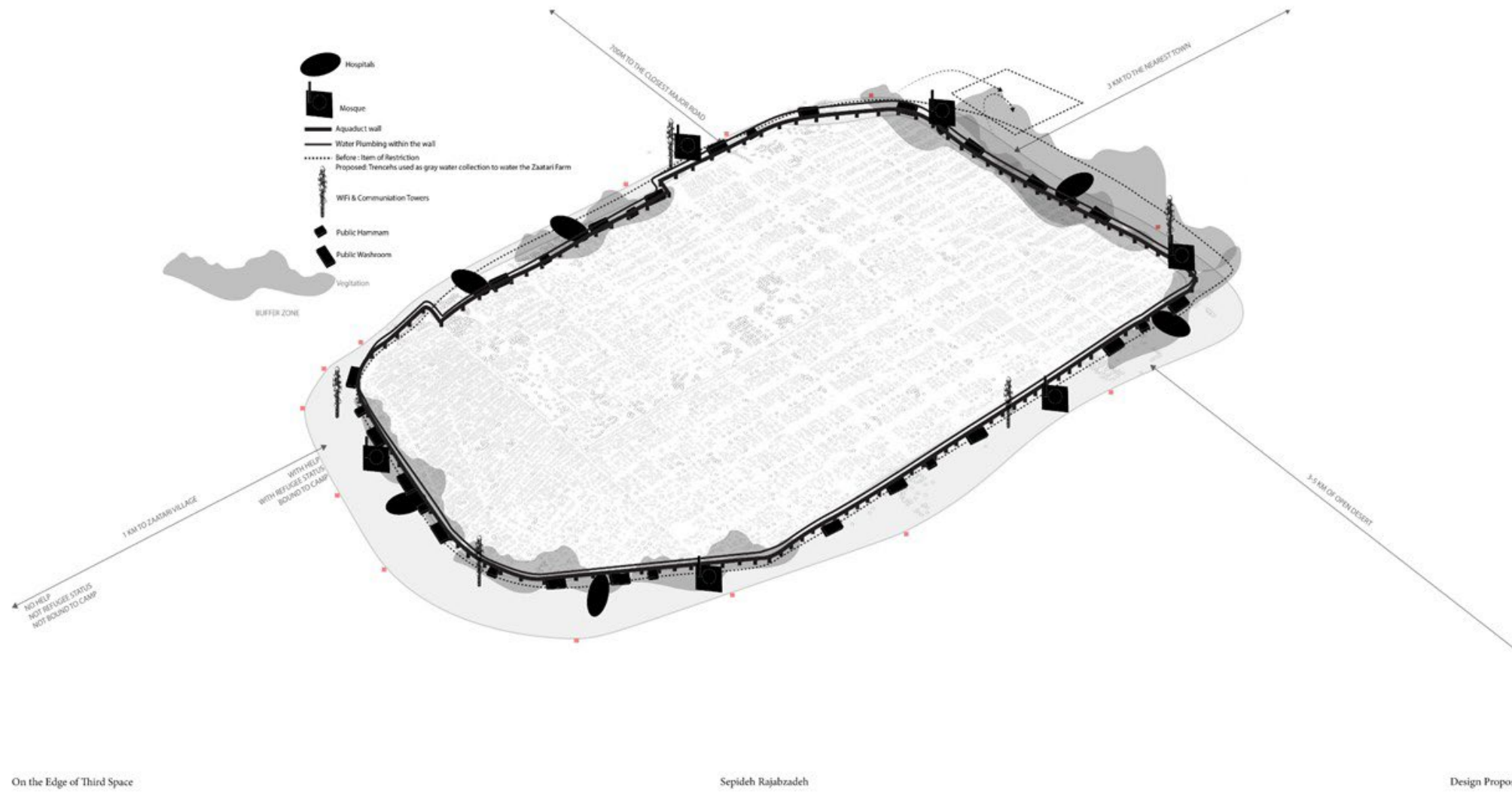
Same as Fig. 4.4: Phases of the “Overall Design Unit”, by the UNHCR. Starting from the removal of the current fences around the camp. Phase 1: construction of the aqueduct wall around the camp aiming to change the relationship of the refugees to the edges of the camp. (Encouraging and fostering life - access to water). Phase 2: more wifi towers and vegetation, continuing to encourage refugees to come to the edge areas. Phase 3: Public Hammams and washrooms at every few meters. Phase 4: mosque and phase 5 shows the addition of the hospitals again at every few meters. Credit: Author.





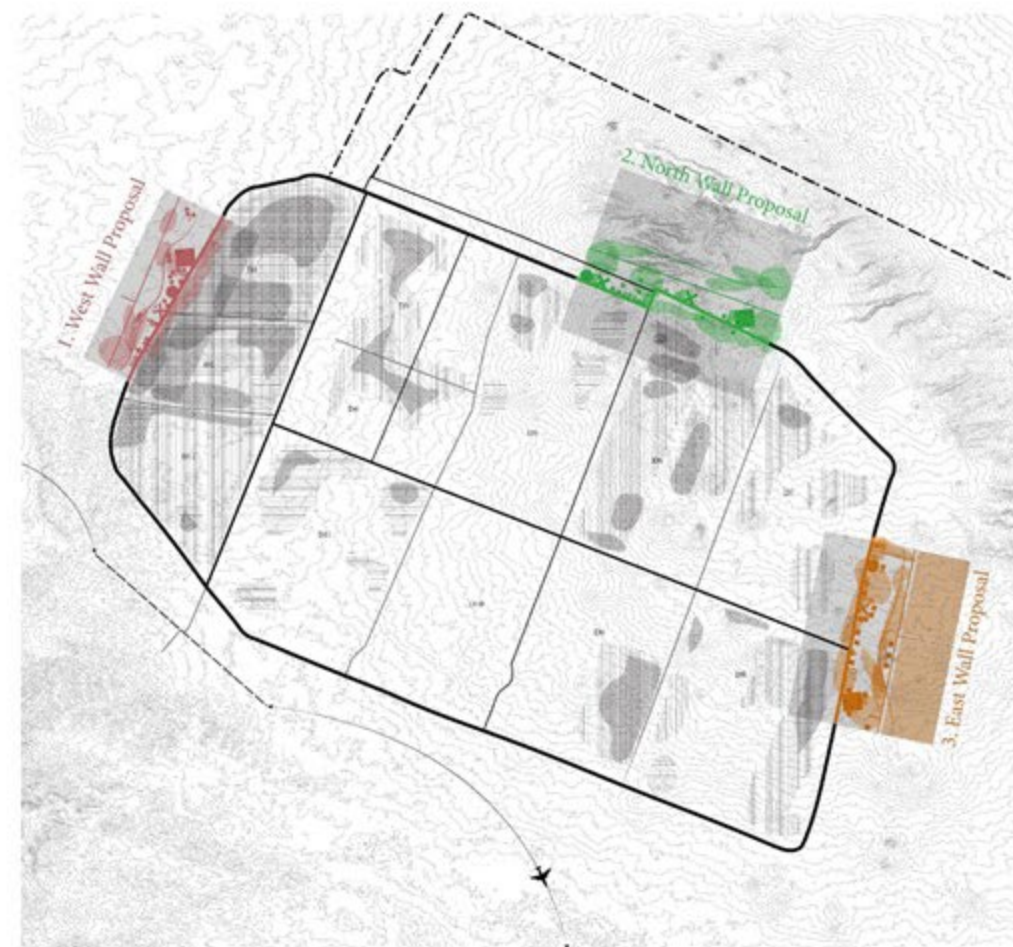
mosques

Same as Fig. 4.4: Phases of the “Overall Design Unit”, by the UNHCR. Starting from the removal of the current fences around the camp. Phase 1: construction of the aqueduct wall around the camp aiming to change the relationship of the refugees to the edges of the camp. (Encouraging and fostering life - access to water). Phase 2: more wifi towers and vegetation, continuing to encourage refugees to come to the edge areas. Phase 3: Public Hammams and washrooms at every few meters. Phase 4: mosque and phase 5 shows the addition of the hospitals again at every few meters. Credit: Author.



And hospitals. Anything beyond this point is stage 2.

Same as Fig. 4.4: Phases of the “Overall Design Unit”, by the UNHCR. Starting from the removal of the current fences around the camp. Phase 1: construction of the aqueduct wall around the camp aiming to change the relationship of the refugees to the edges of the camp. (Encouraging and fostering life - access to water). Phase 2: more wifi towers and vegetation, continuing to encourage refugees to come to the edge areas. Phase 3: Public Hammams and washrooms at every few meters. Phase 4: mosque and phase 5 shows the addition of the hospitals again at every few meters. Credit: Author.



