REFUGEE CAMP STREETS: UNRAVELING LIVED SPACE AND COMMUNITY EMPOWERMENT - A COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY ANALYSIS

By

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the complex interplay between the social production of space and community empowerment in refugee camps street, focusing on three case studies: Baqaa and Jerash camps, and Zaatari camp in Jordan. The primary objective of this research is to shift the understanding of the processes of social production of space in refugee camps' streets.

The study examines the dynamic relationship between social production processes, community empowerment, and refugee camp lived space in depth through a mixed-methods approach combining qualitative methods with design research tools. This is achieved through the comprehensive processing of the data from in-depth interviews, and field notes into axonometric drawings generating new knowledge.

The findings reveal that the streets within the refugee camps play a crucial role in the social production of space and the formation of community empowerment. Over time, the processes of social production of space shape the living experience through the cognitive, structural, and financial levels of lived space.

The study also revealed that refugees went through three phases of living experience, in each phase the interconnected three levels operated differently and produced community empowerment differently. Furthermore, it showed that Phase 2 facilitated the best social production processes and resulted in the highest levels of community empowerment among the other phases. Furthermore, this thesis reveals the critical concept of "Disruption of spatiality" as an outcome of Phase 3; the overcrowding phase and its impact on social-spatial relationships within the streets of the camps.

This study advances the understanding of the complex relationship between space, community empowerment, and social production processes in refugee camps. This contributes valuable insights to decision-makers, planners, and practitioners involved in refugee camp planning and management. It advocates for a more integrated approach that addresses the unique needs and aspirations of refugees, creating empowering living spaces.

Dedication

To my dear daughter *Zainah*, I dedicate this thesis to you as a symbol of my love and gratitude. Your presence has been my source of inspiration and encouragement, guiding me towards success.

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I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my main supervisor, Dr Federico Wulff, for his invaluable guidance, unwavering support, and expertise throughout the entire research process. His teaching went beyond the thesis, encompassing invaluable lessons in research skills, design thinking, and many more, which have greatly shaped my academic and professional development. His dedication and insightful feedback have been instrumental in shaping this Thesis.

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List of abbreviations

IDP .... Internally Displaced People

UNHCR .... United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

UN .... United Nations

RHU .... Refugee Housing Units

NGO .... Non-Governmental Organization

NRC .... Norwegian Refugee Council

PRS .... Prolonged Refugee Situations

DLI .... Development via Local Integration

DAR .... Development Assistance for Refugees

CIP .... Camp Improvement Plan

HE .... Higher Education

UNRWA .... United Nations Relief and Works Agency

DPA .... Department of Palestinian Affairs

KEQs .... Key Evaluation Questions

QDA .... Qualitative Data Analysis

SRAD .... Syrian Refugee Affairs Directorate

AD-R .... Architectural Design Research

UD-R .... Urban Design Research

PD .... Participatory Design

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Introduction

This chapter presents the main argument of the thesis as well as background data on the research topic including refugee camps, social production of space and community empowerment. Additionally, it provides the significance of this study, and the rationale behind it. This chapter focusses on introducing this dissertation, presents the research questions, and discusses the aim of the research and its overall outline.

1   Introduction

"As it develops, then, the concept of social space becomes broader. It infiltrates, even invades, the concept of production, becoming part – perhaps the essential part – of its content."

Henri Lefebvre (1974, p.11)

In recent years, there has been a growing focus on the unique spaces of refugee camps and their conceptualisation from a spatial perspective. Michel Agier (2002) reconceptualised the urbanised camps within a new perspective beyond the notions of 'right' and 'wrong' and referred to them as 'camp-cities'. The refugee camp has been subject to critical examination, contributing to further understanding of its space. It is often understood as a 'space of exception' where inhabitants are excluded from legal norms (Agamben 1998; Diken 2004; Hanafi and Long 2010; Agier 2011). Some scholars view the camp as a 'political' space (Sanyal 2011; Sanyal 2012; Ramadan 2013a; Martin 2015). This critical approach frames the refugee camp space within the 'exclusionary paradigm', which excludes refugees from their rights or resources. Other studies reconceptualise the camp as a 'zone of indistinction' where exclusion and inclusion coexist (Achilli and Oesch 2016). Another geographical perspective that considers the construction of space, place, and secondary subjectivities provides valuable insights into camp societies (Brun 2001). Refugee camps, as temporary settlements for displaced populations, present distinct challenges and opportunities that require careful examination.

Therefore, this thesis aims to search into refugee camps, exploring their socio-spatial dynamics and the implications for the everyday lives of their inhabitants and, conversely, the implication of everyday lives on physical space. Put differently, space is not merely a physical entity; it is created and shaped by social relationships and interactions within their environments, reflecting different values and power relationships of its society. This process of producing space through social interactions and practices is known as the social production of space (Lefebvre 1991). Hence, this investigation requires a critical analysis of the processes of social production of space within the streets of these camps. To focus the investigation on the social production that encompasses all aspects of life, a specific lens was necessary to examine spaces, which is community empowerment. Therefore, this study investigates the

relationship between social production of space to community empowerment in the streets of refugee camps. Through this investigation, valuable insights can be gained to inform future approaches to addressing the needs and aspirations of refugees within the built environment of camps.

Importantly, the selection of this study's subject problem revolves around representing the 'voice of the refugees'. This notion underscores the critical importance of highlighting the affirmative dimension of refugees actively shaping and reclaiming social spaces—a narrative deeply entrenched in the essence of empowerment. The primary goal of this study was to illuminate the complex lived realities of refugees, thereby offering a platform for their voices to resonate. By examining their experiences, the study aspired to bring attention to their daily lives and their agency of space to be acknowledged and heard. In doing so, it aimed to create a space for their narratives within the broader societal fabric, offering a meaningful contribution to understanding and recognizing the profound significance of their contributions within these spaces. Acknowledging and expanding refugees' voices is crucial for creating inclusive, respectful, and effective responses to their needs and aspirations.

1.1 Background

Globally, the number of forcibly displaced people has steadily increased in the past 20 years, reaching 103 million by 2022; see Figure (1-1). They are people who have been forced to flee their countries, including refugees, asylum-seekers, internally displaced people (IDP), and people in need of international protection. Importantly, refugees are individuals who have been forced to cross national borders leaving their homeland to avoid war, natural disasters, or being mistreated. The number of refugees has recently increased dramatically, reaching 32.5 million by 2022; see Figure (1-2) (UNHCR 2022e).

Figure 1-1: Number of displaced people worldwide (2000-2022). Source: (UNHCR 2022)
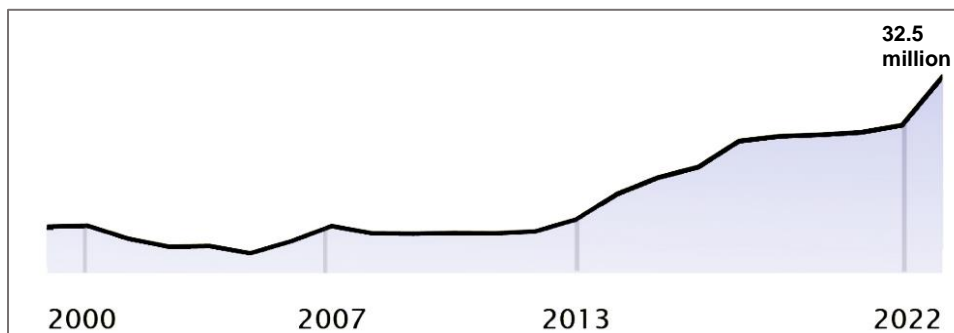
Figure 1-2: Number of refugees worldwide (2000-2022). Source: (UNHCR 2022)

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is a United Nations (UN) agency authorised to address the refugee crisis by helping and protecting refugees and forcibly displaced people worldwide. The main priority in times of crisis is to facilitate providing relief and protection by humanitarian organisations and host countries effectively for individuals compelled to flee their homelands or countries (UNHCR 2019). This can be achieved through the establishment of camps, pre-existing shelters, accommodation within host families, or integration within supportive communities. In situations of urgent circumstances, such as armed conflicts or natural disasters, time for pre-planning is limited. Thus, this requires the relocation of a substantial number of individuals, and the establishment of camps is the most pragmatic and feasible solution. However, humanitarian organisations necessarily place some restrictions on the rights and freedoms of refugees (UNHCR 2014). The problem of refugee camps remains one of international concern due to the multitude of challenges caused by the displacement of refugees. These challenges are language barriers, living in inadequate conditions, post-

traumatic stress, and facing violence. Providing basic requirements and protecting rights for the millions of refugees is difficult, made more complicated by their presence in countries already affected by conflict and violence. Host communities are also under pressure, with limited resources and the potential for prolonged co-existence with refugees (ConcernWorldwide 2022). Refugee camps are conceived as temporary solutions; however, in most cases, inhabitation in refugee camps lasts an average of 20 years and for IDPs lasts more than 10 years (UNHCR 2018; European Commission 2022). This presents more challenges to the perception of these places, creating a conflict between the real permanent situation on the ground and the initial conception of refugee camp spaces as temporary settlements (Al-Nassir 2018). Due to this prolonged inhabitation, refugees began to urbanise their camps in an attempt to normalise their lives. These urbanisation processes produce settlements closely related to an urban context or 'camp-cities' (Agier 2002).

The urbanisation of refugee camps is not considered an unusual situation around the world, such as the Dadaab refugee camp in Kenya, Palestinian camps such as Shatila in Lebanon and Baqaa in Jordan, and the most recent Syrian refugee camp in Jordan Zaatari. Refugees are the most common type of migrants in Jordan, including Circassians and Chechens in the nineteenth century, the Palestinians during the Arab-Israeli Wars in 1948 and 1976, the Iraqis during the first and second Gulf Wars in 1990 and 2003, as well as the Syrians starting in 2012 (Arouri 2008). The urbanisation of refugee camps led to potential dangers, including structural risks with the construction of multiple storeys and the approaching full saturation of camps. This proposes an alarming chance of congestion and poverty resulting from uncontrolled and unguided urbanisation; as Misselwitz (2009, p.408) stated: "Palestinian camp-cities reveal the dangers of uncontrolled and unguided urbanisation."

Lefebvre (1991) identifies any space within a society as a social space. Thus, refugee camp space could be perceived as a social space since it hosts social interactions. The social production of space highlights the dynamic nature of spatial formation, where space is constantly negotiated and contested by different actors in society. Thus, space is interpreted as a product of social actions and simultaneously a

producer of structures (Lefebvre 1991). The spaces of refugee camps experience unique social, economic, and political dynamics of everyday life. Understanding these dynamics is crucial in addressing the challenges refugees face in such spaces.

Consequently, the notion of space as a social product becomes evident, wherein the configuration of social space reflects and contributes to the social experiences of the refugee community. The relationship between space and society is mutually influential; thus, social space has become an example of the social living experience (O'Neill 1972; Lefebvre 2009b). The concept of the production of space is important since it integrates all aspects of the city in a systematic, comprehensive social theory, which allows for analysing and understanding the complex spatial processes at different levels (Schmid 2008a). Thus, the literature on the social production of space helps to interpret meanings of social-spatial-time aspects that changed the experience of everyday living for refugees under the lens of Lefebvre's spatial triad framework (1991). This spatial triad is composed of perceived space, conceived space, and lived space. Perceived space is the physical and sensory experience of space, while conceived space is the abstract and symbolic representation of space. Lived space is the everyday and embodied practice of space. According to Lefebvre (1991), lived spaces and the everyday are synonyms for the shared experience of life within a space. Therefore, recreating the everyday can be achieved by active practitioners to develop the living experience into an "art" (Lefebvre 1991, p.227). Hence, creating and using space is not simply a functional necessity but also a creative and cultural practice. Accordingly, the question proposed within this presented theoretical framework and state of the art on refugee camps would be: *how can refugees recreate their living experience to produce community empowerment within their streets?*

This formulates an understanding of the camp, with opportunities and potentials that need collaborations and participation from different parts to achieve the best results for the community.

For this Thesis, there was a need to specify a lens or a perspective in which the lived space is investigated. Accordingly, the empowerment concept was adopted and articulated based on the approaches of Nutbeam and Kickbush (1998), Page and

Czuba (1999), Blomkvist (2003), Kabeer et al. (2009), Kasmel (2011), Tang (2015). This concept could be synthesised as a process of acquiring information that results in gaining knowledge that enables disadvantaged people to make spatial decisions and control their environment. Hence, community empowerment in this study involves structural and cognitive concepts within its analytical framework. Structural concepts are collective spatial action and spatial appropriation, while cognitive concepts are the sense of community, identity and representation. In this thesis, community empowerment is interpreted as the inhabitants' capacity to use the streets within refugee camps to engage in collective actions, employing practices and tools to recognise, eliminate, and address socio-spatial issues. This interpretation emphasises the active role of refugees in shaping their living environment and underscores the importance of their agency in addressing the challenges they face.

According to this understanding, the urbanisation of Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan has been significantly influenced by the spatial consequences of social interactions within the daily lives of their inhabitants. These interactions have shaped the physical layout and design of the camps since spaces are designated for specific types of relationships. Therefore, case studies are important for developing research in this area because they provide insights into the complex social and spatial dynamics of refugee camps, which are often overlooked. Hence, this Thesis examines the social production of space theory in three case studies in Jordan that are compared. Specifically, the streets of two selected Palestinian camps in Jordan, Jerash and Baqaa, are compared with the Zaatari camp, which accommodates Syrian refugees, to comprehend the differences and similarities in their spatial-social production processes. The Palestinian case studies that have undergone urbanisation processes since 1967 are emblematic of camp-cities (Misselwitz 2009). The prolonged inhabitation in the Palestinian refugee camps became a permanent living, forcing the inhabitants to create spatial transformations and developments to improve their living experience. This generates urbanised informal settlements that could be interpreted as systems of multi-layered and multi-dimensional complexity subjected to continuous transformations. However, the resulting camp-cities suffer from spatial deterioration over time, affecting their inhabitants' living conditions, such as overpopulation, spatial

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degradation, and tensions between formal and informal spatial governance frameworks. Therefore, Al Zaatari, the Syrian camp in Jordan, can benefit from understanding the spatial practices of the Palestinian refugees for a better living experience. The research seeks to investigate the living experience of refugees, focusing on the streets of refugee camps. These streets are interpreted as public spaces for refugees since they are the only spaces in most refugee camps accessible to the community and facilitate social interaction and public life. In most refugee camps, there are few 'public' spaces other than the streets, as these camps were exclusively conceived from a functional perspective and not from an urban semi-permanent or permanent perspective. Therefore, the investigation of streets brings the scale of the street into a wider perspective that integrates with socio-spatial dynamics (Roy Chowdhury et al. 2011).

1.2 Research Gap

The existing literature on refugee camp spaces has focused primarily on the physical and material aspects of refugee camps, such as housing units' design, the urbanisation phenomenon in general, and the emergence of the market as economic development. However, much uncertainty still exists about the social production of space and the everyday lived experiences of refugees, specifically, the streets of refugee camps. This research aims to address this gap by exploring how social relationships, interactions, and meanings are integrated within the processes of spatial production of the streets in camps and the impact of these processes on the everyday lives of refugees.

1.3 Research Questions

This doctoral research aims to investigate the social production of space to foster community empowerment on the streets of refugee camps through comparative case studies. This comparative analysis contributed to a deeper understanding of how spatial-social production processes functioned in these camps and why they functioned in this particular manner. This investigation aims to shift the understanding of the socio-spatial processes that shape the living experiences of the lived space in the streets of refugee camps under the lens of community empowerment to inform

future approaches to refugee camp design and management. Therefore, to address this aim, the key research question and its subquestions are:

Main question: How do the processes of social production of space in the streets of refugee camps foster community empowerment?

Sub-questions:

1. *What are the living pattern characteristics observed in the three refugee camps, and how do these patterns relate to the social production of space and community empowerment in the streets of the camps?*

2. *How were the streets of refugee camps socially produced under the lens of community empowerment? What are the key factors in the social production of space that foster community empowerment under the cognitive, structural, and financial levels of the living experience?*

3. *How were the streets of Baqaa and Jerash refugee camps socially produced under the lens of community empowerment? How do the key factors within the cognitive, structural, and financial levels operate in these camps?*

4. *How and why were the streets of the Zaatari refugee camp socially produced under the lens of community empowerment in this specific way? What are the differences in the social production of streets between the two Palestinian camps and the Zaatari camp, particularly concerning community empowerment?*

1.4 Methodology

This research employs both qualitative methods and design research tools to compare the streets of the Zaatari camp with the streets of the representative Palestinian case studies of the Baqaa and Jerash refugee camps under theoretical and analytical research frameworks. This comparative approach aims to build an understanding of the lived space on the streets of refugee camps under the lens of community empowerment. Additionally, it will contribute to a better understanding of the spatial-social production processes and the embedded meanings of these processes. The structure of this Thesis is illustrated in Figure (1-3)

The Lefebvrian approach emphasises the need to engage with the social processes that shape the production of space rather than viewing it as a static physical entity. This approach provides a comprehensive understanding of how space is produced and its significance in shaping social dynamics and interpretations within refugee

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camps. This understanding can potentially lead to more effective policies and interventions that address the challenges faced by refugees in these camps.

Accordingly, this study investigates the spatial experience of refugees through the conceptual framework formulated through the study. Thus, this framework contains two levels, the cognitive and structural levels, through an exploration of related theories and a review of relevant literature on refugee camps, social production of space, and community empowerment, in addition to the financial level resulting from the data analysis. These levels of analysis were identified to gain a deeper understanding of the intersection of the concepts studied. Consequently, the study concludes that structural issues such as spatial action, design, and spatial appropriation are key indicators at the structural level. At the cognitive level, the indicators are the sense of community, identity and representation, and the produced living experience (this is explained in detail in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3).

Therefore, the investigation of lived space in the streets of refugee camps combines semi-structured interviews with design research tools, which are axonometric drawings that illustrate moments of living experiences in the streets of the camps. This innovative approach facilitates the understanding of such an intangible phenomenon. Hence, to conduct such an analysis, the information source is refugees, who were the actors in the social production of streets. Hence, refugees were interviewed with a range of questions that allowed them to narrate moments of living experiences throughout time. The data collected then was thematically analysed at two different levels, first, all together as one data set to depict shared patterns of living experiences. Second, each camp is thematically analysed separately under the thematic framework of this thesis. Finally, these themes and narratives were illustrated and processed in iterative axonometric drawings to produce new knowledge that facilitates the understanding of the social production of space fostering community empowerment in the streets of refugee camps throughout time.

Initial Aim — Social production of community empowering lived spaces in the streets of refugee camps

Literature reviews
Best design practices in the streets of refugee camps for promoting community empowerment

Gap — Investigation of the social production of community empowerment through the lived space within the streets of refugee camps has been absent in the literature.

LR — Social production of space | Community empowerment

Research Question — How does the social production of space in the streets of refugee camps support community empowerment?

Case studies — Al Baqaa refugee camp | Jerash refugee camp | Al Zaatari refugee camp

Data Collection & Analysis methods

Primary Data | Secondary Data

Qualitative Data | Documents, studies, and factsheets

Demographic data
Contextual data

Design research tool AD-R

Desk based analysis | Field work

Mapping spatiality of the streets axonometric drawing to produce knowledge. | Semi-structured Interviews | Observations & photographs

Analysis of two types of streets: Residential and Commercial streets selected in three case studies individually.
Comparisons of these streets within each case study and between the three case studies.

Cognitive: meanings and representation – thematic analysis -qualitative

Structural: Depicting the social production processed and the spatial living experience through axonometric drawings – qualitative.

Research outcomes and discussion
- the themes resulted that facilitate producing community empowerment.
- what is the shift in understanding?
- the contribution to knowledge and practice.

Figure 1-3: structure of this Thesis. Source: Author.

1.5   Research significance

The significance of the research emerges from the investigation of the spatial living experience within the lived space of refugees through the specific methodological framework. Thus, this would inform the design of the camps that support the empowerment of the refugee community through the streets. The role of comparing multiple case studies is to explore key themes of social production of space to achieve community empowerment. Additionally, at the methodological level, combining qualitative methods with design research tools under the comparative analysis framework provides deeper insights into the social production of the lived space in the streets of the camps.

In addition, the urbanisation of refugee camps is often a complex and layered process that involves various actors. These actors negotiate power relations and interests in the production and use of space, which in turn shapes the social and spatial dynamics of the camp. Therefore, investigating the socio-spatial political dimension of governance in refugee camps is crucial to shift the understanding of social production in camp-cities. This helps mediate between formal frameworks (top-down approach) and refugees' claims (bottom-up approach). This will empower refugees to produce their own spaces and create their own living experience, in addition to creating a win-win agreement for refugees and host countries. Such an agreement would ensure that refugees are empowered within their own spaces and that their identities are respected while ensuring that hosting countries can effectively manage refugee camps.

1.6   Thesis Structure

The particular design and structure of the doctoral dissertation are important to answer the research question. Therefore, this thesis is structured around the investigation of the refugees' spatial experiences in the streets of three refugee camps to identify the key factors that contribute to empowering the refugee communities through their spatial experiences socially to produce their living spaces. Through a comprehensive review of the literature, the research seeks to identify the common contributing factors that allow the investigation of the social production of the streets under the lens of

community empowerment. This facilitates comparison analysis to identify the factors that contribute to the production of empowering spatial experiences for refugees in the context of refugee camps. Thus, this thesis is organised into eight chapters, which are briefly described in the following section:

- This current Chapter 1 introduces the relevance of this Thesis arising from the broader relevant pre-existing literature on humanitarian architecture focusing on refugee camps and defines the current gap in knowledge that the Thesis aims to address. It also introduces the research question, the overall aim, the rationale behind the case study selection criteria related to the research aim, the methodological framework, and finally, briefly describes the structure of this thesis.

- Chapter 2 positions the concepts of camp, space, and community empowerment within the specific literature body of social-spatial theory, with a special emphasis on Lefebvre's notions of the space as a social product, including the Lefebvrian's triad and its subsequent theoretical followers. It first explains the current intellectual debates on different theoretical approaches related to refugee camps as a socio-spatial phenomenon, including a critical analysis of the different alignments and controversies between scholars. This literature review analysis has resulted in identifying the state of the art in that research area, highlighting current gaps in knowledge where the current thesis has operated. Additionally, this chapter explores community empowerment within space, emphasising the produced living experience. Therefore, the theoretical framework of the Thesis has been articulated as a conclusion of the critical analysis of this literature review.

- Chapter 3 of the study outlines the research methods, tools, and techniques used in the thesis, with the proper justification of each method. It outlines the general plan and procedures for gathering and analysing the primary and secondary data. In response to the main research question, a mix of qualitative methods, including architectural design-research tools (AD-R), have been used to generate the knowledge needed for responding to the thesis' questions. This chapter then

concludes with ethical considerations and a conclusion paragraph that summarises the methodological framework of this Thesis.

- Chapter 4 provides the basis for the fieldwork analytical research. It starts by thematically analysing the data from interviews of all case studies as one data set. This chapter introduces the relevant timewise dimension of this observational analysis, where three phases have been identified in the camps' development throughout time. Each of these phases has its own physical and atmospheric characteristics. Additionally, this chapter explains these phases of the living experience and situates their importance in the subsequent analysis related to the comparison of these phases as defined in the following chapter.

- Chapter 5 thematically analyses the primary data gathered from on-site semi-structured interviews, which were subsequently categorised by relevant themes previously defined by the theoretical framework provided by the literature review. These themes were both theories-driven and data-driven. These themes are the dimensions of comparison at the cognitive, structural, and financial levels. In addition, a detailed discussion of these themes is presented.

- Chapter 6 presents the findings of the comparisons between the three phases of living experience within the same case and between the two Palestinian camps (Al Baqaa and Jerash camps) through multi-layered extruded axonometric drawings where the different categories of Lefebvrian's spaces are analysed and compared. These comparisons use the counts of these themes within each case study to compare these themes together in different phases and different camps.

- Chapter 7, in a similar manner to the previous chapter, compares the Palestinian camps to the Al Zaatari camp through multi-layered extruded axonometric drawings where the different categories of Lefebvrian's spaces are analysed and compared. This chapter presents the findings of this comparative analysis and discusses them in detail.

- Chapter 8 discusses the results of the analysis in detail, referencing the reviewed literature. Additionally, it synthesises how this investigation answers the research sub-questions and, thus, the main question of this thesis. Furthermore, this chapter explains the shift in understanding the social production of space to foster community empowerment on the streets of refugee camps. Finally, it concludes the research and outlines the main conclusions, implications, and contributions of this study to the knowledge in the literature and the practical situation of designing and planning refugee camps. Furthermore, the chapter states the limitations of this study and makes some recommendations for future work.

1.7   Conclusions

This chapter has presented an introduction to the study, its overall aim, gap, questions, and methodological framework. Furthermore, it discusses the structure of the Thesis. In conclusion, this thesis has explored the spatial dynamics and social production of refugee camps, specifically focusing on the role of streets as public spaces in adopting community empowerment as the lens of investigation. By examining the lived spaces of the streets of refugee camps and the associated socio-spatial processes, this research has aimed to shift the existing understanding of urbanisation in refugee camps. The fundamental aim is to shed light on how the everyday interactions and practices within these spaces can contribute to community empowerment. This newfound understanding can provide valuable insights for future camp design, planning, and management, enabling the creation of more inclusive and empowering environments for refugees. Thus, Addressing the current challenging situation in the three refugee camps is urgently paramount. Delayed action intensifies the long-term consequences, which then necessitates intensive immediate interventions. these interventions could be avoided with timely and compassionate planning for a sustainable future. This Thesis will conclude with further delve into the findings and their implications, offering recommendations for practical applications in the field of refugee camp interventions.

Theoretical Framework

This chapter provides a comprehensive explanation of the literature related to the investigation, specifically the literature related to the contextual issues of the selected case studies, community empowerment in similar contexts, and the social production of space in similar settings. The goal is to present an articulated and well-reasoned account of the specific roles of these three fields, highlighting their connections and significance in research. This chapter also presents the resulting theoretical framework, including the comparative dimensions deduced for the analysis. Additionally, this chapter addresses gaps in the literature, research questions, and research objectives.

2   Theoretical Framework

2.1   Introduction

The current research aims to explore the potential of community empowerment through the social production of street space in refugee camps. This research will rely on a theoretical framework encompassing three main literature levels to address this objective. The first level is the literature on refugee camps, which examines the conditions of these spaces, particularly on the street level. This literature is of significant importance, given the increased attention paid to the design of refugee camps' housing and urban spaces in research and the neglect of the role of street space in the processes of social production of loving experience to foster community empowerment. The second level is the literature on the social production of space, which highlights the role of social and cultural practices in shaping the meanings and values of street spaces. The third level is the literature on community empowerment, which emphasises the importance of community participation in decision-making processes and in shaping the built environment. These three levels of literature are interconnected since the social production of space and community empowerment are critical factors in shaping the streets of refugee camps. By studying these three levels of literature, the researcher will be able to respond to the research questions that aim to explore the potential of community empowerment through the social production of space in the streets of refugee camps and how it can be integrated into the planning and design processes of these spaces.

The chapter starts with an overview of the literature on spatial and social issues in refugee camps worldwide, followed by a focus on the Jordanian context related to the three selected case studies. The key dimensions deduced from the overlapping contexts between the social production of space, community empowerment, and refugee camps are also identified in this chapter, which are considered the comparative dimensions to investigate within the streets of refugee camps.

The following sections will explain these concepts, the different perceptions of each one, and a critical analysis of the most influential scholars in these theoretical fields to

facilitate the development of a deeper understanding of these concepts in a later discussion in this dissertation.

2.2 Refugee Camps

2.2.1 The camp within the social-spatial perspective

Recently, refugee camps have been extensively studied due to the importance of the impact of these settlements on the urban life of their residents and host territories. In this sense, an illustration of the refugee camp situation must be presented. Thus, refugees are people forced to leave their countries due to wars, violence, or persecution; they move to any first safe area and install a type of settlement, defined as a refugee camp (UNHCR 2019). In the first days of urgent situations, camps are located within the cities, near cities or isolated in the middle of nowhere, mostly close to the borders of the countries. These first settlements are crucial in responding to the emergence of people fleeing from war, violence, or deep poverty over a short-term period. However, the main problem is that refugees tend to stay in these camps longer than anticipated, with an average stay of 12 years (McClelland 2014). At the end of 2014, 19.5 million people worldwide had fled their homes for different causes. Surely, this count represents a serious problem, as the number of refugees and displaced people exceeded 50 million for the first time after World War II; additionally, 4 million obtained refugee status in 2015, which means that in recent years it doubled the total count of refugees, particularly in the Middle East region (Stephens 2015).

Usually, the camp typologies differ depending on their location and context. Some consist of tents, RHU (Refugee Housing Units), tents placed in large halls, and sometimes camps occupying existing military structures (Deprez and Labattut 2016). Hence, most of these camps do not meet the minimum expectations for living standards, safety, adequate services, toilets and showers, well-being, and education. Consequently, refugees face many problems due to the living conditions and the large population that inhabits these camps (Tan 2014; Stephens 2015). Accordingly, refugees have tried to adapt to their lives in the camp by making permanent spatial developments in these contexts designed to be temporary to improve their living conditions throughout time despite the limitations.

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Subsequently, refugee camps as a spatial phenomenon have interested many studies from different disciplinary perspectives. Giorgio Agamben (1998) offered critical insights into refugee camps; he argued that refugee camps are zones of exception where refugees are partially deprived of the most basic human rights, in which an individual's life is reduced to only biological existence, lacking any political, legal, or social recognition and protection of international legal frameworks. Accordingly, he argues that this state of bare life is intentionally built to deprive refugees of political agency and biological existence. Agamben's ideas highlight the need for a greater understanding of refugee camps and how they are used to support forms of power and exclusion.

Agamben's insight has encouraged many studies to explore refugee camps from this biopolitical perspective. According to some scholars, humanitarianism practised in refugee camps is problematic because it creates borders and limits the mobility of refugees, which is why it reinforces the structure of power and exclusion (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, E. Loescher et al. 2014; Duffield 2016). Some studies used Agamben's notions of 'bare life' to find the resistance to dehumanisation in camps (Turner 2020; Kuschminder and Dubow 2022). Khosravi (2010) argues that refugees create alternative community spaces and new forms of political subjectivity as different forms of agency. Furthermore, Peter Grbac (2013) identified two main limitations in the literature on refugee camps: conceptual rights and the challenge of authenticity. It also evaluated the concept of the right to the city by outlining it within the theory and practice of urban life. This study was one of the few attempts to give rise to a rights-based discussion defined through political action and social relations, not only foundations or power.

Ramadan (2013) criticised Agamben's work for its negative perspective and the lack of attention to the agency of refugees, despite his valuable insights that provide a framework that helps to understand the complex dynamics of refugee camps. Thus, refugee camps were considered sites of political struggles as refugees and humanitarian organisations negotiated their conflicting interests (Malkki 1995; Hyndman 2000).

Agier (2008) argues that refugees immediately start to urbanise their camps after their trauma by setting up markets and religious buildings and creating public spaces. These are the interventions that represent the resistance of new inhabitants to the anonymity of urban space, which Michel de Certeau (1984) called 'interventions of everyday life'. Perouse de Montclos and Kagwanja (2000) explore these phenomena in African refugee camps, setting different factors to distinguish between basic 'transient settlements' and emerging urban settlements related to urban characteristics, trade activities within communities, and the sociocultural structure of refugees. Subsequent to the perspectives of Agier and de Montclos (2000; 2008) on the 'urbanisation' in refugee camps that occurs immediately after displacement. Nevertheless, organisations often overlook these urbanisation processes and resume calling these camps emergency camps, which implicitly does not address the evolving situation.

The humanitarian response is immediate to the emergency but does not bring fundamental urban and design changes over the medium and longer term to improve the refugee's wellbeing (Bachelet 2012). However, UNHCR highlighted that the prolonged stay of refugees poses serious difficulties to the host country, the international community, and the refugees themselves (Loescher et al. 2008). A different paper by Loescher, Milner, and Edward (2008) studied prolonged refugee situations to understand current long-term refugee problems. These studies contributed to a better understanding of the causes of the prolonged refugee situation.

Therefore, Misselwitz (2009) states that there is a contradiction between the official definition of refugee camps and the ambiguous, complex reality, which leads to common confusion and a lack of conceptual tools when addressing the transformation from a temporary settlement to an urbanised one. This ambiguity in refugee camps resulted from their dual nature as both cities and camps and the varied spatial and programmatic constitution of their edge zones. Camp borders can either be closed or open, with different zones along their edges where intense economic and cultural interactions with the surroundings take place. The issue of quarters as important organisational structures is ambiguous, with some residents denying their continued

relevance and others acknowledging their importance. This ambiguity also reflects the problem of Palestinian refugees, as positions on how to address the current crowded and impoverished state of camps ranged from forced closure and transfer of populations to rehabilitation projects that address overcrowding, poverty, and malnutrition.

Additionally, the multiplicity of intentions and blurring of humanitarian concerns with political agendas contribute to the ambiguity surrounding the status of refugee camps (Misselwitz 2009). Therefore, many refugee camps revealed that the construction and management of these camps usually have ambiguous and conflicting interests between protection and surveillance with complex motivations between stakeholders. Humanitarian organisations often need to partner with hosting countries, resulting in political and managerial compromises that lead to contradictory statuses where refugees are contained and denied their rights (Misselwitz 2009).

Camps are considered a burden and permanence is unpleasant for hosting countries (Maani 2016). However, the denial of the fact that the camps are becoming permanent is a major problem. These camps are designed in a standardised way that fails to be sensitive to the culture of its inhabitants and forces limitations on social and economic activities to make sense of belonging problems. Some attention has been paid to this mitigated sense of community and sense of belonging, in addition to inequality and segregation that lead to more conflicts, especially with prolonged living (Waters 2003; El-Saket 2016; Rooij et al. 2016). Importantly, Kleinschmidt (2015) reported that humanitarian organisations build camps while refugees build cities. Thus, the local governments and authorities should accept the fact that the refugee camps are not just temporary settlements but instead have been transformed into semi-permanent or permanent independent cities or, in some cases, new consolidated neighbourhoods of pre-existing urban areas, as Kleinschmidt called "These are the cities of tomorrow". It is important to note that defining refugee camps as "cities of tomorrow" may be an opportunistic perspective. Although many refugee camps have evolved into semi-permanent or permanent settlements, this is often due to the protracted nature of displacement and the lack of durable solutions. It is essential to recognise the forced

nature of displacement and the need to prioritise solutions that ensure the rights and dignity of refugees. Therefore, local governments and authorities should not view refugee camps solely as opportunities for urban development but rather as spaces that require a humanitarian response and long-term solutions for the protection and well-being of refugees. Cities are defined as settlements that host cultural activities and social relations among population density (Ulusan 2018). Nevertheless, it turned out that the nature of the relationship between camps and hosting cities is associated with each other and connected theoretically and practically. This was captioned in the Palestinian refugee camps and how they gradually transformed from tents within a space to an urbanised city with houses, social and cultural spaces and markets throughout the years (Dalal 2015a). Importantly, according to El Saket (2016), camps represent politics in space, as they are created and governed by political decisions made by different actors, including international organisations, host governments, and humanitarian agencies. Hence, the design, location, and management of the camps reflect the power relations among these actors and their differing priorities and objectives. According to Agier (2011), the legal and political aspects of refugees build up their lives as transformative social lives that are resilient in their own way. The transformations of the camps and cities reflect the problems resulting from the prolonged situation and bad living conditions to which refugees are trying to adapt and tackle their problems within limited resources. Although refugees are trying to adjust to this prolonged situation, they tend to change the form of the camp to a distinct socio-spatial configuration form. This configuration results from the tensions between the formal top-down arrangements coming from hosting countries, local governments, and management sectors and the informal organic rearrangements of refugees and their grass-roots organisations, also to their potential conflicts arising from cultural differences between different refugee groups dwelling in the same camp and everyday lives of inhabitants (Picker and Pasquetti 2015). Therefore, transformations must be considered a dynamic urbanisation process with the increasing number of refugees and people on the move (Rooij et al. 2016). Al Maani (2016) studied the traditional buildings in Syria, the homeland of the Zaatari refugees, and then reflected on her study on designing a module of courtyard housing that preserves privacy by layering

housing units along the main street. Therefore, according to Belavilas and Prentou (2016), different camps have several 'prototype experiences of placemaking at different levels, scales and forms'. Refugees tend to replicate some archetype forms within which they lived in their home country's urban spaces, which in most cases no longer exist due to the war destruction. Therefore, by keeping their cultural identity through vernacular spatial rearrangements of their camps, the refugees also keep the memory of their destroyed cities, not only by transferring their cultures. That being the case, there are hidden underlying rules within these spatial behaviours of replicating archetypes and typologies that existed before creating these informal settlements (Belavilas and Prentou 2016). Provided that refugees urbanised their camps in a manner that makes a potential informal city that acts as an urban incubator, which could benefit the camp and the hosting country by developing places that could deal with the long-term needs of that country concerning refugee camps. This requires different thinking of the image of these camps and should be analysed and interpreted with the complexity of cities over the longer term, and not merely as temporary emergent solutions for the short term (Kimmelman 2014). Therefore, a city is the home of the practices and activities that need to achieve sustainability in communities, especially including the coherence of communities in cultural and social aspects over time (James 2015). Furthermore, the study 'redesigning the standard refugee camp grid format into a new housing layout' was conducted by the UNHCR Engineer and Physical Planning & Shelter Officer in 2012. Its objective was to support community building in the Dollo Ado refugee camp in Ethiopia, where housing units were placed in U-shaped enclosures that induced community interaction (Rawles 2016). Consequently, long-existing camp-cities are generated by making systems of sustainability and permanent temporariness; classifications of ethnic, racial, and national origins; creating borders in and out of urban areas; and fighting for rights and identity (Picker and Pasquetti 2015). Other studies have explored the relationship between the built environment of the camps and the social-cultural practices of its inhabitants, arguing that the physical design of the camp can constrain and enable specific forms of social interactions (Harrell-bond 1985; King 2003; Moffatt and Kohler 2008; Awamleh and Hasirci 2022). Despite the different approaches of these studies,

they have common concerns about spatial-social relationships in the context of forced displacement.

Administrative authorities such as national or international agencies and NGOs used to conceive, manage, and organise refugee camps. According to Weinreich and Montgomery (2016), who describe themselves as design thinkers and optimistic realists, thus, a new architectural, urban design, and planning reformulation of what a camp is would be needed to create opportunities for the refugee citizens. From an architectural viewpoint, the existing camps differ in living standards; most of them do not offer safe or acceptable living conditions; therefore, Brett Moore, Chief of the Shelter and Settlements Section at the UN refugee agency, encourages architects and planners to consider these housing and humanitarian issues that can increase awareness by reimagining the refugee camp, which leads to more normal life (Elmasry 2018). Hence, the architecture that accepts the existing reality and the limitations of the camp environment can mitigate the bitter scene of different scales of injustice (El-Saket 2016). Furthermore, sensitive planning that considers refugees as urban actors and planning according to social considerations is much better than only addressing the camouflage and shape of the city that are not applicable and do not improve the well-being of refugees (Dalal et al. 2018b). Another important issue is the name of the settlement; as Turnbull (2015) highlights, the problem is with the words 'temporary' and 'camp'. However, the author argues that 'a camp is never just a camp'; thus, it is part of a city or a whole city by itself, which is why architects should design it. In addition, Tommy Sandløkk, an architect with the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), points out that the term 'Camp' is a misnomer. This term admits that it is a second-class place, although these camps are growing into cities (Jacobs 2017).

Therefore, this needs a valuable deep contribution to understanding the camp within its urban space and social life similarity instead of being like a confinement containing refugees with many limitations (Picker and Pasquetti 2015). Refugees have managed to develop urban characteristics to build durable camps such as form, size, population, infrastructure, and social and economic activities. All these development processes were conducted under the limitations of governmental and political rules

(de Montclos and Kagwanja 2000). Understanding the spatial formation of camps-cities helps to find the best ways to govern space and its spatial effects through the short, medium, and longer term.

UNHCR developed the way they work from emergency and temporary solutions to a more durable solution due to the prolonged refugee situations (PRS), allowing for better flexibility and innovation. Thus, UNHCR suggested functional guidelines to address the protracted refugee inhabitation, emphasising self-reliance and development-based methods as an alternative model to traditional ones. These durable solutions for voluntary repatriation, resettlement, and local integration are also discussed, along with three programming ideas to deal with extended refugee situations. These ideas include the Repatriation, Reintegration, Rehabilitation, and Reconstruction (4Rs) strategy, the Development via Local Integration (DLI) approach, and the Development Assistance for Refugees (DAR) Programme approach. Hence, Misselwitz (2009) investigates the potential relevance of DAR guidelines to extended urbanised camp conditions, and a review of the UNHCR's most recent policy document for a community-based approach to its operations serves as its conclusion (UNHCR 2008).

According to a handbook that reflected changes in its overall strategy, UNHCR has changed from a community-based and needs-based approach to a rights-based approach in urbanised camp settings. This approach aims to empower communities to restore their social and economic structures even in exile. This new strategy focuses on defending the rights and restoring the dignity of refugees (UNSDG 2003). The rights-based approach identifies rights holders and duty bearers and encourages them to make claims and obtain satisfaction (UNHCR 2008). The UNHCR is urged to collaborate with refugees and to be aware of its resource and capacity limits, the temporariness of its presence, and the long-term effects of its participation (UNHCR 2008). The handbook (2008) also acknowledges the need for supportive guidelines and procedures to bring this rights-based strategy into action to support freedom of movement, access to resources and services, and employment possibilities. This rights-based approach makes it possible to improve the lives of refugees and involve

communities in planning and implementation processes in a more thorough and integrated way.

The urbanisation of the Palestinian refugee camps has improved rapidly and offers both advantages and disadvantages. Research and investigations on the Palestinian camps provided an experience that could be a valuable reference for creating long-term development possibilities for other camp situations through in-depth case studies and research. Misselwitz (2009) emphasises the advantages and risks of camp urbanisation while highlighting the importance of gaining experience from the "Camp Improvement Plan (CIP)" approach created for urbanised settlements in Palestine camps. This was applied in the Fawwar camp in the West Bank by conducting a community-driven planning programme to develop a planning manual for UNRWA that could inform the building of similar programmes in other camps.

This presented literature review serves three main purposes. First, it aims to create a relevant theoretical framework for state-of-the-art refugee camps worldwide within the social-spatial perspective, which will be the foundation of the research investigation. Second, it aims to highlight with precision what has already been explored. This includes different approaches, such as denial of the permanence of the camp and its role as a zone of exclusion, as well as the study of housing conditions within the camp. Third, the literature review also examines critical debates and controversies, such as the role of architects and planners in finding sustainable humanitarian solutions for refugees and the sense of agency and right to the city for refugees. The review also explores the daily life of refugees and the urbanisation of the camp over time, emphasising the complex spatial-social phenomena. Therefore, these studies indicated that refugee camps are not just temporary settlements but also have urbanised throughout time, resulting in a very complex city-like structure. These complex informal structures were named 'camp-cities' by Agier (2002). These urbanisation practices were implemented to address many problems within the long-term living of these camps. While all the topics highlighted in the previous literature review are relevant, none have approached the exploration of how to increase the

degree of refugees' community empowerment in the public spaces of streets within the refugee camp.

Finally, the literature review notes that little study has been done on the different typologies of the streets and their role in the lives of refugees. This is a significant gap in the literature that the researcher aims to address. Although the concepts of lived space and social relationships have been extensively studied in various urban contexts, their application to the specific case of refugee camps remains limited. Existing studies on refugee camp spaces have highlighted the complexity and diversity of these spaces. Still, a deeper understanding of the dynamic interactions between the physical environment and the social and cultural practices within these spaces is needed. Therefore, it is crucial to adopt a specific lens to investigate the social production of space within refugee camp contexts and to identify the symbolic meanings and social relations that shape these spaces. Such an approach can provide insights essential for architects, planners, policymakers, and other stakeholders involved in designing and managing refugee camp spaces, ultimately leading to the creation of more liveable and empowering spaces for displaced populations. As mentioned in this section, camp-cities were present in the Palestinian camps; thus, understanding the spatial formation of camp-cities to find the best ways to govern space and its spatial effects in the short, medium, and long term. Therefore, the following section will present a background on refugee camps in Jordan and especially these camp-cities.

2.2.2 Background of Refugee Camps in Jordan

The urbanisation of refugee camps in Jordan with their increasingly urbanised settlements, has replaced the traditional camp structure and therefore has drawn attention in recent years. Many factors have contributed to these transformations, including protracted inhabitation, population growth, and the need for refugees to build more settled and sustainable lives. The conflict between the need to maintain basic infrastructure and services and the need to protect the agency and autonomy of refugees has been one of the main obstacles to the process. Accordingly, several

studies have thoroughly investigated these dynamics, such as Doocy et al. (2016), which highlighted the difficulties in providing health services in urbanised refugee settings in Jordan. Other studies (Dalal 2015b; Khawaldah and Alzboun 2022) examined the socioeconomic and environmental effects of the urbanisation of refugee camps in Jordan. Additional studies (Alzoubi et al. 2019; Alduraidi et al. 2020) examine the effect of urbanisation on the resilience of Syrian refugees in Jordan. Among other research, these studies offered crucial insights into the complex and dynamic nature of refugee settlements in Jordan, as well as the difficulties and opportunities brought about by their urbanisation.