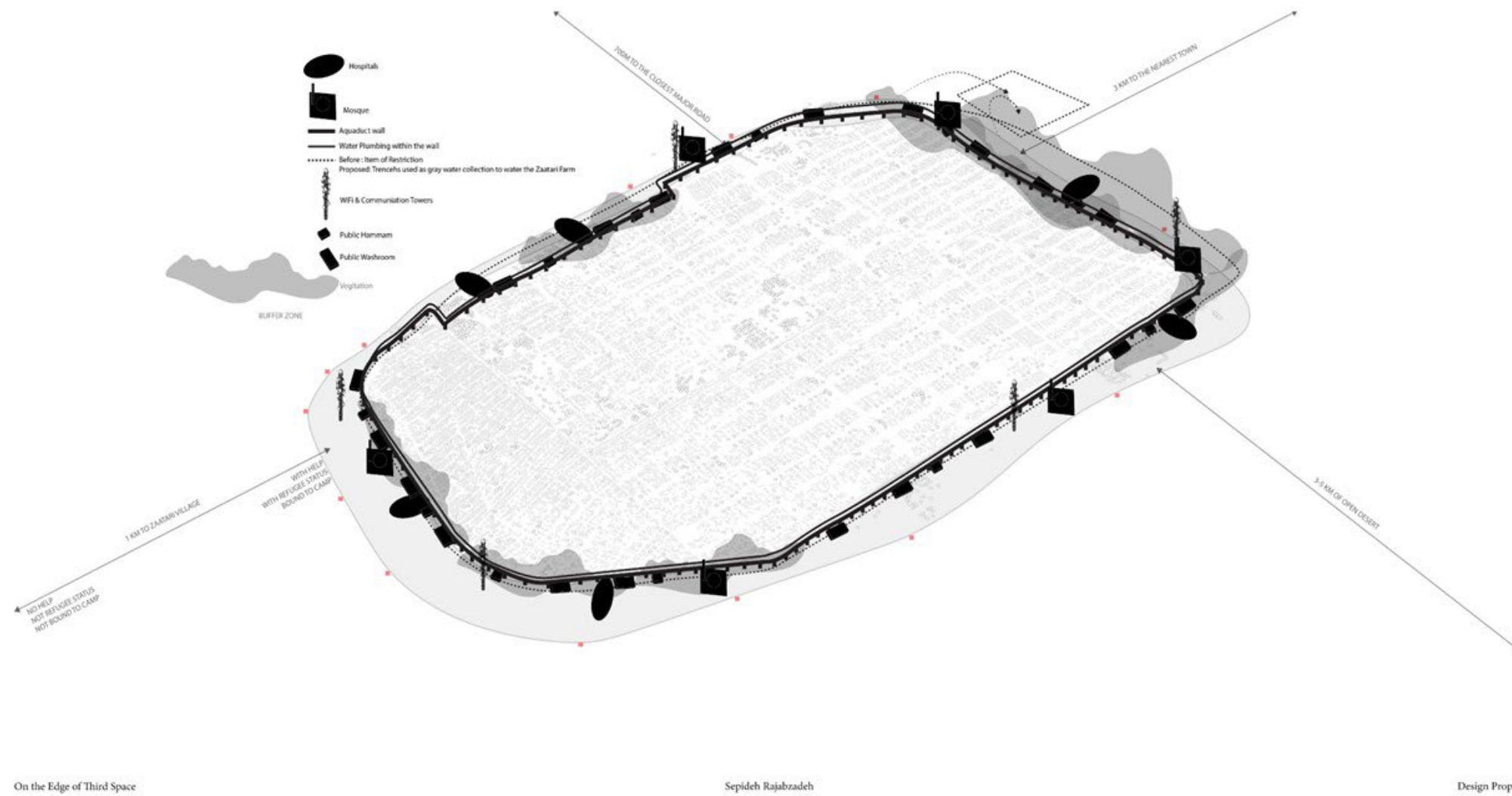
ipace

Sepideh Rajabzadeh

I have chosen moments on the west, north and east edge as design experiments. Each side grows into its own unique zone based on current site conditions.

Given how large the size of the camp is, one would imagine that over time the camp gets areas of pink, green and yellow in different parts of the wall.

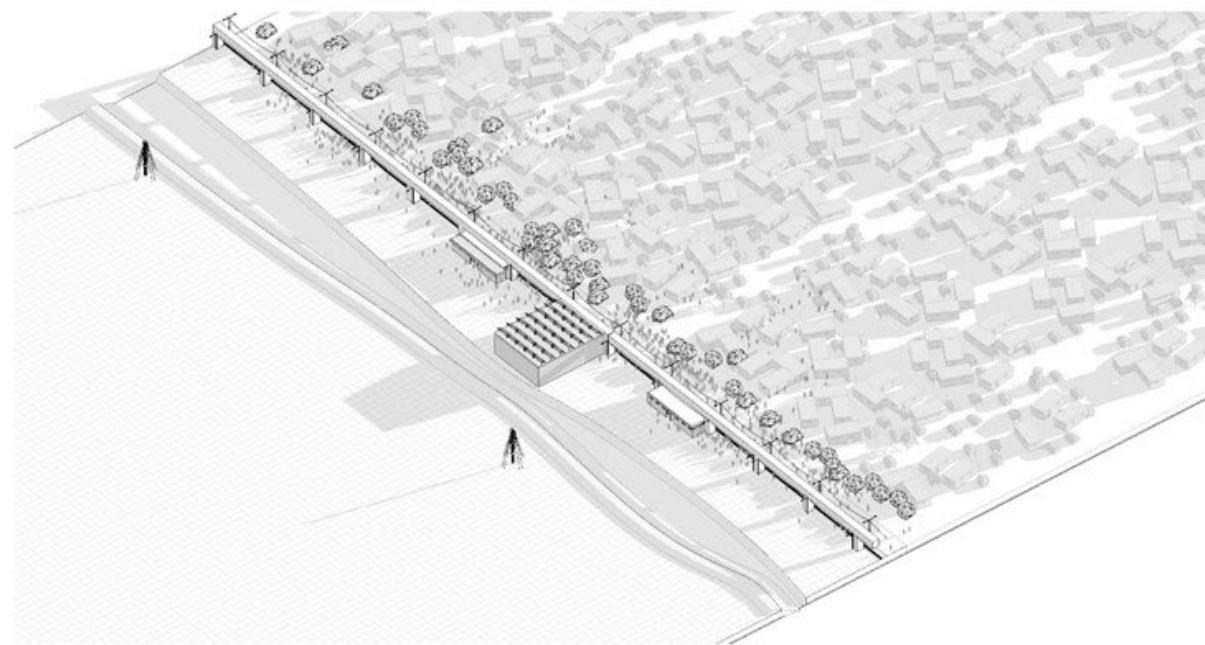
**Same as Fig. 4.7: Moments on the Wall.** West, north, east edge to run the design experiment on. Colour codes indicate which side of the camp they are. Credit: Author.



Before moving too far away from this slide, I would like to speak a little bit about the historic significance of the city gate in the ancient Middle East is recognized in the bible as a focal point of gathering for administrative and judicial proceedings. The elders, who were respected leaders in the community, often are said to be found at the gates, serving as judges and decision-makers. A similar principle applies to the edges of the Za'atari camp with the Jordanian authorities being placed around the edges to maintain peace within the camp as well as to control and monitor the edge condition. However, over time, as the need for defensive walls diminished, many cities expanded beyond these fortifications, leading to

the demolition or adaptation of them. In the context of a refugee camp, the fence was originally placed to prevent refugees from escaping, as evidenced. The refugees choose to stay in the camp not because of the existence of the fence, but rather due to the external systematic barriers and potential risks associated with resettling in others. Encouraging the reconsideration of the role of the fence or its existence as a whole.

**Same as Fig. 4.4: Phases of the "Overall Design Unit", by the UNHCR.** Starting from the removal of the current fences around the camp. Phase 1: construction of the aqueduct wall around the camp aiming to change the relationship of the refugees to the edges of the camp. (Encouraging and fostering life - access to water). Phase 2: more wifi towers and vegetation, continuing to encourage refugees to come to the edge areas. Phase 3: Public Hammams and washrooms at every few meters. Phase 4: mosque and phase 5 shows the addition of the hospitals again at every few meters. Credit: Author.



On the Edge of Third Space

Sepideh Rajabzadeh

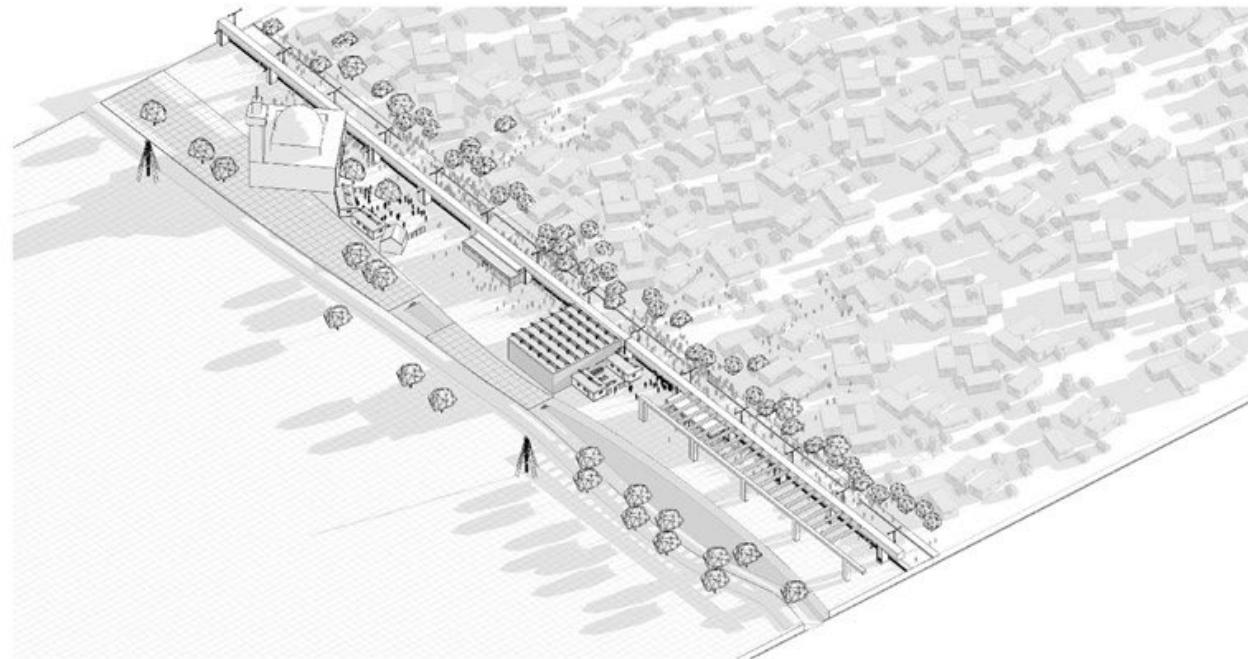
Design Proposal

The Western Wall – Educational, Cultural and Connection

This edge is currently separated by an anti-vehicular trench. This area is the old camp, which mainly houses families with children in different ages. The fabric of the area closest to the edge consists of modified tents and caravan shelters mainly residential, without any community-oriented programs.

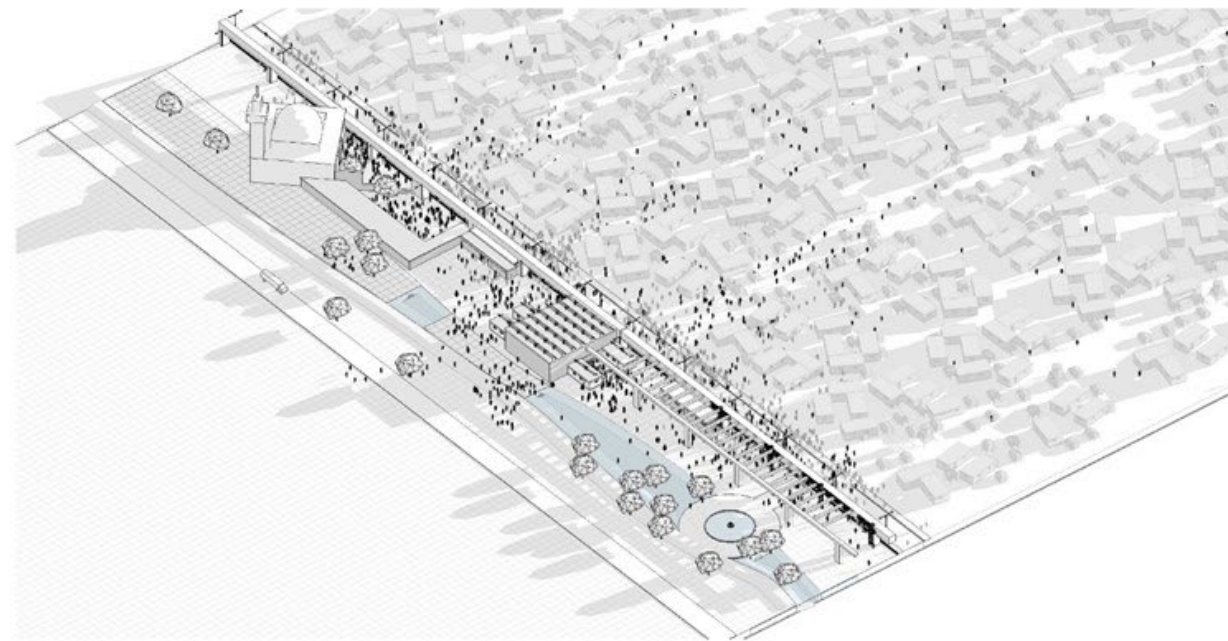
The program starts with phase 1 UNHCR base units, including the aqueduct, public bathrooms, a public hammam and wifi towers that are built at every few meters.

**Same as Fig. 4.11: Western Edge of the Camp.** Shows progression of the edge condition and its thickening over time in 4 phases. Starts from top left with phase 1 and base programs created by UNHCR (Overall Design Unit). Moving one image over to phase 2 with more programs that are initiated by the refugees. Moving one more image over to the right at phase 3, there is more programs as well as more population coming from inside the camp to the edge. There is also more population approaching the edge condition from outside of the camp. Pink arrows are the movement of refugees from inside the camp, black arrows are non-refugees (Jordanians). *Credit: Author.*



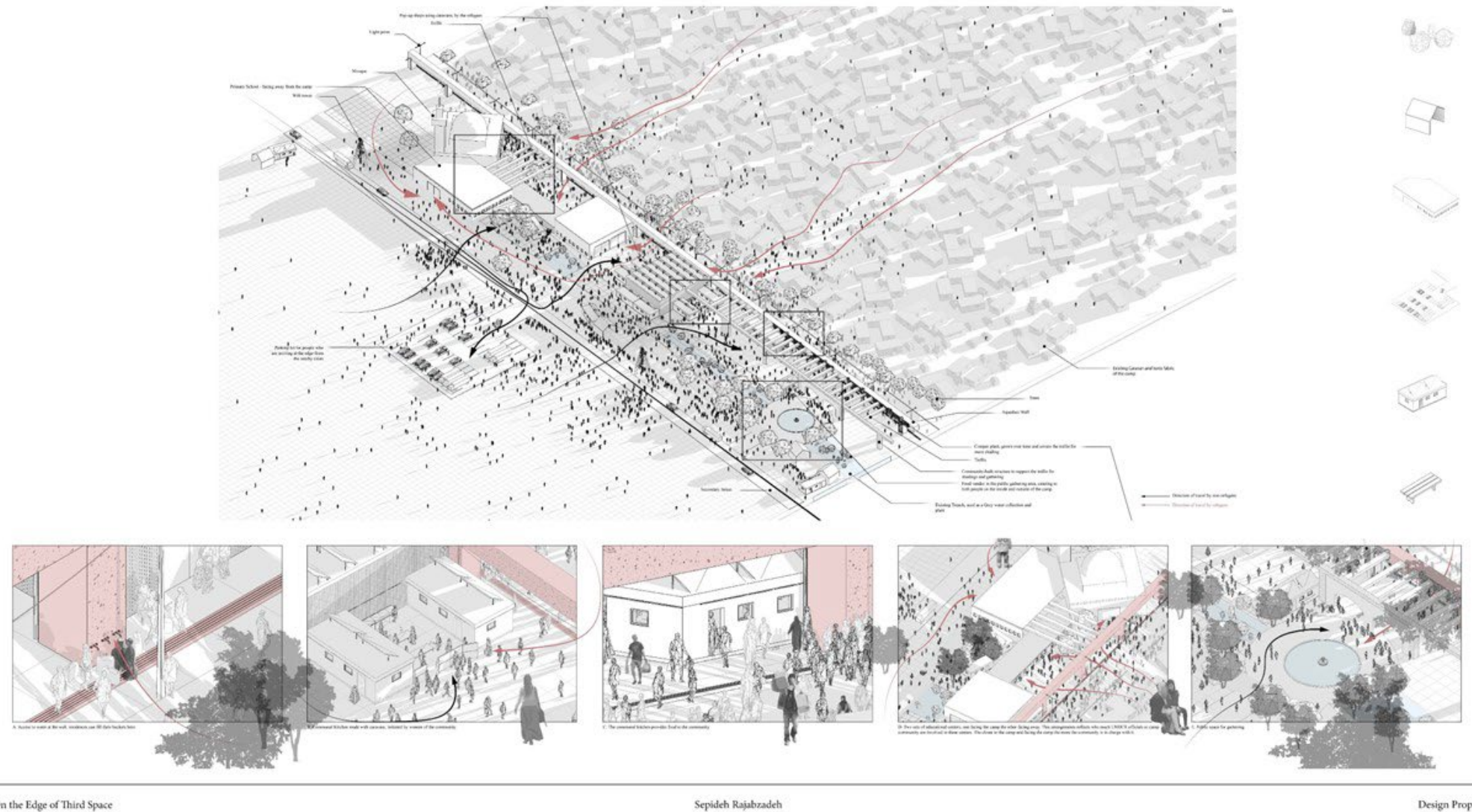
Phase 2 includes community-making programs such as a mosque as well as a communal kitchen using UNHCR caravans.

**Same as Fig. 4.11: Western Edge of the Camp.** Shows progression of the edge condition and its thickening over time in 4 phases. Starts from top left with phase 1 and base programs created by UNHCR (Overall Design Unit). Moving one image over to phase 2 with more programs that are initiated by the refugees. Moving one more image over to the right at phase 3, there is more programs as well as more population coming from inside the camp to the edge. There is also more population approaching the edge condition from outside of the camp. Pink arrows are the movement of refugees from inside the camp, black arrows are non-refugees (Jordanians). *Credit: Author.*



Phase 3 is about encouraging participation in place-making by the refugees using community-based initiatives such as makeshift classes close to the mosque, pop-up markets closer to the edge of the camp, and food vendors that cater to residents of the camp as well as Jordanian citizens coming to the edge of the camp from urban areas.

**Same as Fig. 4.11: Western Edge of the Camp.** Shows progression of the edge condition and its thickening over time in 4 phases. Starts from top left with phase 1 and base programs created by UNHCR (Overall Design Unit). Moving one image over to phase 2 with more programs that are initiated by the refugees. Moving one more image over to the right at phase 3, there is more programs as well as more population coming from inside the camp to the edge. There is also more population approaching the edge condition from outside of the camp. Pink arrows are the movement of refugees from inside the camp, black arrows are non-refugees (Jordanians). *Credit: Author.*

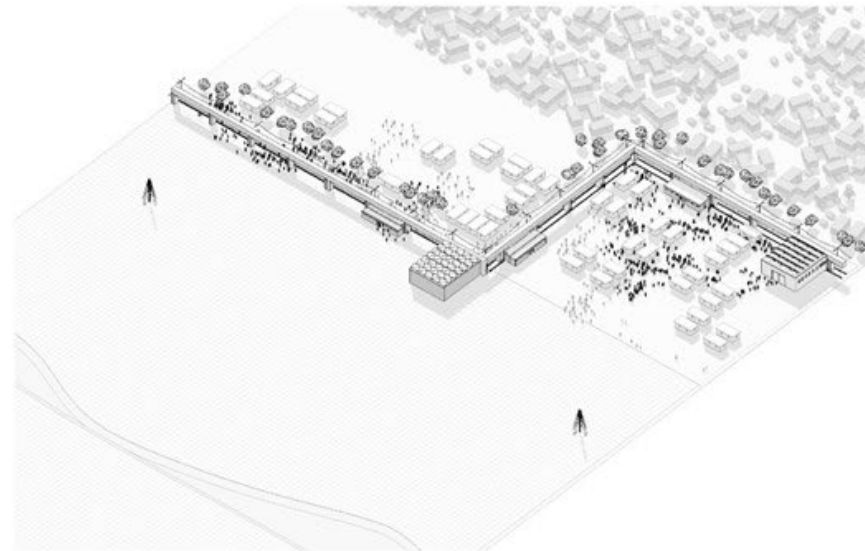


Phase 4 focuses on the connection of the camp to the outside world by a secondary road and a parking space, as well as drifting into the organic growth and self-organization of this edge while moving closer to the notion of a third space and a place of heightened activity, exchange and communication. The orientation of some programs towards the camp and others away from it, along with their location near the camp's edge, indicates the

varying levels of supervision from the UNHCR versus the camp's residents. For instance, primary schools catering to younger children are expected to be under stricter UNHCR supervision. Therefore, they are situated facing away from the camp to minimize interference from local street leaders. In contrast, high schools serve older students who are presumed to be better equipped to fend for themselves and hence might have less direct UNHCR oversight.

Same as Fig. 4.11: Western Edge of the Camp. Shows progression of the edge condition and its thickening over time in 4 phases. Starts from top left with phase 1 and base programs created by UNHCR (Overall Design Unit). Moving one image over to phase 2 with more programs that are initiated by the refugees. Moving one more image over to the right at phase 3, there is more programs as well as more population coming from inside the camp to the edge. There is also more population approaching the edge condition from outside of the camp. Pink arrows are the movement of refugees from inside the camp, black arrows are non-refugees (Jordanians). Credit: Author.

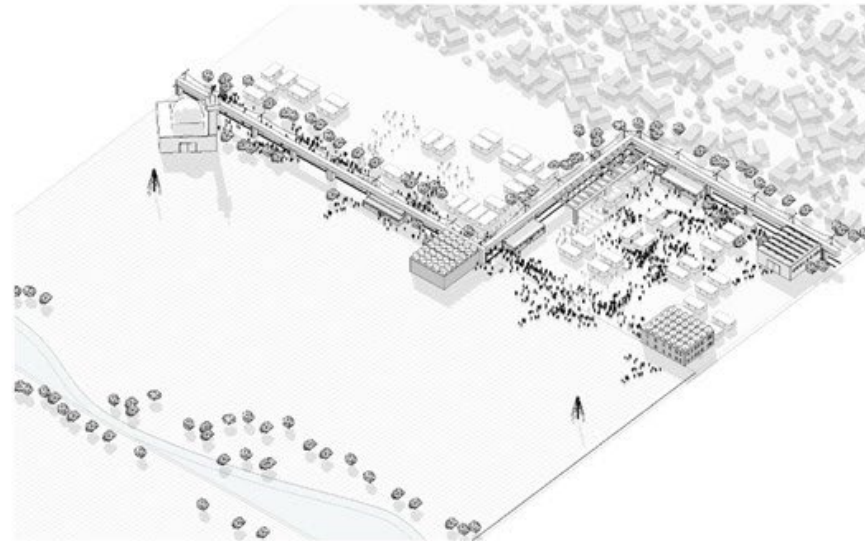




### The Northern Wall – New Arrivals

Currently, in the Za’atari camp, the north wall marks the entrance to the camp, and functions as the gate where judgment takes place; in the form of interviews conducted by UNHCR officers. . Therefore, this edge condition is envisioned to be thinner than the edges on the west and east of the camp.