Thus, many studies and projects have been conducted on the challenges faced in refugee camps and how to encourage a better sustainable life in existing camps. Some attention has been given to the locations of different services; they must be evaluated and moved to the most accessible location in the camp, in addition to providing public and social spaces and a kind of transportation. As El Saket (2016) suggested, placing camps closer to cities to integrate with urbanised areas such as cities or villages. She argues that when camps are built near cities and villages, this allows refugees to interact and benefit the local economy. Recently, a study was conducted to understand the spatiality and urban transformation of a specific refugee camp called the Zaatari. This study illustrates how refugees face their spatial problems and proposes a new conceptualisation of camp-cities as special spaces that should be dealt with in that manner. However, the author has been restricted to only one case, the Zaatari, which is still under production processes, restricted only to the commercial street, and failed to consider the social model under constant change (Al-Nassir 2018).

Therefore, these studies have helped architects and planners address refugee issues such as camp design, streets and public spaces. Thus, architects and planners should focus on the specificity and dynamics of their local context and human experiences to tackle the multidimensional issues facing refugee camps. This helps to achieve mutual benefits and reduce risks and tensions (Dalal 2016). Accordingly, Al Maani (2016) states that architects need to interpret refugee

camps due to the absence of longer-term developments promoted by international humanitarian agencies in these camps. Nevertheless, in this context of managerial and budgetary scarcity, design proposals are only effective if they are easily applicable and at low cost, so international agencies, local authorities, and NGOs can implement them. Hence, restructuring, reorganising, and modifying the camp that is sensitive to human and refugee needs can improve the built environment, thus enhancing well-being outcomes.

Furthermore, studies show that physical and mental health is related to the built environment. This was clear through the comparison conducted by Byler, Gelaw, & Khoshnood (2015) between the Azraq and Zaatari camps, which proves that none-grid planning, household sanitation facilities, the durable perpetual housing structure and the community-centric design in the Azraq camp proved better health. This housing design, which includes improvements through the application of windows and doors that can be locked, increases safety and a sense of dignity. Therefore, manipulating and developing the built environment with realistic and measurable design reflections proved to be a better healthy living experience (Byler et al. 2015). Importantly, refugee camps located in Jordan where refugees have recognised their rights, autonomy, and the need for more sustainable living, such as the need for a large living space, safety, and a healthy environment. Consequently, the Zaatari is going through an ongoing transformation from a camp to a city structure (Renaudiere 2015).

As mentioned above, with their urbanisation processes, the Palestinian camps provide a valuable reference to understand the prolonged situation in refugee camps. Due to the leadership in the urbanisation of Palestinian refugee camp-cities, they serve as a testing ground for innovative ideas (Misselwitz 2009).

Some previous studies focused on the situation from different aspects, such as economic, political, social, and cultural. However, some studies focused on the locations of camps as being far from the city centres and all services and not protected from environmental conditions as well as opinions showing that refugee camps fail and should not be conceived as temporary structures in the future.

In conclusion, previous studies on refugee camps in Jordan overlooked the importance of understanding the meanings behind refugee spatial practices and the urban future of existing camps going under spatial transformations. Furthermore, neither of the previous studies in the two previous sections linked the spatiality of refugee camps produced in the past to the future within the same typologies, as this is important for the refugee's needs and their role in transforming their own spaces. The former studies indicated that refugees managed to urbanise their settlement and maintain and develop the camps throughout time and under the tensions and limitations of different government policies. Hence, the underlying rules that managed the camp transformations should be analysed and understood to help to understand the layers of the camp-city as a complex social and spatial system. Hence, previous studies overlooked linking the literature with practice through the lens of social production of space, despite its importance through urbanisation and improving refugees' urban life.

2.3 The space

2.3.1 Space & spatiality

The term space has been a topic of interest and has been studied through numerous fields of study, including planning, architecture, and sociology. Therefore, many scholars developed spatial theory as a study related to the understanding of space and examined the production of space within social, political, and economic structures and how these structures affect how people experience space. The spatial theory investigates how space is created, organised, and used and how this created space affects human behaviour, practices and social relationships (Foucault 1966; Harvey 1974; Lefebvre 1991; Soja 1996; Massey 2005). The main concepts in spatial theory include the relationship between space and power (Foucault 1966), the study of place, space, and globalisation (Allen et al. 1998; Massey 2005), urbanisation of space and capitalism (Harvey 1974), the interaction between physical and social spaces, and the influence of space on human behaviour and social relationships (Soja 1996). Particularly, spatial theory focuses on how space is socially constructed and forms human experiences (Lefebvre 1991).

Moreover, according to Heidegger (1962), space is an integral part of human beings in the world, which is neither constantly changing and evolving nor a neutral, independent entity from human beings. He argues that the user experience of space is intertwined with their understanding of things and changes continuously through their actions, which shape their experience and relationships with the world (Heidegger 1962). However, Massey encourages using the term "space" to describe spheres of juxtaposition and co-existence (1998; 2005).

Therefore, the term space has been widely studied within social theory, where there has been an investigation of how space can shape the experiences and interactions of its users and how social, political, and economic forces produce it. A further key aspect of space within the social theory is the space-identity relationship, how identities shape the user experience of space, and how spaces can influence or challenge identities and power relationships. This was present in the work of Michel Foucault (1966) on the concept of disciplinary power, which shows how space can impose control over its inhabitants. Another Marxist philosopher, Henri Lefebvre, a pioneer in the critique of everyday life and the production of social space, dedicated a part of his different philosophical writings forming a new understanding of space and social relationships, which influenced urban theory. Lefebvre argued on the 'right to the city' in his book 'Le Droit à la ville, Paris' (1968) that space plays a vital role in shaping the experiences of inhabitants and the sense of belonging. Instead of being just a void that hosts events and objects, space is a medium with its own coherence and its productive nature. Thus, space is created by the action of humans inhabiting it; space itself has its own productive agencies, where the spatial practices combine the environment and inhabitants into a single resolute continuum. Space is the glaring structure of social existence, not its mysterious underside (West-Pavlov, 2009). Subsequently, spatiality is a term that was generated to indicate how the concept of space is perceived, organised, and experienced, and encompasses physical, social, and cultural interpretations of space. It is important to understand the impact of the built environment on its inhabitants. Accordingly, social sciences often view space analysis as the result of social structures or social action. According to Löw (2008),

the social sciences normally focus on the potential of space as a pattern for creating difference and plurality.

However, Giddens (1984) writes on the "duality of structure and action," which he refers to as the duality of structure, to express the mutual conditionality of action and structure. This duality emphasises that the rules and resources utilised from the production and reproduction of social action are the modes of system reproduction (Giddens 1984). Hence, Löw's (2008) routines are seen as a significant aspect of comprehending social processes and highlight that they contribute both to the stability of an individual's actions and the continuation of societies. Thus, the action theory of space serves as a mediating category between the material aspects of spaces and their social consequences, linking bodily positioning, perception, and institutional frameworks with material artefacts. Löw (2008) argues that these approaches do not adequately address the power of spaces to produce action, whereas structure-theoretical approaches lack consideration of everyday spaces. The approach of the duality of space is anticipated, which acknowledges that atmospheres can simultaneously act as interpreters and perceivers to stimulate moods and gain consent for inclusion or exclusion (Löw 2008).

Furthermore, based on a theory of everyday life, Lefebvre (1991;2003) argues that the colonisation of space and time under capitalism has made everyday life standardised and controlled. He finds the measurement and control of space as a means of appropriation and a specific expression of the capitalist mode of production. Lefebvre's critical approach makes it possible to examine space as a product of society. He believes that highly developed exploitation and monitored passivity have led to the standardisation of lifestyles (Löw 2008).

All the studies reviewed above support the shift of academic thinking in different disciplines to include space as a key dimension in different phenomena, which Barney Warf and Santa Arias (2008) called the 'spatial turn' in their paper "The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives". Consequently, this has led to rethinking conventional methods toward new ways to understand the relationship between space, society, and the built environment. This offered new ways of thinking about complex spatial

relationships and processes in the world (Warf and Arias 2008). This spatial turn has made space and place primary concerns for various academic disciplines. Traditional approaches to understanding the world and relationships between people together and the environment have been rethought as a result of this turn. The spatial turn recognises the significance of spatial relationships, the production of space, and the spatial dimensions of social, cultural, and political processes. It has emphasised the necessity of investigating how space is a physical reality, a social and cultural construct influenced by human activities and experiences. As a result of the spatial turn and new understanding of the world and human-environment relationships world, new interdisciplinary approaches to study space have emerged (Warf and Arias 2008). The term 'production paradigm' was identified by Baudrillard for spatial thinking shared among different thinkers (Baudrillard 1975). Accordingly, this spatial turn is substantially associated with prolonged situations in refugee camps as they evolve spatially throughout time. Hence, understanding this spatial development in refugee camps would produce new knowledge about the spatial specificity of such a context on informal settlement.

Importantly, this thesis presents the theories related to the production of space within the social structure. This is included under the spatiality term, which is the study of the relationships between spaces and objects, and how these relationships affect the user experience, whether physical or conceptual. An important area of research in the field of spatiality is how the design of the physical space affects human behaviour and experience and vice versa. Accordingly, the following section will thoroughly explain the theory of the social production of space to generate the theoretical framework needed for the analysis.

2.3.2 The Social Production of Space

From the above, it is important to understand the theories focused on the social production of space to conduct this study. Therefore, Shields (1999) states that the works of Henri Lefebvre in "Production de l'espace" (1974) are regarded as an important resource for spatial theory analysis, which ties a relational concept of space

to a critique of capitalism. Lefebvre (1991) developed a critical method for examining space as a product of society and asserted that social space is a social product.

Therefore, according to Lefebvre (1991), it is important to study urban space in an unlimited way, considering all the struggles that constructed the form, meanings, activities, and subjectivities that constructed the space. Thus, Lefebvre (1991) states that space is a product that can be used and consumed; it is a fashion space that is determined by it, and a way of production, a system of exchanging materials and energy. Hence, it is a dialectic process in spatial terms (Sabhlok 2015).

Subsequently, Lefebvre (1991) divided any space into different schemes of social production, such as perceived, conceived, and lived spaces. First, the perceived space is the objective physical place where individuals interact with each other in their everyday lives. The spatial practice excretes the space of society in a dialectic interaction; it posits it, supposes it, and produces it. This spatial practice can only be evaluated empirically. Thus, this can be defined by the everyday life of an individual. Therefore, the spatial practice must have a sort of coherence and be conceived logically. Second, the conceived space is the intellectual abstract space where there are ideas and representations of space. It is the representations of space which is the conceptualised space and the dominant space in society and the production process. Finally, the lived space, which combines both the perceived and the conceived spaces, is the actual experience of inhabitants in their everyday lives. It is the representational space, which is the lived space with its images and meanings. Thus, this is the space of inhabitants, which is the dominant space that imagination wants to alter and appropriate (Lefebvre 1991). Therefore, the transformation of every day of any social space into geographical or physical space itself produces the meaning of a spatial representation of social reality. Thus, this social power has produced spaces including a spatialisation significance that could be discovered through analysing social relations as relations of meaning (Prigge 2008). These differentiated schemes of social production of space are Lefebvre's answer to how to tangle the complexity of problems related to the epistemology of space, which is the complex symbolic quality of spatial representation of the social reality of every day, the urban as crucial

epistemology of social structure, and the gap between subjective experience and objective perception.

Therefore, lived space and social relations are related to each other in a synergetic way. The concept of a "lived space" encompasses how people experience and interact with their physical and social environment, while social relations refer to patterns of communication and interaction within society. Therefore, the physical environment shapes social relationships, while social relationships, in turn, shape the physical environment. At the same time, social relationships can also shape how individuals experience and perceive space. In short, the relationship between lived space and social relations is complex and multifaceted, each influencing and shaping the other in a continuous and dynamic process. Thus, examining these complex relationships between social relationships and lived space would help to understand the social structure of refugee camps space and what it entails, such as social problems, power relations, and the processes of shaping the living experience.

Consequently, producing urban space requires more than just planning the concrete space but involves all aspects of urban life. Thus, space could be grasped through inhabitants' practices; these practices form the spatial configurations of any space as they are relational and depend on the circumstances and their social relationships (Sabhlok 2015). Thus, in the social production of space, space and time are not only material or purely conceptual but also integral aspects of social practice. Accordingly, they are equal conditions and results of society production (Schmid 2008a). Hence, social norms are embedded in everyday life, affecting how people think. Thus, analysing spatial planning through this thinking paradigm would help understand how planning strategies construct their own space-time frameworks. With that in mind, different inhabitants create spaces in different ways through conflicts of interest and struggle over power. According to Foucault (1984), power is vital in outlining the production of knowledge and the social production of space, which is the power as a productive force; thus, discourse strengthens this power, yet it reveals the fragilities of power (Flyvbjerg and Richardson 2002).

Therefore, several spaces may exist together in one physical space; this is related to discourses and strategies of inclusion and exclusion, which are linked with specific spaces. Thus, the understanding of planning should be practical and accepts conflicts; thus, this makes it a greater paradigm for the planning theory (Flyvbjerg and Richardson 2002). Accordingly, this concept of space-time is significantly related to prolonged situations in refugee camps as they evolve spatially through time and according to the social norms and relations among inhabitants.

According to Lefebvre (1996), the city is a site of social relations, an attraction centre, and a space for resistance during the crisis years. The city is not only an economic and political structure but a work of art in which all inhabitants participate, making it a space of use value rather than just exchange value (Sabhlok 2015). Therefore, the urban is the place where inhabitants meet, encounter, and gather, which is an attraction centre, as a concrete abstraction related to practice (Lefebvre 2003, pp. 118-119). Thus, the city is not a creator in itself, but it plays a crucial role in centralising the creation of various elements. Through this process, the urban fabric unites these elements, and the city itself recognises, constructs, and releases the underlying foundations of social relationships (Lefebvre 2003, pp. 117-118). In his book 'The Urban Revolution' (2003), Lefebvre states that urbanisation projects and strategies that overlook its users result in their oppression and exploitation. This is due to replacing the concrete space with the abstract space in theories and thus failing to consider lived experiences, resulting in a repressive and ideological objective space (Lefebvre 2003). Lefebvre states that the urban phenomenon should be understood as a totality; however, it cannot be fully understood due to its complexity in geography, history, economics, and sociology. This utopian thinking aims to understand the emerging urban to push society to its horizon (Lefebvre, 2003).

Another spatial thinking appeared that is inspired by spatial utopian thinking from Michel Foucault is the concept of 'Heterotopias', defined as mental or physical spaces that act as different spaces with existing spaces, or in other words, spaces that have several layers of meanings or relations (Foucault 1984). Thus, the external space, according to Foucault, is a heterogeneous space where inhabitants live, and history

is created. In other words, a series of relations that define sites that are complex to each other. These spaces are linked to other spaces and simultaneously contradict them. They are also a way to escape the realities of their inhabitant's oppression. These spaces are heterotopias (Foucault 1984). Although camp-cities host many heterotopias created by their inhabitants to sustain a better urban life and escape the oppressive reality, they are not the only ones. Michel Foucault's approach focuses on what is actually done instead of what should be done through creating an analytic planning theory (Flyvbjerg and Richardson 2002).

Therefore, the concept of the production of space is attractive and important in that it integrates all the aspects of the city into a systematic, comprehensive social theory, which allows for the analysis and understanding of the spatial processes at different levels. In account of this, the situation in refugee camps is an example of the production of space, as they are designed in a standardised way with limitations to access urban qualities, so refugees try to urbanise their camps through spatial changes that emerge from their social relationships to sustain a better urban life. Hence, examining the lived spaces of refugee camps can help better understand their spatial (re)configuration over time.

2.3.2.1   Notions of lived space.

As previously stated, the concept of lived space constitutes one of the three dimensions in Lefebvre's (1991) spatial triad. It is understood as a socially constructed phenomenon that emerges through the dynamic interplay between its users within perceived and conceived spaces. Therefore, it is the physical and social space individuals experience and interact with in their everyday lives. Lived space is a key aspect of human lives and the structure of social relationships within the urban environment (Lefebvre 1991).

Importantly, lived space is an important concept in the analysis of urban environments and is used to understand how people experience and interact with their physical and social environment (Lefebvre 1991). Therefore, lived spaces are characterised by specific meanings and practices that reflect the user's experience and aspirations since power relations and social practices shape the social space (Lefebvre 1991).

Placemaking idea is an essential aspect of urban life; thus, it is also a key aspect of lived space, as it refers to how inhabitants generate meaning and significance in their places. Hence, it allows individuals to create an identity and a sense of belonging within their physical and social environment (Cresswell 2004).

Therefore, social space is not a product or a thing; rather, it combines produced 'things' with co-existence relations. Hence, social space results from these processes and actions, which is why it is not a simple object. It encompasses a wide variety of natural and social objects, including relations, as paths and networks enable the exchange of things and information (Lefebvre 1991).

Space is inseparable from time and what matters is the relationship between the two (Harvey 2016, p.130). Harvey (2006) states that there are three dimensions; space is relational to time, it is absolute, and relative to space, which bends in time. Although everyone sees movement in space, time is also observed within space as people live in time; they are in time. Thus, each space shows its own age, showing the marks of years taken this space to grow. This is how time is inscribed in space. However, with modernity, time was excluded from social space, and lived time lost its social interest and form. Thus, time is a vital aspect of lived experience, but it is no longer visible or understood. It cannot be created; it is wasted and exhausted. Therefore, a space is a social reality within a set of relations and forms. Its history must be distinguished from other things and ideas in space, bearing in mind the space representation and representational spaces and more importantly, the interrelationships and their links with social activity. Thus, the history of a space is located among anthropology and political economy. However, everyday life forms representational spaces. While, the representations of space are included in the history of ideologies and noble ideas of philosophy, ethics, and religion (Lefebvre 1991). Therefore, the production of space takes time into account only for the requirements of productivity in an enclosed circle of time (Lefebvre 1972).

As mentioned in the previous section, heterotopias are a type of thinking of lived space. Heterotopia is described as 'the reinvention of the everyday: the ordinary and the extraordinary'; it is the reinvention of the discussion on the everyday by mapping

the vibrant potentials of the ordinary (Dehaene et al. 2008). Thus, heterotopias are defined as mental or physical spaces that act as different spaces from existing spaces. Heterotopic spaces contain six principles. First, the suspended behaviours and norms. This started with the heterotopias of crisis, that is, the spaces that are a sacred privilege and forbidden spaces for individuals associated with the society in crisis, such as adolescents, pregnant women, and the elderly. These heterotopias of crisis transformed into heterotopias of deviation, which are spaces where inhabitants can practice behaviours outside the norm, such as prisons, care homes, and psychiatric hospitals. The second principle is the rigorous and determined function reflected in the society in which they exist, such as the cemetery. Third, they can host a juxtaposition of numerous different spaces in one real place. For example, the garden where different plants from different places are juxtaposed and placed together. The fourth principle is linking slices of time, which works when people take a break from traditional time. In that sense, time can accumulate time like museums and libraries, and it could be transitory. The fifth principle is that heterotopic places are not freely accessible, and they need some sort of permission to enter. The sixth is that they have a function in relation to other spaces that exist. These are the spaces of illusion and spaces of compensation that unfold two poles (Foucault 1984). Foucault's interest was in understanding a continuous space as a dynamic process of events, including the inhabitants. Thus, it is a continuous mode of production and reproduction of repeated meaning and needs to be analysed accordingly. This is the paradigm shift of spatial thinking in which its question is 'how' they mean, the production processes that gave the space its meaning, and the situation that makes it possible for the meaning to be generated (Foucault 1984). Consequently, this paradigm shift in the conceptualisation of space and spatial thinking has facilitated the repositioning of space within the context of refugee camps, thereby altering the perception of spatiality in such contexts.

A third space is a concept inspired by Soja (1996) from spatial trialectics constructed by Henri Lefebvre and the production of space (1991); specifically, it is the lived space in his spatial analysis in addition to Michel Foucault's idea of heterotopias (1984). It is a different and special critical manner of spatial awareness that is proper to the scope

of rebalancing trialectics of spatiality-historicality-sociality (Soja 1996, p.57). It is a different way of thinking about the spatiality of human life and how to understand and interpret it. The living experience is in continuous change, where inhabitants give it meaning (Soja 1996). This, according to Soja, generates an accumulative trialectics that is open radically to further otherness concepts to expand spatial knowledge. Hence, the radical concept of the third space includes epistemology, ontology, and historicity in a constant movement oriented beyond the dualities and toward "an-Other" (Soja 1996, p.61). Thus, it allows the competition and re-negotiation of bounds and cultural identity (Bhabha 1990).

Everything social is simultaneously inherently spatial, and everything spatial and related to human lives is inherently socialised. The third space is a term that is experiential and flexible, and its purpose is to captivate what is continuously changing a milieu of activities, ideas, and meanings (Soja 1996). Therefore, the third space takes spatial thinking further, as Soja described it as 'a fully lived space' that is real and imagined, collective experience and agency, and actual and virtual position of structured individuality at the same time (Soja 1996). Soja's third space follows Lefebvre's notion of fully lived space, which is a more comprehensive way of thinking than the traditional dual one. This is also an alternative concept of the Foucault hetero-topological way of interpreting space, which is a space of complete living experience, the tangible and intangible of every day. A space of spatiality, historicality, and sociality that should be put first in spatial thinking that is continuing to be unexplored (Soja and Blake 2002).

Accordingly, the concept of lived space gained a great deal of interest in the academic literature. Therefore, a study that attempts to understand the controversial spaces in the 'Piers saga' in Hong Kong before and after the Second World War (WWII) (Ng et al. 2010) explores spatial practices through the Lefebvrian lens states that after WWII, the government included public spaces in the commercial centre, enabling the public to 'appropriate' them as 'lived' spaces. Subsequently, the government formulated a plan to dismantle these "lived" spaces, but the occupants endeavoured to preserve them since these spaces had acquired a significant symbolic value, transcending their

mere physical dimensions as a container for their daily lives. A research project carried out in Nanjing, China, examined the significance of everyday practices in the social production of the neighbourhood and how social and cultural life contributes to a sense of belonging in urban spaces. The study identified two main modes of social production of spaces by inhabitants: sustaining their relationships and asserting their right to the city (Tynen 2018).

Vale (1997) also studied the relationship between public housing tenants and their physical environment in "Empathological Places: Residents' Ambivalence About Staying in Public Housing". She argues that even though public housing is usually stereotyped as unwanted living places, residents may feel conflicted about leaving their houses due to their sense of attachment and belonging to the community. Therefore, Vale suggests that improving the quality of life in public housing should include addressing the physical conditions of the built environment and, more importantly, acknowledging and addressing the emotional and social connections that residents have with their homes (Vale 1997). The findings of the aforementioned studies provide a convincing argument for the importance of the social production of space, particularly regarding the creation of meaning in lived spaces. Such meanings include a sense of belonging, place, and emotional attachment that can transform any space into a place. These symbolic meanings give significant value to the space beyond its physical attributes. Therefore, understanding the processes of producing these meanings and why they are significant in the context of refugee camps can be instrumental for architects, planners, and policymakers in reconceptualising these spaces. By acknowledging the importance of the social production of space, they can contribute to a more human-centred approach to refugee camp design that recognises the inhabitants' agency and autonomy.

Leary-Owhin (2015) strongly argues that planning theorists have overlooked the potential contributions of Lefebvre's ideas regarding the social production of space and the spatial triad in planning theories. This neglect has prevented public space enhancement through a conceptual shift in thinking. However, through the spatial triad, a differential space allows for the politicisation of spaces of appropriation and

the claiming of rights to the city, resulting in a continuous dialectical struggle (Leary-Owhin 2015) Another study by Støa and Grønseth (2021) suggests that architecture includes non-material intervention besides the buildings equally by having a relational quality, which can affect urban lives within the everyday. Similarly, the study by Mazanti and Pløger (2003) emphasises the importance of considering the meanings and identification of everyday life and accepting the components of a meaningful community built through the use of place. Furthermore, Babere (2015) highlights the role of actors of informal livelihood in facilitating the social production of space and argues that the informal mode of production of space should be recognised to understand the production of space for such activities.

Place of belonging and place of identity have key roles in the present urban planning restoration schemes. According to planners, creating this positive sense of belonging and identity is important to manage social and physical problems in disadvantaged urban areas. This is due to the connection between the living experience of the resident's place and the social and economic facts. Thus, a sense of community is generated when the residents stand together when there is a common cause of urban facilities or conflicts of interest. This study argues that there is a need to bridge the gap between facts and meanings. The understanding of place identity can be grasped by studying everyday life and how inhabitants perceive and legislate it (Ujang and Zakariya 2015).

In conclusion, the concept of lived space is a key aspect of human lives and social relationships within the urban environment. Lefebvre's (1991) spatial triad considers lived space as a socially constructed phenomenon that emerges through the dynamic interplay between its users within perceived and conceived spaces. It is characterised by specific meanings and practices reflecting the user's experience and aspirations, as power relationships and social practices shape the social space. Furthermore, time is a vital aspect of lived experience, and space is relational to time. Heterotopias and third spaces are types of thinking of lived space. Heterotopias are defined as mental or physical spaces that act as different spaces from the existing spaces, and third spaces are the lived spaces in Soja's spatial analysis. The paradigm shift in the

conceptualisation of space and spatial thinking has facilitated the repositioning of space within the context of refugee camps, altering the perception of spatiality in such contexts. In general, lived space and its interpretations of heterotopias and third spaces and time are crucial concepts in building the theoretical framework of research on urban environments, social spaces, and human interactions with physical and social environments.

Furthermore, the social production of space highlights the importance of community participation in creating and managing urban spaces, recognising that the built environment reflects the social relations and power dynamics within a given society. The notion of 'a city for all' is directly related to the social production of space, with how people shape their environment through their everyday actions and practices. Therefore, an urban movement was generated that embraces the idea that urban spaces should be developed and governed in ways that prioritise the needs and desires of all its inhabitants, not just the wealthy or powerful ones. It encompasses a vision of inclusive urban development that is participatory, democratic, and equitable, named "the right to the city". This idea and its relation to the social production of lived space will be discussed in the following section.

2.3.2.2   The right to the city as an urban revolution or movement

"The historically constructed is no longer lived and is no longer understood practically. It is only an object of cultural consumption for tourists, for aestheticism, avid for spectacles and the picturesque. Even for those who seek to understand it with warmth, it is gone. Yet, the urban remains in a state of dispersed and alienated actuality, as a kernel and virtuality. What the eyes and analysis perceive on the ground can at best pass for the shadow of the future object in the light of a rising sun. It is impossible to envisage the reconstitution of the old city, only the construction of a new one on new foundations, on another scale and in other conditions, in another society. The prescription is: there cannot be a going back (towards the traditional city), nor a head long flight, towards a colossal and shapeless agglomeration. In other words, for what concerns the city the object of science is not given. The past, the present, the possible cannot be separated. What is being studied is a virtual object, which thought studies, which calls for new approaches." (Lefebvre 1996)

The right to the city is an important urban life concept that Henri Lefebvre developed in his book 'Le Droit à la ville' 1968, which demands the right of urban space to marginalised groups that live away from cities or urbanised areas. This concept

became a concept for the urban planning movement after the 1990s due to the focus on the market-centric city and the inclusion of participation in forming the city to only capitalists (Isensee 2013). Recently, the social theorist Harvey (2008) retook this concept and argued that the right to the city is not only a demand for access to urban resources but also the right to change people and communities by changing the city (Marcuse 2011). He states: "It is a right to change ourselves by changing the city"; it is a cooperative power to reform urbanisation processes. Therefore, the right to the city is a collective demand that gives inhabitants the power to participate in decision-making and shape their own lives in the city, challenging the traditional top-down approach to urban development and highlighting the importance of community participation and collective action (Sabhlok 2015). Another recent work inspired by Lefebvre's work on the right to the city is the spatial justice created by Soja (2009), which is a matter of reordering urban spaces and, more importantly, criticising the relationships and the process that generates forms of injustice in cities. Therefore, what is important in Soja's approach to spatial justice is that spatial attention points out the spatial relationships in that place-based problems and actors are entangled (Iveson 2011). Lefebvre's conception of the right to the city encompassed profound insights regarding the consequential geography of urban life and the imperative for those individuals most impacted by urban circumstances to assume agency over the social production of urban space. Hence, dense urban agglomerations have mainly generated the urbanisation of (in)justice. This bigger view of urbanisation processes connects the spatial justice search to the struggles of the right to the city. The right to the city emphasises the consequential geography of urban life and the need for inhabitants to take control of the social production of urbanised space (Soja 2010). Therefore, the search for spatial justice is a complex trio of sensibilities of spatiality, sociality, and history that are connected and interdependent (Soja 1996). According to Purcell (2002), Lefebvre's right to the city is a promising idea, but it still needs more theoretical and political justification in the literature, as it requires a rearrangement of social, economic, and political relations in and outside the city. This means reorienting the decision-making in the cities towards all decisions that contribute to the production of space. That is, convert power from the capital to urban inhabitants. Significantly,

the importance of the idea of the right to the city from Lefebvre's point of view is that it presents a fundamental image of inhabitants managing their urban space, without capitalists and state control. Hence, this image demands a radical change, yet it is practical, as it can guide and inspire change in the city today (Soja 2010; Purcell 2013). As cities have captivated people for a long time, inhabitants have paid attention to the social and morphological framework of their own interests. Thus, people neglect small cities or other places that are more problematic, which creates a disappointment in urban reality as it is hard to make the transition from the city to urban society (Lefebvre 2003). Therefore, since the right to the city is all about the quality of urban life, there must be another way to be in the city, rather than this alienation of the quality of everyday life in the city, and to produce the urban space in the city (Purcell 2013; Harvey 2016). In summary, the right to the city is a collective demand that gives inhabitants the power to participate in decision-making and shape their lives. This concept challenges the traditional top-down approach to urban development and highlights the importance of community participation and collective action (Isensee 2013; Makrygianni and Tsavdaroglou 2015). This framework helps to understand urban development processes and address issues such as redevelopment and inequality by adopting a participatory approach to research that is rooted in the needs and desires of the inhabitants of urban spaces (Purcell 2002; Sabhlok 2015). Consequently, Lefebvre's concept of 'right to the city' is adopted by many urban movements and NGOs, in which the value of urban space is their common characteristic, such as parks, public spaces, green areas, and free spaces (Makrygianni and Tsavdaroglou 2015). For that reason, although there is a lot of attention to refugee camps, an umbrella to bring camps within a general concept of transformative politics oriented to the city is still missing (Harvey 2016). According to Purcell (2013), Lefebvre's concept of the "right to the city" is a radical and utopian vision that emphasises the urgency of achieving a possible urban world with a society characterised by inhabitants' meaningful engagement. This is what Lefebvre calls 'the urgent utopia', which is intellectual thinking that supports possibilities in all manners, and hence the possible world is the urban as the urgent utopia (Lefebvre 2009b).

The concept of the right to the city, which demands the right of urban space to marginalised groups, particularly refugees in this case, plays a crucial role in the research as it highlights the importance of community participation and collective action, challenges the traditional top-down approach to urban development, and gives inhabitants the power to participate in decision-making and shape their own lives in the city. By claiming their right to the city, refugees form an important part of the process of the social production of the streets of the camp, and the search for spatial justice becomes intertwined with the struggle for the right to the city. The adoption of Lefebvre's concept of the right to the city by urban movements and NGOs, which value urban space as a common characteristic, is relevant to studying refugee camps and transformative politics oriented towards the city.

2.3.3 Summary

Lefebvre's spatial thinking has broadened the concept of space with the possibilities to imagine and produce different spaces. He changed how people see space from a container for life to a product resulting from social relations (Makrygianni and Tsavdaroglou 2015). Hence, Lefebvre's ideas of the right to the city and the production of space, according to Lelandais (2014), help residents perceive space as a means to recognise the collective identity of their communities. That being so, their space can create a strong sense of community. A community has two aspects: first, the public social society that cooperates. The second aspect is the marginalised groups. According to Lefebvre, this contradiction can be solved through the conception of space. However, this is a utopian solution and cannot intervene in these relations (Lefebvre 1972). This is related to the neighbourhood and the city as it is a space of struggle for its conception and requisition between inhabitants and decision-makers. Thus, the right to the city means that the inhabitants should make the decisions of how their city should be produced as long as they live in that space. It is the means of controlling the production of space in the city (Lelandais 2014).

To conclude, the social production of space refers to how social, cultural, and economic factors create and form spaces. This concept recognises that space is not only a container of physical objects but is, instead, actively constructed and

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transformed by human society. It is an essential concept to consider when studying urban spaces, particularly in refugee camps. Henri Lefebvre's concept of space as a product of society and the different schemes of social production, including the perceived, conceived, and lived spaces, can help to understand the complexity of problems related to the epistemology of space. Social relations and lived space are synergetic, and power is vital in outlining the production of knowledge and the social production of space. Another important aspect of the social production of space is the meaning attached to different spaces. These meanings have a profound impact on how people experience and use spaces. The social production of space is also influenced by the economic processes that shape the built environment, and thus market forces influence commercial spaces.

Therefore, planning should be practical and accept conflicts to be a greater paradigm to the planning theory, and the understanding of planning should take into account the relationship between space and time, which are integral aspects of social practice. Furthermore, the city is not just an economic and political structure but also a work of art in which all inhabitants participate, making it a space of use value rather than just exchange value, and it plays a crucial role in centralising the creation of various elements. Additionally, time is a vital aspect of social space, which is inscribed in space. Social and spatial dimensions of human life are inherently intertwined, and the third space allows the re-negotiation of boundaries and cultural identity. Therefore, the social production of street space in refugee camps is an ongoing and evolving process that needs to be understood with its history, ideology, and social activity. Finally, the refugee camp that existed for a long time has different spatial meanings, spatial representations, and representations of space. They are constantly changing and evolving under various circumstances and intentions, which is a social model of the city that hosts social and cultural interactions among spaces characterised by changing urbanisation processes. Hence, studying the spatiality of these camps through the lived space would help to grasp these meanings and figure out the spatial-social relations of these informal settlements. Furthermore, a thorough examination of the existing literature on community empowerment is imperative to identify the relevant dimensions for investigating the streets in refugee camps. This approach is

essential, as community empowerment serves as the specific lens chosen through which social production processes are viewed.

2.4 Empowering Living Experience

2.4.1 Introduction

Empowerment is a term that has been recently used in different disciplines in the context of development (Dawson 1998). Therefore, an important field of these different disciplines is studies related to refugees and their disadvantaged situations. The notions of refugee empowerment in their daily living experience can be interpreted in different ways between social, political, and gender-related empowerment. However, very little is currently known about spatial empowerment or empowering refugees through spatial experience. Through a thorough examination of space theories and the social production of space literature, along with an analysis of existing research on refugee camps at the international level and in Jordan specifically, it has become increasingly clear that the issue of community empowerment necessitates further investigation. Therefore, this phenomenon of empowerment through spatial living experience has been construed as both a process and an outcome of everyday experiences, which effectively transforms social and urban environments, empowering refugees and granting them the ability to reshape their lives. This highlights the importance of the process itself, the right to make spatial decisions and social relationships. This thesis aims to understand how refugees are socially producing the streets to attain empowerment in their living experience and how it affects their daily lives. Therefore, the analysis of spatial-social practices of refugees on the streets and their representations contributes to forming a new understanding of the underlying meanings behind these practices and therefore informs the design guidelines for reproducing the streets to empower refugees through spatial living experience.

Accordingly, this section will review the relevant literature that explains the relationship between the spatial living experience in refugee camps and social production of

community empowerment; see Figure (2-1). Thus, it highlights the dimensions of the comparative analysis, which can be outlined under the cognitive and structural processes of empowerment.

2.4.2 Living experience

The term 'living experience' was initially given to any activity that has implications for society and involves collective human practice and its generated forces and resistances. As Bogdanov (2016 p. 207), in his book The Philosophy of Living Experience: Popular Outlines, states:
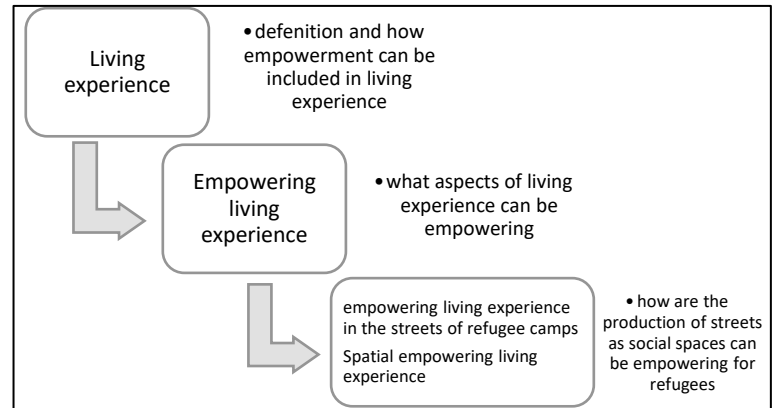
Figure 2-1:   the structure of literature review of community empowerment

'This means that the initial elements of the experience had an entirely active character based on social practice'.

Hence, the living experience has elements within its flow that can be isolated and distinguished from it. These elements of experience include simpler qualities, actions, and things that can increase and expand, where "things", according to Bogdanov A. (2016) refer to physical objects or phenomena that are singled out and given significance based on their usefulness or harmfulness in the process of labour or their significance to social practice. The living experience can be broken down when analysed, corresponding to new needs, forming new simpler elements produced through human labour. These elements create a specific approach to worldview experience under the Marxist perspective of the production of products. Accordingly, social labour with cognition produces every element of the experience. Thus, the element of the experience is formed from social needs to differentiate between the different components and conditions, which constitute what Marx (1859) called the use value. Hence, every element of the experience is formed through physical and conceptual processes (Bogdanov A. 2016).

As previously stated, Lefebvre's (1991) spatial worldview posits that experience can be divided into perceived, conceived, and lived spaces, with the lived space

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representing the amalgamation of the perceived and conceived spaces and serving as the actual site of everyday life experiences for inhabitants.

Accordingly, living experience within a spatial context is called spatial experience. Tschumi (2012, p. 176) states that 'there is no architecture without event', revealing that space, event and activity are the components of the spatial experience. According to Tschumi, the spatial experience is related to events, people, and activities, not space and its form and function. Therefore, a spatial experience definition can be drawn from this understanding; it is an experience that entails people in a particular activity in a certain space and within a certain context. Thus, context, people, and activity are the basic constituents of spatial experience. According to Rahimi et al. (2018), improving the quality of spatial experience requires stronger relationships between people, context, and activity. The influence of spatial living experience on empowerment remains unclear due to several factors. First, the concept of empowerment itself is complex and multidimensional, making it difficult to measure and quantify.

The spatial living experience is also a complex and multifaceted construct involving various dimensions, such as physical, social, and cultural aspects. Therefore, it is challenging to isolate the influence of spatial living experience on empowerment and distinguish it from other factors that can also contribute to empowerment. Furthermore, the literature lacks consensus and clarity regarding the specific mechanisms and processes through which spatial living experience can influence empowerment. Thus, while there is growing recognition of the importance of spatial living experience in shaping individuals' empowerment, more research is needed to better understand the nature and extent of this influence. Therefore, this thesis is interested in understanding how the spatial experience is part of everyday life in many aspects and how the feeling of empowerment is one of those experiences that are important to refugees.

2.4.3 Empowerment

The term empowerment has recently been used within the perspective of development. However, empowerment is a vague word that lacks a clear definition in the literature (Dawson 1998). Thus, the concept of empowerment can be interpreted differently according to the context, people involved, perspective, and agenda in which it is used (Kasmel 2011; Haque 2016). Nevertheless, all interpretations are generated from the root concept of power.

Empowerment represents the interaction between people and environments defined contextually and culturally. Accordingly, it is essential to understand creative research approaches and paradigm shifts (Zimmerman 1990). According to The Oxford English Dictionary (2011), "Empowerment" is defined as giving someone control over something and the state of being empowered. As this root concept has many interpretations, empowerment is defined in social science as the process of transforming persons without power into fair situations, as oppressed people do not have to be oppressed (Lincoln et al. 2002). Many models of empowerment focus on collective power, like shifting from individual to shared perception to pursue a change in the process of empowerment (Schuler 1986). In addition to dividing empowerment into three levels; personal empowerment, empowerment in close relationships, and collective empowerment. The latent is described as a position in which groups of individuals work together to get larger influence than individuals could attain (Rowlands 1995; 1997). Page and Czuba (1999) state that the empowerment definition has three components: process, social, and multi-dimensional. These components are essential for understanding the concept of empowerment. It is a process that occurs along the continuum. It is social because it appears in social relationships. Empowerment is multi-dimensional, as it seems within a variety of dimensions such as sociological, psychological, economic etc. (Page and Czuba 1999). Another notion of empowerment is social empowerment, which is a process of forming a feeling of autonomy and self-trust and being able to change social networks and exclusion discourses that keep certain disadvantaged people excluded. Empowerment is influenced by different capabilities, such as social capabilities, which

are social belonging, a sense of identity, and leadership relations. In addition to representation, identity, voice, and organisations. Furthermore, other assets of capabilities, such as individual and psychological (Blomkvist 2003).

According to the UNHCR Senior Coordinator for Refugee Women and Gender Equality (Mends-Cole 2001) empowerment is a process by which people in a position of disadvantage raise their participatory awareness in their communities allowing them to attain some control over their environment. In addition to improve their access to resources, knowledge, and decision-making, affecting the quality of people's lives (Rappaport 1981; Sadan 1997). Importantly, Zimmerman (1990) stated that integrating theories from different disciplines would advance the concept of empowerment. Accordingly, as space is part of the environment where people live, empowerment within a spatial perspective is interpreted by a project that introduces a new perspective of how space can be produced, named the Spatial agency (Schneider and Till 2016) as "allowing others to 'take control' over their environment, being participative without being opportunistic; something that is proactive instead of re-active." Therefore, people have the right to produce their own spaces, so they become active producers. Therefore, the transformation of users from passive to spatial creators and advocates is framed as 'spatial empowerment' (Tang 2015). This definition of spatial empowerment corresponds to the principles of social production of space.

2.4.3.1 Refugee empowerment

The notions of empowerment of refugees are important and have recently been one of the goals of NGOs as they contribute to the resilience and social support of refugees. Therefore, allowing refugees to choose their own self-reliance strategies, such as employment, learning, training, and cultural orientations, is an empowering approach, and this is more efficient than directing them through a basic approach that meets the goals of resettlement. Thus, re-evaluation in this system helps to recognise the objectives of all involved in the empowerment process, such as refugees and

stakeholders (Phaphouvaninh 2005). However, spatial empowerment has been frequently overlooked.

According to the UNHCR's Practical Guide to Empowerment (Mends-Cole 2001) there are criteria for good practices to achieve empowerment for refugees. These criteria include:

- Access to knowledge and resources.
- Raise awareness of the community about women's rights and the values of women's labour, which can be achieved by building the capacity to work locally to advance their rights.
- Challenge biases based on gender that is entrenched in refugees' beliefs and people who work to support them and facilitate the mainstreaming of equality.
- Promoting the influence of refugee participation in decision-making.
- Recognise the equality of control over the environments in which they live.

Several attempts have been made to investigate empowerment within the refugee community. A study found that while organisational staff members professed empowerment focused on self-sufficiency as self-determination, in practice, their communication to clients defined self-sufficiency primarily in economic terms. On the contrary, refugee clients constructed empowerment in economic, educational, personal, and family terms. Additionally, the study suggests that there may be a gap between how empowerment is communicated to refugees and how they understand it, indicating a need for more nuanced and culturally sensitive approaches to refugee empowerment in resettlement organisations (Steimel 2017).

Another study provides compelling evidence of the power of place-based, community-driven modes of shaping integration and providing newcomers and minorities with real opportunities for engagement and empowerment in Canada. It is commonly a defining feature of sponsorship groups that its members use their connections to the community as bridges for refugees and empower them through these networks of

stakeholders and organisations. Hence, building strong social networks and bridging diverse communities are essential steps in the integration process (Soroka et al. 2007). Therefore, urban contexts addressing the issue of settling refugees have become sites for facilitating partnerships and modes of cooperation between government agencies and civil society groups (Schmidtke 2018).

Furthermore, this article argues for the need to pay attention to the role of the community in the government of refugee camps, as well as in resistance to that government, to promote empowerment among displaced populations. While UNHCR and NGOs have introduced programmes to build and empower communities in camps, the instrumentalised understanding of community as a tactic of government often undermines this goal. However, an ontological understanding of community as an unavoidable co-existence reveals how such security mechanisms are continually exceeded and redirected. Acknowledging the agency, meaning, and mobility that can be gained through sharing a space of co-existence can work toward a more politically optimal form of life for refugees in camps (Bulley 2014).

Another study examines the barriers to higher education (HE) for refugees in protracted encampments, using the case of Burmese refugees in Thailand as a case study. The article argues that dominant educational discourse overlooks the practical realisation of refugees' right to education and that powerful narratives of refugees as dependent victims perpetuate a disempowering reality. The article proposes that empowerment should be understood as a process that involves bottom-up techniques and recognises refugees' agency and potential. Higher education can be a means of subverting power structures and empowering refugees, allowing them to become agents of development and having positive results on their self-respect and thus shaping their individual and community environments (Zeus 2011).

A study conducted by Gower et al. (2022) proposed the EMPOWER pilot programme aimed at empowering newly arrived migrant and refugee women in Australia by providing them with established mentors, regular meetings, additional group workshops and individual interviews. Thematic analysis of the mentors' perspectives revealed their intrinsic motivation to build strong connections with their mentees based

on trust, respect, and high expectations of themselves. However, mentors sometimes struggled to support mentees overwhelmed by systemic stressors and other stressors, indicating a need for regular networking and moral support. The study highlights the critical role of mentors with lived experience of migration in validating and acknowledging mentees' stories. Additionally, it emphasises the importance of culturally informed support, the challenges mentors and mentees face in meeting expectations, and the need for trauma-informed care training for mentors. In conclusion, the study suggests that peer mentoring programmes have the potential to enhance employment and health outcomes for vulnerable refugee and migrant women in Australia (Gower et al. 2022).