**Same as 4.15: Northern edge of the camp**, shows progression of the edge condition and its thickening over time in 3 phases. Starts from top left with phase 1 and base programs created by UNHCR (Overall Unit Design). Moving one image over to phase 2 with more programs that are initiated by the refugees and more spaces for the new arrivals. Moving one more image over to the right at phase 3, there is more programs as well as more population coming from inside the camp to the edge, as well as a some population approaching the edge condition from outside of the camp. Green arrow is the movement of the refugees from inside the camp and the black is the direction of movement of the new arrivals outside of the camp. *Credit: Author.*



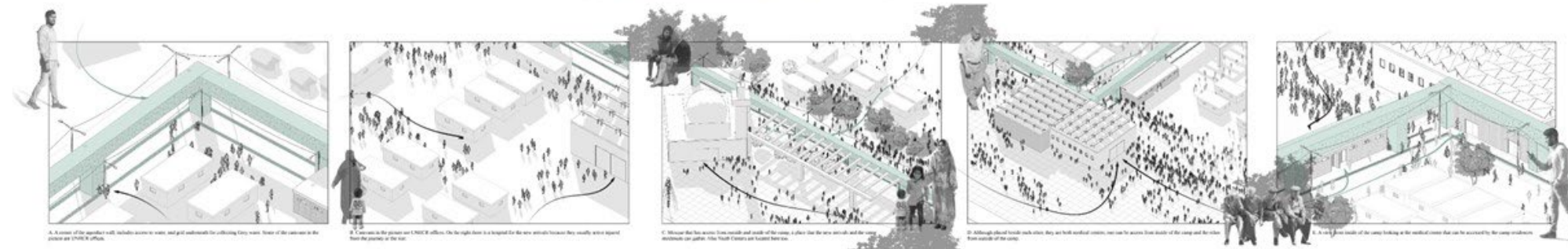
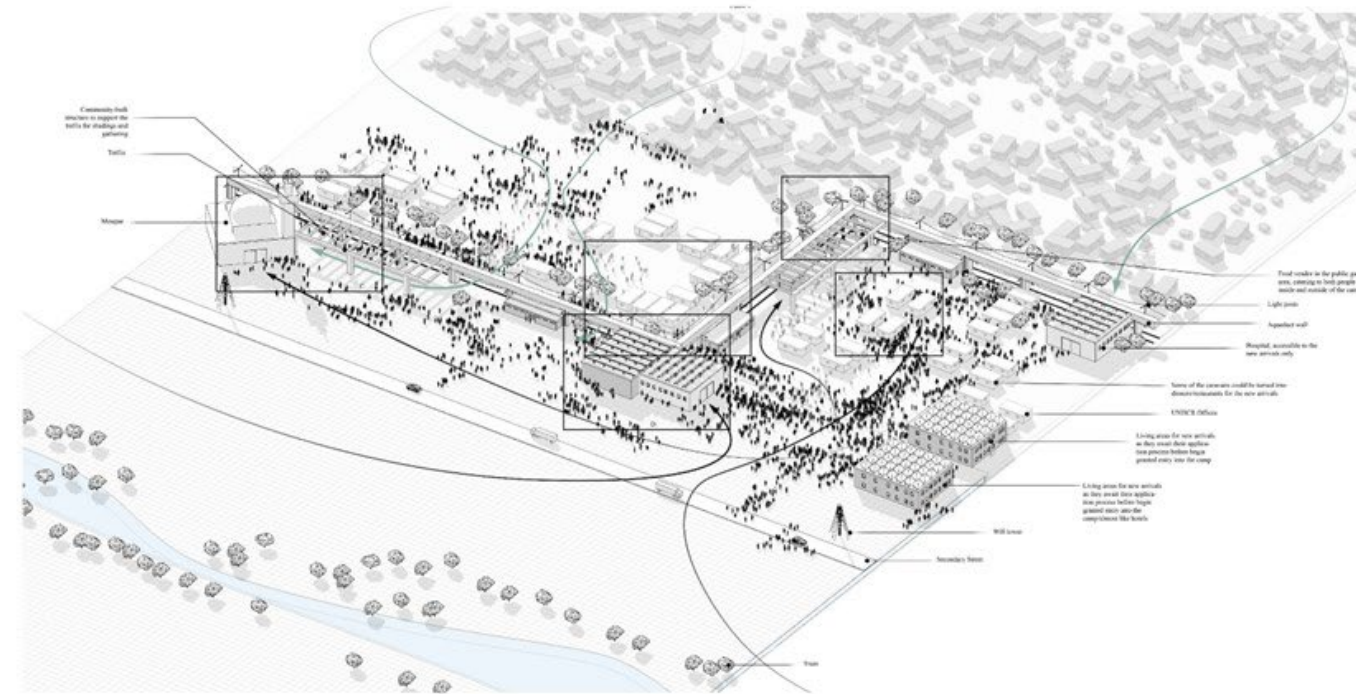
On the Edge of Third Space

Sepideh Rajabzadeh

Design Proposal

The public washroom, food vendors, public hammams, a hospital and a mosque facing away from the camp while they wait to be recorded with UNHCR before being granted entrance to the camp. Almost like a lobby/ hotel area.

**Same as 4.15: Northern edge of the camp,** shows progression of the edge condition and its thickening over time in 3 phases. Starts from top left with phase 1 and base programs created by UNHCR (Overall Unit Design). Moving one image over to phase 2 with more programs that are initiated by the refugees and more spaces for the new arrivals. Moving one more image over to the right at phase 3, there is more programs as well as more population coming from inside the camp to the edge, as well as a some population approaching the edge condition from outside of the camp. Green arrow is the movement of the refugees from inside the camp and the black is the direction of movement of the new arrivals outside of the camp. *Credit: Author.*



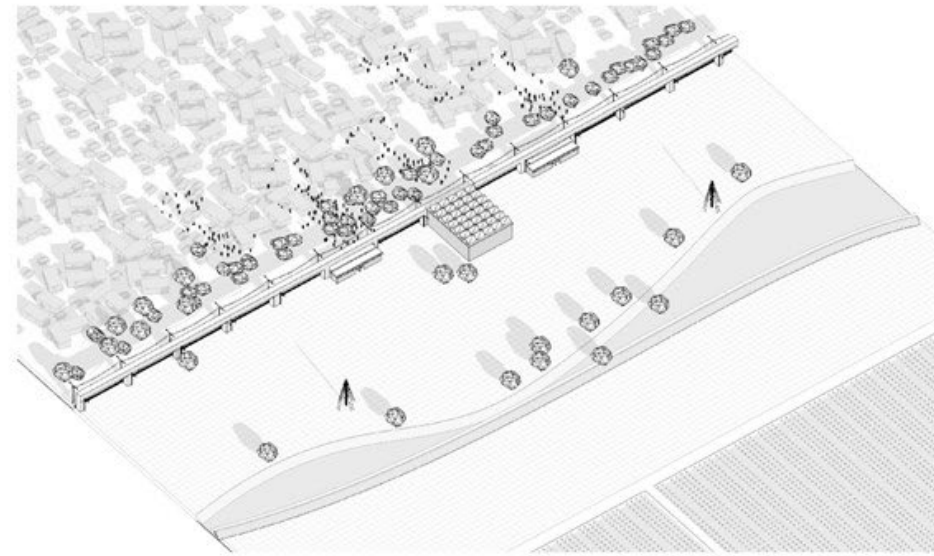
On the Edge of Third Space

Sepideh Rajabzadeh

Design Proposal

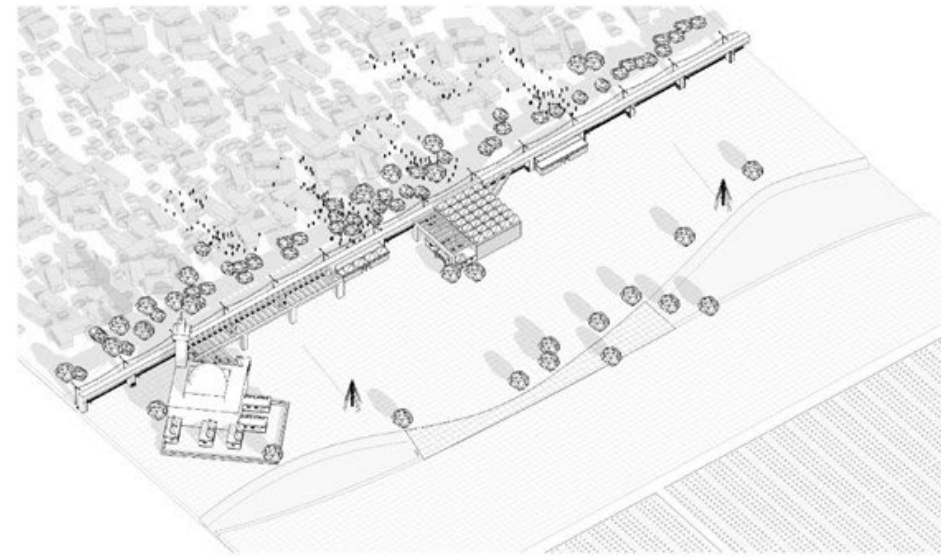
Phase 3, with heightened activities between new arrivals and the refugees within the camp.

Same as 4.15: Northern edge of the camp, shows progression of the edge condition and its thickening over time in 3 phases. Starts from top left with phase 1 and base programs created by UNHCR (Overall Unit Design). Moving one image over to phase 2 with more programs that are initiated by the refugees and more spaces for the new arrivals. Moving one more image over to the right at phase 3, there is more programs as well as more population coming from inside the camp to the edge, as well as a some population approaching the edge condition from outside of the camp. Green arrow is the movement of the refugees from inside the camp and the black is the direction of movement of the new arrivals outside of the camp. Credit: Author.



The Eastern Wall - Agricultural and Prosperity  
 Like west, like higher crime and access to farm lands

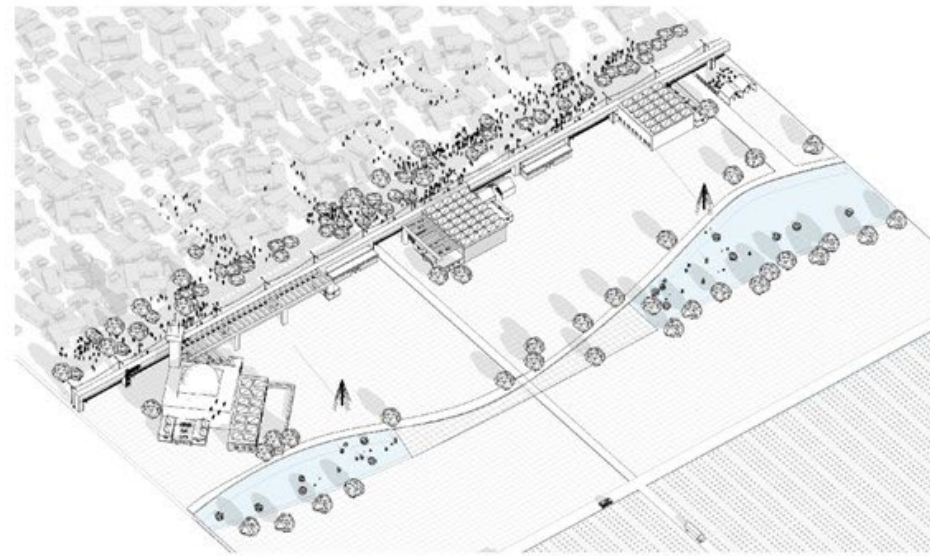
Same as Fig. 4.19: Eastern Edge of the Camp. Shows progression of the edge condition and its thickening over time in 4 phases. Starts from top left with phase 1 and base programs created by UNHCR (Overall Design Unit). Moving one image over to phase 2 with more programs that are initiated by the refugees. Moving one more image over to the right at phase 3, there is more programs as well as more population coming from inside the camp to the edge. Phase 4 is the main image, there is more population approaching the edge condition from outside of the camp. Orange arrows are the movement of refugees from inside the camp, black arrows are non-refugees (Jordanians). Credit: Author.



The proposal envisions this edge to be the agricultural, food-oriented and income-generating edge of the camp throughout the years to come. The program starts with phase 1 UNHCR base units, including the aqueduct, public bathrooms, a public hammam and Wi-Fi towers that are built every few meters. Phase 2 includes community-making programs such as a mosque as well as a communal kitchen using UNHCR caravans and make-shift classes. These smaller programs are envisioned to develop

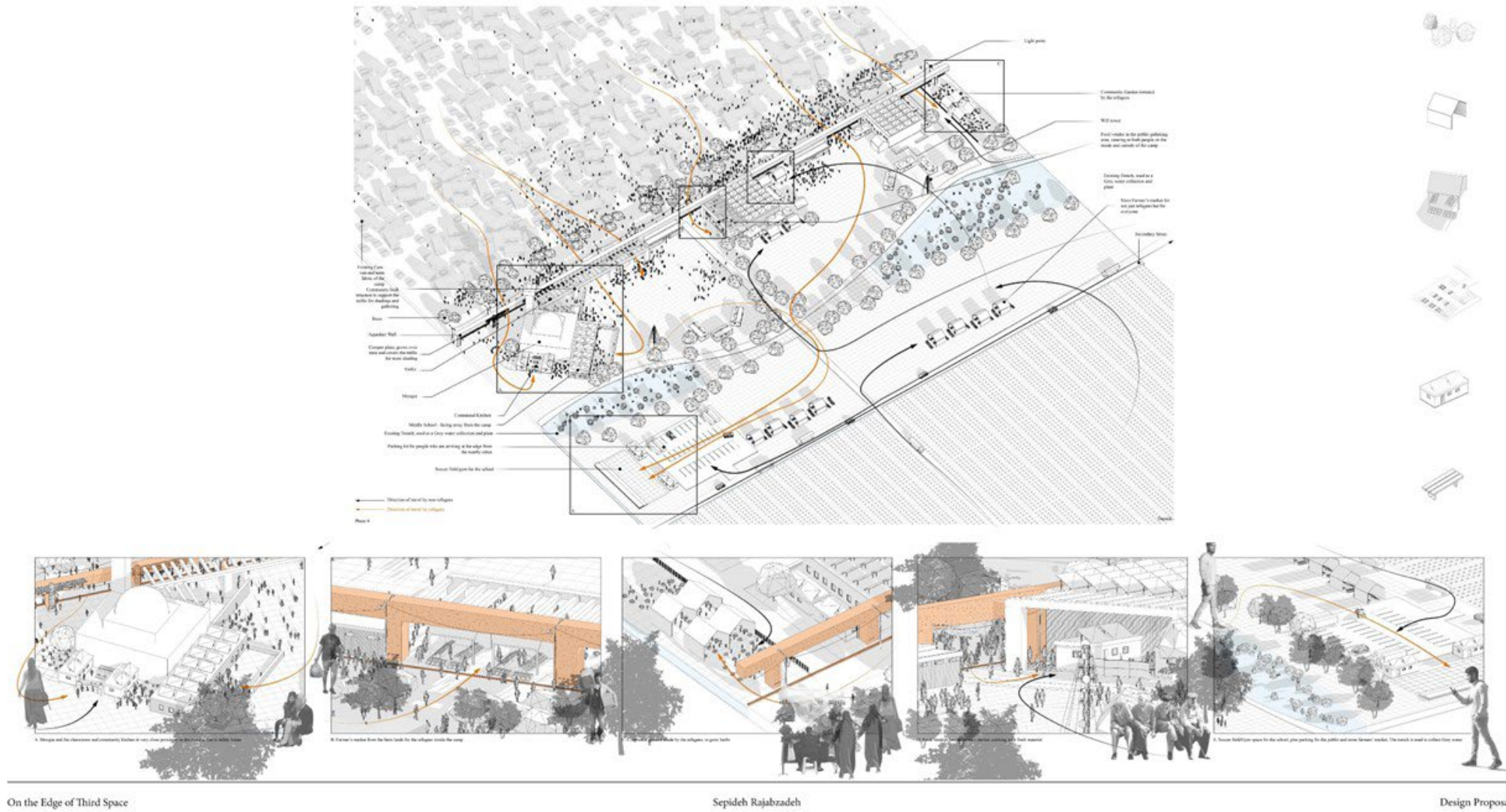
more cautiously and closely to the mosque clustered together rather than more sporadically unlike the western wall, due to high rates of crime on this side of the camp.

**Same as Fig. 4.19: Eastern Edge of the Camp.** Shows progression of the edge condition and its thickening over time in 4 phases. Starts from top left with phase 1 and base programs created by UNHCR (Overall Design Unit). Moving one image over to phase 2 with more programs that are initiated by the refugees. Moving one more image over to the right at phase 3, there is more programs as well as more population coming from inside the camp to the edge. Phase 4 is the main image, there is more population approaching the edge condition from outside of the camp. Orange arrows are the movement of refugees from inside the camp, black arrows are non-refugees (Jordanians).  
*Credit: Author.*



Phase 3 is about encouraging participation in place-making by the refugees using community-based initiatives such as the development of community gardens, pop-up farmers' markets bringing fresh produce to the inhabitants of the camp closer to the edge of the camp, and food vendors that cater to both sides. Also make-shift classes develop into permanent classes close to the mosque

**Same as Fig. 4.19: Eastern Edge of the Camp.** Shows progression of the edge condition and its thickening over time in 4 phases. Starts from top left with phase 1 and base programs created by UNHCR (Overall Design Unit). Moving one image over to phase 2 with more programs that are initiated by the refugees. Moving one more image over to the right at phase 3, there is more programs as well as more population coming from inside the camp to the edge. Phase 4 is the main image, there is more population approaching the edge condition from outside of the camp. Orange arrows are the movement of refugees from inside the camp, black arrows are non-refugees (Jordanians).  
*Credit: Author.*



Phase 4 focuses on the connection of the camp to the outside world by a secondary road and a parking space, as well as more farmer markets for residents inside and citizens outside of the camp, as a way of participating in the bigger economy of Jordan, this phase envisions a drift into the organic growth and self-organization of this edge .

Same as Fig. 4.19: Eastern Edge of the Camp. Shows progression of the edge condition and its thickening over time in 4 phases. Starts from top left with phase 1 and base programs created by UNHCR (Overall Design Unit). Moving one image over to phase 2 with more programs that are initiated by the refugees. Moving one more image over to the right at phase 3, there is more programs as well as more population coming from inside the camp to the edge. Phase 4 is the main image, there is more population approaching the edge condition from outside of the camp. Orange arrows are the movement of refugees from inside the camp, black arrows are non-refugees (Jordanians).  
 Credit: Author.



This elevation shows the starting stage of the aqueduct wall and the voids within the wall.

**Same as Fig. 4.21: Progress Elevation of the Wall.** First elevation shows the wall in phase 1 with the "Overall Design Unit". The wall is seen to have the main programs with many voids to be filled in between the pillars. As the design progresses to phase 4 moving downward in the image one can see the gradual filling of the voids by programs that are created as the border condition thickens. Credit: Created by Author.





As we progress in time, one observes how the voids get filled up, with a thickened border condition.

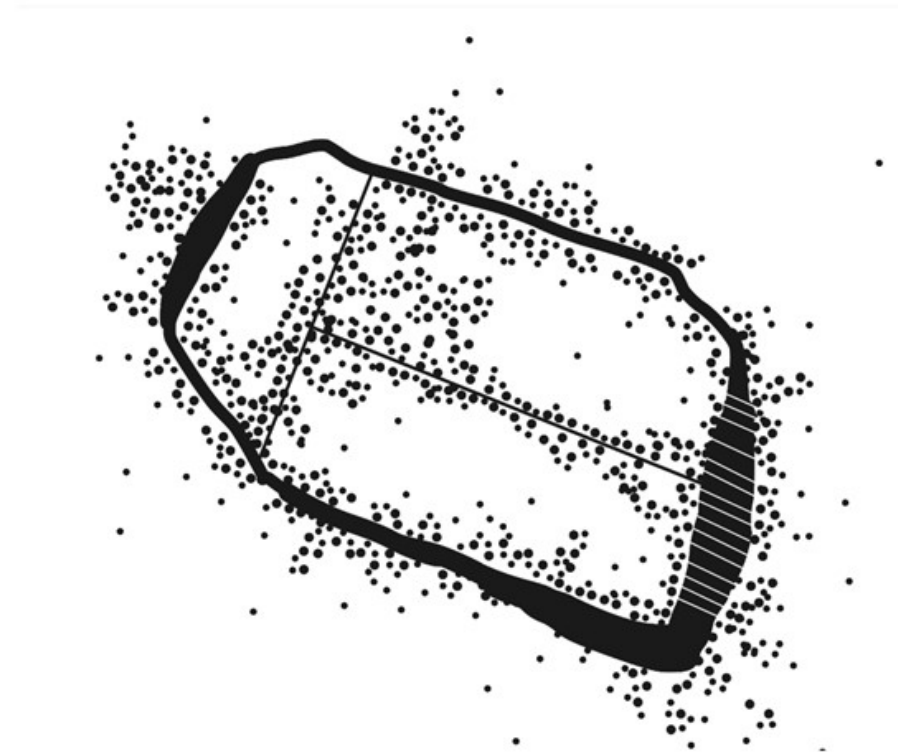
**Same as Fig. 4.21: Progress Elevation of the Wall.** First elevation shows the wall in phase 1 with the "Overall Design Unit". The wall is seen to have the main programs with many voids to be filled in between the pillars. As the design progresses to phase 4 moving downward in the image one can see the gradual filling of the voids by programs that are created as the border condition thickens. Credit: Created by Author.