Resilient humanitarianism is a concept that aims to transform refugee camps into more permanent settlement spaces with the potential to develop community and entrepreneurial populations, where refugees can become empowered and involved in the management of camp life (Ilcan and Rygiel 2015). However, while this approach may appear empowering, it can ultimately be disempowering. Such encouragement can lead refugees to accept long-term settlement in the camp as a permanent solution, leading them to abandon calls for the recognition of refugee rights and demanding political change and mobility. Moreover, empowerment through community building may lead to depoliticisation, rendering irrelevant the many political issues circulating in and outside migrant camps. There is a need for more nuanced and culturally sensitive approaches to refugee empowerment in resettlement organisations that take into account the gap between how empowerment is communicated to refugees and how they understand it.

Furthermore, the UNHCR-UNV DAFI initiative aims to empower young refugee graduates in West and Central Africa by offering them the opportunity to serve as UN Volunteers. This initiative reduces the economic and psychological dependence of educated refugees, improves their self-reliance and livelihood, and offers them long-term solutions (Derafa 2018).

According to Al-Nassir (2016), refugee camps create a status of "permanent temporariness," in which refugees self-organise and develop urban settings through

the social production of space. Recognising the spatiality of refugee camps is crucial for future planning and the construction of a means for refugees to recover their agency.

While there are several approaches and dimensions to empowering refugees, spatial and collective empowerment needs more attention. The UNHCR has provided criteria for good practices to empower refugees, including access to knowledge and resources, challenging biases based on gender, and promoting refugee participation in decision-making. Studies have shown that refugees understand empowerment differently from how it is communicated. Building strong social networks and bridging diverse communities are essential steps in the integration process. Empowerment can be achieved through higher education, peer mentoring programmes, and resilient humanitarianism. However, more nuanced and culturally sensitive approaches to refugees' empowerment are needed, and research linking the empowerment process through space over time is required to support refugees collectively through the public spaces of streets.

2.4.4 Factors of Empowerment Spatial Experience in Public Spaces

According to Tajfel and Turner (1979), shared social identity can serve as the foundation for mutual support among refugees in coping with their environment, which has positive impacts on well-being and can be facilitated by group-based relationships. Consequently, refugees establish collective social relationships in camp spaces (Alfadhli and Drury 2018). These social relationships offer refugees a source of social support and collective action to recreate their own living experience that promotes empowerment. This thesis is situated within the context of previous literature that has examined refugee camps from an international
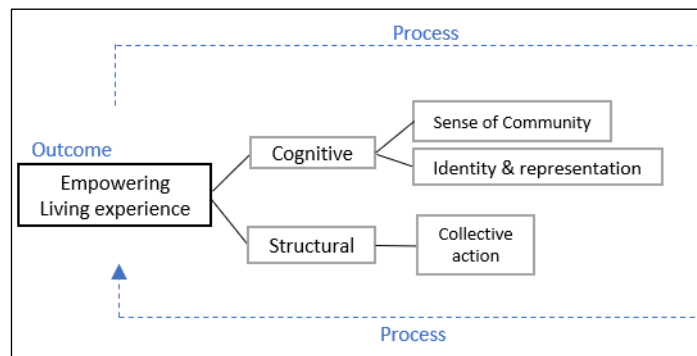
Figure 2-2: the framework of the spatial experience that leads to empowerment. Source: Author.

perspective, with a focus on the state-of-the-art in Jordan, specifically within the framework of social-spatial theory.

This is then contextualised through an extensive review of relevant literature on the social production of space and related concepts, including the spatial triad and its connotations as articulated by various scholars, as well as discussions on spatiality, urbanisation, and the right to the city. Through this literature review, the thesis identifies the significance of community empowerment in shaping the lived experience of refugees within the context of camps. Subsequently, it explores how refugees can assert agency in their spatial decision-making and use of streets to foster collective social-spatial action.

As empowerment takes place in the social context, it leads to community empowerment (Bernstein et al. 1994). Thus, community empowerment involves endeavours to prevent community threats, enable inhabitants' participation, and improve their quality of life (Kasmel 2011). Wallerstein (1992; 2006) defined 'empowerment' within the notions of 'community empowerment' as a social action that supports community participation to achieve their objectives of control, social justice, and improving quality of life. This leads to socio-environment and political changes as the empowerment of the community leads to a rise in social capital (Zhou and Bankston 1994; Lomas 1998; Higgins and Nohria 1999; Wallerstein 2006). Community empowerment in space can be assessed through structural and cognitive indicators. Structural, such as participation and involvement, networks, and collective action. However, cognitive indicators include social support, cohesion, and reciprocity (Kasmel 2011). Figure (2-2) illustrates the framework of empowering the living experience within space, in which there is an active continuous process between all the cognitive and structural components creating a loop of resulting empowering living experience.

The term 'community' can be defined as a particular group of people living in a specific area with a social structure recognising their collective identity (Nutbeam and Kickbusch 1998). A community is characterised by a specific place, formed by a heterogeneous group with shared interests and identities, dynamic social interactions,

and mutual needs and matters that need communal action to address (Laverack 2003). These definitions of community apply to refugees, so to be called the refugee community.

The notions of community empowerment play a key role in the two fields of health and social studies and have grown in importance as a part of urban and rural development strategies (Lyons et al. 2001; Laverack 2006; Clark et al. 2007; Adamson 2010; Phillips et al. 2010; Ahmad and Abu Talib 2016). Therefore, community empowerment is a crucial aspect of this doctoral research as it allows for the participation of refugees in shaping their living experiences in refugee camps. By empowering refugees to take control of their spatial decisions and utilise streets, they can collectively work towards creating a more positive and fulfilling living experience. This approach not only provides refugees with a sense of agency and ownership over their living conditions but also fosters a sense of community and social cohesion. Ultimately, by understanding the factors that contribute to community empowerment in refugee camps, this research aims to provide insights that can inform the development of more effective policies and interventions to improve the social production of streets in these informal settlements.
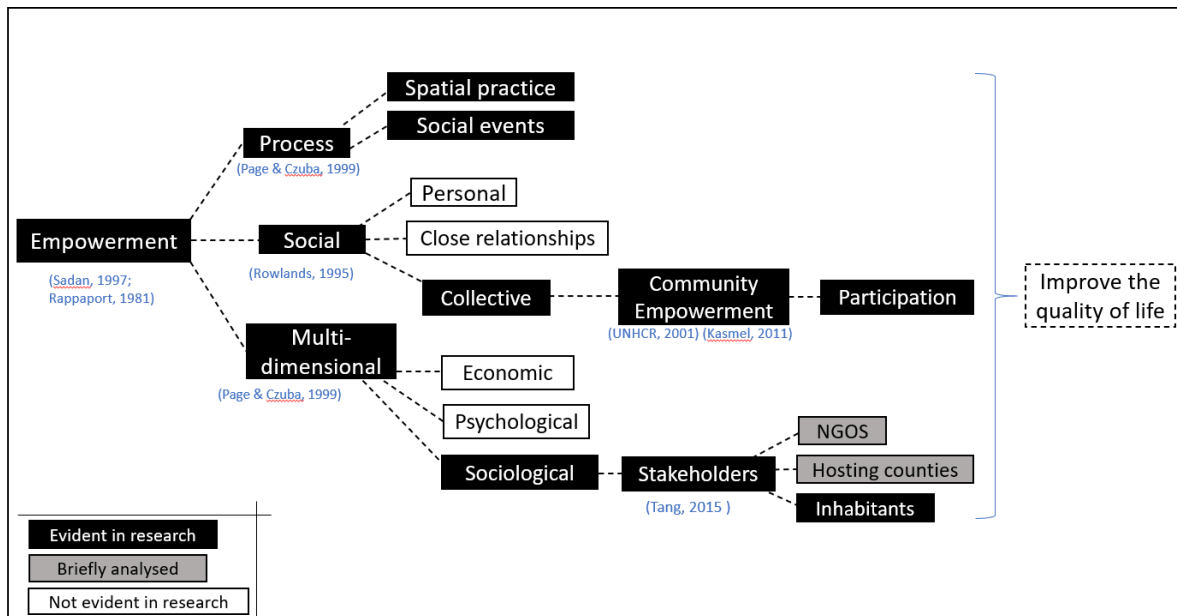
Figure 2-3: The empowerment research framework, evidencing what has been already covered and the research gaps. Source: Author, framed from the cited scholars.

Kabeer et al. (2009) claim that vulnerable communities lack the ability and confidence to participate in community decision-making. Therefore, it is vital to highlight the bottom-up approaches and support the processes designed for those communities to ensure their participation. It is argued that participation in the community can empower people to participate in collective action and public politics. However, research indicates that developing individual and collective abilities to engage is a long-term process.

For this thesis, the adopted empowerment concept was adapted from the previously revised literature. Thus, it is interpreted as a multidimensional process of gaining knowledge that enables disadvantaged people to make spatial decisions and have control over their environment (Page and Czuba 1999). Hence, empowerment in this study involves concepts of collective participation (Kabeer et al. 2009), a sense of community (Kasmel 2011) (Nutbeam and Kickbusch 1998), and identity and representation (Blomkvist 2003). Accordingly, empowerment through the spatial experience of public space is the ability of inhabitants to use it to develop collective actions and, therefore, to use practices and tools to recognise, eliminate, and address spatial problems (Tang 2015). According to this understanding, this thesis is interested in interpreting empowerment within three characteristics: community, multidimensional, and social. Together with interpreting the process empowerment as the process of production, social as collective users and creators of space, and multidimensional are all the different stakeholders (Fig. 2-3).

2.4.4.1 *Spatial, social production for empowerment in refugee camps*

According to Lefebvre (1991), any space within a social context or society is a social space, as the social space hosts social interactions in everyday life. Thus, society specifies spaces for relationships, and spaces specify the form of these relationships; hence space is a social product. The production from Lefebvre's point of view is not in the industrialisation context but in changing the everyday and the effects of the state that takes life from living matters (Lefebvre 1991, p.226). Therefore, social space has become an example of the social living experience since social space involves

collective practice and activities that have implications for society (O'Neill 1972; Lefebvre 2009a; Bogdanov A. 2016).

As mentioned in the previous section, the socio-spatial phenomenon interpreted as social interactions and their implications on space are important in the living experience. Therefore, according to this approach, the refugee camp could be interpreted as a space that is a product of liveable collaboration between formal and informal frameworks and where top-down, bottom-up approaches are discussed. The concept of the production of space is attractive and important since it integrates all the aspects of the city in a systematic, comprehensive social theory, which allows analysing and understanding of the spatial processes at different levels (Schmid 2008a). According to Soja (2010), everything social is simultaneously inherently spatial, as well as everything spatial and related to human lives is inherently socialised. Thus, literature on the social production of space helps in interpreting meanings of social-spatial-time aspects that changed the everyday living experience for refugees under the lens of Lefebvre's spatial triad (1991). In particular, focusing on the lived space in this research, as lived space indicates the everyday spatial living experience and how refugees are shaping their lives, making their own place; see Figure (2-4).

This formulates an understanding of the camp, which is interpreted as a space for interaction, with opportunities and potential that need collaborations and participation from different parts to achieve the best results for the community. Lefebvre (1991) states that 'The user's space is lived not represented or conceived'. Lived space is the space that resulted from responding to Lefebvre's two important questions: What exactly are the spaces that those in power impose, and what are the other spaces that can be invented through acts of resistance to overcome alienation? Hence, it is the space of representations and symbols where traditions and specific actions play an important role (Conley 2012). According to Lefebvre (1991), lived spaces and the everyday are synonyms for a shared experience of life and its sensation. Therefore, recreating the everyday can be achieved by active practitioners to develop the living experience into an 'art' (Lefebvre 1991, p. 227).
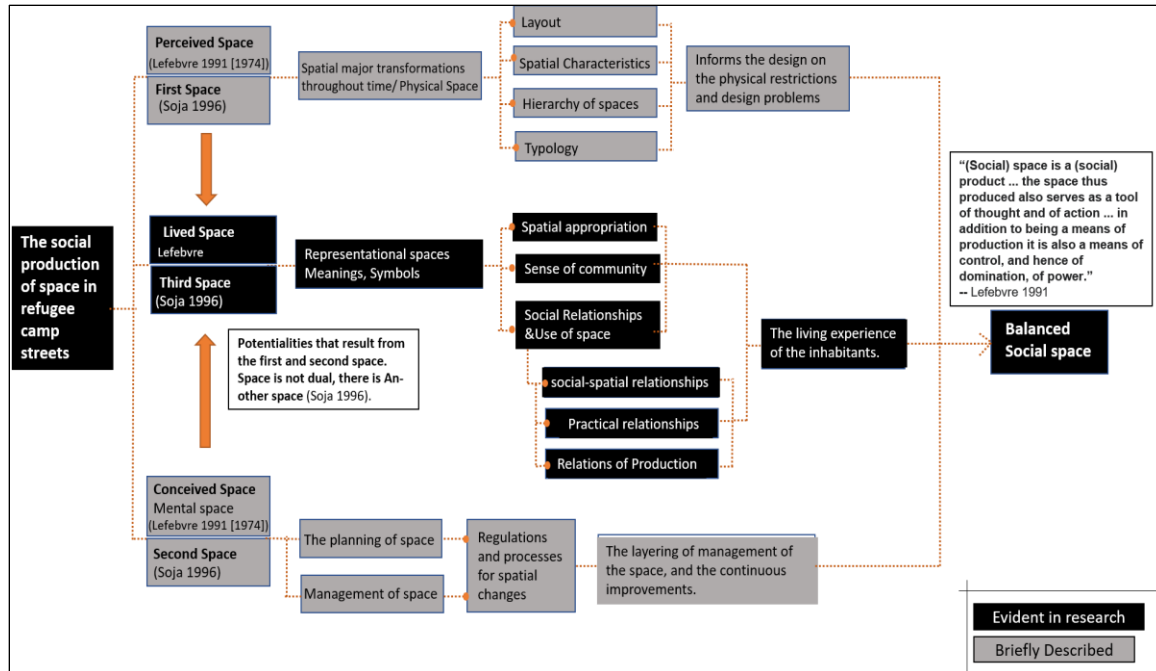
Figure 2-4: the framework of the social production of space in this research. Source: Author.

2.4.5 Conceptual Framework

All of the studies reviewed in this chapter support the hypothesis that refugees are socially producing community empowerment within the different streets throughout time. This hypothesis was formed by articulating the different bodies of literature on four main topics, narrowing down into the conceptual framework for this thesis, which will be explained in the following paragraphs and diagrams.

In recent years, the literature on space has expanded to include the study of refugee camps, empowerment, and the social production of space. These works of literature offer important insights into how space is produced, transformed, and experienced by marginalised communities. This chapter aims to provide an overview of the key themes within this literature and critically study this literature to form the gap and conceptualise a research project investigating the spatial dynamics of refugee camps.

Refugee camps are a particular form of space that has received increasing attention within the literature. These spaces are characterised by their temporariness, informality, and precarious living conditions experienced by their inhabitants (Agier 2011). Despite their marginal status, refugee camps can also be seen as spaces of

opportunity and resistance, as they can provide a platform for community building, political organising, and creative expression (Kleinschmidt 2015). As such, they can be understood as contested spaces where different actors struggle for control over resources, meanings, and identities (Malkki 1995).

The literature on empowerment is particularly relevant to the study of refugee camps, as it highlights the importance of agency, participation, and voice in the process of social change (Zimmerman 1990). Empowerment can be defined as a process of increasing individual or collective power to control the circumstances of one's life (Rowlands 1995a; Rowlands 1997; Page and Czuba 1999). In the context of refugee camps, empowerment can take various forms, such as creating community-based organisations, mobilising social networks, or developing alternative economies. Therefore, there is a pressing need to examine how the empowerment process works in the context of refugee communities, where marginalisation and displacement can exacerbate feelings of powerlessness and vulnerability. Accordingly, this thesis is interested in the empowerment of the community collectively. Therefore, empowerment is closely related to the notion of social production of space, which emphasises the active role of communities in shaping the built environment.

The social production of space Is a concept that has been developed in the context of urban studies and has been applied to a wide range of spaces, from public parks to informal settlements. The social production of space refers to how social relations and practices shape the physical and symbolic dimensions of space. This concept challenges the idea that space is just a container for social action and instead emphasises the dynamic interplay between social processes and spatial form (Lefebvre 1991; Massey 2005). The social production of space is closely linked to the concept of the third space, in which lived space is the actual living experience within conceived and perceived spaces, while the third space is the lived space people experience in urban space; it is the real and imagined space. The concept of heterotopia is also relevant to the study of refugee camps, as it emphasises how space can challenge dominant norms and hierarchies. Heterotopias are spaces that exist outside of the dominant social order and offer the possibility of alternative modes of

existence and subjectivity. In the context of refugee camps, heterotopias can be seen in how inhabitants create alternative forms of social organisation, such as forming solidarity networks or creating alternative economies (Foucault 1984).

This research focuses on the lived space within refugee camps, exploring how the social production of space shapes the physical and symbolic dimensions of the streets of the camp. The concept of lived space highlights the importance of the daily experiences and practices of refugees in shaping their living experiences on the streets, which is crucial in understanding their social and cultural identities.

In the context of refugee camps, the social production of space can be seen in the way inhabitants appropriate and transform their living experiences to meet their needs and aspirations. One key aspect of the social production of space in refugee camps is the role of the streets as public spaces. Streets can be seen as sites of social interaction, communication, and exchange and serve as important arenas for community building. Furthermore, the literature on the right to the city is particularly relevant to the study of streets as public spaces, as it emphasises the importance of access to urban resources and the right to participate in the production of the city (Lefebvre 1968; Harvey 2008). The right to the city is closely linked to the concept of social production of space, which refers to spaces that are neither fully public nor fully private, but that allow for the formation of alternative identities and social relations; it is part of the process of the social production of space. Importantly, both social production and community empowerment are processes that occur over time during everyday life and result from the same process.

The conceptual framework developed for this thesis on the spatial dynamics of refugee camps draws on these different works of literature to identify the key dimensions of the investigation. This investigation focuses on two levels of analysis: the cognitive level and the structural level. The cognitive level involves investigating the sense of community, identity and representation among the inhabitants of refugee camps. This includes exploring how people perceive their living environment, construct their social identities, and negotiate their relationship with the larger society.

On the other hand, the structural level involves examining the spatial actions and design issues that affect the production of space in refugee camps.
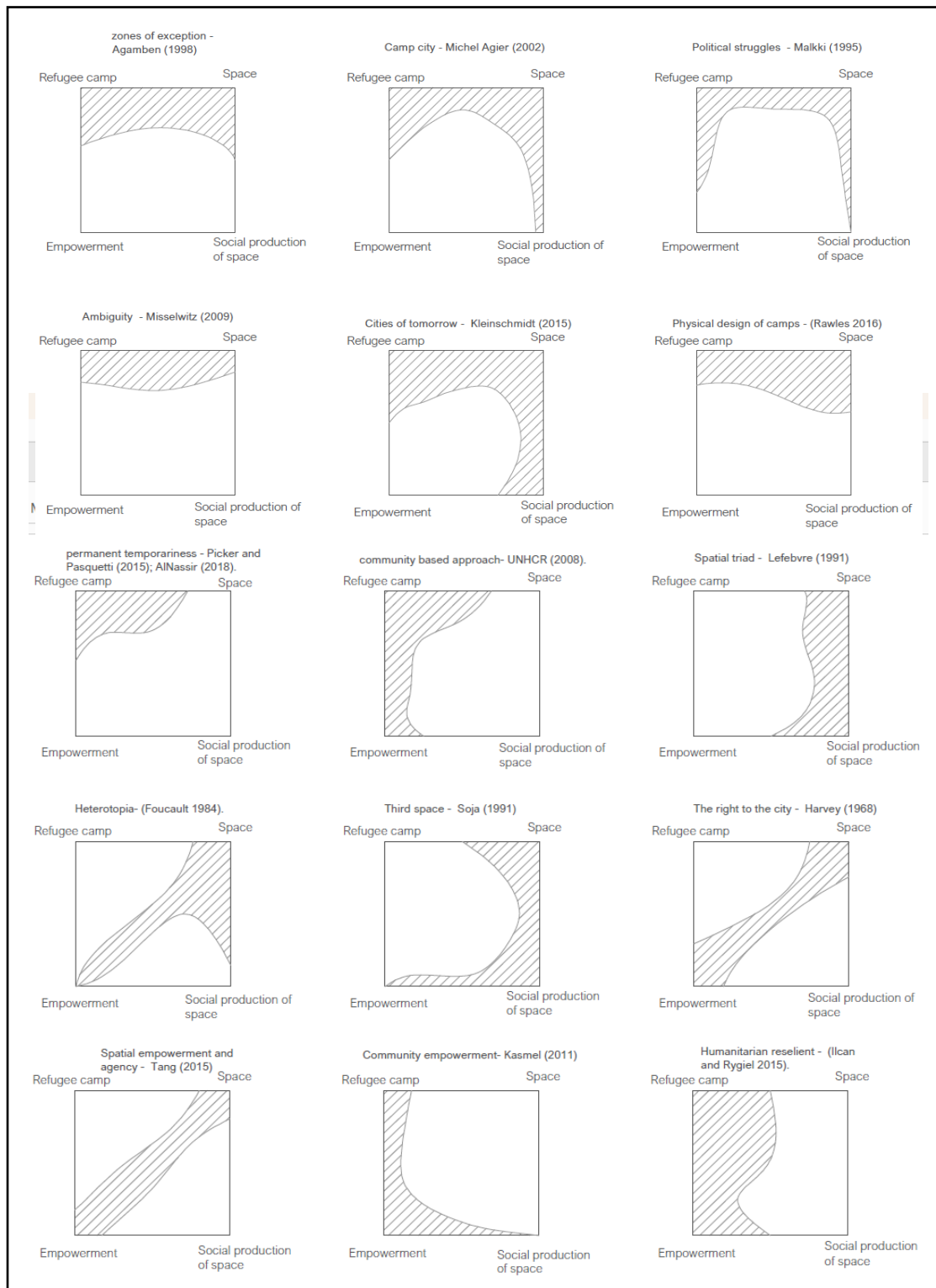
Figure 2-5: Themes of literature that formed the conceptual framework and the literature gap. Source: Author.

This includes analysing the physical layout of the camps, the design problems of housing units within the streets and communal facilities, and the accessibility and availability of basic services. By examining these different dimensions of investigation, the research aims to better understand how street space is produced and experienced in refugee camps and how it can be used as a tool to build community empowerment.

Ultimately, this thesis aims to contribute to ongoing discussions around the social production of space and its implications for marginalised and displaced communities by shedding light on the experiences and perspectives of inhabitants of refugee camps and informing policy and design interventions that can better support their needs and aspirations.

In summary, spatial experience under cognitive and structural approaches has a key role in empowering refugees (Kasmel 2011). This twofold role is embedded within the empowerment process; the spatial living experience in public spaces is important as it leads to collective socio-spatial action. It is an iterative process, as spatial experience that encourages and improves social relation improves their sense of community, which leads to collective action and social activities for appropriation and spatial practice; see Figures (2-5) (2-6).
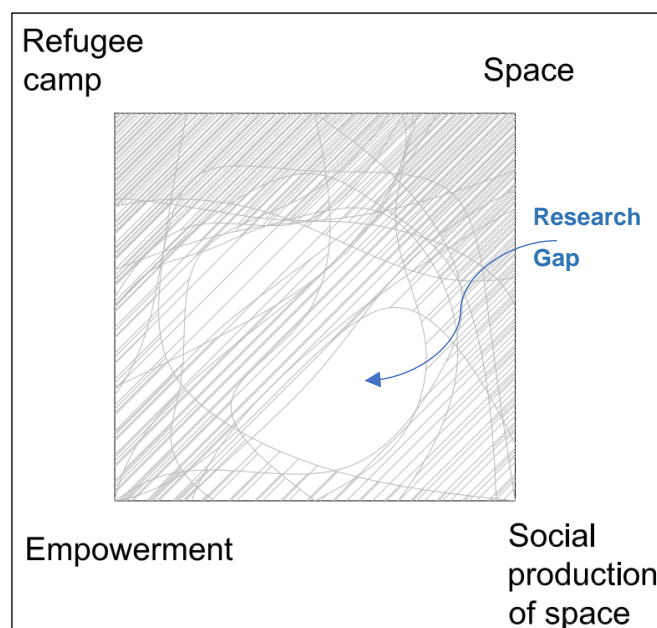
Figure 2-6: Topics of literature that formed the theoretical framework of this thesis. Source: Author.

2.5   Summary

The concept of the production of space is attractive and important since it integrates all the aspects of the city in a systematic, comprehensive social theory, which allows for analysing and understanding the spatial processes at different levels (Schmid 2008b). Hence, according to Soja (2010), everything social is simultaneously inherently spatial, and everything spatial and related to human lives is inherently socialised.

Therefore, existing refugee camps are pragmatic models of social systems with their special spatial characters, where the dynamic social ecology generated urbanism. Some of these systemic social models are going through continuous spatial transformations under different struggles, conflicts of interest, and tensions between varied models of top-down and bottom-up governance (Harrouk 2021). Consequently, informal settlements within the framework of the camp-city have resulted from trying to cope with difficult living conditions, challenges, and refugees' desires to live and create solidarity in the face of adversity; thus, these camp-cities generated bad urban qualities. Thus, analysing and understanding the social-spatial-time relations through the lenses of this theoretical framework helps grasp deep insights into the spatiality, social relations, urbanisation processes, and spatial governance of camp-cities. Thus, this helps to deduct urban strategies to guide different camps undergoing these transformations, to improve urban qualities, yet not to demolish their cultural identity and sense of community.

The review of the literature has been essential in shaping the research direction of this thesis. By exploring various ideas and notions from different authors, this study was able to identify and define the research gap in which it is situated. Although there have been critical perspectives on specific theories, they have nevertheless guided the research focus.

One significant idea that has emerged from the literature review is the social-spatial framework within the space of refugee camps. This framework has been particularly useful in guiding the research focus on the spatial experiences of refugees in refugee camps and their relationship to empowerment. Furthermore, the different connotations

of lived space from various authors have contributed to understanding the study's results. The concept of social production of space has also been central to this study, highlighting the dynamic relationship between social relations and spatial structures and how it affects the experiences of refugees on the streets of refugee camps.

In addition, community empowerment has contributed to exploring how refugees can take control of their living spaces and engage in collective action. Community empowerment has been crucial in shaping the living experience of refugees in informal settlements, and understanding the factors that contribute to or hinder community empowerment is of the utmost importance.

Furthermore, the right to the city has been discussed, emphasising the importance of giving marginalised communities the right to shape and use urban space. This concept has been particularly relevant in highlighting the importance of empowering refugees to control their living spaces and participate in shaping their urban environment.

Finally, the literature review has contributed to grounding the research investigation in the social production of the streets of refugee camps, specifically under the lens of community empowerment. This comprehensive literature review has made the research rigorous, specific, and direct.

Overall, these theories suggest that space is a social product, and thus community empowerment can be produced collectively in space within a complex and multidimensional framework. Given these theories, this dissertation investigates how refugees socially produced community empowerment on their streets, which are interpreted as refugees' public spaces. A thorough understanding of the social and spatial dimensions of refugee camps is necessary to address them effectively.

Methodological Framework

This chapter addresses the research design and methods adopted to conduct the research. It provides a comprehensive plan and the methods used to collect and analyse the data. More specifically, considering the aim of the thesis, a combination of qualitative and design research tools are employed in a comparative approach to answer the main research question. This is done by investigating three refugee camps as the thesis's case studies separately and then by comparing these camps together. The rationale for the analytical framework and method choices are explained in detail in this chapter.

3 Methodological Framework

3.1 Introduction

The precedent chapter asserts the investigation of the produced spatiality in the streets of refugee camps to understand their meanings, representations, and living experiences. Therefore, since Lefebvre's contribution to urban research was described only as theoretical to some extent (Schmid et al. 2014), a combination of design-led tools with qualitative methods is adopted to carry out this research. Design-led research is an innovative approach that engages with the knowledge, processes, practice, and resources of the research. Thus, as this approach tackles complex situations, it facilitates investigating the streets of refugee camps that are interpreted as complex urban and social systems.

Therefore, to formulate the question, the gap, and the research objective, a thorough review of the relevant literature was conducted on the various research approaches in refugee camps from social, spatial, and design perspectives. After that, the study looked at the connotations and definitions of the term 'empowerment' in more detail beyond its environmental connotations to focus on its social aspects. Then, the theoretical framework of this thesis unfolds from the previous literature review, mainly focusing on the social production of space.

Thus, this chapter discusses and justifies the adopted approaches for producing the knowledge and blended methods for data collection and analysis of case studies. Accordingly, this chapter has two sections. On the one hand, it outlines the qualitative methods employed to investigate refugee camp spaces within the theoretical framework. On the other end, the second section addresses the analysis methods employed for understanding the social production of camp-cities and their representations through AD-R tools.

To sum up, this chapter provides the rationale for the fieldwork data collection methods and the way to process them under the thesis's theoretical framework. Thus, it justifies the selection criteria for the case studies and the sampling of interviews. Additionally, it addresses the data analysis methods under the theoretical framework

of this thesis and how to incorporate the results of this data analysis into axonometric drawings.

Therefore, this chapter will tackle these issues in sections and discuss each in detail. The first section addresses the case studies, site selection criteria, and the information and spatial characteristics of these sites. The second section illustrates the data collection methods in detail and justifies the selection of methods. The third section deals with methods and the process of data analysis. Finally, the last section addresses the ethical considerations for conducting this research.

3.2 Research Questions

Main question: How do the processes of social production of space in the streets of refugee camps foster community empowerment?

Sub-questions:

- *What are the living pattern characteristics observed in the three refugee camps, and how do these patterns relate to the social production of space and community empowerment in the streets of the camps?*

- *How were the streets of refugee camps socially produced under the lens of community empowerment? What are the key factors in the social production of space that foster community empowerment under the cognitive, structural, and financial levels of the living experience?*

- *How were the streets of Baqaa and Jerash refugee camps socially produced under the lens of community empowerment? How do the key factors within the cognitive, structural, and financial levels operate in these camps?*

- *How and why were the streets of the Zaatari refugee camp socially produced under the lens of community empowerment in this specific way? What are the differences in the social production of streets between the two Palestinian camps and the Zaatari camp, particularly concerning community empowerment?*

Therefore, a specific analytical framework was designed to address the sub-research questions and, thus, answer the main research question. Hence, this research design is explained in detail in the following sections. First, the next section will tackle the data collection methods and what it includes. Then a detailed explanation and justification for the data analysis methods and how the data were analysed. Subsequently, the ethical considerations of this research are stated. Finally, some of the data will be briefly reviewed as an introduction to the following chapters.

3.3 Data Collection

3.3.1 Case studies selection

Ebbinghaus (2005) stated that sampling or case selection is one of the most critical issues in comparative research. To develop a relevant analytical framework, two issues must be addressed; where is this investigation taking place? And what are the representative case studies to be compared together?

This dissertation attempts to understand the processes of social production on the streets of refugee camps to achieve community empowerment. Hence, this section addresses this issue in detail, addressing the case studies' characteristics, specifications, and justifications.

3.3.1.1 Case studies Selection

Importantly, the methodology chapter includes site selection criteria to provide a comprehensive understanding of the research's design and facilitate the investigation, as the methodological approach of this thesis depends on case studies. Additionally, it enhances the study's reliability and generalisability and facilitates future research in the same or related areas.

This study aims to analyse urbanisation processes and the creation of camp-cities formed through different processes between formal and informal spatial practices. Therefore, understanding the formation and urbanisation processes will help define positive processes and degradation design problems. This understanding supports the development of design frameworks for refugee camps that are currently going through urbanisation processes. Additionally, this shift in understanding the social production of the streets of refugee camps is important for mediating between formal and informal practices; thus, it empowers refugees to urbanise their spaces. For that reason, the Zaatari refugee camp was selected as the main case study to be able to understand what the future of its urbanisation could be. This selection of the site of the Zaatari camp is due to its large scale (5.3 km²) and is an example of a camp undergoing different hierarchal formal and informal urbanisation processes. It also became a manifestation of the complex relationships within society that affected their

spaces, representing a significant association between the interaction of refugees within their space and the social order of that camp-city space. After choosing the main case study, there is a need to choose representative case studies that will be compared with the Zaatari camp for a more informed understanding. Lefebvre (1991, p.65) described it in the social production of space as considering the realities of the present as starting points for production processes; thus, past aspects appear in the products of the present but in different shades (Shields 1999). This approach, named the projective and retrojective approach, was a method that has contributed to the development of the critical theory of social-spatial analysis. It also gives a broad understanding of the past and present temporalities contributing to urbanisation dynamics (Frehse 2001).

For this study, refugee camp spaces as **lived** are different than **thought** or **planned**, the selection of case studies has been justified under the purposive selection of representative case studies for the Zaatari's social production of space. Representative case studies aim to detect the common core of this spatial experience among them (Patton 2002). The background context of these case studies is comparable to the focus on the independent variable of interest, which is, in this study, the social production of space (Seawright and Gerring 2008). This needs at least two cases (Cohen 1934; Przeworski, Adam; Teune 1970; Lijphart 1971; Lijphart 1975; Meckstroth 1975; Skocpol, Theda; Somers 1980; Gerring 2001). A few refugee camps help to provide more representativeness of the relevant causal features and provide more variations over the aspects of interest (Gerring 2008). Therefore, two case studies of Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan were selected. These cases are the Jerash and the Baqa'a camps in Jordan, the most comparable cases to the Zaatari.

The comparable factors constitute the rationale behind selecting these representative case studies are twofold; on the one hand, these camps are representative examples of spaces that transformed through a state of temporary permanence and produced urbanised areas throughout more than 50 years with underlying meanings that produce what are now camp-cities. On the other hand, these case studies emerged as isolated settlements from the nearby urban areas, although they have been

absorbed by the growing urban fabric over time. The Zaatari refugee camp was initiated in a similar situation and will be equal to the typologies of the case studies. Therefore, these representative case studies help to understand how people interact with and within space regarding their social life. In addition, they highlight similarities beyond the different types of inhabitants and beyond the specificities of the Palestinian and Syrian refugees. The Baqaa camp and Jerash camp were selected due to their unique geographical positioning among the 10 officially recognized UNRWA Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan. Unlike the other camps, the Baqaa and Jerash are situated distant from any urban areas, presenting distinct challenges and dynamics. Notably, the majority of Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan are located in or near urban centres, including Amman New Camp (Wihdat), Amman Old Camp (Hittin), Jabal Al-Hussein Camp, Zarqa Camp, Husn Camp, Irbid Camp, and Gaza Camp in Jerash (UNRWA 2024), see Figure (3-1). While these camps benefit from proximity to urban amenities and infrastructure, the Baqaa and Jerash camps are situated in relatively remote areas, presenting unique socio-economic and spatial considerations that are explained in detail in Chapter 4. This geographical distinction underscores the importance of examining refugee experiences and community dynamics in contexts that diverge from the urban-centric settings typically associated with refugee camps in Jordan. Thus, by focusing on locations beyond established urban environments, this research seeks to delve into the challenges posed by creating lived spaces in areas with limited infrastructure and resources. Despite the absence of urban amenities, refugees have managed to recreate their lives from nothing and create dynamic social spaces, forming what can be described as a "lived space." These case studies, situated in challenging contexts, offer a valuable opportunity to investigate the intricate interplay between the physical environment, social production, and the agency of refugees in shaping their lived experiences.
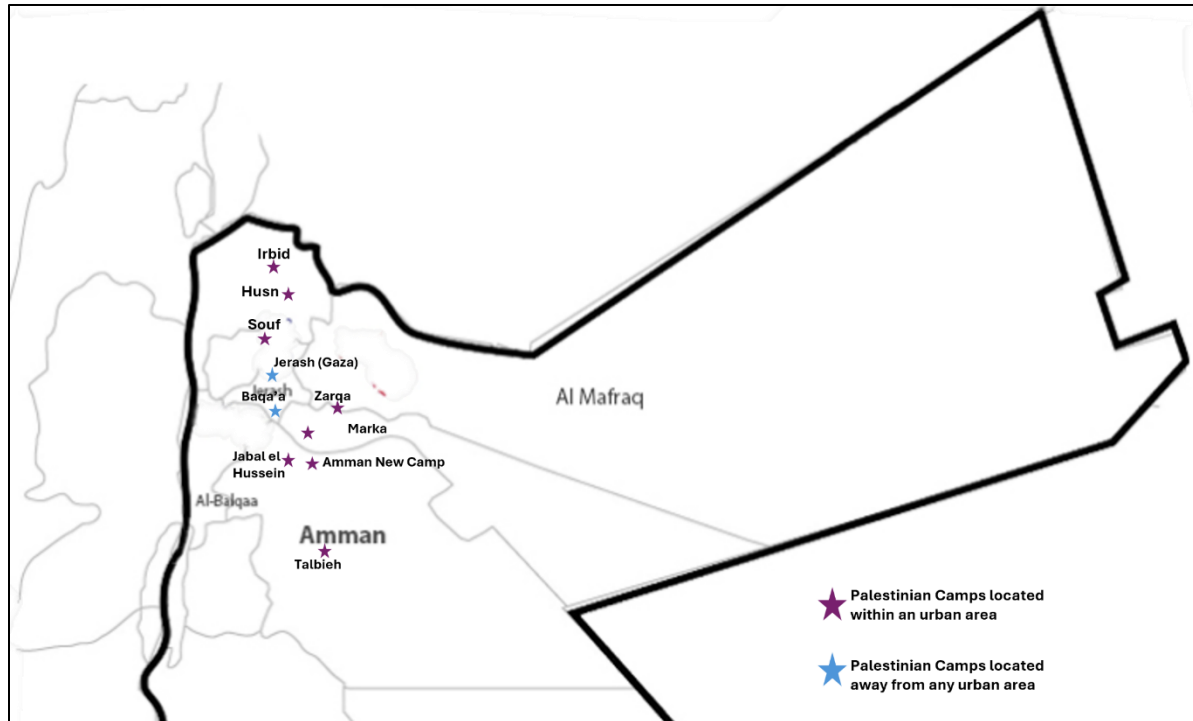
Figure 3-1: Locations of Palestinian Camps in Jordan. Source: (UNRWA 2024) *edited by the researcher.*

Additionally, these case studies conceptualise the future of the Zaatari camp, as these camps are in the same political, economic and social context (hosting country). Therefore, these case studies are complex relationships, negotiations, and management cases that produced camp-cities and represent the dialectic time-space-social processes. Thus, analysing social patterns of designs or spatial movements supports reporting these complex dynamic interactions between different directions that produce spaces, urban and design degradation processes, and hence help to sustain their urban space in future cases. Therefore, a combination of comparable dimensions provides insight into what is the best way to advance our understanding of the streets of refugee camps and how these social production processes shape the living experience of empowerment of refugees.

3.3.1.2   Characteristics of the case studies

Importantly, to choose representative case studies, they should have special characteristics similar to the characteristics of the Zaatari Camp, which could be the intervention site for the design propositions. Hence, as mentioned above, these characteristics are location, social, political, and economic context. Therefore, these cases were all in Jordan, which has been around for more than fifty years, this means they have been going through social production processes for a long time, in addition to their locations in remote areas of any urbanised area.

Thus, the Palestinian case studies are the Baqa'a Refugee Camp and Jerash Refugee Camp; see Figure (3-2). Location of The Baqa'a Camp in the Balqaa governorate 20 km north of Amman, the capital of Jordan. The Jerash (Gaza) camp is
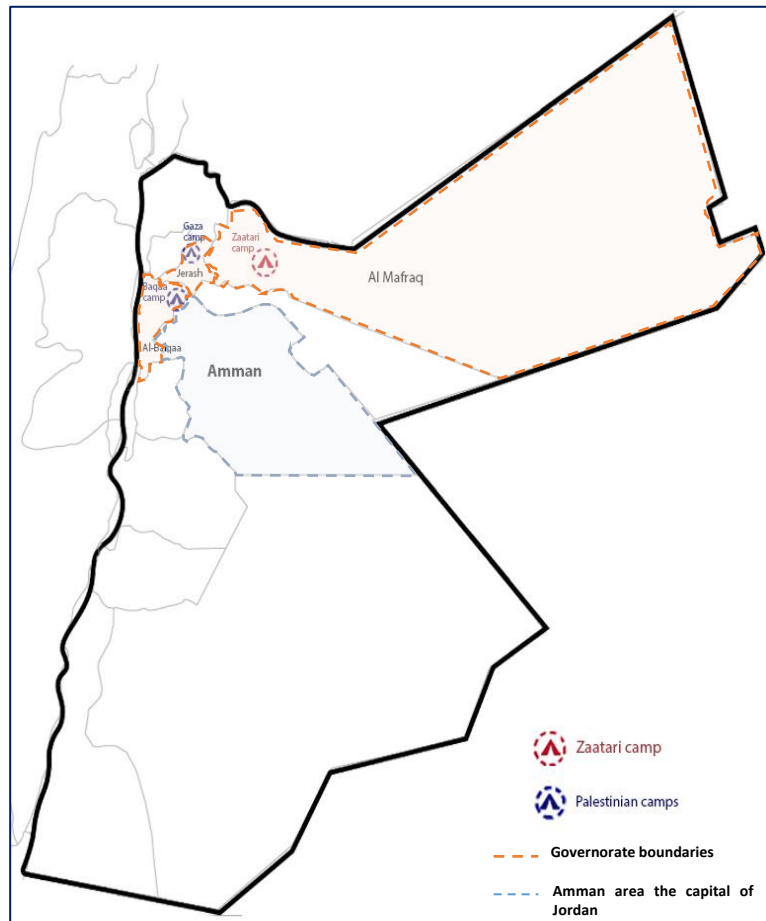
Figure 3-2: Locations of the selected case studies, drawn by the researcher.

located in the Jerash governorate, 5 km from its city centre and 48 km north of Amman. Finally, the Zaatari refugee camp was constructed in 2012. It is situated in Al Mafraq governorate, 10 km east of its city centre and almost 73 km from Amman; see Table (3-1).

All these camps were constructed as isolated areas and surrounded by only bare lands. This characteristic is important to understand how refugees have urbanised and

produced spaces by being isolated until they were absorbed by the urban growth of their hosting city as it appears today.

Table 3-1: Characteristics of the case studies in this thesis

	Al Zaatari, Al Mafraq governorate	**Al Baqaa,** Al Balqaa governorate	**Jerash,** Jerash governorate
Location	10 km from Al Mafraq governorate centre	20 km north of the Jordanian capital Amman	5 km from Jerash city centre
Establishing year	2012	1968	1968
Hosting country	Jordan	Jordan	Jordan
Population density	15.577/ km²	80.000/ km²	16.112/ km²
Streets typologies	- 2 commercial main streets - Residential roads (Not paved) - Ring road	- 4 commercial main streets - Residential streets - 2 primary road (boundary)	- 2 commercial main streets - Residential streets - 2 primary road (boundary)
Origin country	Syria	Palestine	Palestine

3.3.1.3   Refugee camps in Jordan

As this study delves into case studies within Jordan's refugee camps, it aims to contextualize the historical, legal, and advisory frameworks that shape Jordan's approach to the location, design, and governance of these vital spaces.

Jordan played a pivotal role in hosting refugees in the Middle East since the mid-20th century. It has been influenced by conflicts in neighbouring countries, leading to a complex history of refugee inflows and the consequent formulation of intricate policies governing refugee camps. The development of these policies reflects a blend of historical context, legal obligations, humanitarian frameworks, and future-oriented planning strategies. Jordan's stance on the location, design, and governance of refugee camps is deeply rooted in a multifaceted historical context, shaped by both regional dynamics and international obligations.

Jordan's historical role in hosting refugees dates to the Palestinian influx in 1948 and subsequent waves. Historical studies shed light on the evolution of Jordan's response to refugee situations (Athamneh 2016; Gutkowski 2022). Legal frameworks, including the 1951 Refugee Convention and its Protocol, provide the foundation for Jordan's

obligations towards refugees, as detailed in legal analyses by UNHCR (UNHCR 2024) and Jordanian government documents.

Jordan's approach aligns with international legal frameworks, notably adhering to principles enshrined in the 1951 Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol, outlining the rights and protections afforded to refugees. In Jordan, the response to the refugee situation involves collaboration between the government, UNHCR, donors, NGOs, refugees, and local communities. UNHCR play a pivotal role in guiding Jordan's approach to refugee governance, providing counsel on camp location, design, and management (UNHCR 2021b). Additionally, the Jordanian government, including various ministries and local authorities, are engaged in addressing refugee needs.

Jordan's policies on refugee camps aim to address immediate humanitarian needs while contending with constraints in resource allocation and urban planning (UNHCR JORDAN – year in review 2021). The Jordan Response Plan (JRP) was initiated in 2015 and guided by the Government of Jordan. It is a robust, longstanding partnership that supports transparent and cooperative values between the host country and the global community to shape its interventions (JRP 2020). The JRP (2020) alongside UN reports, delineates the nation's strategies for future planning, emphasizing sustainable solutions and the unity and inclusion of refugees within the broader host community (UNHCR 2021b). This highlights Jordan's dual focus on immediate humanitarian needs and sustainable, future-oriented solutions.

Jordan views the Palestinian refugee problem as temporary, seeking its resolution in alignment with UN resolutions. Jordan rejects permanent settlement of Palestinian refugees in it, advocating for UNRWA support while emphasizing the necessity of a comprehensive resolution to the broader Middle East conflict, including the Palestinian refugee issue. Jordan's policy expands beyond housing units in refugee camps, to integrate refugees into the labour market despite challenges in obtaining legal work permits. This policy extends to other refugee groups, rejecting forced occupation and maintaining an open-door refugee policy (Athamneh 2016).

Jordan established the Syrian Refugee Affairs Directorate (SRAD) by the Ministry of Interior in 2014 (UNHCR 2017), with support from UNHCR and international

organizations, to manage humanitarian aid (Athamneh 2016). This plays a key role in coordinating refugee-related efforts throughout the country (UNHCR 2017). Jordan outlined strategies to transform the crisis into an opportunity for development, engaging in donor conferences like the 2016 London gathering, focusing on aiding host communities, employment, and seeking financial support (Athamneh 2016).

3.3.1.4 Street Selection

The streets in these case studies are categorised into two main categories; the main market streets, which are usually between two and three streets in the camps, and the local residential alleys. These two categories host the most social-spatial transformations shared between the three case studies and will be investigated in this study. However, different types of streets may exist in each camp, such as the ring road around the Zaatari, which is mainly used for transportation, and mixed-use streets and boundary streets in the Palestinian camps. Therefore, what is important for this investigation are the two categories that can help understand social and urban transformation under the social production of space to achieve the community empowerment framework.

Figure 3-3: the selected street to investigate in the Baqa'a Camp. Source: researcher, 2020

Choosing the streets in every camp was not a direct process because of the complex nature of the refugee camps and because of the lack of knowledge of these streets. Hence, as discussed previously, in every camp, there are two main typologies: a commercial and a residential street. However, choosing the commercial street was less complex since every camp has a main commercial street (Al Souq) that emerged at earlier stages of the camp's emergence. Additionally, commercial streets are less quantity than residential ones. However, the residential streets were more challenging as they form most of the camp network. Thus, the selection of residential streets was by exclusion and establishing a relationship with the inhabitants that would help facilitate the interview process.

The exclusion process entails excluding the residential streets on the boundaries of the camp, the main streets, and the streets where

Figure 3-4: the selected streets for investigation in Jerash refugee camp. Source: researcher, 2020

Figure 3-5: the selected streets for investigation in the Zaatari Refugee camp, Source: researcher, 2020

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the major top-down spatial transformations were performed. Then after these streets were excluded, establishing a relationship with some residents helped select a residential street in which they live and facilitated interviewing with neighbours and inhabitants of the street. Therefore, in the Baqa'a refugee camp, the selected commercial street is the local market or, as named in the camp, 'Al Souq Al Shaabi'. While the residential street that was selected for the study is a street in an area named Al-Quds, this area mediates the camp. Figure (3-3) locates these selected streets in the form of urban plans within the wider context of the camp.

Furthermore, in the Jerash refugee camp, the commercial street that was selected is the market street or, as named in the camp, Al Souq Street, while the residential street that was selected for the study is a street in an area named A; the main street divides the camp into two areas, A and B. Figure (3-4) situates the chosen streets within the master plan of the camp.

Finally, in the Zaatari refugee camp, the commercial street that was selected is the street which extends approximately 3 kilometres across the heart of the camp, with a total of 1,400 shops and 50 caravans along. It serves as a vibrant hub for various businesses, including vegetable stores and bicycle repair shops, all managed by refugee entrepreneurs. This street was named the 'Sham Elysees', a clever wordplay combining the Syrian term for Damascus, ash-Sham, and the known Parisian boulevard, 'Champs-Élysées'. This is due to the scale of this street as it passes through the whole camp, and this was the only paved street in the camp. Furthermore, the residential street selected for the study is a street in an area named District 2; this area is close to the main commercial street and the entrance to the camp. Additionally, this area was the first area in the camp to be inhabited, hence one of the most crowded areas. Figure (3-5) locates the selected streets in the form of an urban plan within the wider context of the camp.

3.3.2 Methods of Data Collection

The data collection for the case study approach involves the use of several sources of information for creating a series of information, patterns, synthesis of clarifications, addressing and interpreting differences, and applying an iterative process when employing multiple case studies (Yin 2004). Thus, collecting and analysing data that build theoretical premises helps direct the research design process (Kennett 2002; Yin 2004). These methods will be explained in detail in this section. These three methods employ multiple methods of data collection to expand the various datasets (Nightingale 2009; Williamson 2018). This was named the triangulation of data collection methods (Denzin 1978; Patton 1999) and is important for getting deeper insights into the social-spatial structures and representations in the case studies. Therefore, the three methods used to collect data in this thesis are: Semi-structural Interviews, axonometric drawings, and secondary data such as fieldwork notes, plans, and documents see Figure (3-6).

Figure 3-6: Triangulation of Data collection methods for this thesis.

3.3.2.1 Interviews

Interviews aim at understanding the 'how' and 'why' (Warren 1988; 2001) to interpret different meanings in social research by gathering primary data from the residents. Therefore, semi-structured interviewing is the type of method applied for this fieldwork as it is characterised by its adaptable nature, allowing for a balance between structure and flexibility in data collection (Ritchie et al. 2013). It allows interviewers to explore deeper into participants' responses and pursue emerging leads. This flexibility empowers interviewers to modify the interview process according to participants' input, facilitating a more organic and comprehensive exploration of the research subject (Guest et al. 2006). This allows the exploration of unexpected issues, which

provides rich qualitative data that rigid data collection methods may not capture (Bernard 2011).

Furthermore, these interviews foster participant engagement and collaboration by allowing individuals to articulate their thoughts, perspectives, and experiences in their own words (Patton 2014). The open-ended nature of semi-structured interviews encourages participants to share unique insights, ensuring their voices are heard and facilitating a space for meaningful contributions (Smith et al. 2009). A researcher has general concepts, but it allows the emergence of new concepts within interviews rather than being limited to the designated themes. Seidman (2006 p.9) pointed out, "At the root of in-depth interviewing is an interest in understanding the lived experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience". Therefore, it allows the participant to share their own experiences and allows an in-depth understanding of the themes of the research topic. This qualitative approach allows for establishing rapport with participants, asking non-direct questions, and forming an understanding of the participants' contexts (Taylor et al. 2015).

To conduct these in-depth interviews, a question guide must be prepared to direct the interview towards the main themes of the research topic (Krauss et al. 2009). Accordingly, this guide should be flexible and enabling for an informal conversation to emerge during the interview (Dearnley 2005; Whiting 2008). Hence, the questions of the interviews are unstructured and open-ended and should form what Spradley (1979) pointed out as a friendly conversation. These open-ended questions allow us to build upon them for more explorations into participants' experiences (Seidman 2006). Finally, the interview guide is prepared for interviews with sixteen related questions. These questions are categorised under two levels cognitive and structural levels of community empowerment. Additionally, there are different interview guides for the different camps with different questions for the residential and commercial camps (see Appendix A).

The generation of questions for semi-structured interviews involves careful thought to ensure obtaining relevant and insightful information from participants. This implies many steps within this process, setting research objectives to focus on and direct the

interview guide upon. The alignments of interview questions through the Identified key themes and concepts for this research. Then the initial question framework is prepared to provide the base for the interview questions. After that, this initial question guide is pilot-tested to assess its efficiency in grasping the wanted data. Accordingly, this question guide is refined to avoid any ambiguities and to improve these questions, also adding open-ended questions that allow participants to provide detailed and in-depth answers. This is an iterative process with continuous refining of the question guide to allow flexibility during the interview process. Overall, generating interview questions with careful planning and iterative refinement is important to effectively capture the wanted information and contribute to the research objective.

Along with the above, for in-depth interviews that aim at understanding participants' experiences, purposeful sampling is the selected method for the selection of the participants. Sampling is vital for the analysis; thus, the interviewees will be selected upon criterion typology, which requires specific criteria to select participants (Miles and Huberman 1994). Therefore, since this study aims to understand the experience of living and the spatial transformation throughout time, age plays a vital role in Palestinian case studies. Therefore, some of the interviewees must meet the age criterion of 50 and older because they have witnessed these urbanisation processes. Moreover, the current living experience is important to understand, so the sample should vary between 50 years and older and younger refugees. As for the Zaatari, age would not matter as it emerged in 2012; thus, its sample was selected randomly.

For the sampling size, sampling will continue until there are no new classifications, themes, and details emerge from the data attaining data saturation (Marshall 1996). Essentially, Bertaux (1981, p.37) named it the saturation of knowledge as researchers are looking for different types of saturation. Therefore, the sampling of this study will continue until saturation and not less than 15 interviews, which is the least accepted number in qualitative research (Bertaux 1981, p.35).

3.3.2.2   The Interview Strategy

As it was important to explore the lived space and the living experience of the inhabitants, these interviews were conducted as informal conversations by

establishing friendly relationships between the researcher and the inhabitants. This allowed the interviewees to speak comfortably during the interviews. To conduct interviews with residents of Baqaa Camp, Jerash (Gaza) Camp, and Zaatari Camp in Jordan, spending time on the streets of these camps helped strike up friendly conversations with people who were on the street. No third-party introductions were involved, and without any knowledge of the role interviewees would have had in governance or decision-making. In Baqaa Camp, a rapport was established with a man working in a stationary shop, who helped us meet more people on the streets and conduct the interviews. In Jerash Camp, many people were spending time on the streets, and it was easy to start friendly conversations with them. In Zaatari Camp, while walking on the main commercial street, one of the shop owners introduced the researcher to his wife, who helped meet more residents of the camp. The researcher obtained the necessary permits to enter the camps before conducting the interviews, without pre-assigning or nominating the interviewees previously. According to the above, semi-structured interviews were conducted through different phases, as this method is the main method for data collection. These phases are illustrated in Table (3-2).

According to the theoretical framework of this dissertation, it is important to orient the interview guide toward two main topics: the social production of space and community empowerment. Furthermore, it is significant to understand more deeply the living experience of interviewees from their point of view. Thus, data collected from interviews are both deduced and inducted.

Table 3-2 Phases of interviewing.

Phases	Purpose	Time
Interview Guide	Preparation for interviews to establish the aspects about which the interviews will be based on the theoretical framework.	Prior field visits
Pilot study	Getting familiar with the site, identifying the best streets to select, establishing friendly connections with some	First visit to the site

	inhabitants, and testing the interview guide.	
Conducting the actual interviews	Asking unstructured questions in a friendly way was a form of conversation with recording the whole conversation, letting the interviewees answer freely without interruptions or giving personal opinions. This allows for forming some narratives within the conversation for axonometric drawings.	During the visits to the sites

This means that the interview guide was divided into themes that are theory-driven while allowing some themes to emerge from interviews (see Appendix A). This helps the researcher gain deeper insights into the contributing factors of social production and community empowerment processes.

Therefore, Tables (3-3) illustrate the number of interviews conducted in each case study with the details related to these interviews.

Table 3-3: number and details of interviews conducted in each case study.

CASE	PARTICIPANT AGE	NO. OF PARTICIPANTS	TOTAL NUMBER
BAQA'A CAMP	Men > 50	7	26
	Women > 50	10	
	Men < 50	5	
	Women < 50	3	
	Camp Manager	1	
JERASH CAMP	Men > 50	6	16
	Women > 50	2	
	Men < 50	4	
	Women < 50	3	
	Camp Manager	1	
ZAATARI CAMP	Men	11	17
	Women	6	
TOTAL NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS			**59**

In summary, these semi-structured interviews are important for collecting the needed data. Nevertheless, axonometric drawings and field notes were also important to support these interviews, as discussed in the next section.

3.3.2.3   Axonometric Drawings

Axonometric drawings are used in many phases of this research to depict the streets as a physical setting in addition to the actors, events, and products in the streets. Drawing as a tool or method helps to have a less linear and in-depth understanding than discourse for complex real-life issues or phenomena in social research. Hence, modelling or visualising real-life settings allows for understanding the inner-world views of a phenomenon (Zweifel and Wezemael 2012). Additionally, drawings allow studying all the elements contributing to creating relevant explanations and hence solutions to the issue. In the architectural field, it is important to understand how living in a certain city is from the different perspectives of different actors that interact within it (Cruz and Sarmiento 2019).

According to Ching (2014), axonometric drawings are a compelling tool for representing clear and detailed complex structures. Therefore, the architecture and social research field has recently had a growing interest in using axonometric drawings as a research method (Mitchell et al. 2011; Mäkelä et al. 2014; Horne et al. 2017).

Hence, axonometry was the most preferred tool for technical explanations to demonstrate functionality and constructability in three dimensions. Axonometric drawings and design thinking are so closely related that the former has taken on the role of the latter (Cocozza 2017). Therefore, it is a tool for representing, communicating, analysing, and producing social-spatial knowledge. It can reveal hidden relationships that may not be present in other methods of analysis.

Using architectural drawings not only for visualising the physical setting but also to explore the functions within the settings, such as the flow of people and space navigation, the ambience within the space, the ambience within the space; living experience within the environment, and the use of spaces (Mäkelä et al. 2014). Hence, axonometric drawings of street stretches representing the streets will be studied. In every camp, two types of streets were drawn on many phases to visualise the factors and the processes of social production and trace the changes in the production processes over time.

In this thesis, design research methods, tools and techniques such as axonometric drawings play a key role in an in-depth understanding of the issue of the study. According to Jonathan (2022), the architectural design doctorate serves as a platform for exploring and advancing innovative approaches to practice and discourse. It recognises the interrelation of new and traditional methods, emphasising their social and cultural significance rather than solely their utility.

Design research methods, tools, and techniques play a crucial role in conducting and informing research. In this research, design research methods and approaches are valuable due to the comprehensive understanding they provide as they facilitate exploring the complex interplay between social, spatial, and cultural dimensions within the refugee camp environment (Sanders and Stappers 2013). Additionally, AD-R techniques adopt a user-centred approach that captures the lived space, enabling a more nuanced and accurate understanding of their lived experiences (Frayling 1994; Gaver et al. 1999). Design research methods involve iterative data collection and analysis processes, ensuring that research outcomes reflect all parties' perspectives, allowing the research to evolve continuously and adapting to emerging insights (Kelly et al. 2014). The additional significance of using design research tools is the communication of data through visual representations to better understand the situation (Buxton 2007). Furthermore, adopting design thinking techniques helps generate novel solutions that address the socio-spatial challenges faced by the refugees in the camp (Cross 2007).

Accordingly, axonometric drawings are present in different phases. First, the description phase included the plans of the three case studies with some indicators such as the structure of the streets, the use of the land, and the physical data of the camp. Second, the data collection phase, 3D axonometric drawings of a street stretch of the selected two typologies for these cases, will include more details about the physical settings, social activities, and actors. Finally, the third phase is the findings phase with 3D axonometric drawings of a street stretch of the selected two typologies for these cases, which will include the processes of social production of these streets that illustrate the understanding of these processes.

In summary, drawings support an in-depth understanding of the setting of the case studies for the researcher and the readers to facilitate the explorations, communication, and understanding of the processes of the social production of space, actors, social events, and spatial-social products. Therefore, this method is not only a tool for collecting data but also an analysis tool as well.

3.3.2.4 Photographs, Field Notes

In addition to the previously mentioned data collection methods, photographic pictures of the camp and field notes are used to fill the gap in this thesis. Therefore, reporting from the field is important to grasp knowledge about the meanings, representations, and lived space. Thus, observations examine settings to determine the norms of the situation (Walliman 2011). Additionally, walking interviews, which are considered a mix between interviews and participant observations, can allow researchers to explore spatial-social practices (Kusenbach 2003, p.463). Furthermore, field notes and reflective journals describe the settings, events, participants and the researcher's reflections and interpretations (Flick 2018).

Therefore, the process of the analysis starts with setting the field report or notes along with the reflective diary, which contains all information obtained from observations. The field report describes the settings, people, events, and all that is observed. It covers the researcher's understanding of the meaning of the research question during observations. This helps in finding common categories for the analysis (Flick 2018). Hence to answer the research question of this thesis, the field notes data are presented in the axonometric drawings in the following chapter. Some of these field notes are examples of conversations between refugees, some are narratives or descriptions of certain events that occurred throughout time in the streets of refugee camps, and some of these notes are observations of the researcher during the fieldwork. Thus, these notes are very important to understand the lived space produced in the streets of refugee camps and thus generate clearer and more communicating axonometric drawings.

Furthermore, photographic pictures are used in addition to axonometric drawings as a research tool. These pictures can capture moments of the life experience on the

streets of the camp. In the words of José van Dijck (2008), "Photography has always acted as an instrument of communication and as a means of sharing experience" (Pink 2011, p.95). Given that this technique seeks to develop knowledge through an interactive, reflective, collaborative, and transformative research process with various groups of people, a participatory philosophy seems to fit into it quite naturally. More specifically, a growing body of research contends that using visual techniques in research can offer insightful perceptions of the actual lives of people (Bolton et al. 2001; Mizen 2005; Rudkin and Davis 2007; Anderson and Jones 2009). Importantly, increased attention is paid to developing innovative research methods and producing scholarly knowledge (Pink 2011). Therefore, research has been conducted on the role of representing experience (Pink 2011), with an emphasis on imagination and memory in research practice (Clover 2006; Hogan 2012).

Consequently, these photographic pictures are taken with the researcher's phone during fieldwork and interviews. Importantly, following Cardiff University's ethics regulations for getting Cardiff University's ethical approval and risk assessment for conducting these interviews and fieldnotes see Appendix (B & C), the consent to take these pictures was obtained from the local authorities in Department of Palestinian Affairs DPA and sent to camp's managers. In addition to the verbal or written consent form of the people on the streets and the owners of the house to avoid any uncomfortable situation or privacy problems, see Appendix (D).

3.3.2.5   Secondary data

Secondary data are data that is collected through a second party and not by the researcher. These secondary data are important to offer the researchers the context of the in-depth fieldwork, and it preliminary allows exploring the areas and relationships of investigation that can be later examined in detail through the analysis (Desai and Potter 2006).

Therefore, cases of this study will be described in detail using the within-case analysis; this description includes the locations of these camps, the political, social, and economic context, and changes from the start until now, tensions between refugees and formal systems, governmental regulations, politics, local authorities, urban

policies, NGOs and international relief agencies, and the spatial morphology. These data will be collected from documents and plans or photographs from local authorities and organisations.

In conclusion, this dissertation used mixed methods of data collection to create a rich set of data that helps to better understand the social production of streets in refugee camps. Additionally, this rich data set is important to generate knowledge through analysing these data. Therefore, the methods used to analyse the data are as important as the methods of data collection; thus, these are explained in detail in the following section.

3.4 Data Analysis

After using a combination of several methods for data collection, determining the analytical process for this research was a challenging task. This difficulty is caused not only by multiple possible methods of analysing data but also by the importance of the process and the design of the analysis, especially regarding the social relationships factor and events throughout time. Thus, comparing multiple case studies is a process that supports analysing data within different situations and with each condition. This helps to understand the differences and similarities between the cases, contributing to knowledge with effects from these similarities and differences. Furthermore, multiple case studies help to provide reliable and rigorous evidence and more generalisable conclusions than a single case study. It also facilitates exploring research questions and theoretical evolution (Gustafsson 2017). The following section explains the process of analysing and comparing the collected data to explore the social production of the streets in refugee camps in Jordan under the structural and cognitive conceptual framework. Therefore, we must answer the main research question of this thesis.

3.4.1 Comparative Case Studies

3.4.1.1 The rationale for the comparative case studies' design

To address the research question of this thesis, in this dissertation, a comparative case study approach was chosen. Case study research includes understanding an

issue investigated within a bounded system in one or more cases (Stake 2006). According to Yin (2004), case study methodology is a distinctive method to explore a certain phenomenon and investigate how and why it happened in real life. Yin (2004) states that case study methodology is relevant, especially if the researcher believes the context is of great relevance to the study issue. Consequently, the choice of this methodology facilitates an understanding of the relationship between the refugee camp context and the social production of the streets by comparing three case studies of refugee camps in Jordan. Hence, comparative case studies help to have an in-depth understanding of how and why refugees are socially producing their streets in a certain way and generate more general knowledge. Additionally, comparative case studies support explaining how a particular context affects an issue and how to tailor this issue within this particular context to achieve desired outcomes (Goodrick 2014).
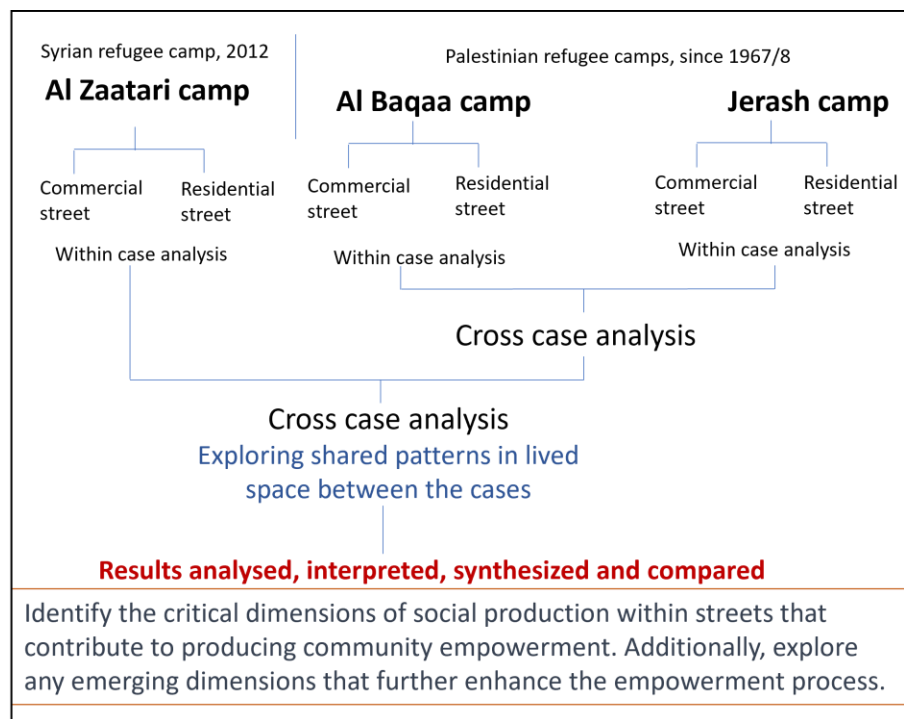
Figure 3-7: the process of case studies comparisons

Researching multiple case studies emphasises more on differences and contexts to understand qualities. Comparisons unfold variations between social structures; additionally, they uncover distinctive features of a specific structure, which is difficult to detect in different methods (Mills et al. 2006). Hence, these case studies are

compared through the comparative dimensions for this investigation, including the theory-driven and data-driven themes embedded within the interrelated levels between social production of space and community empowerment literature see Figure (3-7). These are explained in detail in this chapter in section (3.4.2.3) themes of comparison section in Table (3-5) and Chapter (5).

3.4.1.2   The logic of comparison

The comparison in this thesis has two phases. First, the comparison is conducted on two case studies of Palestinian camps Jerash and Baqa'a camps; both camps were established in 1968 as isolated settlements from the nearby urban areas in Jordan. This comparison helps to gain an in-depth understanding of how the social production processes of the streets are performed and why. It detects the differences in outcomes within similar case studies and what the key dimensions of community processes are fixed in both cases. Second, these two Palestinian case studies are compared to the Zaatari refugee camp. The Zaatari refugee camp was established in 2012 within the same typology of being isolated from urban areas to detect the key contributing factors in social production processes to achieve community empowerment from the refugee's perspective.

This particular design of the comparison process helps to understand the social production processes within-case studies bounded in the same system and at different times to explore what is most essential for community empowerment within different cases and phases, see Figure (3-7). In addition, to understand how the differences between these case studies affect the processes of social production of the streets. This approach requires axial analyses to support the resolution of the complexity of case study issues and qualitative data collected.

Thus, this approach traces the variables of community empowerment within the three case studies; hence, this is not a purely case-driven study; it is also a variable-driven study that is constituted from refugee camps that are the empirical units of the case studies and from theoretical constructs that are the cognitive and structural components of community empowerment in the streets of refugee camps (Bartlett and Vavrus 2017).

3.4.1.3 Structuring the Analytical Framework

According to Yin (2018), every empirical study has implicitly a specific design for its

investigation, and sometimes it is explicit. This research's design is the logic and sequence of processes that link the empirical data to the initial research question of the study and eventually to its conclusions.

Accordingly, the design of the research is not only a working plan, but it also deals logically with the problem of research, and hence it is a way to address the research questions.
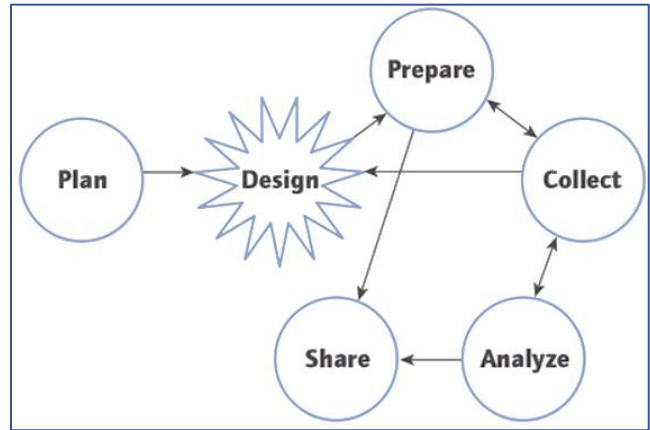
Figure 3-8: Model of conducting case-study research (Yin 2018, p. 61)

In the case study approach, the research's design has five key components: the research question, the theoretical propositions, and the case or cases. These three elements guide the research design to detect which data to collect; the logical connections between data and theoretical propositions; and finally, the basis for interpreting findings, guiding the research design to define the data analysis methods (Yin 2018).

Planning the analysis process is more important than choosing analytical techniques. According to Yin (2018), this requires thorough thinking and sufficient understanding from the researcher of what the research needs to be analysed. Hence, the research design is an important step before investigating as it allows comprehensive thinking of all aspects of the research and planning it accordingly, see Figure (3-8). Therefore, it is important to have an overall analytical strategy that employs the necessary techniques within what the researcher is looking for. This strategy includes defining the case studies what bounds or limits it, building a theory or hypothesis related to the research question which makes the foundation for analysing data from the case, identifying the design of the case study, e.g. single or multiple, and finally, testing the design against the criteria of four tests in social sciences to support the quality of a

case study summarised by Yin (2018 P.85): (1) construct validity; which identify the right working measures for the research concepts, (2) internal validity; to create a causal relationship for explanatory or causal studies only, (3) external validity; which is how to generalise the findings of the case study, and (4) reliability; to confirm that the processes of the study can be repeated with the same results. This research design aims to link the data collected with the main research question (Yin 2018).

3.4.1.4   The process of data analysis

In the beginning, the collected data, including semi-structured interviews and field notes, are primary data of this investigation. This data requires transcribing, translating, reading, coding, generating patterns and themes, and interpreting these themes according to the theoretical framework. The last three steps must be repeated as many times as needed to answer the research questions (Bryman 2016).

First, case studies need to be described in detail and their settings using multiple sources of data to give proof for every stage of analysis with the progress of the case study (Creswell 2007).

According to Yin (2002), the case study analysis includes 'examining, categorising, tabulating, testing or otherwise recombining both quantitative and qualitative evidence to address the initial propositions of a study' (p. 109). Additionally, the analysis of multiple case studies includes the interpretations and synthesis of differences, similarities, and patterns across all cases involved in the study. Importantly, the implications of these similarities and differences across cases must be interpreted to support further understanding (Goodrick 2014). The cross-case analysis is conducted according to the key dimensions that operate for community empowerment and the social production of these two categories of streets. Additionally, this approach allows for the flexibility of detecting any new dimension appearing in the analysis that would be interesting to compare between the case studies.

The technique of conducting this research is to seek to find the gap in the urban design field related to the streets of refugee camps through a literature review and pragmatic data from the field. This gap will be filled with a composition of relationships that

provide meaning and understanding as a whole. The social production of space in the literature is centred on three levels of space. The first space, or the **perceived space,** is the physical space; the second space or the **conceived space,** is the planned space; the third space is the **lived space** that users create when using space, creating their own living experience.

Semi-Structured interviews and field notes will be coded for each case study separately, and then the comparison will take place at Baqa'a camp and Jerash camp, and then cross-case analysis within the consideration of time factor here as the production of the Palestinian camps will be compared to the Zaatari camp within the cross-case analysis. Similarities and differences will be considered within each emerging factor or theme. The significance of the comparison developed from the need to understand the spatial living experience produced helps refugees achieve community empowerment on the streets of the camps. Additionally, the importance of understanding different contexts that would inform urban design processes in the future. Importantly, an essential issue in comparative studies is how to compare case studies, which is as important as what to compare (Oyen 1990). In this thesis, the analytical framework for comparing case studies is centred on the following themes derived from the literature review: a sense of community, identity and representation, spatial activity, and spatial appropriation. Table (3-4) summarises the research design.

Table 3-4: Summary of the research design of this thesis.

Phase	Tool	Questions
Thematic Framework	Literature review and semi-structured interviews	What are the comparable dimensions to be studied? What are you comparing? And What is the aim of these comparisons?
Site Selection	Review of literature on the state of the art on refugee camps in Jordan. Collecting all documents related to selected camps.	What is the best site to investigate the social production of the streets for empowerment?
Field work, including data collection	Interviews, field notes, pictures, and drawings	What stories do these sites tell?
Data Analysis	Comparative Case Studies	What are the key dimensions of social production of space that produce community empowerment?

		What are the shared patterns, similarities, and differences across case studies?
Interpreting results and discussion	Relating results to relevant literature	What are the concluding points resulting from the study?
Conclusions	Summarise the research problem, argument, implications, and significance.	What are the contributions of the results at different levels?

Kandel (1933 p.xix) states regarding the aim of the comparison*: "... the study of other systems helps to bring out into relief the meaning and significance, the strength and weakness of our own".* This research argues that refugees normalise their lives by socially producing the streets of refugee camps to create an empowering living experience. Mostly, all social studies aim at building knowledge of human behaviour effects and causes through the investigation of how the social processes are different and how they are experienced in different contexts (Karp et al. 2007).

According to Neuman (1997), analysing data implies looking for patterns through it. After finding patterns in the data, it is interpreted through theoretical propositions. This helps shift qualitative research from a description of events or history into further interpretations of its more general meaning. According to (Patton and Appelbaum 2003) case study approach aims to discover patterns, establish meanings, build conclusions, and develop theory.

According to Yin (2018 p.227), the researcher can use one of five general analytical tools to conduct case study analysis: 'pattern matching, explanation building, time series analysis, logic models, and cross-case synthesis'. In this thesis, pattern matching is the most suitable approach to compare case studies.

Importantly, key evaluation questions (KEQs) are generated to facilitate the comparative analysis process. These questions are important to keep the focus and the aim of comparison. These KEQs are:

- What do the data inform in different cases, individually and as a whole?

- What are the factors that contribute to strengthening the community (forms social relationships) within the street space in all cases? What is different (in process and outcome) in each case?

- What are the factors that contribute to spatial action within the street space in each case? What is different (in process and outcome) in each case?

- Do these factors affect identity and representation? How does it differ in every case? Why?

- What are the factors that contribute to spatial appropriation within the street space in all cases? What is different (in process and outcome) in each case?

- What are the factors that negatively affected the previous themes in every case? Why?

- What are the factors that were shared in the three cases despite the differences?

What helps in presenting an in-depth representation of the case study approach is employing figures, tables, and narratives (Creswell 2007) see Figure (3-9).

Analysing the collected data is improved by referencing the present literature to check the correspondence of the findings with this existing literature (Creswell 2007).
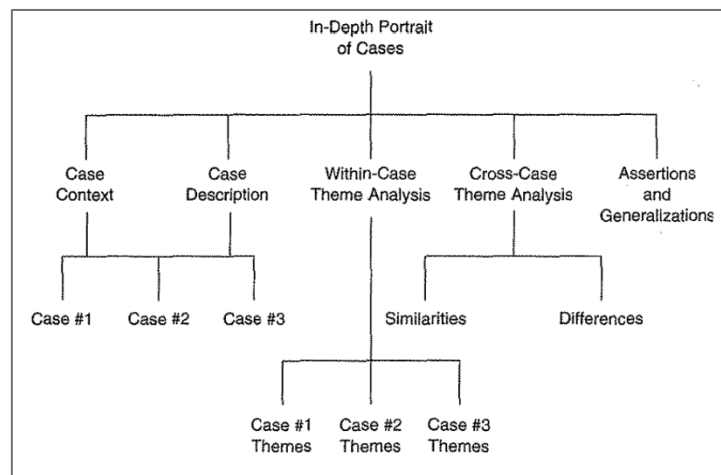
Figure 3-9: model for conducting case study analysis, Source: (Creswell 2007).

After that, the analysis results are discussed, and references are made to the reviewed literature and how this answers the research question. Hence, this discussion leads to further questions for additional research.

3.4.2 Thematic and content analysis

The data from 59 interviews were thematically analysed in two phases; The first phase thematically analyses the data from all case studies as a whole dataset. The second phase of thematic analysis is thematically analysing the data of each case study separately. Thematic analysis is popular in qualitative research to identify, analyse, and report patterns within data (Braun and Clarke 2006). The thematic analysis includes finding categories and identifying common themes across the dataset (DeSantis and Ugarriza 2000). It is a practical and helpful research tool that offers a rich and in-depth assessment of data (Braun and Clarke 2006; Bryman 2016). Usually, thematic analysis entails five key phases: 1) data familiarisation processes that include reading the transcripts, 2) generating initial codes to gather related data to each other, 3) categorising data in transcript into main categories called themes, 4) reviewing these themes and connecting themes to codes in a thematic framework, and 5) generating relationships among themes and drawing conclusions and interpretations (Miles and Huberman 1994; Braun and Clarke 2006).

In this study, the process of thematic analysis follows these phases, with the use of qualitative data analysis (QDA) computer software NVIvo 12. After transcribing and translating interviews, they were imported into NVIvo to facilitate the processes of coding, categorising, and identifying themes (Bazeley and Jackson 2013).

Subsequently, a content analysis was conducted to compare themes between case studies to identify which themes are present more in which camp. It is important to note that both thematic and content analysis methods permit a qualitative study of the data. By applying content analysis, it is feasible to assess data subjectively and, at the same time, quantify the data (Grbich 2007). Both the coding of the data and the interpretation of the numerical counts of the codes used in content analysis follow a descriptive methodology (Downe-Wamboldt 1992; Morgan 1993). Therefore, this research uses both methods to answer different questions within this research. The explanations of these processes are presented in the following sections.

3.4.2.1   Transcriptions and translations

Importantly, two issues are considered in this phase: Transcribing and translations. The interviews are conducted in Arabic, which means that the interviews must be carefully translated, as language and culture are vital to presenting meanings. Thus, to retain a great level of accuracy and to prevent being lost in translation, interviews are transcribed in Arabic with verbatim transcriptions. This means interviews are transcribed word by word, capturing every sound in the recording, and non-verbal sounds such as laughs, stumbles, giggles, false starts, and the phone ringing. Hence, the translation and transcribing processes were done by the researcher. Accordingly, some modifications are required and important to maintain the conversation style (Aronsson, K.; Cederborg, 1997, p. 85). In that sense, analysis processes are done in English. The process of translating and transcribing is repeated and reviewed more than once to maintain accuracy and transparency.

Moreover, although transcribing and translating are considered time-consuming, annoying, and sometimes boring, it is a great way to get familiar with data and generate codes (Riessman 1993). Thus, it is considered an essential phase of data analysis as it is an interpretative act where meanings are generated (Lapadat and Lindsay 1999; Bird 2005). Consequently, notes or possible coding schemes may emerge in this phase. Thus, the identification of coding ideas sets the basis for the analysis process. In that sense, the development and identification of codes remain throughout the entire analysis (Braun and Clarke 2006).

3.4.2.2   Coding & categorising

After the transcribing and translating processes comes the coding or indexing process, which is at the heart of the analytic process. This phase is important for getting familiar with the data and identifying key ideas that are relevant to the theoretical framework and research questions. This process involves dividing the data set into smaller fragments of data (Bryman 2016). The importance of coding emerges from being able to interpret data, its flexibility, and it allows the emergence of data-driven themes (Miles, M. B., Huberman, A. M., & Saldaña 2014). Therefore, coding is a repetitive and iterative process until the researcher can read between the lines, in addition to

the ability of the researcher to detect shared patterns, interesting information, similarities and differences, and significant topics through the data.

Therefore, this dissertation used NVivo 12 software, as this process is repetitive and involves managing a huge amount of data. This qualitative data analysis software helps manage translated transcriptions by coding transcriptions, organising codes to navigate them, jotting notes, and identifying themes. The logic behind choosing NVivo over all other data management software is that Cardiff University student applications provide it, and it is easy to use.

After the initial coding process and getting familiar with the data, categorising and recoding processes are repeated to generate themes within these transcriptions. Thus, some considerations were borne in mind when conducting this phase.

- What is community empowerment for refugees?
- How is it defined within space?
- How is it formed (produced)?
- What are the factors that affect it positively or negatively?
- Do social production processes in the streets provide an empowering living experience?
- Which types of streets have a more empowering living experience? Why?
- What are these data telling us?
- To which category does this belong?
- What is happening on the streets of refugee camps?

These considerations help to keep the categorising process relevant to the objective of the study. However, it is important to recognise the two data analysis approaches for this process, the deductive and inductive approaches. The deductive approach is top-down reasoning that reaches theory-driven conclusions (Sternberg, Robert J; Mio 2009). Contrasting to the inductive, bottom-up reasoning approach, a researcher reaches data-driven conclusions (Copi, I.M.; Cohen, C.; Flage 2006). Therefore, this dissertation implies both approaches to generate comparison themes. Thus, the deductive approach was used with the theoretical framework to generate dimensions

of comparison. Furthermore, the data set is so rich and informative that it cannot be purely deductive; there have to be some dimensions that were generated from the analysis. These dimensions are discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

3.4.2.3   Themes of comparison

Comparing dimensions was concluded by reviewing the relevant literature and through the deduction approach, as illustrated in Table (3-5). The spatial experience under the cognitive and structural approaches has a key role in empowering refugees. Structural, such as participation, networks, and collective action. The cognitive indicators are social support, social cohesion, and reciprocity (Kasmel 2011). This twofold role is embedded within the process of empowerment; the spatial living experience in public spaces is important as it leads to collective socio-spatial action. It is an iterative process as spatial experience that encourages and improves social relation improves their sense of community, which leads to collective action and social activities for appropriation and spatial practice.

Table 3-5: Theory-Driven Dimensions of Comparison
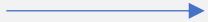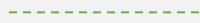
	Comparative themes		Al Zaatari camp	Al Baqaa camp	Jerash camp
Community empowerment through the produced spatial living Experience	**Cognitive**	Sense of community	How is the sense of community produced through spatial living experience?		
		Identity & Representation	Does community empowerment changes with changes of spatial identity and representation?		
	Structural	Spatial action	How does the cognitive dimension of community empowerment affect the spatial action?		
		Spatial Appropriation	does the sense spatial appropriation of streets in camps improves community empowerment ?		

The themes for thematic analysis were both theory and data-driven. Table (3-5) illustrates the initial themes deduced from the literature. These themes are classified into cognitive and structural levels of social production of street spaces in refugee camps.

Importantly, during conducting semi-structural interviews with refugees, additional themes were added to the comparative dimensions on different levels that affect the production of community empowerment in the streets of the refugee camp within everyday living. At the structural level, the 'design issues' theme emerged, while the 'the produced living experience' theme emerged from data at the cognitive level. An additional level has emerged during the investigation that connects structural and cognitive levels: the 'financial situation' that plays an embedded means in the social production of space throughout time; these themes are further explained in Chapter (5).

In conclusion, the methodological framework of this thesis combines a mix of qualitative methods and design research tools for data collection, in addition to a mix of methods of data analysis. These combinations of methods are articulated in this manner to answer the research question. The innovative design of this methodological framework entails processing data that was collected by different methods into the axonometric drawings, additionally analysing this data through these axonometric drawings also; Table (3-6) summarises these methods, the approach to using these methods, and the aim of each.

Table 3-6: Summary of data collection & and analysis methods

Data collection	Data Analysis	Approach	Aim
Semi-structured Interviews	Thematic analysis	Data-driven. All cases responses utilised as one data set	Shared Patterns in Living Experience
	Thematic analysis	Each case study is studied separately. Data and Theory-Driven	In-depth investigation of the social production of space throughout the Phases of living experience that emerged from the timewise dimension of these case studies.
Axonometric Drawings	Axonometric Drawings	Design research tool for processing and analysing (interview) data. Clean line axonometric drawings for each phase and each street typology	**Mapping -**Depict the processes of social production of space in camps' streets.
Field Notes	Axonometric Drawings	Additional data can be presented on axonometric drawings.	Supporting the depiction of lived space in the streets of refugee camps
	Comparison analysis	-Within-case analysis (compares phases of living experience in each case study). - Comparison conducted between the three camps.	This comparison aims to investigate the social production of space in the streets in a deeper way, as these comparisons can inform the relationship between the design of the streets and the contributing factors that support the production of an (empowering lived space).
Data processed in axonometric drawings. →			
All analyses feed into the comparative analysis. - - - - - - - - -			

3.5 Fieldwork

The previous sections demonstrated the research plan, the research methodology, the methods of collecting and analysing data, and the innovative approach to combining these methods. The data collection process must be reported before data analysis. Therefore, a detailed description of this process is given below.

Furthermore, this chapter presents the data obtained for the analysis, documents the data collection process, and stresses the challenges faced by the researcher.

Consequently, this section outlines the fieldwork conducted in case study sites. It reports how these methods were applied in the sites and how they influenced the research design. It describes the research process, which involves the actions before, during, and after entering the sites. This helps to better understand the use of this research.

3.5.1 Accessing camps

There are security concerns in spaces such as refugee camps. However, the Palestinian camps have been existing for more than fifty years and have transformed into camp-cities, and they do not have any entry restrictions. Anyone can visit the Palestinian camps, and there are no physical borders. Therefore, I did a pilot study in The Baqa'a Camp for re-evaluation of the question guide in January 2020. However, for smoother field work in case studies of The Baqa'a and Jerash (Gaza) Camp, consent was obtained from the DPA (Department of Palestinian Affairs) to confirm that I am a PhD candidate that allowed to take photographs and conduct interviews. This consent was applied in January 2020 to form the fieldwork in April-May 2020, which was not applicable during this period due to COVID-19 and the lockdown. Thus, another application was made to carry out fieldwork in August 2020, where consent was obtained. Hence, fieldwork in The Baqa'a camp took place on 22, 26, 27 July and 5 August 2020 with four visits, where each visit was from 9:00 AM to 3:00 PM. While in Jerash, fieldwork was carried out on 11, 12, and 26 August 2020 with three visits where every visit was from 9:00 AM to 3:00 PM. During these visits, observations and

interviews were conducted. Additionally, my husband accompanied me during the fieldwork to ease the process and to ensure the establishment of a rapport with interviewees in the camps.

Alternatively, a security clearance must be obtained to enter the Zaatari camp and to conduct research in Appendix (D). Therefore, in April, I submitted an online application that contains an abstract of my research and an assessment form. I was in contact with Moh'd Al Taher, an Associate External Relation Officer at UNHCR, who referred me to Mohammad Al Amin in July, where my application was rejected as part of the precautionary measures for COVID-19, as the camp remains closed to researchers and visitors. Then I applied again to the Ministry of Planning & International Cooperation on 11 August 2020, and the consent was finally obtained on 30 August 2020. Therefore, the fieldwork was carried out within three days between 6-8 September 2020. I had to conduct interviews and enter the Zaatari solely because my husband worked in the military forces and could not get permission to enter the Zaatari for security reasons. Therefore, I established a relationship with a woman who works as a teaching assistant in one of the schools in the Zaatari, where she accompanied me during some of the interviews and took a tour with me in the camp and on the ring road around the camp.

3.6 Ethical Considerations

Ethical issues of this research have been considered as any other research project conducted by any Cardiff University researcher. However, many ethical issues have been addressed as the research field was refugee camps. These spaces have special considerations. Thus, it is necessary to get Cardiff University's Ethical approval for conducting this fieldwork. In addition, local authorities have given consent to conduct interviews in the Palestinian refugee camps. Additionally, a security clearance was obtained from the Ministry of Interior to enter the Zaatari camp and conduct interviews.

In that sense, the selected approach for this research provides deep insights into the social production of camp-cities. However, it is normal to counter some challenges and limitations. Data collection methods provide strong

insight into the everyday life of inhabitants, yet their ethical concern is privacy, such as taking photos of areas and entering some private spaces, and some people may not feel comfortable being interviewed. Although this is a concern, following and going through Cardiff University's ethical approval process and ethical guidelines enabled me to avoid discomfort feelings. Therefore, to address potential privacy issues, a university consent form will be sent to the survey participants. Participants, such as residents and workers, in the formal framework, will be informed of what the research involves and how it will be used. Furthermore, the collected data will only be used to carry out this study and will be destroyed after completion, and the participant's information will be confidential. Additionally, approval for a risk assessment form containing all issues regarding travel, safety, conflicts, risk, and health, especially with COVID-19, was obtained.