**Same as Fig. 4.21: Progress Elevation of the Wall.** First elevation shows the wall in phase 1 with the "Overall Design Unit". The wall is seen to have the main programs with many voids to be filled in between the pillars. As the design progresses to phase 4 moving downward in the image one can see the gradual filling of the voids by programs that are created as the border condition thickens. Credit: Created by Author.



**Same as Fig. 4.21: Progress Elevation of the Wall.** First elevation shows the wall in phase 1 with the "Overall Design Unit". The wall is seen to have the main programs with many voids to be filled in between the pillars. As the design progresses to phase 4 moving downward in the image one can see the gradual filling of the voids by programs that are created as the border condition thickens. Credit: Created by Author.

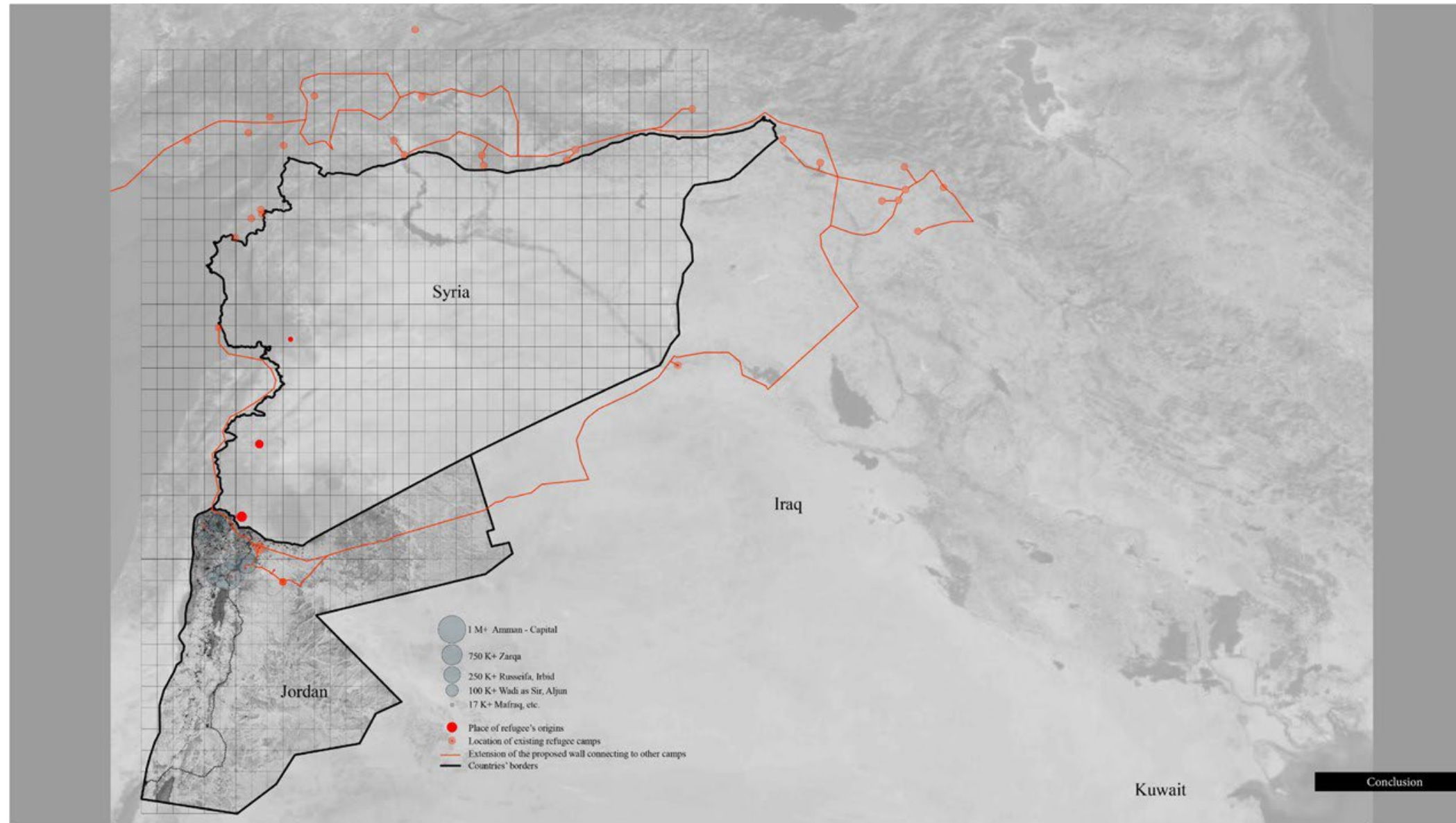


The design concept envisions transforming refugee camps from mere places of confinement to hubs of opportunity. Rooted in the ‘third space’ theory. A key element in this vision is the removal of existing fences, blending the camp’s boundaries with the external world. The design leads with a cautious role of the architect, not merely as a designer of static objects but as an organizer of a continuous place-making process. This shift from a thin metal fence that functions as an element of the divide to a thriving, porous space, allows for not just infrastructure and services but also facilitating the cycle of place-making.

Furthermore, the presence of the gray economy within the camp and its connections to other refugee camps in Jordan underscores a deep unity among the fragmented refugee communities in the host nation of Jordan. This gray economy serves as a pillar in the conceptualization of the Za’atari camp as a third city-state

Potential future research could further explore how the evolution of edge conditions over time influences the internal dynamics of the camp.

**Same as Fig. 4.3: Boundary and Border Condition.** *Top: Boundary condition (current condition) of Za’atari through the lens of Richard Sennett. Middle: Border condition typology of Za’atari camp through the lens of said theorist. Bottom: the condition that the design proposal is aiming for. Credit: Author.*



As the design phases progress over time, one can question what the end state of such boundary conditions and the transnational third state looks like. In an attempt to answer this thought, one can go deeper into the Utopian realm and envision the aqueduct wall and the boundary condition extending like arms to other Syrian refugee camps around the region connecting them into a third city nation. Collectively creating a network of camps and the idea of a distributed transnational state where citizens

of this international nation could move from camp to camp - a new idea of nation and a new idea of citizenship.

**Same as Conclusion.1: Map of Jordan and Syria** showing the location of the refugee camps around the region, as well as the population of the cities in Jordan. Credit: Created by the Author, map taken from ArcGIS

### **Appendix C**

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This section features an additional essay written by the author that delves into the closed-loop nature of spatial similarities between the oppressor, Remote Military Case Camp, and the oppressed, Institutional Refugee Camps.

# On A Loop

A study on the spatial similarities between  
The oppressor (Remote Military Base Camps) and the oppressed (Insti-  
tutional Refugee Camps)

ARCH 640  
Contemporary Architectural Theory Final Paper  
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Dec 11<sup>th</sup> 2022

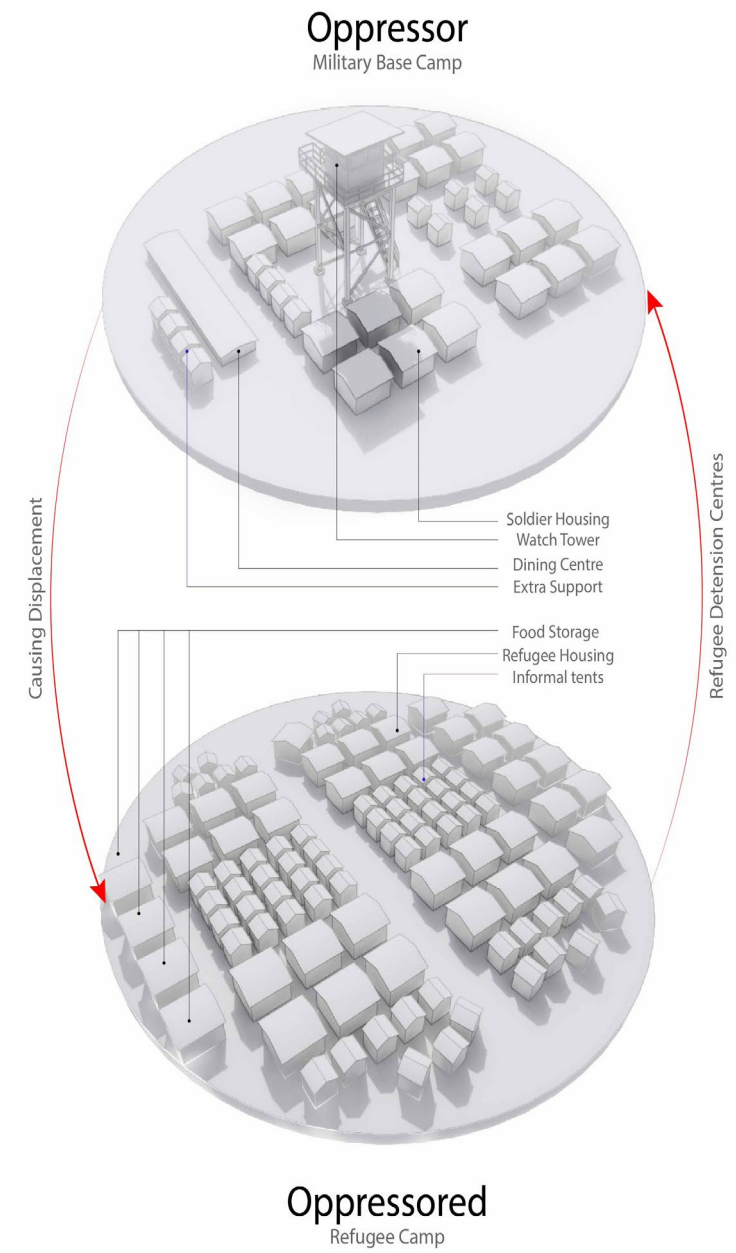


Fig. Appendix C

## Introduction

This paper draws attention to the duality of use in two similar architectural spaces that perform in very different ways: one as a Remote Military Base Camp bringing displacement to people and the other as an Institutional Refugee Camp housing the displaced. One can argue that both spaces are designed to be efficient for a particular purpose, yet one camp enables while the other disables. A military camp is a semi-permanent military base, for the lodging of an army while a refugee camp is intended as a temporary accommodation for people who have been forced to flee their home because of violence and persecution. The spatial elements within both types of camps are the same, but the spatial experiences are not because they are situated in different sociopolitical locations. This interaction curates a closed loop narrative between these two spaces. This paper explores how could these similar spatial conditions inform each other and how can today's Institutional Refugee Camp break free from this spatial cycle and become something more? The paper tries to expand on this question via three major categories: Stakeholders, Site selection, Spatial layout and functional programs.