3.7   Summary

This chapter has discussed the research methodology and methods implemented to investigate the question of the research presented in the first chapter. The triangulation of methods for data collection, including semi-structured interviews, axonometric drawings, and photos, was chosen to address the complexities of investigating the social production of space and representations related to it. Furthermore, analysing three sites helped to increase the validity of data collected from refugees, which is related to research as it is related to the lived experience of every day.

In addition to the above, the case studies were selected with a clear justification to investigate the research problem. Furthermore, the purposeful sampling of the participants was established with age criteria for the Palestinian case studies, as some of the participants must be 50 years or older to be able to describe the transformation of the camp. Hence, the sample size is set during fieldwork, which is when data saturation is reached.

Therefore, the following chapters will demonstrate the content of the collected data and how this was processed, interpreted according to the theoretical framework

provided by the literature review and finally discussed. This data is divided into two main categories. First is desk-based data, which is collected and analysed through design tools such as plans and axonometric drawings. Second is qualitative data, which is the data obtained from fieldwork. This is entailed in interviews, field notes, and photographs. This data overview helps to organise and refine the data to be prepared for analysis.

4

Living experience in the streets of the camps throughout time

This chapter thematically analyses 59 interviews conducted during July - September 2020. It addresses the first research question exploring the forms of living experiences within the streets of refugee camps. These interviews allow exploring shared patterns of living experience throughout time among streets of the three refugee camps together beyond every single camp specifies. Furthermore, this reveals how the streets were socially produced among these living experiences under the lens of community empowerment. Hence, this chapter starts by introducing the problem and contexts of case studies and then continues with the explorations of the forms of patterns in the living experience. Finally, this chapter concludes with a discussion of the resulting findings and their implications.

4 Living experience in the streets of the camps throughout time

4.1 Introduction

As mentioned in the first chapter, this dissertation investigates the social production of space in the streets of refugee camps throughout time under the lens of community empowerment. Multidirectional urbanisation processes developed in camps over time to normalise the lives of refugees. Hence, this proposes questions about how people lived in refugee camps throughout time.

What are the living pattern characteristics observed in the three refugee camps, and how do these patterns relate to the social production of space and community empowerment in the streets of the camps?

These questions focus on the lived spaces that refugees experience in the streets of refugee camps from the beginning of their refuge until the present time. To answer the main question of this dissertation, **How do the processes of social production of space in the streets of refugee camps foster community empowerment? –** it is important to answer its sub-questions that revolve around lived space in the streets of refugee camps and how it is produced. Therefore, this chapter and the subsequent three chapters will provide answers to this main research question by tackling each issue of the main problem in a separate chapter. Specifically, this chapter explores shared patterns of production within lived space. The subsequent chapter investigates in detail the streets of Palestinian camps by exploring cognitive, structural, and financial levels of social production of space and its relation to community empowerment. The following chapter explores the Zaatari refugee camp through the same process as in the previous chapter. The chapter after that gives two comparisons of the results of these investigations between all cases.

Inhabitants in the streets of refugee camps were interviewed according to the interview guide. One question asked of the interviewees is to describe their lives from the beginning of living in the camp until now, in addition to other questions that revolve around their lives in the camp. Thus, the responses to these questions collectively from three case studies were thematically analysed, exploring shared patterns of living experience throughout time. Therefore, to understand the living experience in camps,

it is important to first create a contextual background to these camps, Figure (4-1) illustrates the locations, and distances of refugee camps to the closest urban areas.
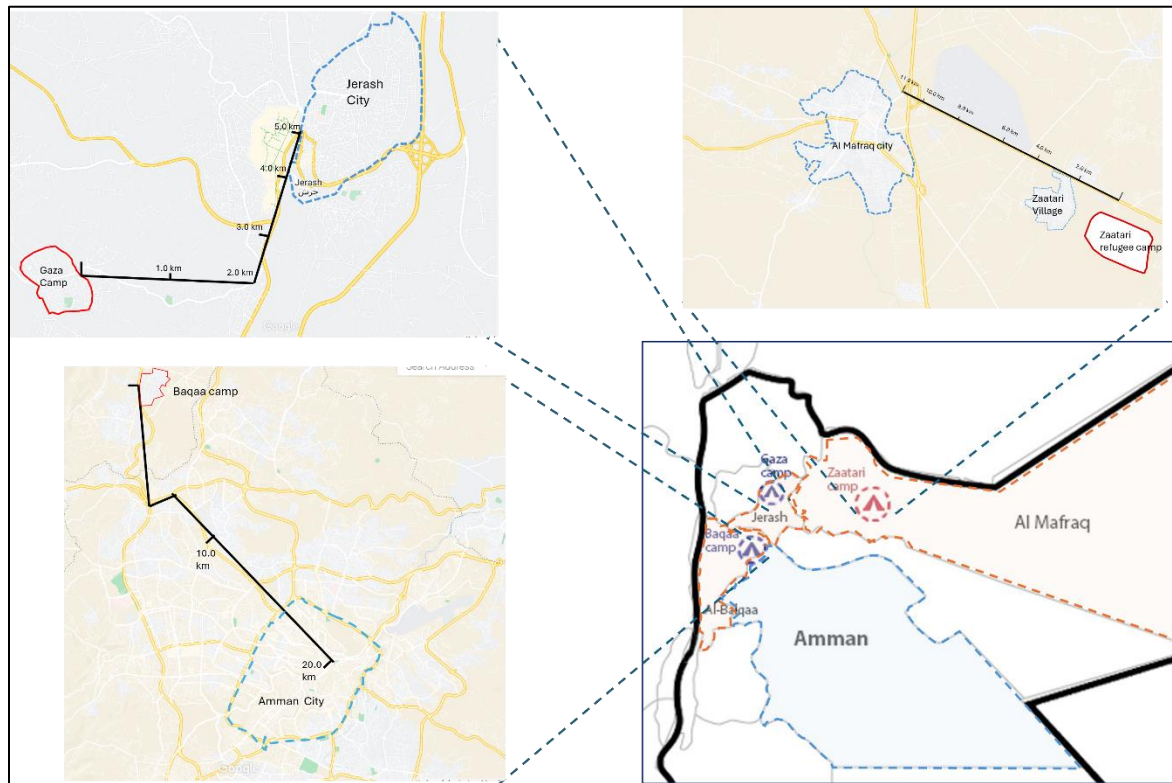
Figure 4-1: Locations, and distances of refugee camps to the closest urban areas. Source: Researcher, Google Earth 2020.

4.2 Context of the Palestinian Camps

4.2.1 Geographic and Demographic Context

Both Baqa'a and Jerash camps were established in 1968 as one of the six Palestinian emergency camps to host refugees who fled from the West Bank in the Arab-Israeli war. The Baqa'a camp was established in the Balqa'a governorate about 20 kilometres north of Amman and is considered the largest Palestinian camp in Jordan, see Figure (4-1). It was founded on a land area of 1.4 square kilometres to accommodate 26,000 refugees with 5,000 tents (UNRWA 2013). The refugees in the Baqa'a camp came from different areas of Palestine, such as Gaza, Hebron, Ramla, Tulkarm, Jaffa, and Beersheba (Tawil 2006). According to UNRWA records, the population of the Baqa'a camp was approximately 128,586 Palestinian refugees in 2021, according to demographic records from the Department of Palestinian Affairs

DPA (DPA 2021d), these aspects are shown in Figure (4-2). Furthermore, the Jerash (Gaza) camp is in the governorate, 5 km from its city centre and 48 km north of Amman see Figure (4-1). It was founded on a 0.75 square km land area to accommodate 11,500 refugees who fled the Gaza Strip with 1500 tents (UNRWA 2013). The population records in Jerash Camp are approximately 33,679 Palestinian refugees in 2021 (DPA 2021c), these aspects are shown in Figure (4-3).
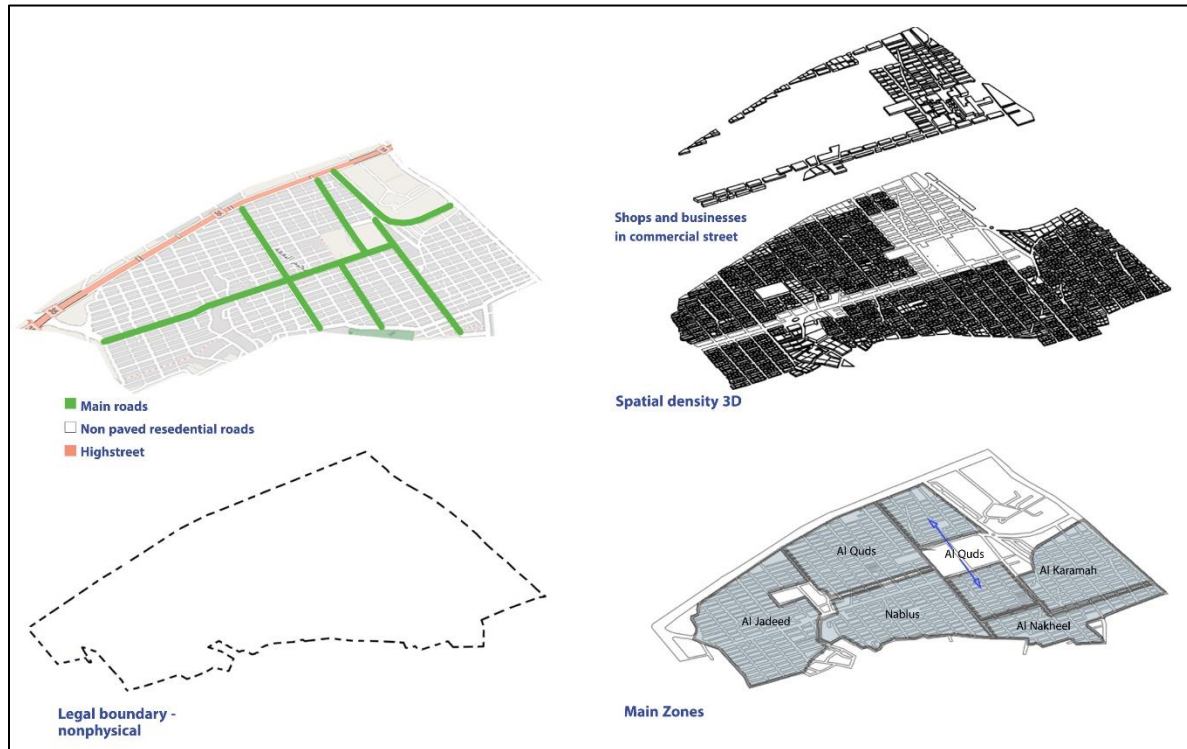
Figure 4-2: Maps of different aspects of the Baqaa Camp. Source: drawn by the researcher over the aerial photos obtained from The Royal Jordanian Geographic centre 2020.
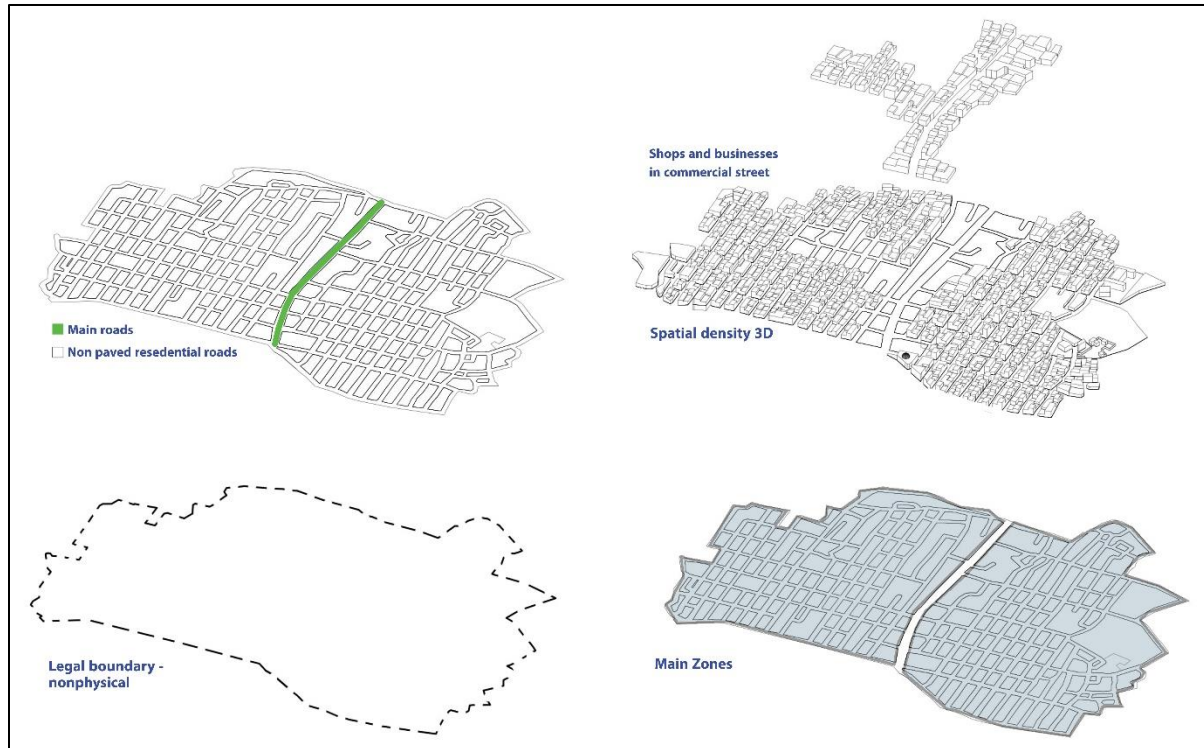
Figure 4-3: Maps of different aspects of the Jerash Camp. Source: drawn by the researcher over the aerial photos obtained from The Royal Jordanian Geographic Centre 2020.

4.2.2 Governance in the camps

The Jordanian government initially rented physical land to set up six emergency camps from Jordanian private owners in 1968 (Al-Shatarat 2015). Additionally, two organisations are governing the camp to improve its social and structural aspects. The Department of Palestinian Affairs 'DPA' is the governmental authority, while the United Nations Relief and Works Agency 'UNRWA' is a non-governmental organisation (Tawil 2006). The DPA is responsible for monitoring Palestinian affairs on many levels, in addition to organising UNRWA communications with government departments and following up on UNRWA matters and its services (DPA 2021d). On the other hand, UNRWA is responsible for primary health care, primary and occupational education, infrastructure and camp improvement, relief and social services, microfinance and emergency response, even in armed conflict, all under its human development and humanitarian services (DPA 2021d). Furthermore, UNRWA participates in the establishment of spaces for Palestinian refugees and associated refugees' funds as its humanitarian mission (DPA 2021c).

4.2.3   Hosting country and political context

Jordan has the highest percentage of Palestinian refugees registered in the five UNRWA operations areas, which has facilitated the integration of Palestinians into Jordanian society due to the common characteristics between the two peoples (DPA 2021a). The Palestinian cause, in all its aspects, is at the heart of the regional conflict, and Jordanian, Arab, and Islamic political discourse stress the need for a political process to end Israeli occupation and recognition of the rights of Palestinian refugees to return and the right to self-determination in their homeland (DPA 2021b). Therefore, Palestinian refugees were granted their right of return through a series of political promises that were not fulfilled. Hence, this uncertainty led to an ongoing temporary condition of camps that are not seen on their horizon as a permanent political solution. Therefore, this paradoxical situation lasted for decades in Palestinian camps that maintained their temporary-permanent condition (Tawil 2006).

4.2.4   The physical structure

In Jordan, UNRWA schemes initially outlined structures of Palestinian refugee camps that were not planned comprehensively to accommodate long inhabitation and quasi-permanent inhabitation. Thus, facilities for providing services such as health centres, schools, and roads were insufficient (Tawil 2006). The Palestinians started to realise that returning home is not easy and the temporary situation is quite long. Furthermore, successive waves of refugees and the growth of the Palestinian population in camps urged the inhabitants to make changes to the physical structure of their camps, both on urban and architectural scales, to improve their living conditions, trying to reach some form of normalcy.

A)   B)

C)

Figure 4-4: The physical situation in the Baqa'a refugee camp in Jordan, congestion, informal growth, excessive density a) narrow streets, B) narrow ventilation space between buildings, and C) poor housing conditions. Source: photos taken by the researcher during fieldwork

A)   B)
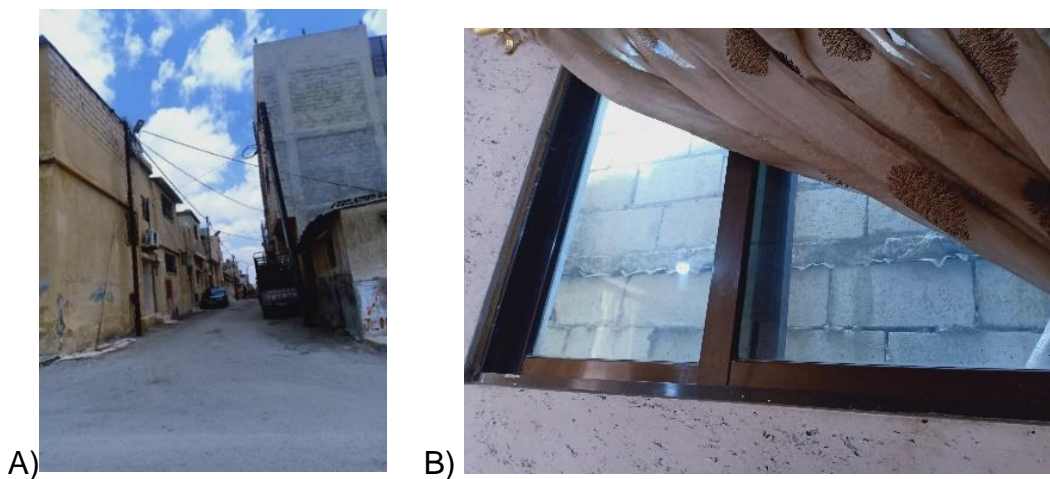
Figure 4-5: The physical situation in the Jerash (Gaza) refugee camp in Jordan, A) narrow streets, B) narrow ventilation space between buildings. Source: photos taken by the researcher during fieldwork

According to the growing needs of camp residents, UNRWA replaced tents with prefabricated structures made from polluting and cancerogenic asbestos with zinc roofs. Then, according to the efforts of the inhabitants, they expanded using locally available materials such as stone, mud, concrete, and iron. This created random and unplanned urban fabrics with narrow paths, crowded areas that leave no public spaces, and dwellings without adequate ventilation and natural lighting (Alshoubaki 2017); see Figures (4-4, 4-5, 4-6).

A)   B)

Figure 4-6: violations of physical structures on narrow streets:

A) Baqa'a refugee camp B) Jerash (Gaza) refugee camp. Source: photos taken by the researcher during fieldwork

A grid form outlines the structure of the Baqa'a camp, and it is located adjacent to the high street that connects Amman to northern governorates. This camp has four main streets; see Figure (4-7), and the new development scheme created one main street that passes through the centre of the camp. Another street is perpendicular to it; the other two are internal commercial streets that construct the old market and the commercial centre. Furthermore, Alnsour and Meaton (2014) describe the housing conditions in the Baqa'a camp as inadequate ventilation due to small windows, the use of inadequate building materials, cracked walls, leaky roofs, and poor maintenance (Aburamadan 2022).
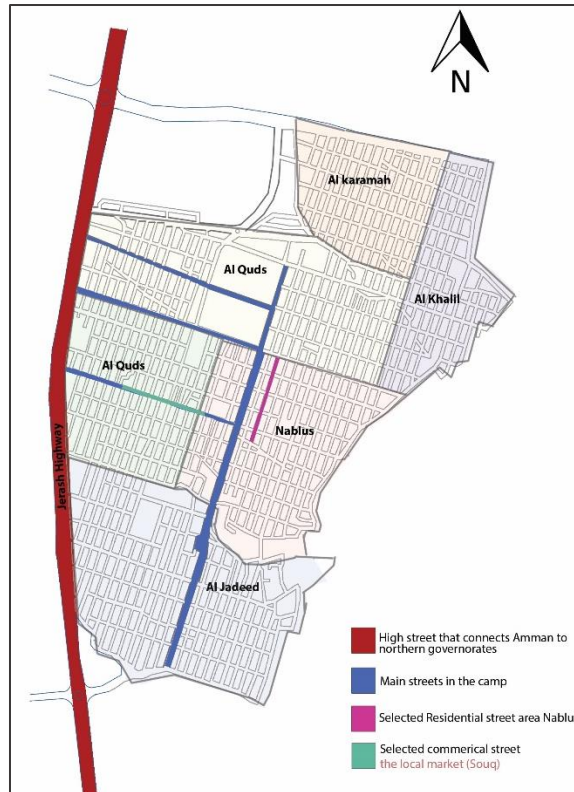
Figure 4-7: Plan of the Baqa'a camp with its main streets and areas. Source: plans drawn by the researcher over the aerial photos obtained from Google Earth and Royal Jordanian Geographic Centre, 2020.

On the other hand, the outline of the Gaza camp (Jerash) is described as a grid structure, including two main streets; One divides the camp into two areas, and this is the main road that connects the camp to Jerash city. The other main street is perpendicular to the main street, separating the public services from the housing area. Another street that does not share the same characteristics as the main commercial access; this route penetrates the residential area of the camp in the centre and generates the main market (bazaar); see Figure (4-8). The roadways leading to the units are generally narrow and filthy due to the wastewater canals (Tawil 2006).
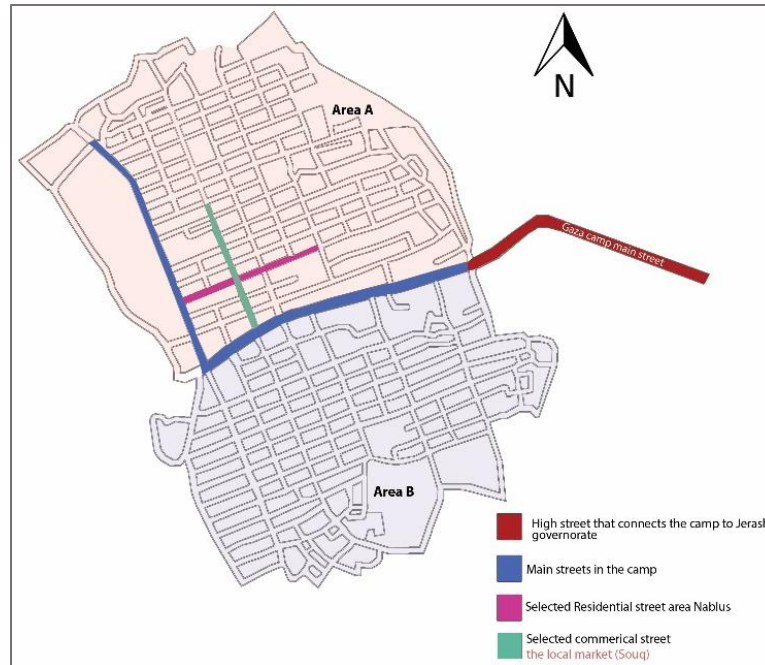
Figure 4-8: Plan of the Jerash camp with its main streets and areas. Source: plans drawn by the researcher over the aerial photos obtained from Google Earth and Royal Jordanian Geographic Centre, 2020.

4.2.5   Social and Cultural Context

Four generations of inhabitants have lived in Palestinian camps in Jordan; however, Palestinian refugees still believe their inhabitation is temporary, even though Palestinians have equal rights with Jordanians and are considered Jordanian citizens (Tawil 2006). However, the Palestinians in the camps consider themselves to be a more legitimate representation of the Palestinian cause than those outside the camps. This shaped the social, cultural, and political identity of the community within the camp (Al-Shatarat 2015). Furthermore, Al-Shoubaki (2017) described the resulting settlements as primitive city forms, resulting from continuous transformation processes into more durable structures over time that have an identity through their history and culture (Alshoubaki 2017). Therefore, the inhabitants of the Palestinian camps have strong social relationships that are represented in many ways, such as the participation of the camp community on all occasions and their sense of mutual help with each other. A form of these strong social and cultural bonds can be seen in the streets of the camps, such as building seating areas in front of their houses, so people can gather and socialise (Figures 4-9, 4-10). These camps are regarded as

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additional communities in rural areas, which can be interpreted economically or socially in a variety of ways (Tawil 2006, p.25).

Figure 4-9: seating area outside the dwelling for inhabitants to socialise with neighbours and passers-by at the Baqa'a camp. Source: photo taken by the researcher during fieldwork

Figure 4-10: seating area outside the dwelling for inhabitants to socialise with neighbours and passers-by in the Jerash camp. Source: photos taken by the researcher during fieldwork

4.2.6   Economic context

Most of the refugees in the Palestinian refugee camps are of the poorest or lowest middle socio-economic classes. Although the camp receives UNRWA aid and services and certain government funds, it is still considered poor, especially in comparison to self-funded refugees who reside in urban areas outside the camp (Gilen et al. 1994).

Employment in refugee camps is the driving force regarding economic status (Tawil 2006). Therefore, refugees believe that the camp's market is the main source of employment and opportunities for business and exchange (Alshoubaki and Zazzara 2020). The market hosts social and cultural interactions in addition to the economic ones, preserving normal life and dignity (Oka 2014). pursuing to be independent of international aid (Bett 2013; Alshoubaki and Zazzara 2020).

The Baqa'a and Jerash camps are considered economically active; their main roads are lined with shops, stalls and vendors with a variety of commercial and vocational activities, especially in the Baqa'a camp (Figure 4-11). However, unemployment rates are still extremely high in both camps status (Tawil 2006). Low-cost production and labour are always available within the Palestinian camps.
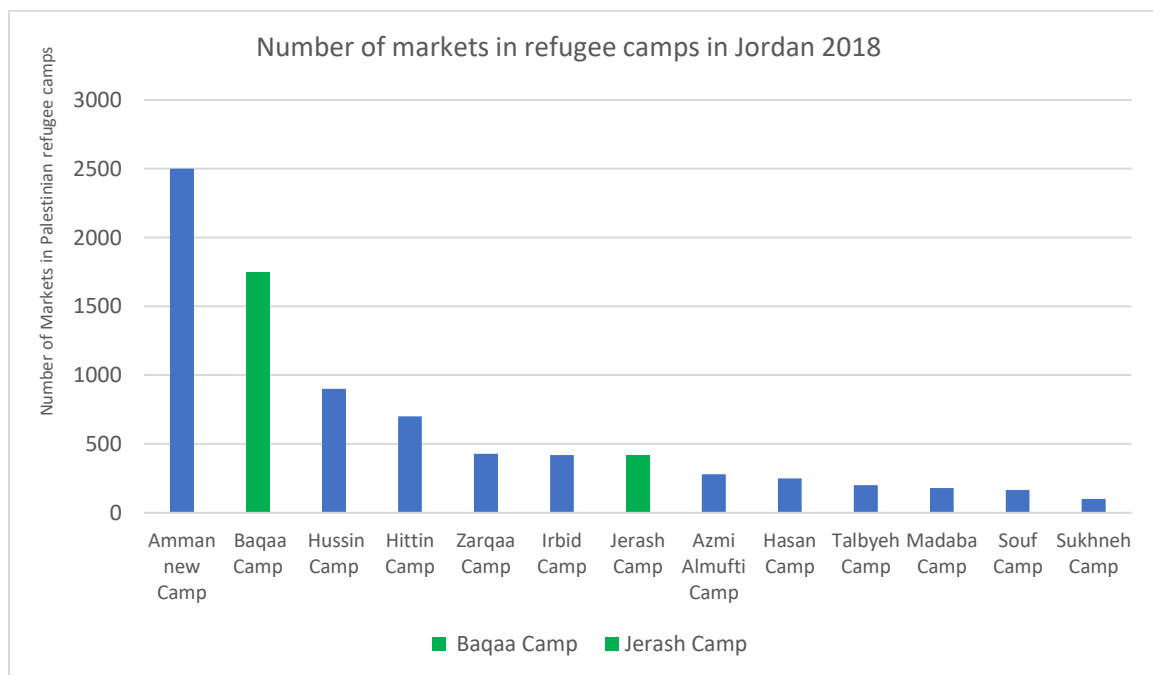
Figure 4-11: Number of shops in Palestinian refugee camps in Jordan. Source: (Alshoubaki and Zazzara 2020)

Many refugees have experienced and lived their entire lives and grew up in camps. However, their skills and educational potential are not harnessed to the fullest, and refugees utilise their skills to get jobs covertly which is usually unlawful (Bushnaq, 2021, p.34). Nevertheless, there is a debate on the impacts of the economic activities of the refugee community, whether positive or negative (Alshoubaki and Harris 2018).

Despite the lack of regulations around it and the resulting frequent conflicts of interest, it has been considered positive from an economic perspective. However, urban planning negatively affected urban developments, as these informal economic activities led to chaotic congestion, high-density occupation, and randomly scattered stalls on the streets (Figures 4-12, 4-13). Consequently, economic development and urbanisation are closely connected (Turok and McGranahan 2013).

Figure 4-12: the commercial street in The Baqa'a camp with stalls that encroach the streets. Source: photos taken by the researcher during fieldwork

Figure 4-13: The commercial street in the Jerash camp with stalls encroaching the streets. Source: photos taken by the researcher during fieldwork

4.2.7 The Everyday living in the Palestinian camps

Throughout time, refugees lived their daily lives with social practices, in particular daily gatherings, occasions and events, social encounters in the streets, and gatherings at communal facilities. Hence, the refugee community created self-help projects to improve their living conditions and environment. Developments in housing units included the addition of facilities such as private toilets and kitchens and extending their living spaces (Institute for Palestine Studies 2022). Thus, building extensions include doorsteps, entrances, and external stairs that extend beyond the UNRWA-designated plot for every family. These spatial amendments and additions created informal social spaces in the streets, such as spaces for children to play, shops, and planting spaces to grow vegetables. Refugees, in their pursuit of a form of normalcy, extended their spatial presence and established an independent and distinctive spatial economy within the urban settings of their camps. This spatial economy encompasses the socio-economic interactions and transactions specific to the camp context, including practices such as dwelling exchange and occasional buying and selling, which are exclusive to the camp environment. (Maqusi 2017; Aburamadan 2022).

Today, the inhabitants of Palestinian camps have built durable structures made of concrete and stones. However, these camps need to develop their infrastructures, maintenance systems, and rehabilitation protocols by improving their management and governance structures and an efficient funding income from the public sector and international organisations (Aburamadan 2022). A study conducted by Aburamadan (2022) in the Baqa'a camp showed that 62% of refugees walk more than 20 minutes to get to the main commercial streets and schools in extremely hot or cold weather conditions. This limits social interactions between refugees. Thus, refugees used durable building structures that created unplanned spaces for daily social practices, such as the market, to exchange goods. Overcrowding and limitations of spaces lead to frequent conflicts of interest resulting in social disputes within the community, such as privacy issues and the articulation of spaces for social occasions. Additionally, this limitation of space restricted the freedom of females to use outdoor spaces due to cultural considerations and safety issues, aggravated gender inequality. Furthermore,

this restricted outdoor spaces for children, where they usually play in streets with an inadequate environment (Aburamadan 2022). Figure (4-14) represents the timeline of vital moments in the history of the Palestinian camps and provides an overview of the urbanisation processes in these camps.
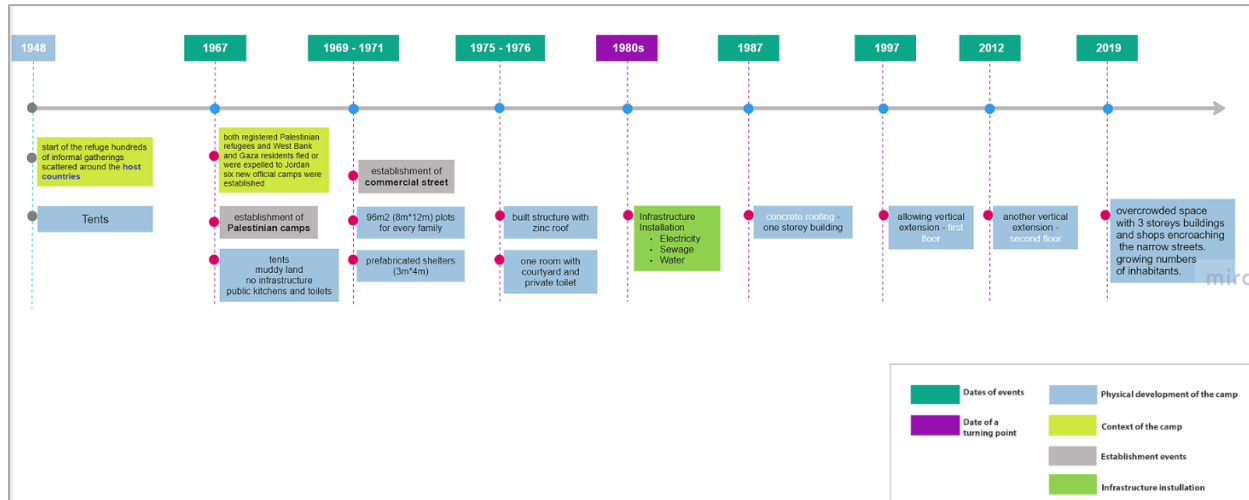
Figure 4-14: Timeline of crucial developments that have been highlighted in the history of Palestinian camps. Source: (Palquest 2022)

4.3   Context of the Zaatari Camp

4.3.1   Geographic and Demographic Context

The Zaatari camp is located 10 km east of the Mafraq governorate in a desert area near the northern border of Jordan, as shown in Figure (4-1) (UNHCR 2022b). The camp is not surrounded by any urbanised areas, with a flat and sandy topography. The climate of the camp area is extremely hot in the summer season and extremely cold in winter, with some sandstorms that occasionally occur (Aburamadan et al. 2020). The Zaatari is the second largest camp in the world after the Dadaab camp in Kenya (Ledwith 2014). The numbers of the population varied due to political stability (te Lintelo et al. 2018). Currently, the Zaatari camp houses almost 81,000 Syrian refugees (UNHCR 2022b). Most (80%) Syrian refugees originally fled from Daraa; the rest came from rural Damascus, Homs, Damascus, and other areas (UNHCR 2020).
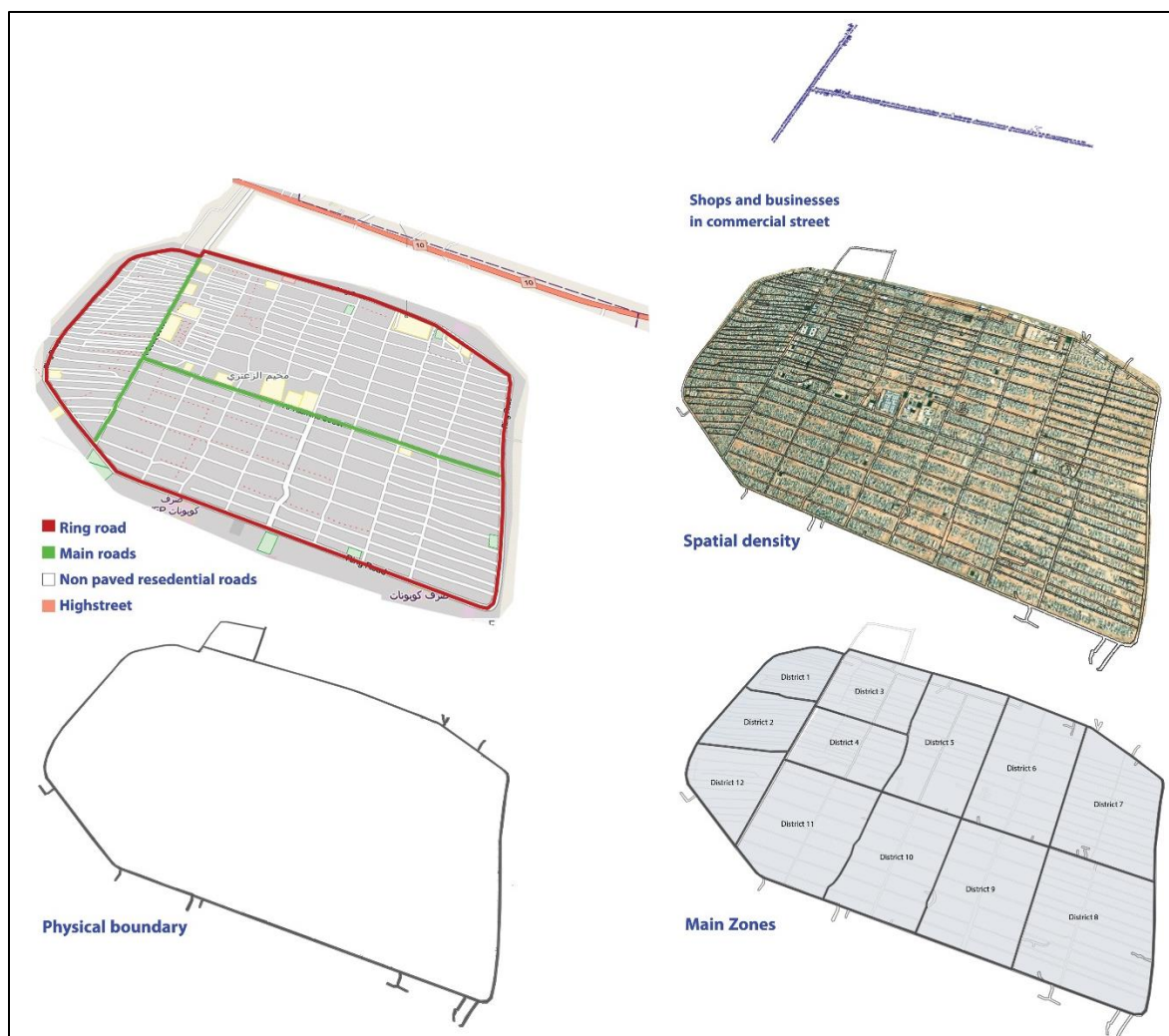
Figure 4-15: Maps of different aspects of the Zaatari Camp. Source: drawn by researcher over the aerial photos obtained from The Royal Jordanian Geographic Centre 2020

4.3.2 Governance in the camps

The Zaatari camp is governed by the Syrian Refugee Affairs Directorate (SRAD) and UNHCR, partnering with other organisations. UNHCR is responsible for shelter and site planning, security, protection, health, community mobilisation, basic needs, and livelihoods. Additionally, UNHCR, as the lead institute, handles the coordination that includes strategic and intercamp operational organisations other than working groups within the sector. Partners working to govern the camp are governmental, international governmental organisations, UN agencies, and international and national NGOs (UNHCR 2022b).

4.3.3 Hosting country and political context

The Jordanian government gave Syrian refugees access to services that helped them settle in the camp in 2012. The initial plan of the camp was to host 20.000 refugees, but the number reached 45.000 refugees in the same year, and it reached 83,000 by 2015 (Aburamadan et al. 2020). Political tension and unemployment rates mitigated the government's efforts to address the socio-economic difficulties of the camp (te Lintelo et al. 2018).
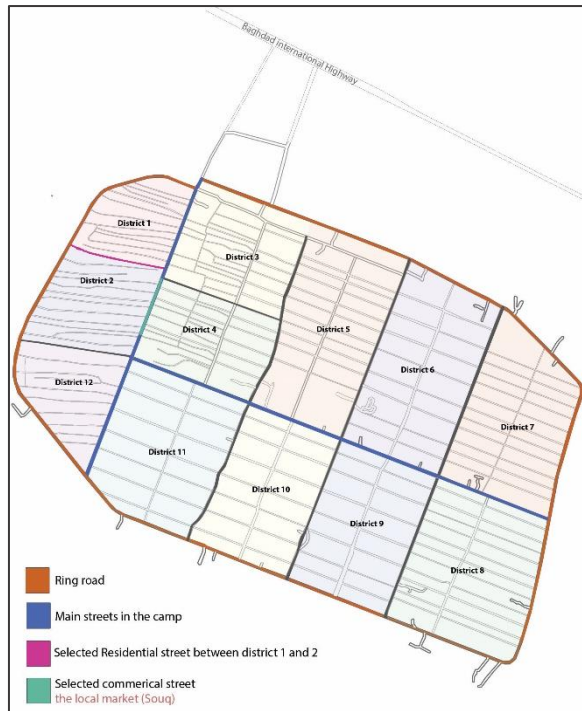
Figure 4-16: The Zaatari Refugee camp areas and main streets. Source: plans drawn by the researcher over the arial photos obtained from google earth and Royal Jordanian Geographic Centre 2020.

4.3.4 The physical structure

The number of refugees at the beginning of the camp increased daily, which did not meet the initial plan of hosting 15,000 refugees (UNHCR 2012). Refugees were sheltered in classic UNHCR tents to house five-member families, while other facilities were shared, such as kitchens and toilets. Hence, the camp was urbanised by refugees through their practices, which supported the early growth of the camp. This developed an informal settlement that was not supervised by UNHCR and relief organisations, as they were engaged in providing infrastructure (Dalal 2014).

 Therefore, following the guidelines of the UNHCR's official Handbook for Emergencies (UNHCR 2007) was only applicable to planning the extension of the camp. Consequently, the planning guidelines imposed a rigid grid structure on the main street to control life in the camp. Therefore, the Zaatari camp was divided into districts located within the grid, and each district has its shared facilities to house new arrivals to the camp. However, the rapid increase in the number of refugees in a short time helped refugees occupy everywhere and remodel the grid into more organic

settlements corresponding to their needs (Dalal et al. 2018a). The camp has a surface area of 220 square metres. It is surrounded by a ring road of 8.5 km in length and measures 3.5 km from east to west. This western side is called the old side as refugees settled in at first and included the main commercial street (Ledwith 2014). The tents were replaced with caravans that were also arranged informally and took a U shape to create a courtyard where family and friends can gather (Aburamadan et al. 2020); see Figure (4-16, 4-17).

Figure 4-17: the physical situation of a residential street in the Zaatari camp. Source: photo taken by the researcher during fieldwork Sep 2020

4.3.5 Social & Cultural Contexts

Most of the refugees in the Zaatari camp worked in agriculture, and some had different occupational skills, such as carpentry, maintenance, and builders. Hence, refugees must be more independent to meet their needs, as the camp has a high poverty rate and high-cost livelihood (Aburamadan et al. 2020). Moreover, the spatial development of the Zaatari camp encompassed the emergence of local representation in the form of street and district leaders, resulting in the establishment of a semi-formal power structure. These leaders were often selected based on personal acquaintances with individuals working in the governing organisations and occasionally on factors such as age and social standing. These dynamics challenge the perception of Zaatari as a temporary settlement, highlighting its restrictive and incongruous nature. (Al-Nassir 2018).

4.3.6   Economic context

In particular, within the structure of the Zaatari camp, the commercial streets are the most liveable, which include about 3000 shops that refugees constructed informally with different services and goods (Al-Nassir 2018), see Figure (4-18). The importance of refugee-led markets emerges from their support in engaging refugees in more normal lives. The shops on the commercial streets provided income and a sense of jobs for refugees during their stay in the camp, in addition to offering different options of goods rather than depending on the aid provided only.
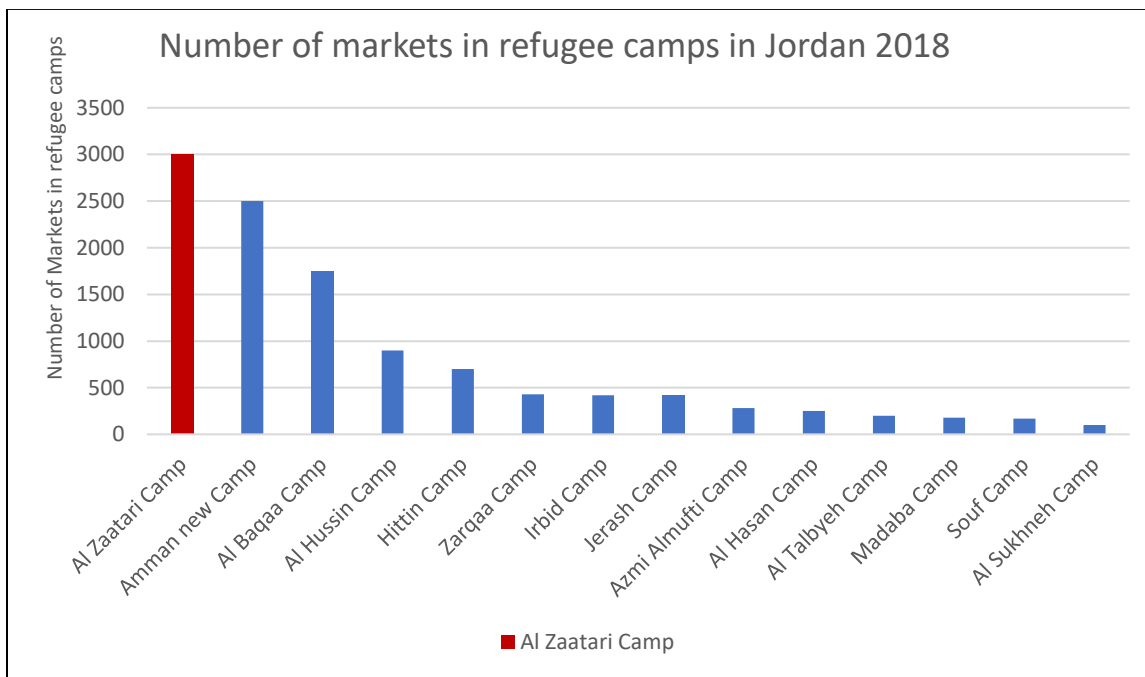
Figure 4-18: Number of market shops in refugee camps in Jordan. Source: (Alshoubaki and Zazzara 2020)

The commercial streets of the Zaatari are active and vibrant, contrary to other streets and areas (Huynh 2015). Transforming caravans into shops is a great driving force of the economy in Zaatari. Hence, refugees buy, sell, and rent their own retail space. The main commercial street is called the Champs-Elysées, including supermarkets, restaurants, butchers, grocery stores, clothing, footwear, and pet stores (Figure 4-19). Refugees do not own these shops legally or registered with a special authority; however, inhabitants made these shops to sell their goods (Ledwith 2014).