## 1.0 Stakeholders

For Remote Military Base Camps, the stakeholders have an impact on location and the layout of the space. Among them are Contract personnel, host nation governments, local populations, United Nation agencies (Peacekeeping Operations Sector under Security Council), non-governmental organizations, environmentalist, and local industries. (Robertson, Ezell, and McGinnis 2001)

On the other hand, for Institutional Refugee Camp, or in particular for the Za'atari camp in Jordan, the main stakeholders are the Syrian Refugee Affairs Directorate and UNHCR which is an umbrella that includes the following: a collaborative effort between the donor community, United Nation agencies ( under General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) ), international and national NGOs, community-based organizations, refugees, and Jordanian host communities: including community leaders and traditional chiefs, civil society (local NGOs, women's groups, human rights groups), school-board members, religious organizations, and host communities and their organizations. ("Refugee Camps" n.d.)

It is notable that the same humanitarian organization, UN, is a stakeholder for both types of camps with different sectors involved. The UN is committed to maintaining international peace and security; developing friendly relations among nations; promoting social progress, better living standards and human rights. In both types of camps, the UN is committed to providing an operational based space to respond to a cause. However, it must be understood that refugee camps need more than an operational based space. They need social structures and deeper layers beyond clinical nature of these spaces.

Comparing the two camps, the stakeholders in the Remote Military Base Camps function in a much more aligned spectrum while the Institutional Refugee Camps have a much wider variety. Pelayo in his thesis argues that this wide range of stakeholders for Institutional Refugee Camps act as a double edge sword. While this variety hopes to bring deeper layers to the camp beyond the operational programs, "the discordance among stakeholders and their varying perspectives negatively impact trust among international donors, resulting in reduced funding in order to meet goals and challenges within the refugee camps." (Pelayo, n.d.)

## 2.0 Site Selection

For Remote Military Base Camps, the location is based on tactical considerations derived from intelligence preparation of the battlefield (IBP) for the deployment and anticipated OOTW (operations other than war) missions. Robertson further explains in his paper *Base camp facility*

**Fig. Appendix C.1 Diagram** showing the relationship between there two spatial qualities. *Credit: Author.*



*layout* that these camps are meant to optimize the facility layout and provide flexibly for modification and expansion. “The important point is that stakeholders desire quality of life for deployed soldiers” (Robertson, Ezell, and McGinnis 2001). Figure 4 shows the site selection planning process for a Remote Military Base Camp and how it could expand over time.

On the other hand, for Institutional Refugee Camps, the formal sites are closer to borders while the informal sites are within cities such as makeshift camps as a form of protest. (Irit Katz 2016). Unlike Remote Military Base Camps, the Institutional Refugee Camps are not thoroughly planned out because the hope is for them to be temporary. Over time these camps are meant to confine and dissolve rather than expand because UN discourages these camps to become a permanent site (Irit Katz 2022). For this purpose, the refugee camps’ planning look at the minimum spaces people need and the quality of life is overlooked. (“Camp Site Planning Minimum Standards - UNHCR|Emergency Handbook” n.d.) compared to the Remote Military Base Camps where the focus is on optimized spaces.

### 3.0 Spatial Layout and Functional programs

In Remote Military Camps, the primary function is to support the mission. To accomplish this support, Robertson points out four key services: first is force protection, which is designed to adapt to the threats, mission and environment. Second is critical infrastructure, which are zones similar to those used by city master planners. Includes housing, soldier support (dedicated to dining facilities, aid stations, chapels, education center, postal service center, mail rooms, finance support, barber, post exchange, food concession and fire protection), unit support, and morale-welfare-recreation. Housing is further defined by type such as tent or sea hut. Third and Fourth are training support and maintenance support, which both lead to quality of life on these camps. (Robertson, Ezell, and McGinnis 2001)

Furthermore, developing a common architectural language is critical to facilitate future base camp discussion, research, planning, and execution. Finally, base camps are understood in terms of nine lifecycles: deciding, designing, locating, constructing, operating, maintaining, upgrading, deactivating, and retiring.” (Robertson, Ezell, and McGinnis 2001)

On the other hand, in the Institutional Refugee Camps, especially in the case of Zaatari camp, the primary function was to provide immediate and temporary shelter in 2012. However, this camp is 10 years old now and today, Za’atari camp is the ninth biggest “city” in Jordan population wise. With that, its function has informally shifted from “immediate temporary shelter” to “a semi permanent transition space”. For this reason,

the Institutional Refugee Camps, need lifecycle planning from design to upgrading, and eventually retiring and at the minimum need protection, critical infrastructure, training and maintenance support just like the Remote Military Base Camps. (Diana Martin, Claudio Minca, and Irit Katz 2020).

### 4.0 Military Camps for Housing Refugees

During the cold war, refugees from Vietnam were viewed as assets to the United States, who should be integrated within American communities as quickly as possible. During those times, some of U.S. military bases were used to welcome foreign refugees. Today, the bases are used to detain and deter migrants, which started when migrants stopped being seen as Cold War assets. (Washington Post 2021)

Camp Pendleton located in California, U.S. built in 1942 is one of many U.S. military camps that housed around 50,000 Vietnamese and south Asian refugees during the Vietnam war. Within eight month all the refugees who were housed at this location got resettled within the U.S., Europe and some went back to Vietnam. Their overall experience at this camp seemed to be positive. They were not only met with warm clothing, beds, and good amount of food, but also they had social programs such as movie nights and training programs such as English classes (“First Days Story Project” n.d.). They were treated with the same quality of stay as stakeholders wanted U.S. soldiers to be treated as mentioned earlier. However, this is not the case during the 1990s refugee housing at the U.S. naval base in Guantanamo.

Guantanamo Bay Naval base received 30.000 Haitians and Cubans seeking refuge at this camp. The housing program was placed at this base camp to avoid political tensions in the U.S. soil due to the intension being deterring rather than processing their cases. Haitians and Cubans were held behind barbed wire and had few legal avenues. Many of these migrants experienced the base as a jail. Eventually the U.S. was forced to accept some while the majority of Haitians’ asylum claims got rejected. (“A Guantanamo Diary— Operation Sea” n.d.).

These examples show how restricting these camp spaces could become. With greater spatial order within these camps come greater surveillance and less autonomy over their living spaces. These camps are capable of becoming ‘spaces of exception’ where subjects are temporarily ‘fixed in place’, Katz further explains that “these camps are where [refugees] are re-qualified, re-classified, and translated into a biopolitical mass. They are spaces where the ‘guests’ are temporarily admitted into a custodian regime via their numbering and the tight regulations of their mobility and social interactions. They are also spatio-temporal limbos governed by principles of disciplinary management of the guests’/inmates’ bodies

which are often exposed to the authorities' governance machinery and their sovereign arbitrary decisions and interventions." (Diana Martin, Claudio Minca, and Irit Katz 2020)

## Conclusion

This paper has discussed the similar spatial formation between Remote Military Base Camps and Institutional Refugee Camps (specifically Za'atari Camp). Some of these similarities are about the camps being mobile, being able to respond to a specific situation, and to be assembled and disassembled quickly. The differences are also pointed out using three main categories. Firstly the stakeholders, in which the paper draws attention to UN's different sectors being stakeholders for both types of camps. Yet one enables and the other disables. It also points out that the many varying perspectives among the Institutional Refugee Camps negatively impact trust among international donors, resulting in reduced funding compared to Remote Military Camps. Secondly the Site selection, which are done with a lot more care for Remote Military Base Camps. Locations that are both away from cities but leave room for expansion, while the Institutional Refugee Camps are away from cities but are meant to dissolve over time. Thirdly the Spatial layout and functional programs were discussed in which the need for lifecycle planning for the Institutional Refugee Camps like the Remote Military Camps. The context makes different experience and intensions.

Coming back to the question proposed at the beginning of this paper, how could these similar spatial conditions inform each other and how can today's Institutional Refugee Camp break free from this spatial cycle and become something more? Although camps were reportedly established to provide humanitarian relief, the encampment of the civilian population, as Katz explains, was in fact the result of a military spatial strategy, using a combination of calculation rationalities and spatial concentration as strategies (Minca, 2015a)..(Diana Martin, Claudio Minca, and Irit Katz 2020).

Hopefully understanding these spatial similarities between the oppressor (Remote Military Base Camps) and the oppressed (Institutional Refugee Camps) act as architectural evidence showcasing why Institutional Refugee Camps are inhumane and they should break free from this spatial loop to grow into something more.

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## [Glossary]

**1951 UNHCR Refugee Convention:** This and its 1967 Protocol are the key legal documents that form the basis of UNHCR's work and the cornerstone of refugee protection. They define the term 'refugee' and outline their rights and the international standards of treatment that all countries must abide by.<sup>[1]</sup>

**Bare Life (Zoe):** Bare minimum biological needs to stay alive. In the political context, the word describes a life without any qualities beyond basic needs<sup>[2]</sup>.

**Biodata:** Biographical data. In the context of refugees, the word refers to personal information regarding place of birth, place of origin, educational background, employment history, health information, reasons for seeking refuge, any past prosecutions, etc. <sup>[3]</sup>

**Biometric:** Using an individual's unique biological measurements to identify and authenticate them. In the context of refugees, biometrics are an integral part of UNHCR<sup>[4]</sup>. It generally includes two main categories, physiological (unchanged throughout one's lifetime), for example face recognition, vein patterns recognition, fingerprints, and Iris scans, as well as behavioural (subject to stress), namely voice recognition, and signature recognition (speed of movement of the pen, pressure)<sup>[5]</sup>.

**Biopolitics:** A system of government that uses biopower to control the population. Biopolitics is the intersection of life with politics, using systematic strategies to keep control over how the life of the population is lived<sup>[6]</sup>.

**Biopower:** Unlike political power that is traditionally held by the sovereign and orders, life or death of people; biopower is a term coined by Foucault, refers to a modern form of political power that is subtle and systematic to control and shape the life of the population<sup>[3]</sup>.