Figure 4-19: Commercial streets in the Zaatari camp. Source: photos taken by the researcher during fieldwork.

4.3.7 The Everyday in the Zaatari camp

The Zaatari camp received interest from scholars, humanitarian and urban designers and planners alike due to its rapid growth and city-like structure. Its spatiality is always recognised as a result of refugees' practices (Al-Nassir 2018). The spatial layout of the camp was organised according to its socio-spatial patterns as refugees moved their caravans to form structures where relatives gathered (Dalal et al. 2018a). Consequently, the emergent layout, which deviates from the original grid structure, directly results from the progressive agency of refugees in shaping their social structures and the resulting spatial arrangements in response to evolving needs and social dynamics (Dalal 2014). Figure (4-20) below represents the timeline of vital moments in the history of the Zaatari camp and provides an overview of the urbanisation process over time in this camp.
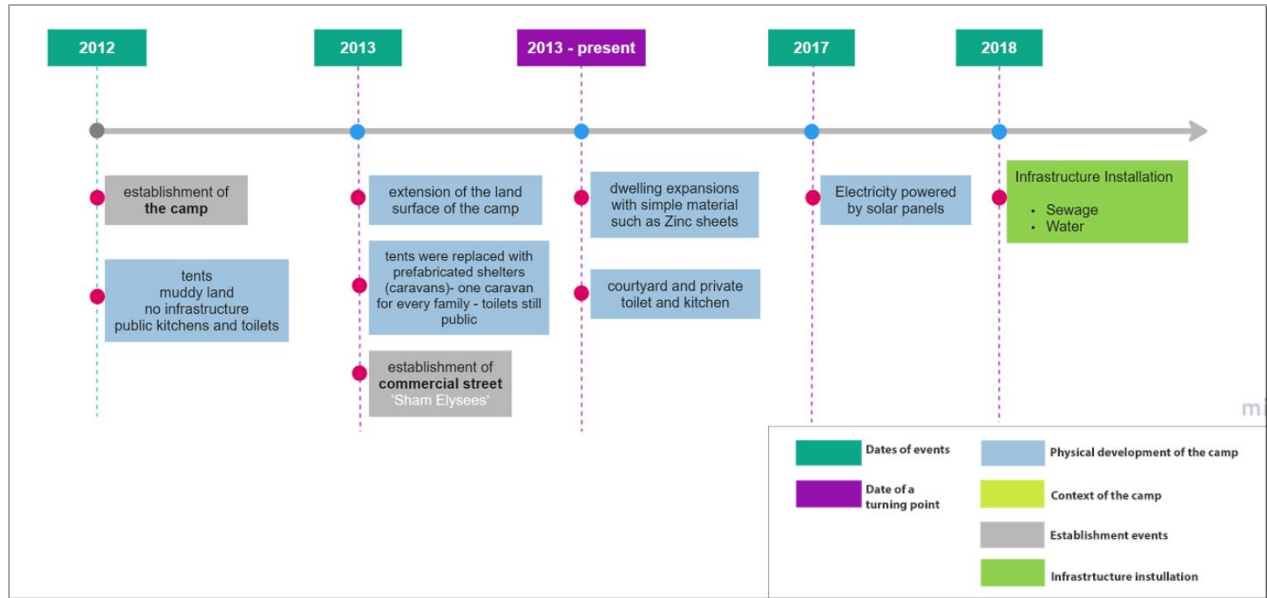
Figure 4-20: Timeline of highlights of vital development in the history of the Zaatari camp. Source: (UNHCR 2022c)

4.4   Phases of Living experience

This section presents how the outcomes from the semi-structured interviews have resulted in being aligned with the phases of living experience provided by the theoretical framework of this thesis. These phases are explored in the three case studies by axonometric drawings of the different types of streets within each camp. The selection criteria for these street types were defined at the beginning of Chapter 3. These phases are vital to understanding the social production of space and its representations of community empowerment during the life of refugees in the camp. Followed by definitions of those phases and how they are key to informing outcomes; therefore, to contribute and respond to the first research sub-question. The analysis presented in this chapter adopted a holistic approach by considering Palestinian camps collectively, as their establishment during the same period and shared overarching developments have resulted in similar phases of living experience. However, for a more nuanced understanding of the unique characteristics and commonalities between these camps, Chapter 5 utilises thematic and content analysis, while Chapter 6 employs AD-R axonometric drawings to visually depict specific narratives, responses, and events within each camp. The analysis

included iterative processes of transcribing, coding and organising semi-structured interviews. Interestingly, in three camps, the interviewees reported that they had experienced three different phases while living in refugee camps. Therefore, phase 1 of camp emergence and formation is called the 'emergency period'. It spans a duration of 2 to 5 years in each camp, depending on contextual factors, camp management, and the duration of tent replacements. This phase is characterised by the initial establishment of the camp and is followed by phase two, 'a form of normalcy', which involves spatial expansion and transformations to accommodate population growth and the prolonged presence of refugees. In this phase, refugees transformed their dwellings into a built form and made many gradual modifications, leading to normalcy in their living experience. Lastly, the third phase, the 'overcrowding crisis', is where the camp does not have more space for spatial expansion and is extremely overcrowded with people and buildings. These phases were deducted from refugees' living experiences throughout time. These phases of the living experience can overlap over time, although the timespans of these phases were slightly different depending on the specific circumstances of each camp. In addition, every phase has special characteristics at the cognitive, structural, and financial levels.

During their semi-structured interviews, refugees reported these different phases of living experience by describing their lives from the beginning of the camp until now. These phases were not reported directly or named by refugees, while they were using different terms to describe different times, such as 'before *ten years from now'*, *'when we came to the camp at its beginning' or 'nowadays',* etc. This means that refugees indirectly compared different experiences with different structural phases over time while describing their living in the camp. These themes were processed using axonometric drawings to depict each phase. The utilisation of AD-R axonometric drawings, as discussed in Chapter 3, is justified based on their ability to provide comprehensive visual representations that facilitate a thorough understanding of the spatial relationships and configurations within space. The unique contribution of employing AD-R axonometric drawings in this study lies in their pivotal role throughout every chapter, not only as a means of processing and analysing data but also as a powerful tool for visually representing and capturing the essence of lived space. This

approach enables the production of new knowledge and direct research outcomes derived from the interpretive potential of these drawings.

4.4.1 Phase 1 'the emergency period'

Many refugees described their lives in Palestinian camps and Zaatari camps at the beginning of their forced displacement due to the Palestinian occupation and the Syrian war. The refugees mentioned many characteristics that describe the living experience of this emergency phase. These characteristics encompass challenges such as muddy roads during winter, harsh weather conditions, overcrowded tents accommodating families of five or six individuals, and inadequate communal facilities with compromised hygiene standards concerns regarding intimacy and safety are evident in the context under consideration. These factors collectively reflect the complex realities and hardships facing the affected population within this phase. In addition, refugees reported feelings associated with mental health or emotional issues related to anxiety, distress, or depression caused by their displacement. These feelings that refugees reported are temporariness, fear, a sense of the unknown, and instability. Importantly, two types of streets in refugee camps emerged in this phase, commercial and residential streets, with a similar physical form and were defined by a repetitive succession of modular tents without any variation. However, the commercial street was built on the main street in the camp, where most refugees pass through every day to exchange goods (Figures 4-21, 4-22, 4-23, 4-24). Furthermore, the financial situation in the emergency phase is considered challenging, as people fled without belongings and were confused about the duration and situation of their inhabitation. All refugees mentioned this phase and described this part of living in the camp. When asked about this phase, all described it negatively in all camps. Examples of refugees' responses reporting their living experience in phase one for commercial and residential streets are represented below.

Residential street responses - phase one: Emergency period

- **How would you describe your life in the camp from the day you came to the camp until now?**

"في البداية كانت الحمامات عامة حتى تحسنت ظروف الناس حتى قدرت ان تسور مساحتها الخاصة وان تبني لها حماما في حديقة المنزل وهذا تقريبا في آل م1970 . ايضا لم يكن لدينا تمديد كهرباء" .

"In the beginning toilets were public until people's conditions improved until they were able to enclose their garden space and build a bathroom, and this is roughly in the 1970's. We also did not have an electricity then. "

Part of Abu Ahmad's interview – The-Baqa'a camp, conducted July 2020. Transcribed & translated by author.

- **What are the key spatial changes in the camp and how it affected your life?**

"الاثر جيد. اذ اننا لم نكن نعيش هكذا كنا نعيش في خيام وبعد هيك تطورت من وكالة الغوث اذ عملوا البراكيت من الاسبست و بعد ذلك تطورت شوي وصارت العمارة, سمحوا بالعمار, ان الواحد بيني اول كان مش مسموح بعدين سمحوا للناس اللي بقد يعمر يعمر. كل شي بيتصلح بكون افضل للواحد. الاولاد كانوا اول بلعبوا بالشوارع بالطين ولما تعبدت الشوارع صارت النظافة موجودة"

"The impact of changes is good. We did not live like this before, we used to live in tents, then UNRWA built units from asbestos, then it developed a little when they allowed building constructions, people were not allowed to build before, then they allowed construction for people who can financially.

Everything that developed is good for anyone. Children for example used to play in the muddy roads, and when the streets were paved, the whole area became cleaner."

Part of the Ambassador's interview – Jerash camp, conducted August 2020. Transcribed & translated by author.

"هم اشي انه كنا في خيم والان في كرافانات. كانت نفسيتنا تعبانة بس لما صرنا بكرافانات وكل واحد واحد عنده حمامه الحياة صارت اسهل شوي وصار في استقرار."

"The most important thing is that we were in tents and now in caravans. We were not comfortable, but when we lived in caravans and everyone has his own bathroom, life became easier and more stable. "

Part of Saeed's interview – The Zaatari camp, conducted September 2020. Transcribed & translated by author.

- *Indicating phase time*
- *Indicating phase characteristics*
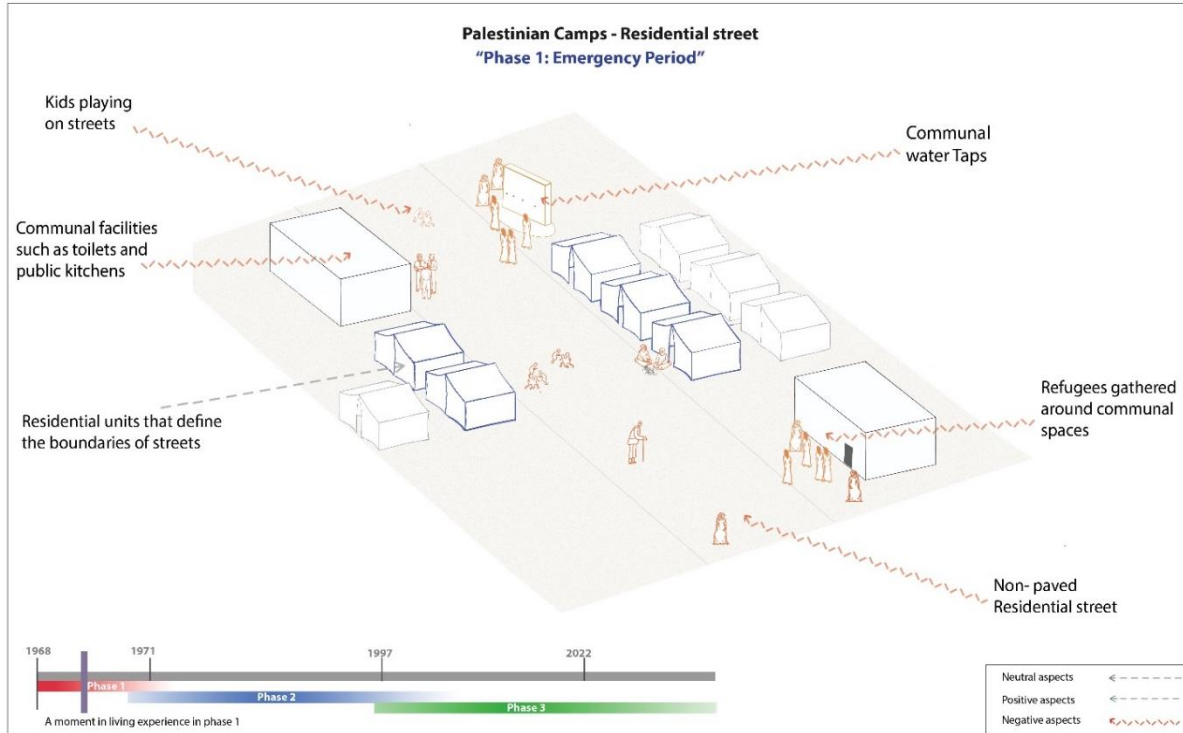
Figure 4-21: Phase 1: the emergency period in residential streets within Palestinian camps
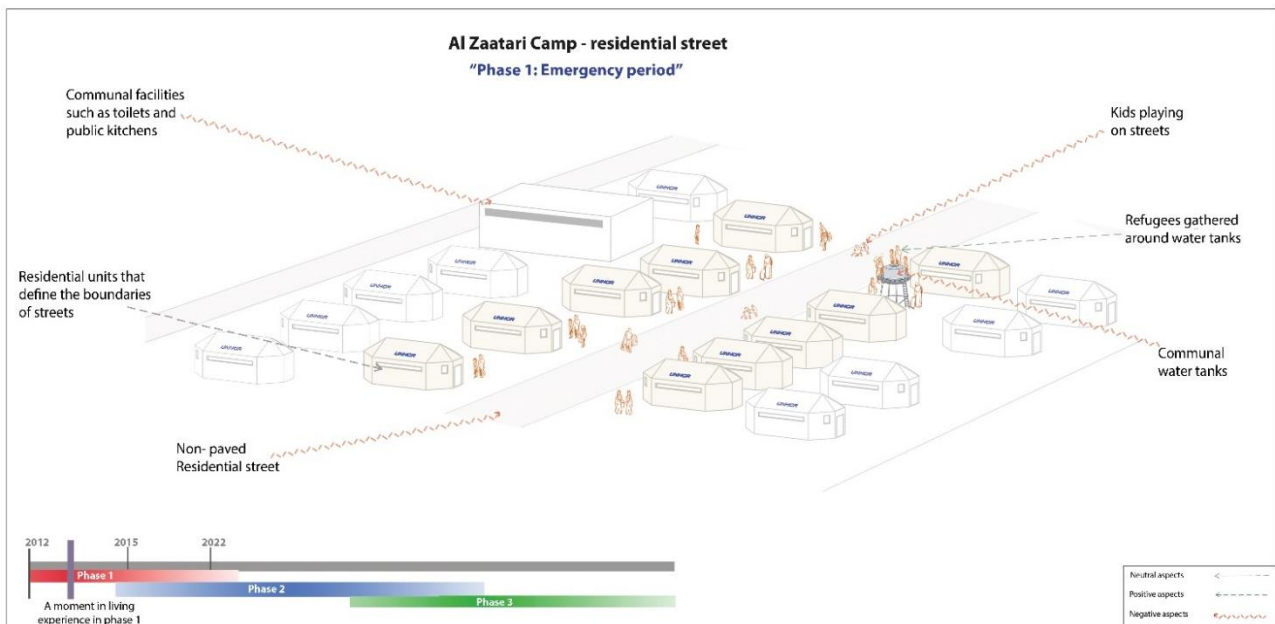
Figure 4-22: Phase 1: The emergency period in the residential street within the Zaatari Camp

Commercial street responses – Phase one: Emergency period

- **How have shops evolved throughout time? What was the main reason behind shop opening? (Shops as viable places to socialise)**

كان شارع السوق عبارة عن بيوت ثم اصبح الناس يحولون هذه البيوت لمحلات ووسعوا هذا الشارع وهكذا نشأ السوق.

The shops in the market street used to be houses, then people turned these them into shops and expanded this street, and this is how the market was established.

Part of Um Mahmoud's interview – the Baqa'a camp, conducted July 2020. Transcribed & translated by author.

بدأ السوق بعربايات وبسطات والان اصبح سوق كبير وكل شيء متوفرا

The market started with street vendors. Now it is a big market which everything is available in.

Part of Um yasser's interview – the Baqa'a camp, conducted July 2020. Transcribed & translated by author.

" كان في منطقة وسطية بلشت الناس تحط بسطات وتجيب بضاعة وتبيع. وبعدين في ناس بلشت تفتح بمساكنها بقالات او تبيع يعني كل البقالات كانت وحدات سكنية. ثم كبر ونشأ السوق في الرئيسي في نفس مكان هاي البسطات"

[a man enters the shop: Al salamu Alaikom] "In a central area, people used to show and sell goods on the street at first. Then some people opened grocery shops in their own dwellings, meaning all the groceries were residential units before. Then it grew into the main market in the same place."

Part of Abu Rami's interview – Jerash camp, conducted August 2020. Transcribed & translated by author.

شارع السوق كان الشارع الوحيد المعبّد منذ بداية المخيم ، وبدأ الناس في عرض بضائعهم هناك حتى تطوير هذه المحلات الحالية"

"The market street was the only paved street since the beginning of the camp, and people began to display their goods there until developing these current shops"

Part of Manal's interview – the Zaatari camp, conducted September 2020. Transcribed & translated by author.

- *Indicating phase time*
- *Indicating phase characteristics*

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Figure 4-23: the emergency period in commercial streets within Palestinian camps.
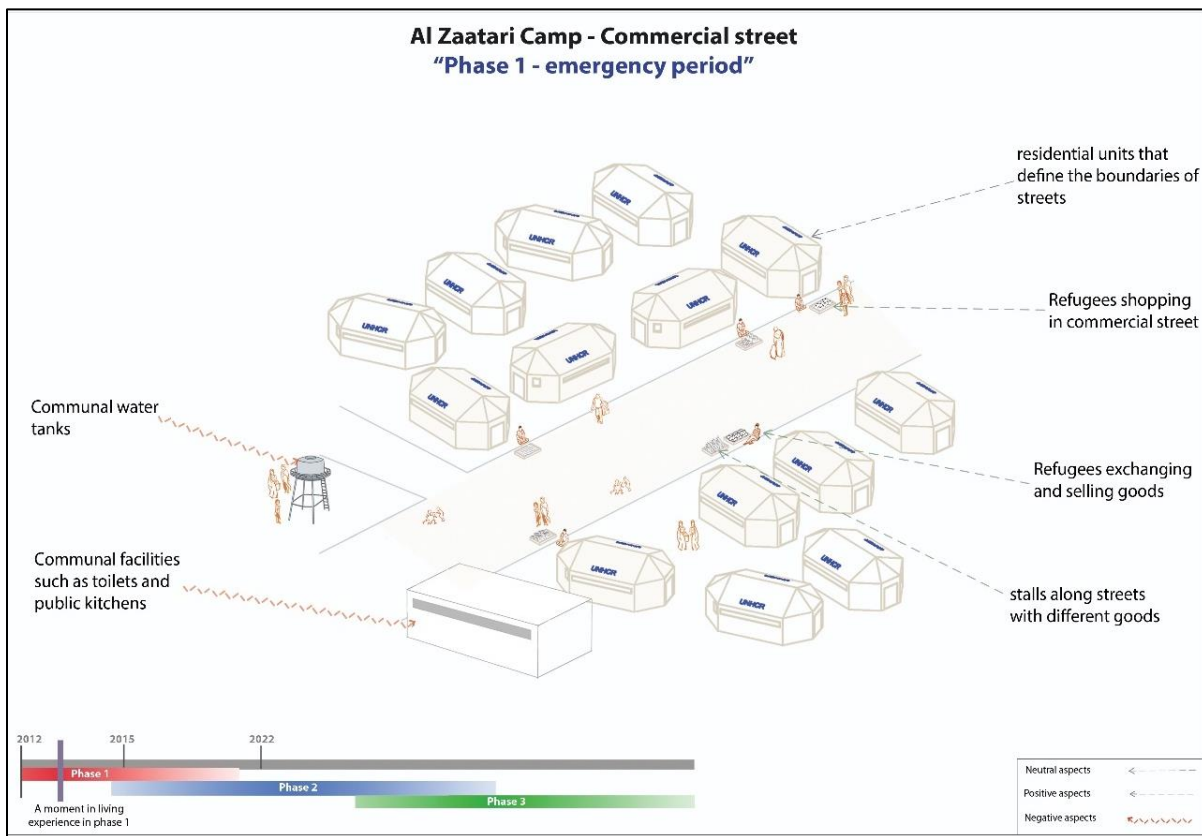
Figure 4-24: Phase 1: the emergency period in the commercial street within the Zaatari camp

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4.4.2 Phase 2 'a form of normalcy'

Many refugees reported that with longer inhabitation in the camp, they were seeking a normal life. Thus, the inhabitants started to have jobs and made improvements in their housing conditions, hence the structure of the camp. The interviewees repeatedly mentioned this phase due to its importance in their lives when asked about their experience of living in the camp over time. They compared this phase with other phases and emphasised the effects of this phase on their living experience. The key characteristics of this phase that refugees reported are being able to expand spatially, having stronger relationships, and having better living experiences. The main spatial changes were made on the streets of the refugee camps to meet their needs. In residential streets, inhabitants transformed into durable structures and then vertically expanded to accommodate family growth according to their financial situation (Figure 4-25, 4-26). Alternatively, commercial streets expanded vertically and horizontally as people started to exchange, rent, and sell shops between each other (Figure 4-27). Examples of refugees' responses reporting their living experience in phase two for commercial and residential streets are represented below:

Residential street responses – Phase 2: Spatial transformations and a form of normalcy

- **When were interviewees asked to describe how strong people's social relations immediately after becoming refugees? How have these relations changed throughout time?**

"كانت ممتازة. حتى الطبخة كانت كل واحد يحسب حساب جاره فيها. وهلا تغيرت لانه تغيرت النفوس وصار الشخص يعتبرها اهانة انه جارة بيعطيه اكل, صار في كبرياء وانتقادات مش زي اول عالبساطة. بالرغم من انه الوضع كان تعيس كانت الحياة احسن لانه كانت الناس تحب بعض وتراف ببعض لكن الان مشغولين بحالهم"

"It *used to be* *excellent* to the point that everyone *used to* *share meals* with their neighbours, as a simple of love and compassion, but now we live in an era where there is pride and more criticism nothing like before everything has changed with people being apprehensive about having a meal from a neighbor and even some may consider it an insult. *People used to be* *sympathetic to each other* but now they are busy with their condition. "

Part of Wael's interview – the Baqa'a camp, conducted July 2020. Transcribed & translated by author.

"نعم كانت قوية جدا. وافضل بكثير من الان كانوا الجيران يعيشون كانهم بيت واحد. وللان موجود ولكن قلت قليلا. يوجد لدينا تعاون وحياتنا جميلة هنا. "

"Yes, *social relations* were *very strong*. Much better than now, neighbors *lived as one house*. Now some of these habits exists. We have cooperation and our life is beautiful here."

Part of Um Mahmoud's interview – the Baqa'a camp, conducted July 2020. Transcribed & translated by author.

"الناس اول كانت غير وكان في حياء واحترام ولكن حاليا تغيرت كتير بسبب الظروف الحالية الصعبة."

"People at *first were better people had more modesty, respect and forgiveness*, but now this has changed a lot due to the current difficult circumstances. Even if problems we had habits and traditions that controlled these problems. The relationships have changed a lot a lot a lot, it really changed."

Part of Abu Rami's interview – Jerash camp, conducted August 2020. Transcribed & translated by author.

"في الفترة الاولى كانت توجد الكثير من المشاكل الاجتماعية بسبب وجود اختلافات في الخلفيات بين الناس كانت كل عائلة ممن منطقة مختلفة عن الثانية متتاجدين في نفس المنطقة او الشارع, بعدين الناس بدات تتعرف على بعض وتكون علاقات. "

"In the first period, there were many social problems due to differences in backgrounds between people, *now* it got *better as people started to build social relationships*. families from different regions were in the same area or street. There was no problem if you want to move your place to another but there is no space especially in sector 1 & 2".

Part of Manal's interview – the Zaatari camp, conducted September 2020. Transcribed & translated by author.

- *Indicating phase time*
- *Indicating phase characteristics*
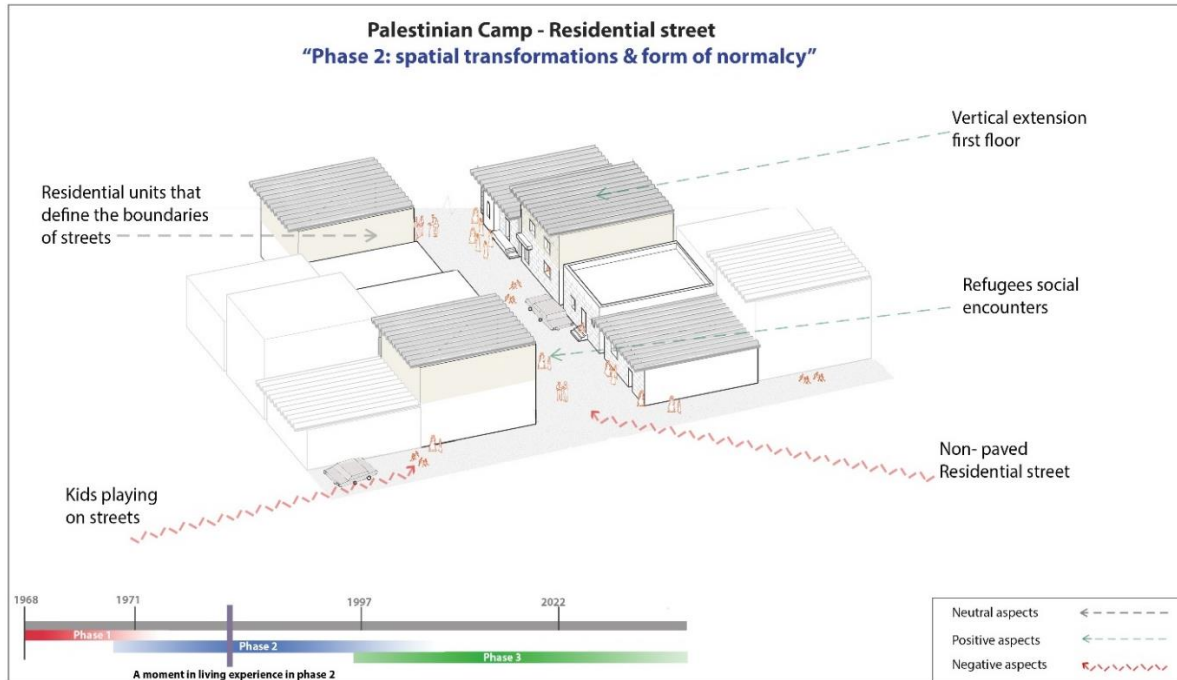
Figure 4-25: Phase 2: Spatial Transformations and a Form of Normalcy on Residential Streets within Palestinian Camps
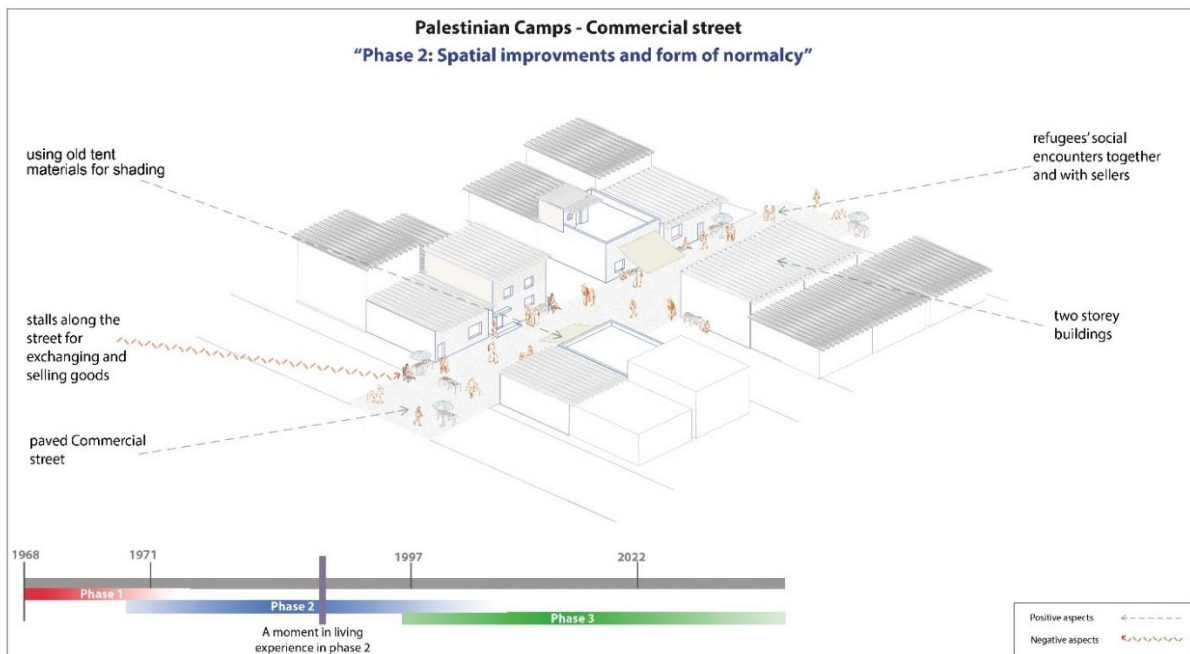
Figure 4-26: Phase 2: Spatial Transformations and a Form of Normalcy in Commercial Streets within Palestinian Camps

Commercial Street Responses – Phase Two: Spatial Transformations and a Form of Normalcy

- **How have shops evolved throughout time? What was the main reason behind shop opening? (Shops as viable places to socialise)**

كان شارع السوق عبارة عن بيوت ثم اصبح الناس يحولون هذه البيوت لمحلات ووسعوا هذا الشارع وهكذا نشأ السوق .

The shops in the market street used to be houses, then people turned these them into shops and expanded this street, and this is how the market was established.

Part of Um Mahmoud's interview – The Baqa'a camp, conducted July 2020. Transcribed & translated by author.

" كان في منطقة وسطية بلشت الناس تحط بسطات وتجيب بضاعة وتبيع. وبعدين في ناس بلشت تفتح بمساكنها بقالات او تبيع يعني كل البقالات كانت وحدات سكنية. ثم كبر ونشأ السوق في الرئيسي في نفس مكان هاي البسطات"

[a man enters the shop: Al salamu Alaikom] "In a central area, people used to show and sell goods on the street at first. Then some people opened grocery shops in their own dwellings, meaning all the groceries were residential units before. Then it grew into the main market in the same place."

Part of Abu Rami's interview – Jerash camp, conducted August 2020. Transcribed & translated by author.

شارع السوق كان الشارع الوحيد المعبّد منذ بداية المخيم ، وبدأ الناس في عرض بضائعهم هناك حتى تطوير هذه المحلات الحالية"

"The market street was the only paved street since the beginning of the camp, and people began to display their goods there until developing these current shops"

Part of Manal's interview – The Zaatari camp, conducted September 2020. Transcribed & translated by author.

- *Indicating phase time*
- *Indicating phase characteristics*

Figure 4-27: spatial transformations and form of normalcy in the commercial street within the Zaatari camp

4.4.3 Phase 3 'overcrowding phase'

Overcrowding is a theme widely mentioned to describe the current situation, especially in the Palestinian camps that have existed for more than 70 years. The inhabitants of the camp reported that overcrowding describes not only the camps in general but also everything in the camp. Dwellings are overcrowded and host large families such that rooms have multiple uses. The streets are also overcrowded with children playing, cars, passers-by, stalls, and additions to the structures that encroach the streets (Figure 4-28). In addition to commercial streets full of stalls of goods, shops, customers and sellers, and cars (Figure 4-29). Importantly, no public spaces are created specifically for activities; thus, all social occasions take place on the camp streets. The living experience of this phase is problematised according to the inhabitants, as overcrowding leads to generating social disputes between neighbours in the camp. These social disputes were over privacy concerns, street blocking on social occasions, children playing in the streets, hence fighting or disturbance, and car crowding. Additionally, residential and commercial streets in this phase cannot accommodate any spatial expansion. Hence, spatial changes in this phase are limited to internal changes within the same space and surface area. Examples of refugees' responses reporting their living experience in phase three for commercial and residential streets are presented below.

Residential street response camps – Phase three: overcrowding crisis

- **What are the problems or challenges that you are facing in the camp?**

"الاكتظاظ السكاني شديد جدا اذ تضاعفت العائلة فتشعر بالاكتظاظ حتى داخل البيوت ومن نتائجه البطالة وهذا قد يؤدي للانحراف" .

"*Overpopulation is very severe, as the family has doubled in size and feels overcrowded even inside homes. The consequences of this are unemployment, and this may lead to deviation.* "

Part of Abu Anas's interview – The Baqa'a camp, conducted July 2020. Transcribed & translated by author.

- **What are the major spatial changes from the beginning of the camp until now? How did that have affected people's lives?**

" والوضع المادي كان قبل فترة جيد من تقريبا 15 سنة كان العمل افضل وافضل من الوقت الحالي بكثير. الحين نحن في الحضيض كمان اقل من الحضيض."

"*The financial situation was good from about 15 years ago. Trade was much better than the present time. Now we are at rock bottom, even below rock bottom.* "

Part of Suaad's interview – Jerash camp, conducted August 2020. Transcribed & translated by author.

- **Were there special spaces for public gatherings and meetings after becoming a refugee? What are the specific activities that were made in these spaces? How these activities changed since becoming a refugee until now?**

" كانت موجودة قديما بالديوان والمقاهي والان لم تعد موجودة اذ اصبح الناس مشولين جدا باعمالهم ويعودون في وقت متاخر لهذا لايوجد وقت للخروج."

"*Now, at the current time, … everyone is busy with his own work. It was present in the old days in Al-Diwan and cafes, but now it no longer exists, as people have become very busy in their work. also working late, so there is no time to socialise.*"

Part of Saleh's interview – Jerash camp, conducted August 2020. Transcribed & translated by author.

- *Indicating phase time*
- *Indicating phase characteristics*
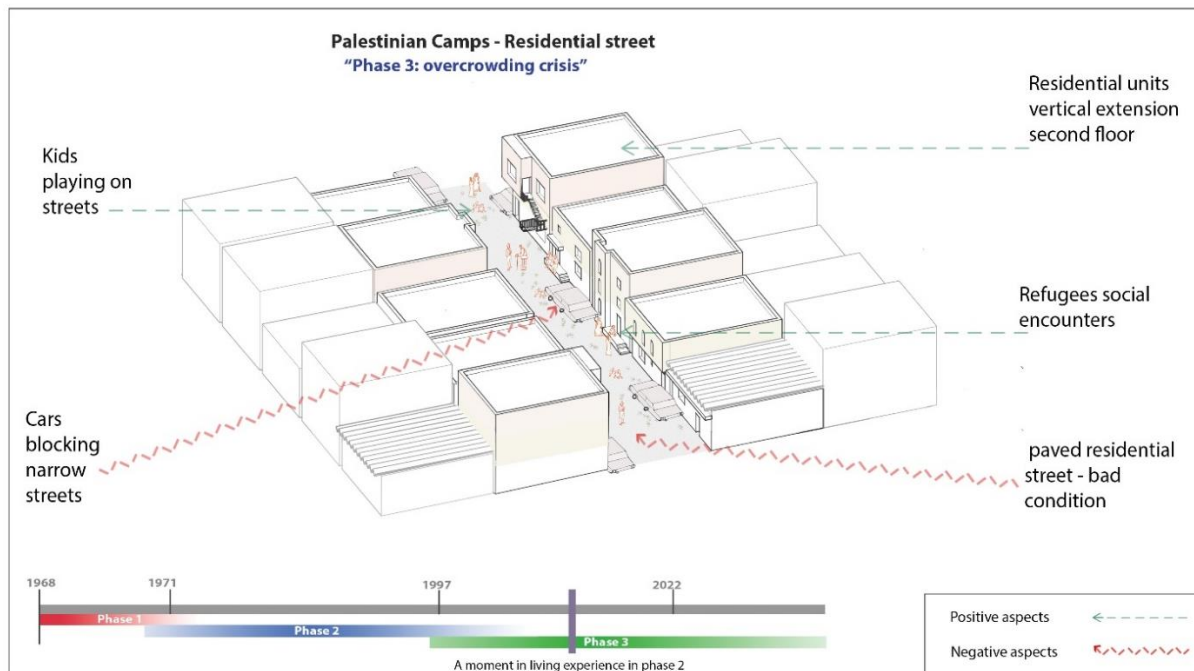
Figure 4-28: Phase 3: The Overcrowding Crisis on Residential Streets in Palestinian Camps

Commercial street response camps – Phase three: overcrowding crisis

- **What are the problems or challenges that you are facing in the camp?**

"السوق مزدحم جدا يوجد فيه بسطات كثيرة تتعدى على الشارع ولهذا هو مزدحم جدا . وجود السوق حسن من حياة الناس اكيد ,كما انه شارع حيوي جدا ."

"The market is very crowded with many stalls encroaching on the street, which is why it is very crowded. The presence of the market improves people's lives for sure, as it is a very vital street. "

Part of Um Eman's interview – The Baqa'a camp, conducted July 2020. Transcribed & translated by author.

- **How have shops evolved throughout time? What was the main reason behind shop opening? (Shops as viable places to socialize)**

" كان في منطقة وسطية بلشت الناس تحط بسطات وتجيب بضاعة وتبيع. وبعدين في ناس بلشت تفتح بمساكنها بقالات او تبيع يعني كل البقالات كانت وحدات سكنية. ثم كبر ونشأ السوق في الرئيسي في نفس مكان هاي البسطات"

[a man enters the shop: Al salamu Alaikom] "In a central area, people used to show and sell goods on the street at first. Then some people opened grocery shops in their own dwellings, meaning all the groceries were residential units before. Then it grew into the main market in the same place."

Part of Abu Rami's interview – Jerash camp, conducted August 2020. Transcribed & translated by author.

- *Indicating phase time*
- *Indicating phase characteristics*
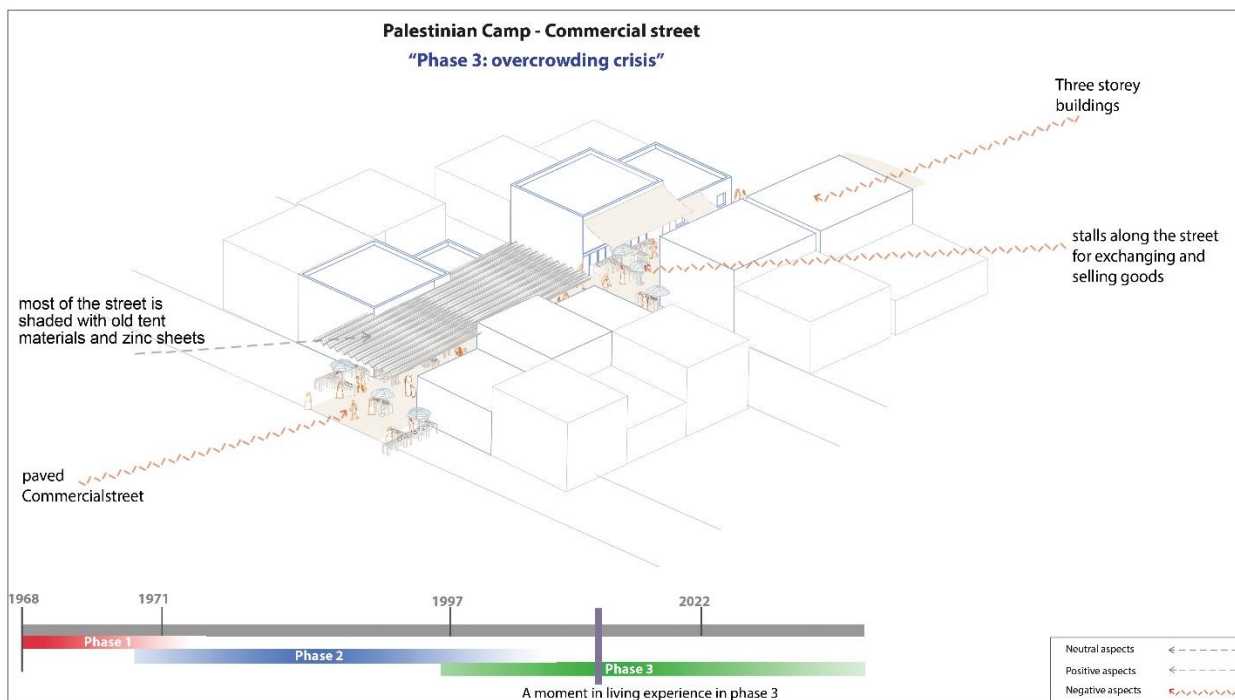
Figure 4-29: Phase 3: Overcrowding crisis on commercial streets in Palestinian camps

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4.4.4 Transitional Phases

Transformations between main phases occur gradually throughout time, and, usually, these main phases of the living experience overlap within the camp space. Therefore, within these transformations, there are some transitional phases. Between phase one and phase two, people started to designate a specific living space for themselves. They started to expand with simple materials available, with no built structure yet (Figures 4-30, 4-31). On the other hand, in the transitional phases between phases two and three, the spatial transformations develop slower than in phase two, and the space starts to be limited (Figure 4-32). Understanding these transitional phases and their role in the living experience of refugees is crucial for the research. The research can identify how these transitional phases occur differently in each case by examining the three case studies. These differences can be relevant for the research as they shed light on the specific processes, strategies, and challenges faced by refugees during these transitional phases. Such variations in the timing and nature of the transitional phases across the case studies contribute to a comprehensive understanding of the living experiences within the different camps.
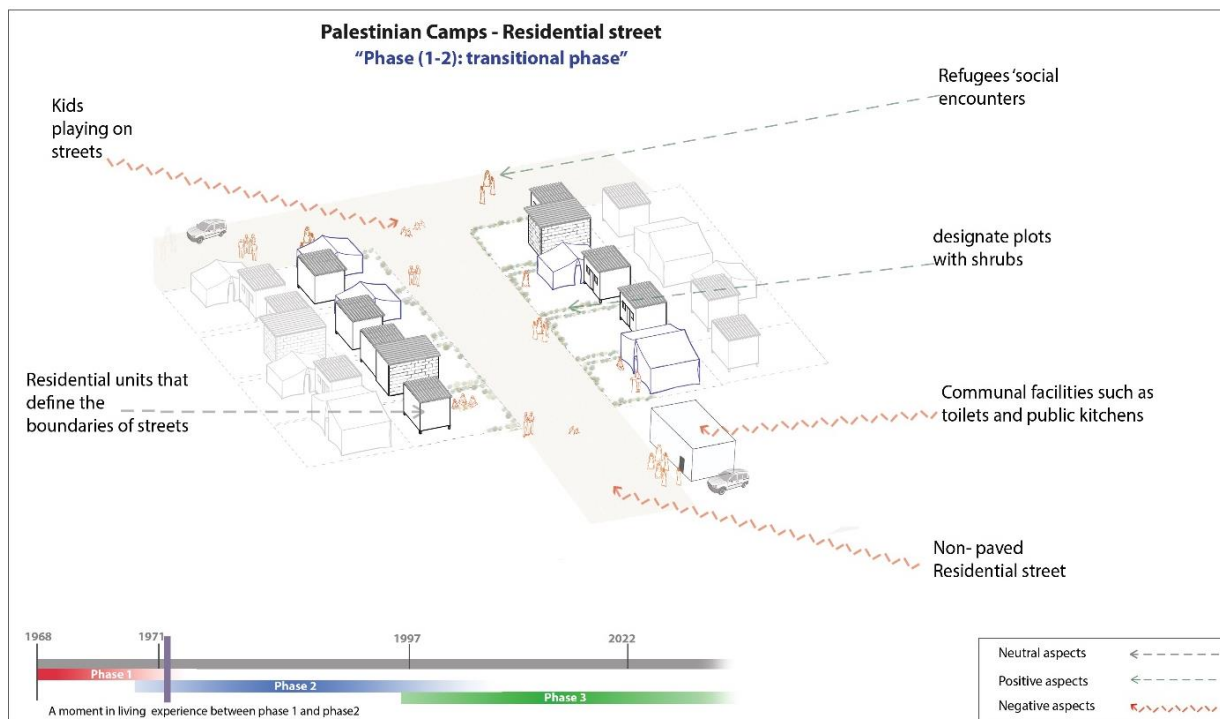
Figure 4-30: Phase (1-2), a transitional phase between the emergency period and the phase.

Al Zaatari Camp - residential street
"Phase 1- 2: transitional phase"

Additional zinc expansions to have private toilets and kitchens

Kids playing on streets

Residential units consist of caravans and zinc extensions define the boundaries of streets

Refugees' social encounters in streets

Non- paved Residential street

2012   2015   2022

Phase 1
Phase 2
Phase 3

A moment in living experience between phase 1 and phase 2

Neutral aspects
Positive aspects
Negative aspects

Figure 4-31: Phase (1-2) is a transitional phase between the emergency period and phase of a form of normalcy in the residential streets of the Zaatari camp

Palestinian Camp - Residential street
"Phase (2-3): transitional phase"

Kids playing on streets

Residential units Vertical extension second floor

Refugees social encounters

paved Residential street - bad condition

1968   1971   1997   2022

Phase 1
Phase 2
Phase 3

A moment in living experience between phase 2 and phase 3

Positive aspects
Negative aspects
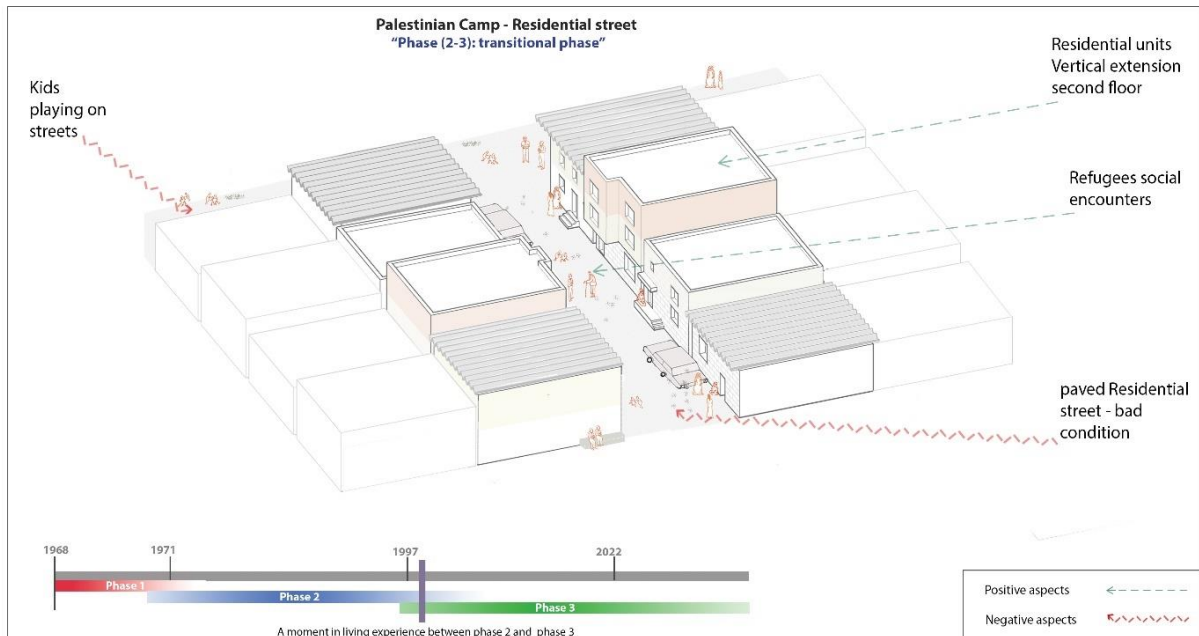
Figure 4-32: phase (2-3), a transitional phase between the form of normalcy phase and overcrowding crisis phase in residential streets of Palestinian camps

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Responses to semi-structured interviews among different questions about living in the camp and the experience of refugees reveal that inhabitants compared their lives through three phases unintentionally. Therefore, when inhabitants described living experiences within these phases, they made specific characteristics at different levels and intuitively categorised each phase, aligning it with the phases described in previous sections of this chapter, which are summarised in Table (4-1). These main phases of the living experience are socially produced throughout time. However, these phases are not always necessarily chronological, even though the time-wise dimension always impacts the social production of spaces. Time is a paramount and embedded factor within the temporary-permanent inhabitation condition of refugees in the camps.

Table 4-1: characteristics of phases of living experience

	Physical structure	**Time**	**Inhabitants**
Phase 1 'Emergency period'	Temporary shelters: 'Tents' Non-paved streets Communal public facilities	The first two to five years of living in the camp.	Temporary living, 'hoping to go home' Instability Relationships are limited to family members and acquaintances
Phase 2 'Form of normalcy'	More durable structures Adding spatial extensions to these structures Paved narrow streets	The process starts with the ability to create spatial transformations and expansions until the space cannot host any extensions or transformations.	Form of normal life Growing families Have jobs Strong relationships
Phase 3 'Overcrowding phase'	Overcrowded houses Overcrowded residential streets Overcrowded commercial streets	The space cannot host any extensions or transformations.	Social disputes over space.
Transitional phases: Phase (1-2)	Designate a specific plot space with shrubs Simple materials Prefabricated shelters, caravans Non-paved streets Communal public facilities	After two years of refuge, until transforms into durably built structures and the ability to expand.	Realising that the temporary situation is taking a long time. Relationships began to form within the streets.
Phase (2-3)	Space is limited Different types of structures depending on the individual's situation	With population growth over time	Inhabitants are restricted in space Disturbance within the streets

4.5   Summary and Findings

This chapter revealed the phases of living experiences over time that refugees reported within the three camps. The chapter highlighted the comprehensive distinctive characteristics of each phase on the structural, time-wise, and personal levels (Table 4-1). Understanding the intricate social production of space and the generation of community empowerment within refugee camps is highly dependent on understanding the various phases and their distinctive characteristics. Therefore, a careful examination of the factors influencing the social production of space in this particular context and their correlation with the processes of community empowerment among the camp's inhabitants becomes imperative. The subsequent chapters will dive into a detailed analysis of these aspects.

The comparative dimensions included within the cognitive, structural, and financial levels of social production play a central role in fostering community empowerment. Within the cognitive level, the themes of 'Sense of community,' 'Identity and representation,' and 'Produced living experience' assume significance. These dimensions contribute to shaping the living experience within the camp.

The structural level is also characterised by dimensions such as 'Spatial action' and 'Spatial design problems.' These dimensions are factors that influence the physical organisation and layout of the camp, determining the spatial arrangement within the community.

Lastly, the contributing factors to the financial situation within the camp include 'Unemployment and its effects on settlements' and 'Cheaper choices in the camp.' Understanding the economic challenges, the camp's inhabitants face, exploring strategies for addressing unemployment issues, and providing affordable alternatives are vital for community empowerment. By examining these contributing factors, we can gain valuable insights into the complex dynamics at play and identify potential ways to improve the empowerment of refugees residing in these camps.

As mentioned above, the results indicated that there are three main phases of living experience through the lived space in the streets of refugee camps in all three case

studies. The importance of these phases is that they have special characteristics that affect the processes of social production of space and results from these production processes, and thus this is a reciprocal relationship between the processes and products.

The reciprocal relationship between the processes of social production of space and their resulting products within the streets of refugee camps becomes evident when examining the three main phases of the living experience identified in the case studies. These phases play a significant role in shaping the development and evolution of the streets within the context of the camp.

The reciprocal nature of this relationship arises from the interdependence and mutual influence between processes and products. The processes of social production of space actively contribute to creating and transforming the physical and social environment within the streets. On the contrary, the resulting products, such as physical layout, spatial organisation, and social dynamics within the streets, influence and shape the subsequent social production processes.

Throughout the evolution of the streets within the camps, the reciprocal relationship between processes and products is observed at various stages. The distinct characteristics of each phase of the living experience directly emerge from the social production processes occurring within the streets. These characteristics, in turn, profoundly impact the social production of space and the empowerment of the community.

Recognising this reciprocal relationship, it becomes apparent that processes and products are mutually reinforcing and inseparable. The social production processes generate specific characteristics in the living experience of the streets, which, in turn, shape and influence the subsequent social production of space. This iterative cycle highlights the interplay between the dynamic nature of the streets' evolution and the social processes taking place within them.

It is important to note that this reciprocal relationship occurs throughout the timeframe of the development of the streets within the camp. As the community adapts to its

surroundings and engages in social production processes, the resulting products influence their lived experiences and vice versa. This interdependence between the processes and products continues to shape the evolution of the streets and the empowerment of the community residing within the camps.

In summary, the reciprocal relationship between the processes of social production of space and their resulting products in the streets of refugee camps is characterised by mutual influence and interdependence.

The distinct phases of living experience within these streets emerge from the social production processes and, in turn, impact the subsequent social production of space. This relationship persists throughout the time frame of the streets' development, reflecting the dynamic interplay between the processes and products within the camp context.

It is interesting to note that these phases could overlap and that one can find different phases in different streets within the same case study. Furthermore, these phases are experienced within each camp differently according to its circumstances and context. This will be investigated separately in the following chapters.

Some of the findings of the current study do not support the previous research literature on refugee camps in categorising phases of life. According to Hartmann et al. (2013), the editors of the Trialog 112/113 Journal have categorised the life of the camp into three phases. On the one hand, phase 1, which they called the 'zero hour', is consistent with phase 1 of the results of this chapter. On the other hand, the other two phases are different from what the results indicated from what has been evidenced by this current research. This thesis states that the interpretation of phase two differs from that described by Hartmann et al. (2013). Thus, according to Hartmann et al. (2013), phase two refers to the processes of urbanisation and their effects on the camp during the "midlife crisis" phase. It focuses on the changes that occur within the camp due to urbanisation. On the other hand, this thesis defines phase two as "a form of normalcy". It argues that the social production processes of the streets played a role in normalising the lives of refugees and their community empowerment.

Therefore, the difference lies in the contrasting interpretations of phase 2. The current thesis present it as a phase focusing on the challenges faced by refugees living in the camp and the potential of streets in facilitating normalisation and community empowerment, whereas Hartmann et al. (2013) views it as a phase centred on urbanisation and its impact on the camp.

These divergent perspectives highlight the varying understanding of the dynamics and significance of different phases within the camp context and contribute to the broader discussion and analysis within the respective studies.

Additionally, phase three of this study contradicts phase three as described by these authors in their article published in their Trialog journal (2013), which is concerned with the future of the camp, while in this thesis, the focus is on the current challenging issues of camp overcrowding. According to Hartmann et al. (2013), how camps are designed and constructed and how socially, physically, and economically camps are developing over time needs to be reconceptualised in their three phases. According to their perspective, this reconceptualisation is necessary to understand how camps evolve and transform socially, physically, and economically over time. The authors argue that the conventional understanding of refugee camps as temporary emergency settlements no longer capture the complex and dynamic nature of these spaces. Instead, they suggest viewing the camp's life cycle through a three-phase lens to provide a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of the camp's challenges and opportunities that arise in different stages.

However, the current study argues that the phases identified within the social production of space in refugee camps differ from the categorisation proposed by Hartmann et al. (2013). The study suggests that the focus should not only be on the future prospects of the camp but also on current urgent issues, such as overcrowding. By setting a specific lens for re-evaluating the phases and examining the social production of space within the camp context, a deeper understanding of the lived experiences and community empowerment can be achieved. Therefore, by understanding the distinct phases, camp administrators and policymakers can adapt their strategies to address the changing demands and aspirations of camp inhabitants.

In summary, the current study acknowledges the importance of reconceptualising camps but presents a different perspective on the phases and focuses on the social production of space within the camp context.

To summarise, the differences between the authors' approach and the current study lie in the categorisation of phases, the interpretation of specific phases, the emphasis on present challenges versus prospects of the future, and the contextual differences between different camps.

Phases that refugees experience within the lived space differ in the Zaatari camp from Palestinian camps. With its ten years of inhabitation, the Zaatari refugees have experienced the emergency phase and transitional phase (1-2) on residential streets, while in commercial streets, inhabitants started expanding their shops and using more durable structures to meet their needs. However, the three phases of lived space were experienced within different types of streets in Palestinian camps. Consequently, understanding the processes of social production of space on the streets of the Palestinian camps would inform what is happening at the Zaatari camp.

Therefore, to gain a deeper understanding of the production of the three phases of the living experience within each context and their impact on community empowerment, it is crucial to investigate the relationships between the dimensions and parameters that form the social production of space. Here is a deeper exploration of these relationships:

1. Social Production of Space: Social production of space refers to how individuals and communities shape and transform their physical and social environments within the refugee camp context. It involves the social interactions, practices, and processes through which the camp inhabitants create, use, and negotiate the space. This includes activities such as spatial organisation, resource allocation, infrastructure development, and community initiatives.

2. Contributing factors of the Social Production of Space: The social production of space operates within various interrelated dimensions that influence one another, which is under the framework of cognitive and structural levels. These dimensions can

include physical, social, economic, and cultural aspects. For example, the physical factor involves the design and layout of the camp and the distribution of infrastructure. The cognitive dimensions encompass social interactions and relationships, livelihood activities, cultural and community dynamics within the camp, and socio-economic dynamics.

3. Community empowerment parameters: Community empowerment refers to the process by which individuals and groups within the camp gain control over their own lives and exercise agency in shaping their social, economic, and political conditions. It involves enhancing capabilities, resources, and decision-making power at the community level. Parameters of community empowerment may include access to education, healthcare, livelihood opportunities, social networks, political participation, and the ability to influence decision-making processes.

4. Relationship between the Social Production of Space and Community Empowerment: The processes of social production of space directly impact community empowerment within the camp context. As camp inhabitants participate in shaping their physical and social environments, they can influence the conditions that enable community empowerment. For example, initiatives to improve infrastructure, establish community gatherings, or create economic opportunities can improve community empowerment by providing resources, fostering social cohesion, and enabling self-reliance.

Furthermore, the relationship between the social production of space and community empowerment is reciprocal. Community empowerment itself can influence the processes of social production of space. As the community gains agency and collective power, they can actively participate in decision-making processes, advocate for their needs and rights, and shape the development and transformation of the camp according to their aspirations and priorities.

In-depth investigations of each phase, their associated processes of social production of space, and their impact on community empowerment will provide insights into the specific mechanisms and dynamics at play within each context. It will help identify the interdependencies and interactions between dimensions and parameters, ultimately

contributing to a more nuanced understanding of how the social production of space influences community empowerment in refugee camps.

Therefore, these different phases in different camps will be investigated in detail using a multi-scalar approach that would provide different views of production processes, and these relationships between the different scales of street axonometric drawings highlight the different dynamics and complex relationships that how the everyday produce lived space. It is important to understand the structural and cognitive levels in the social production of the streets of refugee camps.

The research outcomes produced so far regarding the three phases of living experience within the space of the refugee camp aligned with these ideas by Lefebvre (1991) argues that lived space is produced and not just a container that hosts objects and activities, everyday life is produced under the processes of spatial negotiations and transformation whether these are top-down or bottom-up approaches. In the refugee camp context, the three phases of the living experience identified in the research reflect the dynamic nature of the lived space. The camp space is not static but constantly evolving and shaped through various interactions, interventions, and adaptations. By acknowledging that the camp space is produced and not merely a passive background, the research recognises that the living experience within the camp is not solely determined by external factors but also by the agency and actions of the refugees themselves. It highlights the active role of refugees in negotiating and transforming their spatial environment to meet their needs and aspirations. Additionally, the transitions between these phases signify the ongoing negotiation and transformation of the camp space, influenced by both external interventions and the actions of camp residents. This perspective helps to understand the camp space as a complex and dynamic social and spatial entity rather than a static and fixed environment.

Importantly, this chapter has illustrated how social production processes and their spatial products have reciprocal relationships. This can be explained as phases of lived space that were experienced in camps are products of continuous processes, and simultaneously, they are the context for new social production processes.

Therefore, the transformation processes between phases are the core of the production and products of the previous processes. It suggests that the spatial products of social production processes, as experienced in camps, are not static or isolated entities. Instead, they are seen as dynamic and evolving, influenced by ongoing processes, and simultaneously serving as the context for new social production processes. This interplay between social production and its spatial products can be viewed as a reciprocal relationship in terms of mutual dependence and interaction.

Interestingly, there were differences between commercial and residential streets concerning the phases of the living experience. Structural transformations in commercial streets are more rapid, and transitional phases did not take place in time as much as in residential streets to serve their function. The prioritisation of expanding shops in commercial streets can be attributed to their significant role as a source of income for refugees. Given the importance of financial stability in their lives, refugees tend to focus on expanding and developing these shops. Moreover, the adaptability of the shop expansion aligns well with the limited space available in commercial streets, while residential streets face challenges due to the continuous growth of families. Additionally, residential streets may have stricter regulations aimed at maintaining the character and stability of the neighbourhood, resulting in slower changes. However, the transformations of the residential streets were more incremental due to the gradually growing need to expand for the growing population. The need for additional housing and infrastructure may lead to incremental changes, such as the construction of new residential buildings or the expansion of existing ones. These changes can be influenced by factors such as population growth rates, housing affordability, and urban development plans. This result may be explained by the fact that in commercial streets throughout time, people can buy another shop to extend. This ability to extend the commercial space facilitates rapid structural transformations in commercial streets. On the contrary, expanding residential units is more challenging due to the designated plot area allocated for each family, limiting the potential for significant expansion.

This chapter explored the lived space according to the inhabitants of the camps. Shared patterns were found; therefore, this data was processed in axonometric drawings to depict the intangible lived space. Therefore, this chapter established a foundation for further investigation and a guide for subsequent axonometric drawings that explored the three phases of the living experience within the camps. This facilitates the analysis of the social production of space and the reading of comparative analyses in the subsequent chapters. Thus, these axonometric drawings of the different typologies of streets, as defined in subsequent chapters, will explore the cognitive, structural, and financial levels of social production processes and help link these levels by illustrating how these levels work together under the analytical framework of this thesis.

4.6   Limitations

In this thematic analysis that combines three case studies, interviews as a whole data set are limited to finding the shared patterns between the three camps, in general. It was concerned with exploring what kind of living experience refugees have and did not investigate the moments of community empowerment in the lived space of these camps. However, the analysis was expanded in Chapters (5,6,7) by another thematic analysis that explored themes extracted from the literature on the social production of space and its link to community empowerment. Hence, the next chapter investigates the social production of lived space in the streets of all refugee camps through another level of thematic and content analysis for the interviews and then processed through AD-R axonometric drawings to capture the lived space within the three phases of the living experience. This facilitates a deeper understanding of the social production of street spaces to foster community empowerment and the distinction of these processes between different phases of living experiences and different case studies.

The current chapter has examined only three case studies in Jordan, and accordingly, the generalisation and replicability of the research findings are subject to certain limitations. Camps with different contexts may reveal different living experiences within their lived space. Various political, governmental, cultural, and spatial

regulations can affect responses to their living experience. However, these research findings could be very useful and potentially replicable in camps of similar urban and social characteristics, namely in Jordan, where most short-term refugees are from Syria and the medium- and long-term refugees are mainly Palestinian.

Although the results suggest that different living experiences are produced in every phase of refugees, this thematic analysis did not explore in-depth the effects of these differences on community empowerment. Therefore, further investigations in the subsequent chapters of this thesis will expand on these findings. The following chapters analyse every camp individually, and then comparisons will take place between these living experience phases to answer the question of how and why refugees are producing their streets within the case. After that, the next stage of comparison will be between the two case studies to advance the understanding of the main contributing factors of social production of space that produce community empowerment.

5

Understanding social production of space fostering community empowerment in camps' streets

This chapter presents the results obtained from the thematic analysis of the data from semi-structural interviews to answer the following questions: What are the key factors in the social production of space that support community empowerment at the cognitive, structural, and financial levels of the living experience? The main themes of this investigation were deduced from the literature, while some new themes were inducted from the data. Therefore, this chapter starts by introducing the investigation themes and then continues to explore these themes. Finally, this chapter concludes with a discussion of the resulting findings and their implications.

The previous chapter resulted in finding three phases of the living experience. Thus, this chapter focuses on the key factors that socially produce community empowerment. The analysis combines the views of the interviewees under three main themes over time. After understanding the themes and subthemes, the next chapter will compare these themes throughout the phases of the living experience and between different camps. Therefore, this chapter reveals the different factors included in the processes of social production of space through the living experience in the streets of refugee camps to foster community empowerment.

5 Understanding the processes of social production of space in camps' streets to foster community empowerment.

5.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to analyse the social production of space in the streets of all case studies –Baqaa Camp, Jerash (Gaza Camp), Zaatari Camp – and investigates the production of community empowerment, addressing the following research questions:

How were the streets of refugee camps socially produced under the lens of community empowerment? What are the key factors in the social production of space that foster community empowerment under the cognitive, structural, and financial levels of the living experience?

Accordingly, this chapter will answer these questions, which will help address the main question of this dissertation that was introduced in the first chapter, which is: **How do the processes of social production of space in the streets of refugee camps foster community empowerment?**

This analysis is key to shifting the understanding of the social production of space processes in the streets of refugee camps within everyday life under the lens of community empowerment.
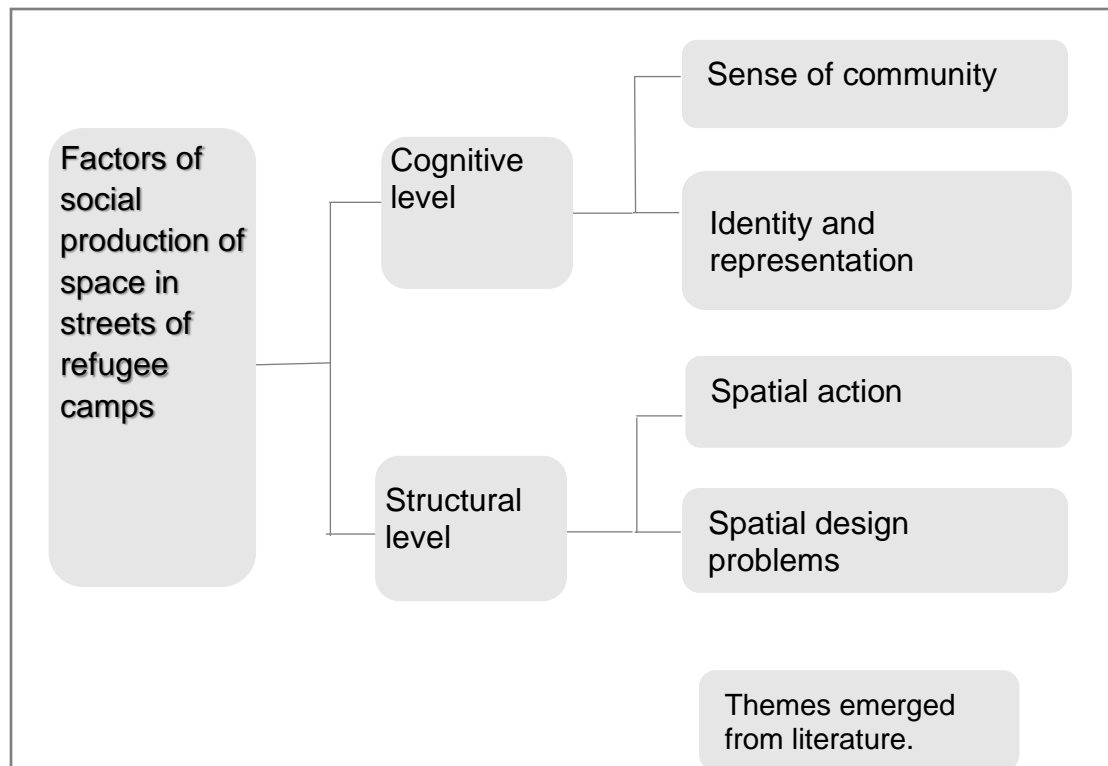
Figure 5-1: themes for comparison used in thematic analysis, emerged from

Therefore, this chapter discusses the factors that constitute lived space in the different types of streets of refugee camps under the lens of community empowerment. These factors are deduced from the literature that linked the social production of space and the spatial triad of Lefebvre (1991) to what constitutes community empowerment. This chapter discusses these factors by thematically analysing 59 interviews conducted with street users in the three refugee camps during fieldwork in July, August, and September 2020. Importantly, additional themes and subthemes have emerged from semi-structural interview data discussed below (see Figure 5-1). These factors are thematically analysed, examined, and processed in axonometric drawings representing the three phases of living experience within the streets of refugee camps. The thematic analysis explained above will provide a shift in understanding the social production of streets, which in turn will clarify the cognitive processes behind the spatial transformation of streets and why. This will allow identifying the lived space that facilitates the processes of social production of street space to foster community empowerment.

5.2 Cognitive level
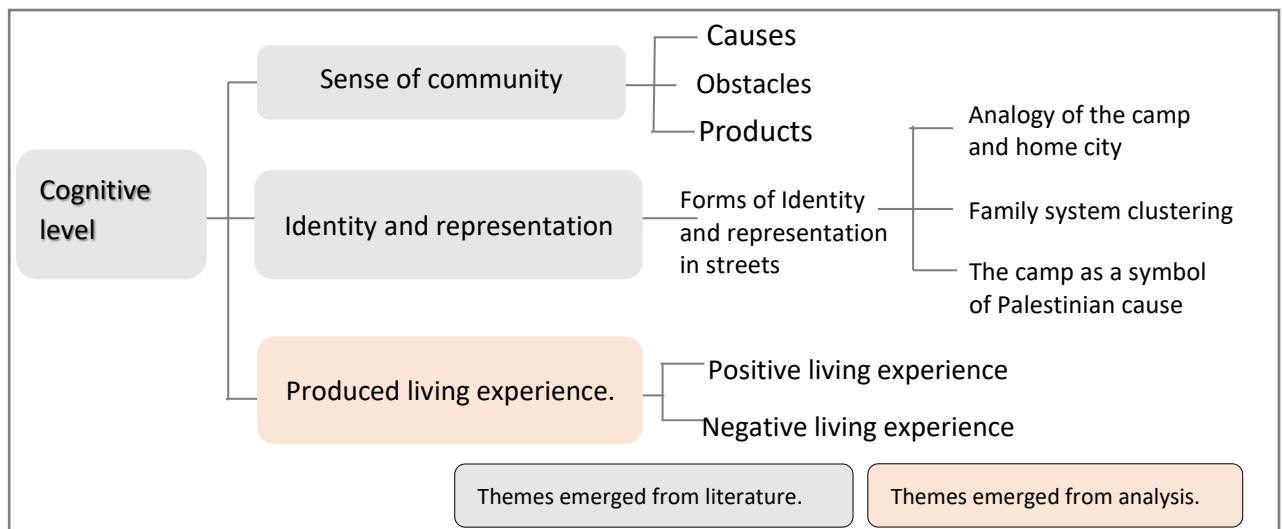
Figure 5-2: Themes of the cognitive level; emerged from literature and from data.

The cognitive level of social production of space is associated with the atmospheric qualities of the camp (Al-Nassir 2018). This level includes both types of themes that are theoretically driven and data-driven. These are the sense of community and

identity and representation as theory-driven themes deduced from the literature on community empowerment and lived space framework discussed in Chapter 3. However, the produced living experience was a theme that emerged from data analysis, which also falls under the community empowerment-lived space framework. Every theme has sub-themes that were categorised after iterative processes of coding and categorising the data set; these categories are illustrated in Figure (5-2). These themes and sub-themes are associated with the processes of social production on streets of refugee camps embedded within their every day and are discussed in detail in the following sections.

5.2.1 Sense of community

Chapter 2 explored the notions of the '**Sense of community**' with various aspects related to refugee communities and their lived experiences. Refugee camps often fail to consider the cultural context of their inhabitants, leading to limitations in social and economic activities, which can negatively impact the sense of belonging. Scholars such as Waters (2003), El-Saket (2016), and Rooij et al. (2016) have examined the reduced sense of community, inequality, and segregation that can arise from prolonged living in camps. However, Khosravi (2010) highlights the agency of refugees in creating alternative community spaces and new forms of political subjectivity. Furthermore, the study by Ujang and Zakariya (2015) argues for bridging the gap between factual data and the subjective meanings attached to place identity. Understanding the sense of community can be achieved by studying everyday life, exploring how it is perceived, and acknowledging how it is influenced by the residents themselves, as discussed.

Therefore, one of the three identified cognitive themes, 'Sense of community', was extensively discussed by refugees in all case studies. The sense of community and community empowerment appears to be positively associated. As stated by McMillan and Chavis (1986), a strong sense of community fosters community empowerment and is influenced by it. In other words, community empowerment contributes to the development of a strong sense of community. They argue that when people feel a sense of belonging and connection within their community, they are more likely to

engage in collective action, participate in decision-making processes, and work toward improving their community. Therefore, the relationship between the sense of community and community empowerment is reciprocal and has been supported by numerous studies (Perkins and Zimmerman 1995; Perkins et al. 2002). Thus, people with an advanced sense of community can harness their collective strengths and resources to actively influence their urban development. Ahmad and Abu Talib (2016) highlight the importance of individuals' participation in community affairs to gain social power and exert control over their own lives. Therefore, by actively participating in community initiatives, these individuals can effectively voice their needs, advocate for their rights, and contribute to the overall improvement and well-being of their community (Dooris and Heritage 2013). This notion of agency and community leadership underscores the transformative potential of a strong sense of community as individuals become empowered to take charge of their own destiny and shape the direction of their community's development (Målqvist 2018).

Consequently, when refugees were asked about their experience living in the camp and the sense of community matters, they engaged in it either directly or as factors. These are '**causes**', '**obstacles**', and '**products**' factors that refugees mentioned while discussing the sense of community. 'Causes' are related to matters that helped promote a sense of community, such as rich social life, consent from neighbours as a process of spatial expansion, and the equality of refugees' situations. On the other hand, 'obstacles' are the issues that hinder the sense of community in the streets of refugee camps, such as harsh living conditions, equality of aid distribution, and social disputes. The subtheme 'Products' emerged from the responses provided by refugees during the interviews, which refers to the resulting outcome from the sense of community. This offers valuable insight into the transformation of the sense of community within their living experience. This subtheme includes various aspects, such as developing a sense of belonging, safety feeling, and opportunities to socialise in the streets as a form of public space. In the subsequent sections, these subthemes will be comprehensively explored, delve into the underlying causes, encountered obstacles, and resulting outcomes in greater detail.

5.2.1.1 Causes:

Causes are factors that facilitated the production of a sense of community in the streets of the refugee camp. Refugees reported many factors that were categorised under the 'causes' sub-theme. First, such as 'dealing internally with social-spatial issues', which is the ability of refugees' to address, mediate and negotiate problems between them without the need to make official complaints or request any other intervention from the public authority, international organisation, or DPA in charge of managing the camp. This allowed the development of sympathetic dynamics between inhabitants, thus raising the sensibility in each other's problems, struggles, and needs that all refugees are experiencing over time. This sensibility facilitated the negotiations and agreements between all parties involved in the need for spatial expansions first and then subsequently on the transformations of streets. These processes have produced the social space within these streets.

"العلاقات الاجتماعية نعم ساعدت في ترابط المجتمع لانه مثلا اذا تعب الجار وانت لديك سيارة فتذهب لتاخذه على المستشفى فورا وفي اي مناسبة اجتماعية الجيران يدعمون بعضهم كثيرا. "

"Social relationships, yes, helped in the bonding of society, because, for example, if the neighbour gets tired and you have a car, then you go to take him to the hospital immediately and on any social occasion, the neighbours support each other a lot. "

- Excerpt from 5 women sitting together in street side interview-Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"يجب اخذ اننا من دائرة الشؤون الفلسطينية والتي تقوم بمقام البلدية. ويأتون للكشف ولكن يتجاوزون عن كثير من المخالفات. ونادر جدا ان يهدوا بعض الاعتداءات وهم يتغاضون عن هذه المخالفات لانه لا توجد شكاوي. اذا ان الجيران حتى لو ضايقوا على بعضهم لا يشتكون لضيق الحال واذا لم يكن هناك شكاوي لا تكشف الدائرة. "

"Permission should be obtained from the DPA, which acts as a municipality here. They come to examine the situation in the house, but they overlook many violations. It is very rare for them to demolish these violations if there are no complaints. If neighbours are affected by each other by construction, they do not complain because they all have the same situation, and if there are no complaints, the department overlooks the violation."

- Excerpt from Abu Ghassan interview- Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

"اما كأمان من الخيم فأهالي المخيم يرفون بعضهم منذ اكثر من 30 سنة يعني حتى لو نشأت مشكلا بيني وبين جاري حتى لو كانت كبيرة تحل في النهاية لاننا نتبع النظام العشائري. ولكن الخوف من الناس من خارج المخيم. "

"For safety in the camp, the people here have known each other for more than 30 years. I mean, even if a problem arises between me and my neighbour, even if it was big, it can be resolved in the end because we follow the clan system. But we fear strangers and people outside the camp."

– Excerpt from Khalid's interview- Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

According to refugees, another reason that facilitates the construction of a sense of community is 'equality between people' situations, as refugees experience almost equal situations. Hence, a sympathetic approach arises, which increases the solidarity between people. This promotes gaining a sense of community as those who gain more money would leave the camp, while refugees within the camp feel that they are all the same and when they suffer, they suffer together:

"الحياة هنا مستترة تستير العالم وكل الناس هنا سواسية ومن لديه المال يخرج من المخيم."
"Life here is simple, everyone is equal, and whoever has money leaves the camp. "
- Excerpt from an interview with a man older than 50 – the Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

" اللي بصير معه مصاري بطلع من المخيم لكن داخل المخيم الفروقات المادية بسيطة بين الناس والكل مستوى واحد"
"Those who gained a good amount of money leave the camp, but inside the camp, financial differences are small between people, and we are all at the same level."
- Excerpt from the shop owner interview Abu rami – Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

This being the case, refugees found themselves in similar situations, promoting a sense of empathy and compassion among them. This was present in the process of developing spatially and expanding that any change in an individual dwelling requires the consent of the residents of the affected dwellings. Namely, 'processes including neighbour consent', refugees expressed relief toward this condition, as they have their support for each other and there will be any complaints:

"يجب اخذ الموافقة من دائرة الشؤون الفلسطينين عند بناء اي شيء. وهم ياتون للكشف على البناء واذا اشتكى احد الجيران ممكن ان يهدوا الجزء المخالف."
"Approval had to be obtained from the Department of Palestine Affairs when building anything. They come to inspect the building, and if one of the neighbours complains, they can demolish the offending part. "
- Excerpt from (anonymous name) man older than 50 interview – the Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"يجب اخذ اذنا من دائرة الشؤون الفلسطينية والتي تقوم بمقام البلدية. ويأتون للكشف ولكن يتجاوزون عن كثير من المخالفات. ونادر جدا ان يهدوا بعض الاعتداءات وهم يتغاضون عن هذه المخالفات لانه لا توجد شكاوي. اذا ان الجيران حتى لو ضايقوا على بعضهم لا يشتكون لضيق الحال واذا لم يكن هناك شكاوي لا تكشف الدائرة."
"Permission should be obtained from the DPA, which acts as a municipality here. They come to examine the situation in the house, but they overlook many violations. It is

very rare for them to demolish these violations if there are no complaints. If neighbours are affected by each other's construction, they do not complain because they have the same situation, and if there are no complaints, the department overlooks the violation. "

- Excerpt from Abu Ghassan interview- Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

"لا يوجد قوانين غير انه في السوق ممنوع التعدي على الشارع وفي المساكن يسمح بالتوسع طالما لم تتعدى على الجيران"

"There are no rules except that in the market, it is forbidden to trespass on the street. And in houses, expansion is allowed as long as you do not encroach on the neighbours".

- Excerpt from an interview with a retail store owner (anonymous name) – Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

The last factor under the 'causes' subtheme is 'rich social life', which was the most reported factor in the sense of community theme. In this context, rich refers to a vibrant and fulfilling social life characterised by strong interpersonal relationships, community engagement, social networks, meaningful social interactions, and connectedness within the social fabric. Together, these elements contribute to the overall richness of an individual's social life. Refugees pointed directly at their 'rich social life' and recognised its importance to ease their lives. This rich social life is present in the camp as a whole and, more specifically, between relatives and residents of the same street.

" كما ان الروابط الاجتماعية هون قوية جدا والناس هون بحبوا خدمة ومساعدة بعضهم حتى لو ما كانوا بيعرفوا بعضهم منيح يعني هون الناس نخوجيين. وهذه الخصال لاتجدها في المدن الكبيرة."

"Also, the social ties are very strong, and people here love to serve and help each other, even if they do not know each other well, so people here are noble. These qualities cannot be found in big cities like Amman. '

Excerpt from Abu Anas interview- The Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

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" هنا في المخيم العلاقات ممتازة جدا وهذا ما يهون عليهم حياتهم لان جميع الناس هنا تعرف بعضها يعني لو تسالين عن احد في المخيم الجميع سيدلك الى مكانه. وهذا هو الذي هون على الناس حياتهم هنا. "

"Here in the camp, social relationships are very good, and this is what makes their lives easy because all the people here know each other. I mean, if you ask about someone in the camp, everyone will direct you to his place. These strong relationships are what ease people's lives. "

- Excerpt from Abu Khaldoun interview- The Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"قوية جدا بين الجيران والاقارب. نعم العلاقات جيدة. ومن خلال هذه العلاقات يدعم الناس بعضهم ويساعدون بعضهم اذ من يحتاج شيئا ما ممكن ان يطلبه من اي شخص. "

"Very strong among neighbours and relatives. Yes, relationships are good. It is through these relationships that people support each other and help each other, as anyone who needs something will ask for it from anyone. "
- Excerpt from the retail shop owner's interview Abu Abdullah–Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

As mentioned before, some refugees pointed directly at their rich social life and its influence on their lives. On the other hand, refugees also indirectly pointed to rich social life by discussing the profound impact and various manifestations that characterise such a dynamic and rich social life. These manifestations include acts of mutual support, exemplified through food sharing, active participation in social gatherings facilitated by their familiarity with virtually everyone in the camp, and engagement in communal activities such as sports and educational classes. These collective experiences epitomise the essence of a rich social life within the refugee community.

"في القديم كانوا يجتمعون في المضافة فقط كانت قبل من الزينكو كان جميع الرجال يجتمعون فيها ويقضون فيها يومهم حتى في رمضان كان جميع الرجال ياخذون طبق ويتشاركون في الاكل ليس مثل الوقت الحالي كل واحد في منزله فقط. "

"In the old days, they used to meet only in the Diwans, before it was made from zinc sheets. All the men used to gather there and spend their day. Even in Ramadan, all men would take a plate and share food, not like today, everyone eats in his house."
- Excerpt from an interview with a man (anonymous name) at the Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"كانت الحياة الاجتماعية اجمل قبلا عندما كانت البيوت من زينكوا كانت الناس علاقاتها اقوى. لان الحياة تغيرت والناس مشغولين في اعمالهم حتى يقدر على مطالب الحياة. كانوا يتسلوا في الخياطة والتطريز في البيوت ايضا. ولكن الان يوجد بعض الجمعيات التي تدرب النساء او دروس دينية. "
"Social life was better when we lived in zinc houses as people had stronger relationships. Because life has changed, and people are busy doing their job to be able to meet the demands of life. They used to spend time sewing and embroidery at home as well. But now, some associations train women or provide religious lessons."
- Excerpt from Adnan's interview- Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"انا بحب ارجع لوطني. ولكن هنا كمدينة الحياة هادئة وجيراننا اخواننا ايضا. "
"I love to return to my country. But here, as a city, life is quiet, and our neighbours are considered brothers."
- Excerpt from the Ambassador interview- Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

" مافي مجال اذ ان الحياة في المخيم ارخص بكثير من خارجه. الناس بتحب تطلع من المخيم ولكن لايوجد بديل. هنا في المخيم يوجد انتماء ومساعدات اجتماعية اذ انه اذا في يوم احتجت شيء ما تذهب وتطلب من جارك ولكن خارجه هذه الامور غير ممكنة. في المخيم اذا صارت حالة وفاة جميع من في المخيم يذهب للعزاء هذه الامور لا تحدث وهذه من الامور الجيدة في المخيم"

"People would love to live out of the camp, but there is no other alternative. Here in the camp, we have affiliation and social assistance, as if one day I needed bread. For example, I go and ask Saleh (the man sitting next to him, his neighbour) for the bread he gives me for sure. I mean, we still have a sense of belonging, not like Amman, for example, as these things are not possible. For example, if someone dies here, everyone in this camp goes for condolences; these things do not happen outside. See, we have some good things in the camp, and we also have some bad things."

- Excerpt from Saleh's interview- Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

5.2.1.2 Obstacles:

Refugees implicitly compared their lives in different phases and, through these comparisons, reported some challenges that occurred throughout the time they lived in the camp that were labelled 'obstacles' because they hindered the process of producing a sense of community. Some refugees reported 'increasing social problems' and weakened their social lives within the camps:

"حياة النساء الاجتماعية زمان افضل من هلا بكثير كانوا يتزاوروا ويجتمعوا في البيوت. اه كان في ترابط بين الناس حتى كانوا يتشاركوا في الاكل مهما كان. مثلا كنا اذا اي وحده عندها عزيمة توزع من الاكل الزايد على كل الجارات. الحين الكل في حاله وزاد الفقر. "

"The social life of women was much better than now. They used to visit and meet at home every day. Yes, there was a strong bond between the people, they even shared food, whatever it was. For example, if any woman had a feast, she would distribute the extra food to all the neighbours. Currently, everyone is doing their own business, and there is more poverty."

- Excerpt from 5 women sitting together in street side interview- Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"العلاقات الاجتماعية بين الناس كانت زمان افضل من الان. لايوجد مقارنة بين هلا وقبل لا يوجد راحة. كانوا زمان يجتمعوا الرجال كثير طول الوقت في القهاوي اوالدواوين وكان عندهم مخاتير الهم كلمة على العائلة, اما المجتمع الحالي غير مرتاح وفقدت الاجتماعيات وقلت بالتدريج. "

"Social relations between people were better in the past than now. There is no comparison between now and then. There is no rest now. Before, men used to meet often all the time in coffees and diwans."

 Excerpt from Abu Nemir interview- Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

"في نواقص كثيرة. اذ ما في اماكن للعب للاطفال, هيهم بيلعبوا في الشوارع, والله بزعجونا في منهم بيضل متأخر في الليل مرات ما منقدر ننام من ازعاجهم. بس ما الهم مكان. "

"There are still many shortcomings. Because there are no places for children to play, they play in the streets, and I swear they annoy us, especially when they stay up late

at night. Sometimes we cannot sleep because of their disturbance. But they have no place to play."
- Excerpt from Suaad's interview (Cosmetics shop owner) at Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

"كمان اذا صارت مشكلة شباب ونحن الجيران منعرف بعض فورا نتدخل. لكن المشكلة الاكبر هي كشف الجيران لبعض. يعني صارت مشكلة بينا وبين جيراننا هدول وبيت اخوي هونا (يؤشر), وصلت للمحافظ لانهم لما بيطلعوا للاسطوح بيكشفوا بيت اخوي من جوا و طلبنا منهم انه يستأذنوا لما يطلعوا للاسطوح ورفضوا وكمان لما يطلعوا يعبوا خزان المي في بيت اخوي بيكشفوا شباك المطبخ عندهم وصرنا نكشفهم وهم يكشفوننا وهيك طلبوا انه نستئذن ورفضنا صارت مشكلة كبيرة وصارت محكمة, كل هذا عشان قلة الخصوصية."

'Also, if a youth problem arises and the neighbours know each other, we immediately intervene. But the biggest problem between neighbours is peering into each other's lives. I mean, for example, a problem occurred between my brother and me and our neighbours. My brother's house is here (pointing to his brother's house). It reached the governor. The problem was that when they went up to their roof, they could peer into my brother's house from the inside. We asked them to get permission every time they went up to the roofs, but they refused. Similarly, when they go up to fill their water tank at my brother's house, they can peer into the neighbour's house. So, they asked us to get permission and we refused, leading to a significant problem. This issue escalated to the court, all due to the lack of privacy."
- Excerpt from Khalid (shop owner) interview- Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

Some people reported feelings of injustice and inequality in distributing aid and relief, which were sometimes distributed according to relatives and acquaintances. This is due to the delegation of some aid distribution tasks to street administrators, who are responsible for distributing the aid received to the street residents equally. However, this happened only in some particular cases and cannot be identified as the norm.

"وهنا كان لكل شارع رئيس يستلم مهام توزيع الكرفانات وغالبا هؤلاء الرؤساء لم يكونوا صادقين اذ ان بعض الناس كانوا يدفعون لهم حتى يستلموا كرفاناتهم اولا. وانا عملت حتى اصبح لدي مالا واشتريت الكرفانات حتى لا انتظر حتى ياتي دوري."

"Here, every main street has an administrator whose task is to distribute the caravans, and they were often not honest, as some people paid them until they received their caravans first. I worked until I had money and bought the caravans so as not to wait for my turn to come."
- Excerpt from Um Myassar interview in -Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

Another obstacle or challenge that hinders the generation of a sense of community in the streets of refugee camps is the living conditions. Refugees reported experiencing hard living conditions that negatively affected their social lives. These harsh living conditions are related to their feelings that they are forced to live in camps because there are no other options despite all the problems in the camp.

"احنا مجبرين على السكنة بالمخيم. كل الخدمات متوفرة ولكن تشعر بعدم الراحة بسبب الكثافة السكانية كمان مافي مسافة بين الجيران لما منحكي بيسمعنا الجيران كمان الاولاد اذا لعبوا في الشارع وكانهم بيلعبوا جوا البيت."

"We are forced to live in the camp. All services are available, but you feel uncomfortable due to the population density and there is not enough distance between neighbours, so if we talk, neighbours hear us, just as the children play on the street as if they are playing inside the house. "

- Excerpt from Hamza's interview (second-hand clothing shop) at Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"اصف المخيم بانه سيء وشوارعه وسخة."

"I describe the camp as bad and its streets dirty. "

- Excerpt from Um Myassar interview in Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

"مافي راحة نفسية من ناحية انه لسا البيت بده تزبيط يعني مثلا داخل الكرفان مامنقدر نقعد في هذا الحر وبالشتوية باردة جدا. عشان هيك حابين نكبر الكرفان عشان نوسع كلنا فيها بالشتوية ونصب ارضية الكرفان لانها خشب وبتهز"

" There is no ultimate comfort in terms of the fact that the house is still uncomfortable, I mean, for example, inside the caravan, we cannot sit in this heat and the winter is very cold. So, we want to expand one caravan that we can all fit inside in winter, so we can use one heater, we need to change the caravan flooring from wood to cement because the wooden floor keeps vibrating".