**Bios:** Qualified life, the life of the citizen who has the freedom to achieve self-actualization, to experience life beyond biological needs.

**Camp in Arabic:** مخيم (Mukhayam) , driven from the root word of خيم (Khayma) which means tent. The notion of Camp in Arabic refers to structures in the form of tents for temporary inhabitation<sup>[7]</sup>.

<sup>[1]</sup>“The 1951 Refugee Convention,16-21, ” UNHCR, accessed September 12, 2023, <https://www.unhcr.org/about-unhcr/who-we-are/1951-refugee-convention>.

<sup>[2]</sup> “Bare Life,” Oxford Reference, accessed August 19, 2023, <https://doi.org/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095446660>.

<sup>[3]</sup> UNHCR, “Biometrics” (UNHCR, April 2022).

<sup>[4]</sup> UNHCR.

<sup>[5]</sup>“Biometrics: Definition, Use Cases, Latest News,” Thales Group, June 12, 2023, <https://www.thalesgroup.com/en/markets/digital-identity-and-security/government/inspired/biometrics>.

<sup>[6]</sup> Rachel Adams, “Michel Foucault: Biopolitics and Biopower,” Critical Legal Thinking (blog), May 10, 2017, <https://criticallegalthinking.com/2017/05/10/michel-foucault-biopolitics-biopower/>.

<sup>[7]</sup> رصاعمل مجعلا ,مخيخم ين عم : رصاعمل مجعلا ,رخص -خراشلل دم حم , accessed August 17, 2023, <https://lexicon.alsharekh.org>.

**Camp in German:** Storage Space, Lager. In terms of refugee camps, Flüchtlingslager, could be understood as human storage spaces.

**Camp in Latin:** Driven from the Latin word *Campus* – later entered French as *Champ*, refers to an open field, especially an open space for temporary military purposes.<sup>[8]</sup>

**Citizenship:** The legal bond between a government and an individual that allows for certain political, economic, social and other rights of the individual. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights underlines that “Everyone has the right to a nationality.”<sup>[9]</sup>

**City in Greek:** Polis, originally refers to an administrative and religious city center as distinct from the rest of the city. It further refers to the body of citizens under the city’s jurisdiction<sup>[10]</sup>. In modern use of the word, Polis refers to the ancient Greek city-state, which is an independent sovereign estate that serves as the center of political and economic hub within its surrounding territory<sup>[11]</sup>.

**City:** A region which has clearly defined boundaries. Within these boundaries, the human settlement is permanent and consists of more than 50,000 people. The inhabitants work on mainly non-agricultural tasks<sup>[10]</sup>.

**City-Camp:** It refers to a refugee camp that surpasses its original function (addressing to an emergency) as a temporary settlement. These entities evolve over time into permanent settlements that reach self-organization and hold city-like layers such as a complex economy and sociopolitical existence<sup>[12]</sup>.

**Heterotopia:** *Hetero* from ancient Greek roots means “other” or “different” and *topia* means place. It comes from the same category of Utopia and Dystopia. Utopia is a non-real place where everything is good; dystopia is a non-real place where everything is bad; heterotopia is a real place where things are different<sup>[13]</sup>.

**Hybridity (in Biology):** Refers to the combination of different species to enhance productivity or resilience to environmental conditions. Bhabha’s critics often discuss the importance of distinguishing the context for the use of this word.<sup>[14]</sup>

<sup>[8]</sup> “Camp | Search Online Etymology Dictionary,” accessed August 17, 2023, <https://www.etymonline.com/search?q=camp>.

<sup>[9]</sup> Wayne A State University, “What Is Citizenship?,” Center for the Study of Citizenship, January 18, 2023, <https://csc.wayne.edu/what-is-citizenship>.

<sup>[10]</sup> Roger W. Caves, “Encyclopedia of the City,” in *Encyclopedia of the City* (United States: Taylor & Francis Group, 2005), 65-71, 353-354.

<sup>[11]</sup> “City-State | Definition, History, & Facts | Britannica,” accessed August 17, 2023, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/city-state>.

<sup>[12]</sup> Michel Agier, Richard Nice, and Loïc Wacquant, “Between War and City: Towards an Urban Anthropology of Refugee Camps,” *Ethnography* 3, no. 3 (2002): 317–41.

<sup>[13]</sup> Walter Russell Mead, “Trains, Planes, and Automobiles: The End of the Postmodern Moment,” *World Policy Journal* 12, no. 4 (1995): 13–31.

<sup>[14]</sup> Felipe Hernandez, *Bhabha for Architects*, ed. Jonathan A. Hale, Hilde Heynen, and David Leatherbarrow, vol. 04, 18 vols., Thinkers for Architects (Routledge (imprint of Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business), 2010), 60-73.

**Hybridity (in colonial context):** Used as discrimination in 19<sup>th</sup> Century, referring to a mixed child of the native and colonizer’s race. Bhabha’s critics often discuss the importance of distinguishing the context for the use of this word.

**Hybridity:** When discussing Bhabha’s ideas, the word means a combination of first (home) and second (host) spaces plus the individual’s experience of displacement, leading to the creation of a new type of space. A space of constant negotiation of meaning and culture. Bhabha’s critics often discuss the importance of distinguishing the context for the use of this word.<sup>[15]</sup>

**Institutional Refugee Camp:** A temporary facility built to provide immediate protection and assistance to refugees. Refugee camps offer bare life, which is the most basic needs of refugees, for example, food, water, shelter, and medical attention<sup>[16]</sup>.

**Iris-Scanning Technology:** Referred to as Iris recognition is a method of biometric identification that is widely used in Za’atari refugee camp (among other camps) in order to connect individuals with their UNHCR accounts to receive their monthly monetary help. It uses mathematical pattern-recognition techniques via a camera and near-infrared illumination to record the unique patterns on the Iris per individual<sup>[17]</sup>. This technology can recognize individuals from a distance. Despite its convenience and efficiency, exposure to near-infrared light regularly (in the case of Za’atari it is an everyday exposure for grocery shopping) or proximity to the camera can overtime damage the eyesight and cause cataracts<sup>[18]</sup> which can change the texture of the iris and make it unrecognizable.

**Passport:** The word goes back to the 15<sup>th</sup> century rooted in the French words *passer*, to pass, and *porte*, a gate<sup>[19]</sup>. Originally, the passengers that needed to enter walled cities, would present this document to the officials, to receive the *Vise* meaning seen mark<sup>17</sup>. In the modern age, a passport is an official document issued by the sovereign to citizens that guarantees not only the authentication of the passport holder but also their right to re-enter the country from which the passport was issued<sup>[20]</sup>.

**Protest:** from the Latin word *Protestari*, “pro” means before and “testari” means testify.<sup>[21]</sup> The word means a public declaration of objection against something a person is powerless to avoid. The right to protest is protected under international

<sup>[15]</sup> Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London ; New York: Routledge, 1994), 277.

<sup>[16]</sup> “What Is a Refugee Camp? Definition and Statistics | USA for UNHCR,” accessed July 30, 2023, <https://www.unrefugees.org/refugee-facts/camps/>.

<sup>[17]</sup> John Daugman, “Understanding Biometric Entropy and Iris Capacity: Avoiding Identity Collisions on National Scales” (arXiv, August 6, 2023), <http://arxiv.org/abs/2308.03189>.

<sup>[18]</sup> “ICNIRP Guidelines on Limits of Exposure to Incoherent Visible and Infrared Radiation,” *Health Physics* 105, no. 1 (July 2013): 74–96, <https://doi.org/10.1097/HP.0b013e318289a611>.

<sup>[19]</sup> Deborah Dwork and R. J. van Pelt, *Flight from the Reich: Refugee Jews, 1933-1946*, 1st ed. (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 2009), 52-53.

<sup>[20]</sup> Theo Deutinger, *Handbook of Tyranny*, 2nd edition. (Zürich: Lars Müller Publishers, 2018), 16-35.

<sup>[21]</sup> “Protestant - Definition, Meaning & Synonyms,” Vocabulary.com, accessed August 19, 2023, <https://www.vocabulary.com/dictionary/protestant>.

human rights<sup>[22]</sup>.

**Refugee:** Someone who has been forced to cross the national border(s), leaving their country because of persecution, war, or natural disaster, in hopes of finding safety in another country<sup>[23]</sup>.

**Self-Actualization:** Part of Bios life, is to actualize one's full potential. This is a growth-motivated topic which is mainly used in Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs<sup>[24]</sup>. This is considered the highest level of fulfillment reached only after one's biological (bare life) and ego needs are met. This is important on the topic of what is included in the Bios life.

**Third Space:** In the context of refugee camps, Bhabha's third space is an intangible theorized space that is neither the home country (1<sup>st</sup> space) nor the host country (2<sup>nd</sup> space). It is a space of in-between or hybrid zone that grows into a combination of both 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> space. This is a place of constant negotiation of meanings and cultures.<sup>[25]</sup>

**Wall:** a solid vertical structure, made of stone, brick or concrete, that surrounds, divides, or protects an area of land. Derived from the Latin word *Vallum* which refers to a type of fortification wall<sup>[26]</sup>.

**UN's Core Relief Items:** It is a kit that enables people to meet their immediate basic needs. It includes items such as plastic tarpaulins, a blanket, a sleeping mat, and plastic buckets 10, 15 Liter, cooking and serving utensils.<sup>[27]</sup>

**UNHCR:** Stands for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Established in 1950, a global organization dedicated to protecting refugees. In Refugee Camps, UNHCR works internationally with host countries to provide the refugees with their bare needs namely: food, water, shelter, and medical attention<sup>[28]</sup>.

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<sup>[22]</sup> "OHCHR and the Right of Peaceful Assembly," OHCHR, accessed August 19, 2023, <https://www.ohchr.org/en/peaceful-assembly>.

<sup>[23]</sup> "What Is a Refugee?," UNHCR, accessed July 30, 2023, <https://www.unhcr.org/what-refugee>.

<sup>[24]</sup> "Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs," November 3, 2022, <https://www.simplypsychology.org/maslow.html>.

<sup>[25]</sup> Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London ; New York: Routledge, 1994), 53-56.

<sup>[26]</sup> "Wall\_1 Noun - Definition, Pictures, Pronunciation and Usage Notes | Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary at OxfordLearnersDictionaries.Com," accessed September 1, 2023, [https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/wall\\_1](https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/wall_1).

<sup>[27]</sup> "Core Relief Items," UNHCR, accessed September 12, 2023, <https://emergency.unhcr.org/emergency-assistance/core-relief-items>.

<sup>[28]</sup> "About UNHCR," UNHCR, accessed August 17, 2023, <https://www.unhcr.org/about-unhcr>.