- Excerpt from Manal interview in Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

5.2.1.3 'Products' of sense of community:

During the interviews, refugees shared their varied experiences that emerged as significant outcomes resulting from a strong sense of community named 'Products'. These narratives shed light on the positive influence of the sense of community on the overall living experience. Among the notable outcomes is the aspect of 'safety,' which was highlighted by refugees. They emphasised that most of the camp's residents were familiar with each other, particularly within specific street stretches or areas. As a result, they could easily recognise and supervise their own and those of others playing on the streets. Furthermore, active participation in mutual support, even among unfamiliar or distant individuals, leads to a safe environment and the ability to offer help to anyone who needs it.

"من مميزات المخيم ان الناس هون تحب العمل وتعبوا جدا للحصول على المال لهيك ما بتشوف مظاهر البذخ. كمان الروابط الاجتماعية هون قوية جدا والناس هون يحبون خدمة ومساعدة بعضهم حتى لو ما كانوا بيعرفوا بعضهم منيح ف هون الناس نخوجيين. وهذه الخصال ما بتشوفها في المدن الكبيرة."

'One of the advantages of the camp is that the people here love to work and work hard to make money, so you do not see the signs of extravagance. Also, the social bonds are very strong and people here love to serve and help each other, even if they do not

know each other well, so the people here are noble. These qualities cannot be found in big cities like Amman. "

- Excerpt from Abu Anas's interview in Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

" من ميزات المخيم ان الروابط الاجتماعية كانت قوية ومازالت الناس تتشارك في الافراح والاحزان حتى لو ما كانوا بيعرفوا اصحابه. "

"One of the features of the camp is that social ties were strong, and people still shared the joys and sorrows even if they did not know each other. "

- Excerpt from Abu Ahmad's interview – The Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"جميع الناس تعرف بعضها. انا مثلا ملقب السفير في المخيم واي شخص يسال عن بيت السفير في اي مكان بالمخيم سوف يدلك علي المكان الصحيح. وكان الناس يعرفون بعضهم منذ ال 1967"

"It has changed for the better since now all people know each other. For example, I am called 'the ambassador' in the camp, and anyone who asks about the ambassador's house anywhere in the camp will show you the way to my place. People have known each other since 1967."

Excerpt from the ambassador interview – Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

Another important product that resulted from the sense of community that refugees have extensively reported is a sense of belonging. They confirmed that despite living in a camp with bad conditions, they still belonged to it due to the strong relationships, and they felt it was like their home country.

"كلنا تربينا ان المخيم يعني القضية الفلسطينية. وافضل العيش في المخيم"

"We were all raised on the fact that the camp represents a symbol for our cause, and I would rather live in this camp, regardless of how things are tough here than anywhere else."

- Excerpt from Zaid's interview at the Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"عشت 5 سنوات في عمان ثم جئت الى المخيم, جئت الى المخيم لان جميع الشعب الفلسطيني هنا."

'I lived for 5 years in Amman, then came to the camp, because all the Palestinians are here."

- Excerpt from Abu Nemir interview- Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"انا عشت خارج المخيم لمدة 4 سنوات ولكن رجعت للمخيم اذ ان الحياة هنا ايسر كحياة. في الخارج كنت مرتاح ولكن هنا ايسر. نحن لا نستغني عن المخيم لانه مكان نشأتي وطفولتي. ولكن نريد الافضل."

"I lived outside the camp for 4 years, but I returned to the camp because life here is as much easier as life. I was comfortable when I lived outside the camp, but here it is easier."

- Excerpt from Hamza's interview (second-hand clothing shop) at Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

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"هاجس ابناء المخيم هو تعلقهم بالرجوع الى وطنهم وتمسكهم بحق العودة موجود لالان وهذا ما اثر على التطوير في المخيم."

"The people's obsession with the camp, their attachment to return to their homeland, and their adherence to the right to return is still present, which affected the developments in the camp. "

- Excerpt from DPA engineer interview- Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

"بصراحة شيء واحد يربطني بالمخيم اني هنا اشعر وكاني اعيش في غزة. اقاربي هنا والناس كلها تعرف بعض ولكن كمكان هو لا يعني لي شيئا. وهنا التناقض يكمن في اني لا اشعر بسوء المكان لان الناس ينسوني اياه. لو كنت رح اسكن بعمان في فيلا لا اقبل لاني اريد ناسي ومعارفي فهنا لا اشعر بالغربة."

"Honestly, one thing that connects me to the camp is that I feel here like I'm living in Gaza. My relatives are here, and all the people know each other, but as a physical place, it does not mean anything to me. Here, the contradiction is that I don't feel like I am in a bad place because with community help, forget about it. If I were going to live in a villa in Amman, I would not accept it because I want my acquaintances, so here I do not feel alienated. "

- Excerpt from the School Principal Interview- Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

"لا افضل ان اعيش خارج المخيم اذ اننا هنا جميعا من نفس البلاد وهذا الشيء المميز في الحياة هنا وقد خرجت فترة ولم استطع التاقلم هناك."

"I do not prefer to live outside the camp, as we are all here from the same country, and this is the special thing about living here. I went out for a while, and I couldn't cope there."

- Excerpt from an interview with an electronic repair shop owner in the Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

In contrast, some refugees have reported not having a sense of belonging, still feel like guests, and would love to move out of the camp if they could:

"مافييش! يا اختي من لما طلعنا من فلسطين حتى الان لم يتغير شيء في المخيم لا مناطق بلا مؤاخذة زي الاماكن التانية الواحد لو زهق يطلع من البيت يفرفش مافي مافي من لما طلعنا من فلسطين حتى الان لم يتغير شيء. بصراحة احنا كلمتنا هنا غير مسموعة ولم يكن لنا دور بالتغيير. هم يعتبروننا ضيوف هنا اذ اني عشت هنا اكثر من خمسين سنة"

"Noo! Sister, since we got out of Palestine until now, nothing has changed in the camp, there are no entertainment areas like the other places where if one gets bored, he gets out of the house to have fun, nothing has changed, when we got out of Palestine until now, nothing has changed.
Frankly, our speech here is not heard and we had no role in the change. They consider us to be guests here. I have lived here for more than 50 years, but I am still considered a guest. "

- Excerpt from Abu Khaldoun's interview in Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

"الحالة الوحيدة التي ممكن اخرج من المخيم من اجلها هي وجود العمل لاولادي."

"The only case in which I can live outside the camp is if my sons find work outside."

- Excerpt from Suaad's interview (Cosmetics shop owner) at Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

Interestingly, other people reported having the financial means to live outside the camp and had chosen to live in an area near the camp just to be close to their camp and its people. Their sense of belonging has its effects on the lives that made living in the camp or its surroundings a preference:

> "حسب اذا في فرصة عمل او لا. بحب اطلع اذا في فرصة عمل بمكان احسن. في كتير ناس طلعوا من المخيم هاي القرى والمناطق اللي حوالين المخيم هاي كلها ناس طلعت من المخيم. كانت الاراضي رخيصة جمعوا شوية مصاري واشتروا وطلعوا وعمروا."

> *"Based on the availability of a job opportunity, if there was a good one in a better place, I would not hesitate. Many people took advantage of the presence of within-budget land in the villages and towns surrounding the camp and settled there later, and many people did that. "*

> - Excerpt from Wael's interview at Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

Refugees mentioned that they borrow money from each other as a means of mutual assistance, which contributes to the development of a sense of belonging. It is important to note that mutual help serves as both a cause and a result of fostering a sense of belonging.

> " اللجنة عمرت لنا هذه الغرفة (تؤشر على الغرفة الداخلية). بعدين تداينا شوية مصاري لنكمل البيت وتعاوننا على البناء مع الاولاد لانهم لما بنوا ارضية البيت تلفت. اللجنة تبني لكل عائلة غرفة ومطبخ وحمام مهما كان حجم العائلة يعني معاناة عانينا. [...] نعم كانت قوية جدا. وافضل بكثير من الان كانوا الجيران يعيشون كانهم بيت واحد. وللان موجود ولكن قلت قليلا. يوجد لدينا تعاون وحياتنا جميلة هنا. "

> *"Then the committee built this room for us (pointing to the inner room). Then we borrowed some money to complete the house and cooperated in building with our sons because when the committee built the room, they ruined the floor of the house. This committee builds every family a room, kitchen, and bathroom, whatever the size of the family, I mean we have suffered. [...] Yes, the social relationships were very strong. Much better than now, the neighbours lived in one house. Some of these habits exist. We have cooperation and our life is beautiful here. "*

> - Excerpt from Um Mahmoud's interview in Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

> "العلاقات الاجتماعية نعم ساعدت في ترابط المجتمع لانه مثلا اذا تعب الجار وانت لديك سيارة فتذهب لتاخذه على المستشفى فورا وفي اي مناسبة اجتماعية الجيران يدعمون بعضهم كثيرا. "

> *"Social relationships, yes, helped in the bonding of society, because, for example, if the neighbour gets tired and you have a car, then you go to take him to the hospital immediately and on any social occasion the neighbours support each other a lot. "*

> - Excerpt from 5 women sitting together in street side interview- Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

> "كانت ممتازة. حتى الطبخة كانت كل واحد يحسب حساب جاره فيها. وهلا تغيرت لانه تغيرت النفوس وصار الشخص يعتبرها اهانة انه جارة بيعثله اكل, صار في كبرياء وانتقادات مش زي اول عالبساطة. بالرغم من انه الوضع كان تعيس كانت الحياة احسن لانه كانت الناس تحب بعض وترأف ببعض لكن الان مشغولين بحالهم."

> *"It used to be excellent to the point that everyone used to share meals with their neighbours, as simple as love and compassion, but now we live in an era where there is pride and more criticism, nothing like before, everything has changed with people apprehensive about having a meal from a neighbour and even some may consider it an insult. People used to be sympathetic to each other, but now they are busy with their condition. "*

- Excerpt from Wael's interview at Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"واذا حصل شجار عنيف يتم التدخل من الجيران فورا. مثلا اذا حصل حريق حتى بدون استئذان ندخل للمساعدة وهذه من العادات الجيدة في المخيم. ايضا اذا تعبت سيدة نقوم بالمساعدة فورا قد نحضر زوجة او ام او اخت للمساعدة. ايضا اذل حصلت مشكلة شباب ونحن الجيران نعرف بعض فورا نتدخل."

"If violent quarrels occur, neighbours will immediately intervene. For example, if a fire occurred, we would go in for help even without permission, and this is one of the good habits in the camp. Also, if a woman is tired, we help immediately and we may bring a wife, mother, or sister for help. Also, if a youth problem arises and neighbours as they know each other, we immediately intervene. "

- Excerpt from Khalid (shop owner) interview- Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

"العلاقات بين الناس فيها خير. اذا واحد جوعان بلاقي اكثر من حدا يطعميه لكن برا المخيم بتلاقي الشخص ما بعرف جاره."

"Hence, the relationships between people are still good. If one is hungry, he will find more than one to feed him, while outside the camp, the person would not know his neighbour. "

- Excerpt from Saleh interview, Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

"قوية جدا بين الجيران والاقارب. نعم العلاقات جيدة. ومن خلال هذه العلاقات يدعم الناس بعضهم بعضهم ويساعدون بعضهم اذ من يحتاج شيئا ما ممكن ان يطلبه من اي شخص."

"Very strong among neighbours and relatives. Yes, relationships are good. It is through these relationships that people support each other and help each other, as anyone who needs something will ask for it from anyone. "

- Excerpt from the shop owner's (anonymous name) interview- The Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

Finally, a product that emerged from the sense of community is 'socialising in streets'; refugees considered different types of streets as their public spaces in which they can gather for different social activities. Some refugees socialise in the commercial street regularly as part of their daily routine, which refugees consider a dynamic place:

"كل شيء متوفر في السوق. نذهب للسوق انا وجارتي لنتسلى."

"Everything is available in the market. We go to the market, me and my neighbour to have fun. "

- Excerpt from Adnan and his wife's interview- Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"روتيني اليومي في الصبح ونقضي اشغال البيت قد نخرج للسوق انا وبنتي او احد قريباتي تقريبا 3 مرات اسبوعيا لنتسلى."

"My daily routine is in the morning, and I do housework. I and my daughter or one of my relatives may go to the market approximately 3 times a week to buy groceries and have fun. "

- Excerpt from Um Eman interview at Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"نعم للرجال والنساء يعتبر السوق مكان اجتماعي, غير حياة الناس."

"Yes, the market became a social place for men and women that changed people's lives. "

- Excerpt from the School Principal Interview- Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

"لايوجد اماكن عامة للكبار. كان يوجد قهاوي ولكن اغلقوها واغلب الناس لاتنقبل هذه الفكرة حتى عندما كنا بقريتنا في سوريا لم تكن مقبولة هذه الفكرة. ولكن الاقارب يجتمعون ويسهرون في البيوت. اما في المحلات ممكن اذا كان من احد اصحاب المحلات الذي اعرفهم ممكن ان اجلس لديه 10 دقائق لا اكثر. "

"There are no public places for adults except the market. There were coffee houses, but they are closed now, and most people do not accept this idea, even when we were in our village in Syria, this idea was not acceptable. But relatives get together at houses. As for the shops, it is possible to visit one of the shop owners that I know is possible for me to sit there for 10 minutes, no more. "

- Excerpt from the interview with Abu Khalid at the Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

"من الساعة الثامنة والنصف او التاسعة صباحا اكون هنا في المحل وفي الساعة الرابعة عصرا اسلم العمل هنا لشخص اخر واذهب للبيت لارتاح وفي السابعة مساءا اذهب للمشي. "

"From eight-thirty or nine in the morning, I will be in the store and at four in the afternoon I hand over the job to someone else and go home to rest, then at seven in the evening I go for a walk. "

- Excerpt from grocery shop owner's interview at Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

In addition to the mentioned aspects, it is worth noting that refugees perceive certain streets as their public spaces based on various factors. Notably, the streets where they reside are considered their public streets, as well as commercial streets and streets hosting essential facilities such as schools, medical centres, and offices of non-governmental organisations (NGOs). These streets are of great importance in the lives of refugees as they provide access to the necessary resources and services. Moreover, these residential streets serve as playgrounds for children; offering them a safe and familiar environment to play and socialise with their friends; see Figures (5-3, 5-4). Furthermore, refugees actively participate in socialising activities within residential streets, using them as communal spaces where they feel a sense of belonging and participate in social occasions; see Figures(5-5, 5-6, 5-7, 5-8, 5-9):

Figure 5-3: streets as playgrounds for children – the Baqaa. Source: Author, fieldwork

Figure 5-4: streets as playgrounds for children – Jerash. Source: Author, fieldwork

"الاطفال اما في البيوت او في الشوارع لا يوجد لهم مكان اخر."

"Children are either at home or on the streets, they have no other place. "

- Excerpt from a man (name unknown) of the Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"الاطفال مساكين يلعبون فقط في الشوارع او في البيوت وهي ضيقة جدا."

"Poor children only play on the streets or in ridiculously small houses. "

- Excerpt from Etidal – Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"ها نحن نجتمع على باب البيت لنشرب الشاي فالترابط ممتاز. تقريبا كل يوم نتجمع هكذا. الاطفال يلعبون بالشوارع فقط وفي ساحات المدرسة لا يوجد مكان اخر للعب."

"Here we meet at the door front to drink tea, the relationship is excellent. Almost every day, we gather like this. Children play only on the streets, and in the schoolyard, there is no other place to play. "

- Excerpt from 5 women sitting together in street side interview- Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"كانوا يتجمعون ويجلسون على عتبات البيوت نتسلى ونتكلم ولحد الان عندما تمل الواحدة تجدينها جالسة عند باب البيت. العلاقات الاجتماعية بين الناس جيدة. اه والله مثل قبل واحسن ماشاءالله في علاقات تجدين الجميع يتشارك بالمناسبات الاجتماعية كالافراح والاتراح."

"They used to gather and sit on the doorstep of the house; we would have fun and talk. Until now, when one gets bored, you find her sitting on the doorstep of the house. [….] Relationships are good. Yes, by God, it is still like before and even better, mashallah, they are really good, you find everyone participating in social events such as weddings, and deaths."

- Excerpt from the interview of two women street vendors – Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

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Figure 5-5: socialising in streets- The Baqaa. Source: Author, Fieldwork

Figure 5-6: socialising in the streets- Jerash camp. Source: Author, Fieldwork

Figure 5-7: socialising on the streets- The Zaatari camp. Source: Author, Fieldwork

Figure 5-8 Setting area in the front of a dwelling to socialise in the street – Baqaa. Source: Author, Fieldwork

Figure 5-9: setting area in the front of a dwelling to socialise in the street – Jerash Camp. Source: Author, Fieldwork

"ما في وقت للحياة الاجتماعية خاصة إذا كنت بشتغل لكن إذا ما كنت بشتغل زي هلا أنا وصالح (مشيرًا إلى جاره الجالس بجانبه) منقعد طول اليوم عند باب البيت, إذا دخلت عالبيت رح نتخانق انا و زوجتي والأولاد ،لانه البيت صغير وبحس مافي الي مكان لاقعد في المنزل. "العلاقات بين الناس لسا فيها خير. اذا واحد جوعان بلاقي اكتر من حدا يطعميه ولكن برا المخيم بتلاقي الشخص ما بعرف"جاره."

"There is no time for socialisation especially if I'm working but if I'm not, just like this (pointing to his neighbour sitting next to him), we are sitting the whole day at the door front if I sit inside the house, I would be confrontational to my wife and kids, so where I'm going there is no room for me to be in the house. Therefore, the relationships between people are still good. If one is hungry, he will find more than one to feed him, while outside the camp, the person would not know his neighbour. "

Excerpt from Saleh interview- Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

5.2.2 Identity and Representations

The relationship between empowerment, living experience, and identity in refugee contexts has been a topic of significant interest. Kleinschmidt (2015) highlights the disconnect between humanitarian organisations constructing camps and refugees themselves who build their own cities, emphasising the resilience of displaced communities. This asserts the importance of understanding the meanings and identification of everyday life, as emphasized by Mazanti and Pløger (2003). They

emphasise the significance of recognizing the components that contribute to a meaningful community through the utilisation of place. Consequently, long-existing camp cities are generated by making systems of sustainability and permanent temporariness; classifications of ethnic, racial, and national origins; creating borders in and out of urban areas; and fighting for rights and identity (Picker and Pasquetti 2015). Lefebvre's ideas regarding the right to the city and the production of space, as explained by Lelandais (2014), help residents perceive space as a means to recognise the collective identity of their communities. Empowerment is influenced by various capabilities, including social capabilities such as social belonging, a sense of identity, and leadership relations, as well as representation, voice, and organisational aspects (Blomkvist 2003). The term 'community' can be defined as a specific group of individuals residing in a particular area, characterised by a social structure that acknowledges their collective identity (Nutbeam and Kickbusch 1998).

Therefore, the second theme obtained from within the cognitive aspect of the social production of the streets to attain empowerment is '**identity and representation**'. When refugees are asked about representations and identity in general, they raise the Palestinian cause, but not as frequently as other themes.

However, through the processes of coding and categorising data, there were clear forms of representations such as family system clustering in which refugees chose to live around family since the beginning of the camp, and if someone was assigned a tent located far from family, they used to exchange locations. Another form of representation is the similarity of the camp to home cities. Another form of identity representation is working on tangible and intangible kinds of heritage such as embroidery, traditional cooking, traditional music, songs, dance, etc.

Refugees reported some forms of representing their Palestinian identity, sometimes intentionally and sometimes unintentionally. One of the unintentional forms of identity and representation is the analogy of the camp with the cities of the original refugees' homes.

"ومن الايجابيات انه يوجد ترابط بين الناس والجيران بيعرفوا بعضهم وما في بينهم رسميات. كمان من الايجابيات ان كل الخدمات قريبة علينا هي باختصار مدينة وما منطلع منها لان كل شيء متوفر فيها."

"Also, one of the positives is that all services are close to us. In short, it is a city and we do not have to leave it because everything is available here. "
- Excerpt from Um Eman interview- Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"بصراحة شيء واحد يربطني بالمخيم اني هنا اشعر وكاني اعيش في غزة. اقاربي هنا والناس كلها تعرف بعض ولكن كمكان هو لا يعني لي شيئا. وهنا التناقض يكمن في اني لا اشعر بسوء المكان لان الناس ينسوني اياه. لو كنت رح اسكن بعمان في فيلا لا اقبل لاني اريد ناسي ومعارفي فهنا لا اشعر بالغربة. "

"Honestly, one thing that connects me to the camp is that I feel here like I am living in Gaza. My relatives are here, and all the people know each other, but as a physical place, it does not mean anything to me. Here, the contradiction is that I don't feel like I am in a bad place because with community help, forget about it. If I were going to live in a villa in Amman, I would not accept it because I want my acquaintances, so here I do not feel alienated. "
- Excerpt from the School Principal Interview- Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

"مدينة مصغرة عن مدينتنا وبالنسبة للعمل التجاري اصنفها من المدن التجارية الكبيرة كقوة وعمل والتجارة قوية. "
"The camp is a mini city of any big city, and for business, I classify it as a big commercial city, as force, work, and trade here is good. "
- Excerpt from the grocery shop owner interview- Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

Furthermore, refugees reported that when they came to the camp, most of them used to assemble their tents with their relatives, leading to 'family clusters'. If they were assigned tents far from their relatives or families, they used to request from the agency to move to their family cluster. This depends on two points: first if there is available space to move, and second if there is another family that wants to move to the same area so that both families can exchange places.

"لكل شخص لديه نمرة في البداية سكنوا الناس في نظام العائلات كل عائلة سكنت في منطقة واطلقوا عليها اسم. "
"Everyone has a unit with 96m2, people, at the beginning, resided in the family system, every family took an area to live in, and every area has a name."
-Excerpt from an interview with a man (anonymous name) at Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

" كان عشوائي, ولكن في حالات اخوات واقارب كانوا ينقلون بجانب بعض وكان شي نادر لانه الوكالة قسمت الارض الى قطع 96م وحددوا لها ارقام فلم يكن من السهل التغيير."
"When it comes to the selection of the tents, it was random but, in some cases, relatives used to transfer their tents next to each other. However, it was extremely difficult to change the location, as the agency had already divided the land into 96 square metres blocks and assigned specific numbers to each one, the same number was also used to get our monthly allowance, and the tents were not assigned according to the cities that we came from. "

- Excerpt from Wael's interview at Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"المعظم هنا اختاروا ان يسكن الاقارب معا فتولد النظام العشائري."
"Most here chose to live close to their families, and the clan system has emerged."
- Excerpt from Abu Ghassan's interview- Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

"نعم الاشخاص يختارون الاماكن على حسب العشائر كل عشيرة لها منطقة."
"Yes, people choose places according to clans, every clan has a block."
- Excerpt from the School Principal Interview- Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

Another form of identity representation is to symbolise the camp for the 'Palestinian cause':

"كلنا تربينا ان المخيم يعني القضية الفلسطينية. وافضل العيش في المخيم"
"We were all raised on the fact that the camp represents a symbol for our cause, and I would rather live in this camp, regardless of how things are tough here than anywhere else."
- Excerpt from Zaid's interview at the Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"نحن لا نستغني عن المخيم لانه مكان نشأتي وطفولتي. ولكن نريد الافضل."
"We do not do without the camp because it is the place of my childhood and my childhood. But we want the best. "
- Excerpt from Hamza's interview- Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"المخيم هو قضيتي و وطني يهمني جدا فقد تربيت فيه بالرغم من مشاكله ولكن هو بالنسبه لي هو شيء مهم جدا."
"The camp is my cause and my country that is very important to me. I was raised in it despite its problems, but for me, it is a very important thing. "
- Excerpt from Eman's interview in Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"طبعا الواحد بحب المخيم اكيد."
"Of course, people love the camp, of course."
- Excerpt from Saleh's interview- Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

Working in some professions that represent their heritage, such as embroidery, which was part of their culture and traditions, is considered one of the representations of identity:

"عملت في التطريز في المنزل. وكان الكثير من السيدات يجتمعون للتطريز وهي طريقة للحفاظ على التراث و الثوب الفلسطيني كما انها تجلب دخل. "

"I worked in embroidery at home. Many women used to gather to embroider, which is a way to preserve the Palestinian heritage and dress and also brings income. "
- Excerpt from Um Eman's interview- in Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

" كنت اعمل بالخياطة في بيتي, خياطة اللحف وهكذا. والنساء بشكل عام كانوا يعملون بالخياطة والتطريز في المنزل. "

"I never worked. But I used to sew at home, quilt and so on. Women, in general, were sewing and embroidery workers at home. "
- Excerpt from Etidal's interview in the Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"النساء غالبا يعملون بالتطريز. يوجد جمعية اجنبية تاخذ المطرزات وتبيعها برا المخيم. وبعض الاعمال اليدوية والمهنية. "

"Women in the camp often work in embroidery. There is a foreign association that takes these embroideries and sells them outside the camp. Also, they work in some crafts professions."
- Excerpt from Suaad's interview- Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

5.2.3 Produced living experience.

The manipulation and development of the built environment with realistic and measurable design reflections proved a better healthy living experience (Byler et al. 2015). It is the living experience itself that undergoes continuous change, with inhabitants actively attributing meaning to it (Soja 1996). Various elements play a role in this experience, including simpler qualities, actions, and objects that can enhance and expand it. According to Bogdanov A. (2016), "things" refer to physical objects or phenomena that are singled out and given significance based on their usefulness or harmfulness in labour processes or their relevance to social practices. Consequently, the literature on the social production of space provides insights into the interpretation of the social-spatial-temporal aspects that shape the evolving everyday living experience of refugees, viewed through the lens of Lefebvre's spatial triad (1991). As

such, the recreation of everyday life can be achieved as an artistic endeavour, with active practitioners working to develop the living experience (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 227).

Therefore, the third theme obtained from data within the cognitive aspect of the social production of streets to attain empowerment is the produced living experience. These experiences were reported by refugees throughout the conversations. The living experience is the main characteristic that facilitates the processes of social production of streets, and it is also a product of these processes. Refugees stated different positive and negative living experiences throughout their lives in the camp. The positive living experiences, such as safety, liveability, and life, feel like a home city, while the negative living experiences are harsh living conditions and not feeling settled in the camps.

5.2.3.1 Negative living experience

Examples of reporting 'negative living experience', such as being busy all day with work to meet their needs:

"كانت الحياة الاجتماعية اجمل قبلا عندما كانت البيوت من زينكوا كانت الناس علاقاتها اقوى. لان الحياة تغيرت والناس مشغولين في اعمالهم حتى يقدر على مطالب الحياة."

'Social life was better before when we lived in zinc houses, people had stronger relationships. Because life has changed, and people are busy with their jobs to be able to meet the demands of life. '

- Excerpt from Adnan and his wife's interview- Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"لم يكن يوجد انشطة اجتماعية لان الاوضاع لاتسمح للشخص الا ان ينشغل بالعمل طوال اليوم."

'There were no social activities because the conditions kept people busy with work all day.'

- Excerpt from Etidal's interview in the Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

" كانت موجودة قديما في الديوان والمقاهي ولكن الان لم تعد موجودة اذ اصبح الناس مشولين جدا في اعمالهم ويعودون في وقت متاخر لهذا لايوجد وقت للخروج ممكن ان اجلس مع جاري عالباب فقط ما في مكان مافي خيار تاني. وممكن للنسوان الجلوس ايضا معا [..] في وقت للحياة الاجتماعية خاصة اذا كنت بشتغل لكن اذا ما كنت بشتغل زي هلا أنا وصالح (مشيرًا إلى جاره الجالس بجانبه) منقعد طول اليوم عند باب البيت, اذا دخلت عالبيترح نتخانق انا و زوجتي والاولاد ،لانه البيت صغير وبحس مافي الي مكان لاقعد في المنزل [...] العلاقات بين الناس لسا فيها خير. اذا واحد جوعان بلاقي اكتر من حدا يطعميه ولكن برا المخيم بتلاقي الشخص ما بعرف جاره. والناس ملتهين بالشغل."

"Now, at the current time, … everyone is busy with his work. It was present in the old days in Al-Diwan and cafes, but now it no longer exists, as people have become very busy with their work. Also, work late, so there is no time to socialise. Sometimes, I sit

with my neighbour at the door front in the evenings, as there is no other choice. Women can also sit together. […] there is no time for socialisation especially if I'm working but if I'm not, just like this I and Saleh (pointing to his neighbour sitting next to him) sit the whole day at the door front if I sit inside the house I would be confrontational to my wife and kids, so where I'm my going to be there is no room for me to be in the house. Therefore, the relations between people are still good. If one is hungry, he will find more than one to feed him, while outside the camp, the person would not know his neighbour. Nowadays people are distracted by their work before there were problems and pressures when people did not use to work. "

- Excerpt from Saleh's interview- Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

"هذه ترجع للانسان نفسه ودافعه النفسي. فانا اقدر اعيش على المعونة المالية ولا اعمل. اذ ان الشخص يحب ان يتطور."

"This is due to the person himself, his motivation. I can live on finances, and I cannot work. (A lady comes to ask for money), but anyone loves to develop his situation.

- Excerpt from the interview of a grocery store owner at the Jerash camp. Translated by the author. "

"بالنسبة لي ما بجتمع كتير لانه عندي المحل بقضي فيه يومي وقت الغداء فقط اذهب للبيت مافي مجال. لكن في اشخاص تجتمع وتسهر. يمر بعض الاصحاب من المحل يسلموا من برا ولا يدخلونه لانه محل لادوات التجميل واغلب الزبائن من النساء."

"For me, I don't meet a lot, because I have the shop to spend a day in and have lunch just go home, there is no room. But some people meet and gather. Some friends may pass through the store and say hello from outside and not enter because it is a cosmetic store and most of the customers are women. "

- Excerpt from the cosmetics shop owner interview- Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

Another reported negative living experience is a 'lack of privacy'. Refugees described living in the camp with adjacent dwellings as living in one space as neighbours can hear each other and even smell their neighbours cooking:

"نسمع الجيران كما ان لدي جارة مطبخها عند غرفة نومي ودائما يوجد رائحة طبيخ في غرفتي."
"Where we hear the neighbours, because I have a neighbour whose kitchen is adjacent to my bedroom and there is always a smell of cooking in my room. "
- Excerpt from Adnan's interview in Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"كما انه لا يوجد مسافة تهوية بين الجيران هي تقريبا 50 سم ولهذا تجد الشبابيك عالية جدا حتى لايكشف الجيران بعضهم. وكأننا في سجن مصغر. السكن صغير جدا لو طبخ الجيران نشم الرائحة."
"Also, there is no ventilation distance between houses, which is approximately 50 cm, so you find very high so that the neighbours do not reveal each other. As if we are in a mini prison. The residence is too small that one can smell the neighbours cooking. "
- Excerpt from Abu Mahmoud's interview at Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"قرب المنازل من بعضها والتي تقلل من الخصوصية ولكن الناس تعودت. وايضا المساحات الضيقة اذ ان مساحة 96م مربع صغيرة للعائلات الكبيرة. ولكن بشكل عام الوضع حاليا افضل كخدمات وناحية تعليمية وناحية معيشية"

" The main problem is the proximity of houses which do not provide any privacy, but people have become accustomed to this; another issue is the narrow spaces within houses, especially for big families. "

- Excerpt from Zaid's interview at Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"جميع الخدمات متوفرة ولكن تشعر بعدم الراحة بسبب الكثافة السكانية كما انه لا يوجد مسافة بين الجيران فاذا تكلمنا يسمعنا الجيران كما ان الاولاد اذا لعبوا في الشارع وكأنهم يلعبون داخل المنزل. "

"All services are available, but you feel uncomfortable due to the population density, and there is not enough distance between the neighbours, so if we talk, neighbours hear us, just as the children play in the street as if they are playing inside the house. "

- Excerpt from Hamza's interview at Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"البيوت عندنا الباب بالباب وطبعا الكل يسمع بس عادي. بعض الخصوصيات تبقى اسرار بيوت ولكن اذا حصل شجار في عائلة نسمعها اكيد واذا ما سمعتي من الباب تسمع من الشباك (تضحك). "

"The houses are so close door by door, and of course, everyone hears everything, but it is normal. Some home secrets remain private, but if a family quarrelles, we hear it for sure, and if you do not hear it from the door, you will hear it from the window (she laughs). "

- Excerpt from the interview with two street vendors – Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

"نعم امان والحمدلله. (تضحك) ييبي لا تسالي! كله بيسمع بعضه. بس احنا تعودنا على هذا الامر. يعني بتسمعي جارتك جوزها بناقشها ليش طلعتي, ليش ما طبختي؟ هذا عادي من ضمن الروتين اليومي ولا نتدخل في هذه الامور. ولكن اذا وصلت الامور للضرب ممكن ان يتم التدخل. ونحن بعلاقتنا نمون على بعض ونتدخل بالكلمة الطيبة. "

"Privacy! (Laughs) Yeah, don't ask! We all hear each other. But we get used to this matter. I mean, when you hear your neighbour and her husband discussing their daily life issues like cooking and going out, it is normal within our daily routine, and we do not interfere in these matters. But if things got more violent, we intervened. As in our strong relationships, we intervene with kind words."

- Excerpt from Suaad's interview-Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

"نعم, هلا في خصوصية, احسن من قبل بكتير وبالنسبة الي ببيتي هون احسن من غيري. بيعتمد على البنى والمسافة بين البيوت. ومع هيك لسا منسمع الجيران منيح, بنتي هداك اليوم حكتلي شو كانوا بيحكوا جيراننا [تضحك] عم بدوروا على عروس لابنهم [تضحك] وهي متمددة على فرشتها."

"Yes, currently we have privacy, much better than before, and for me, it is better than others. It depends on the structure of the house and the distances between the houses. But you can still hear your neighbours very clearly my daughter the other day was telling me what our neighbours are talking about [laughing]. They are looking for a bride for their son [laughing]. I heard them while she was lying down on her bed."

- Excerpt from Manal's interview – The Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

"ايام الخيم الجميع كان يسمع بعض ولكن الان افضل قليلا مازلنا قد نسمع بعض الاشياء ولكن ليست كايام الخيم. "

"During living in tents, we used to hear everyone, but now it is a little better. We may still hear some things, but not like tent days."
- Excerpt from a young woman (anonymous name) interview in Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

"يعني الواحد كان يسكن في خيمة ثم كرفان وهما نفس الشيء لم يتغير علي شيء. وهنا الكرفان يجاور كرفان اذا صاح جارك او بكى ابنه تسمعه يعني لا توجد راحة."
"I mean, one used to live in a tent and then a caravan, and they are the same, nothing has changed. Here, the caravan is adjacent to another caravan. If your neighbour shouted or his son cried, you heard it, it means that there is no rest."
- Excerpt from an interview with a shop owner (anonymous name) in the Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

People reported 'not feeling settled' most of the time during their living in the camp as another negative living experience:

"نعم اصبحنا في استقرار ويوجد تحسن بالحياة. وذلك عندما سمحوا ببناء الطوابق لنا. والعائلات كبرت واحتجنا للتوسع, الله يعيننا على حياتنا. […] ارتاحت النساء من التغييرات مثل تمديد المياه والكهرباء لانهم كانوا يعبون الماء في دلاء يوميا ولهذا استقروا والحياة اصبحت اسهل."
"Yes, we are kind of settled and our life has improved. And that is when they allowed them to build more floors. Families have grown, and we need to spatially expand; may God help us with our lives. [...] Women were relieved after the changes such as the extension of water and electricity because they used to collect water in buckets every day, so they settled down and life became easier."
- Excerpt from 5 women interviews at the Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"اما هي كحياة والله هي حياة صعبة. الحالة الوحيدة التي ممكن اخرج من المخيم من اجلها هي وجود العمل لاولادي."
"As for living, it is a difficult life. The only case in which I can live outside of the camp is if my sons find work outside."
- Excerpt Suaad's interview-Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

"الاستقرار هيك وهيك يعني بتعتمد على الشغل."
"Stability changes depending on work. As for comfort, no, by God, there is no rest. "
- Excerpt from Saleh's interview in Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

"انا مرتاح الان بما ان البيت اصبح كرفان واصبح لدينا حمام خاص. اذا ان في الخيم والحمامات العامة لم تكن الحياة جيدة ابدا وكنا على هذه الحالة 3 سنوات. ولكن لا اشعر بالاستقرار التام الحمدلله ولكن اولادي في المدارس واستقروا."
"As in tents we had public toilets, life was not good at all, and we were like this for 3 years. But I do not feel completely settled, praise be to God, but my children are in school and settled. "
- Excerpt electronics repair shop - The Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

"نعم في استقرار ولكن ليس استقرار تام."

"Yes, we feel more settled, but not completely stable. "
- Excerpt grocery shop owner interview-The Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

Refugees also reported experiencing harsh living conditions such as a 'poor living environment':

"كان هذا البيت عبارة عن حظيرة اغنام احلف لقد كان حظيرة اغنام وجئنا عليه نظفناه وثم تبرع لنا الناس حتى حسناه وقسمناه كل شيء في البيت تبرع. "
"This house was a sheep barn, I swear it was, we cleaned it and people donated to us until we improved it, and we divided it, everything in the house is donated. "
- Excerpt from the interview with a woman in the Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"حيث كانت مياه الامطار تخترق السقف ودائما لدينا دلاء نضعها بين اولادي وهم نائمين حتى لا يتبلل ارض البيت. "
"As rainwater penetrated the roof, we always had buckets that I used to put between my sleeping children so that the floor of the house did not get wet. "
- Excerpt from Um Mahmoud's interview-the Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"عندما اتيت للمخيم بيتي كان عبارة عن خرابة من الاسبست يربون فيها الاغنام. وبنيناه بالتدريج عن طريق الجمعيات, هيك كل المخيم بكون في مجموعة بدفعوا مبلغ شهري وكل شهر يعطى المبلغ الكامل لاحد. "
"When I came to the camp, my house was an old, ruined asbestos structure, where sheep were raised. We built our house gradually through a financial association. The entire camp participates in these financial associations. "
- Excerpt Suaad's interview-Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

"والله من ناحية انشائية ومعمارية وانسانية هي عار! نعم عار في كل المقاييس يعني نظام تهوية سيء جدا , رطوبة قاتلة جدا ومعظم المخيم يعانون من امراض بسبب هذه الرطوبة. نحن نعيش كابراج الحمام مضغوط جدا . "
"In terms of construction, architecture, and humanity, it is a shame! Yes, it is a shame, by all accounts, I mean the ventilation system is very bad, the humidity is very lethal, and most people suffer from diseases because of this humidity. We live like a dovecote in a very dense situation. "
- Excerpt school principal's interview -Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

"الشوارع غير معبدة عم نستنى فيها. المستشفيات موزعة عالدائري يعني بعيدين عني والازمة فيها كتيرة يعني اذا بدك موعد ايكو بدك تستنى اسبوعين .الحمدلله هون امان كتير واستقرار بس مافي راحة نفسية من ناحية انه لسا البيت بده تزبيط يعني مثلا داخل الكرفان مامنقدر نقعد في هذا الحر وبالشتوية باردة جدا . "
"The streets are not paved. Here we are waiting for them to be paved. Also, hospitals are distributed on the Ring Road, they are far from me and the crowding there, so if you want to have an Echocardiogram you will have to wait at least two weeks. "Yes, sure it is safe and stable, but there is no ultimate comfort in terms of the fact that the house is still uncomfortable, I mean, for example, inside the caravan, we cannot sit in this heat and in winter it is very cold. "

- Excerpt Manal's interview-The Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

"والله الكرفان الاول مهترئ الان هي مليئة بالرطوبة والعفن وانا لدي ربو. لذا استخدمها كمخزن لوضع اغراضي فقط. النوم والاكل وكل شيء في الكرفانة الثانية. وبنيت صالة بين الكرفانتين."

"Well, the first caravan is worn out now. It is a humid, musty place, and I have asthma. So, I use it as a warehouse to store my items only. Sleeping, eating and everything in the second cabin. And a hall was built between the two caravans. "
- Excerpt stationery shop owner (anonymous name) interview-The Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

Increasing 'population density' is a problem that affects people's lives:

"الكثافة السكانية زادت كثير و العمران زاد. هنا في المخيم زادت الكثافة السكانية بشكل كبير ولا يوجد اي متنفس ابدا. اذكر عندما كنت صغيرا عمري حوالي 15 او 16 كان لدينا ساحات للعب والان الغيت لا يوجد. الساحات اصبح فيها عمارات."

"First, the population density increased a lot, just as urbanisation increased. Here in the camp, the population density has increased dramatically and there is never any public space. I remember when I was young, about 15 or 16, we used to have playgrounds, and now it is closed. "
- Excerpt from Hamza's interview- Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"الاكتظاظ شديد جدا اذ تضاعفت العائلة فتشعر بالاكتظاظ حتى داخل البيوت ومن نتائجه البطالة وهذا قد يؤدي للانحراف. "

"Overcrowding is very severe, as the family has doubled in size and feels overcrowded even inside homes. The consequence of this is unemployment, and this may lead to deviation. "
- Excerpt from Abu Anas's interview-The Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"اما اكثر شيئ يعاني منه الناس هنا هو الاكتظاظ السكاني لان المساحة محصورة جدا. "
"The thing that people suffer the most here is overpopulation because space is very limited. "
- Excerpt from Al Aidy's interview-The Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

5.2.3.2   Positive living experience

Unlike the negative living experience, refugees reported numerous 'positive living experiences', such as the resemblance of the camp to their home city, which was also a component that forms identity and representation. An additional positive living experience that refugees reported is safety, which was also a factor included in one of the causes of a sense of community. Finally, a strong social life is also a produced living experience, and it is part of the causes of the sense of community. Other forms of positive living experience are 'stability and feeling settled':

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"لم يسمحوا بسقف خرساني الى سنة 1987 حتى سمحوها وهو اهم تغيير حتى يستقر الناس. والبعض خرج خارج المخيم."

"They did not allow a concrete roof until 1987, which is the most important change so that people can settle down. Some people left the camp. "

- Excerpt man (anonymous name) interview-The Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"نعم اصبحنا في استقرار ويوجد تحسن بالحياة. وذلك عندما سمحوا ببناء الطوابق لنا. والعائلات كبرت واحتجنا للتوسع, الله يعيننا على حياتنا. ارتاحت النساء من التغييرات مثل تمديد المياه والكهرباء لانهم كانوا يعبون الماء في دلاء يوميا ولهذا استقروا والحياة اصبحت اسهل."

"Yes, we are kind of settled and our life has improved. And that is when they allowed them to build more floors. Families have grown, and we need to spatially expand; may God help us with our lives. Women were relieved after the changes such as the extension of water and electricity because they used to collect water in buckets every day, so they settled down and life became easier. "

- Excerpt from 5 women interviews at the Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"اه طبعا فرقت الحياة. هو اللي بالخيمة زي اللي بالبيت؟ الناس يعني اخدت وضعها وصارت احسن من اول بكثير والحمدلله. الذي يملك المال يعيش والذي لا يملكه يضل فقير وحالته صعبة. الحياة تغيرت للاحسن ان شاءالله هو اكيد اول المخيم مش مثل الحين كل شي اتحسن."

"Yes, of course, life has changed. One who lives in a tent surely is not like the one who lives in a built house! I mean, people settled and living became much better than before, thank God. One who has money lives well, while those who do not have it remain in a poor and difficult condition. Life has changed for the better; to God's will, it is certain that the situation at the beginning of the camp, not like now, everything got better."

- Excerpt from the interview with women street vendors-Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

"نعم يوجد استقرار"

"Yes, we are settled".

- Excerpt from the interview with the owner of the bike repair shop-Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

"نعم في استقرار كثيرا الحمدلله. الحمدلله لدينا راحة نفسية. خرجت خارج المخيم مدة ثلاث ايام لزيارة اخي في مدينة اربد ولم ارتاح الا عندما رجعت للمخيم يعني هنا الواحد يرتاح."

"Yes, we feel settled a lot. Praise be to God; we are very comfortable. I went to visit my brother in Irbid for three days and was not comfortable until I returned to the camp. I mean, here is more comfortable. "

- Excerpt from cosmetics shop owner interview -The Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

Another positive living experience is the 'liveability' of both residential and commercial types of streets, creating a positive and energetic atmosphere for refugees:

"النساء قديما كانوا يجتمعون عند حنفيات تعبئة المياه او في الفرن للخبز. ثم اصبحوا يعملون في الحصيد والله عانينا عيشتنا صعبة كانت. "

"In the past, women would gather at public taps to fill water or in the oven to bake. Then they started working in the harvest. By God, our life was difficult. "

- Excerpt from an interview of a woman (anonymous name) in the Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"الاطفال ملعبهم الشارع وانا بنتي تخرج عند باب البيت تلعب مع بنت الجيران فقط. بنوا حديقة قريبة ولكن لا احد يذهب اليها اذ لايوجد من يرعاها واصبحت مرتعا للشباب. "

"Children play on the street, and my daughter goes out near the house playing with the neighbour only. They built a nearby park, but no one would go there because no one to care for and monitor it, and it became a hotbed for young people. "

 Excerpt from Adnan's wife's interview – The Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"كما انه في المناسبات لا يوجد الا الشارع حتى في المناسبات مثل الافراح والاتراح ينصبون الناس صيوانات في الشارع لانه لا يوجد مكان اخر او مجال في البيوت وهذه مشكلة نحن نعاني منها اهالي المخيم لان قد يستمر اغلاق الشارع 3 و4 ايام."

"Also, on occasions, there are only streets, even on occasions such as weddings, people set up large tents and block the street because there is no other place or space in the houses, and this is a problem we suffer from in the camp because the street closure can continue for 3 and 4 days. "

- Excerpt from Abu Mahmoud's interview – The Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"السوق مزدحم كثيرا لان الكثير من البسطات تتعدى على الشارع ولامجال للاشخاص ان يمشوا في الشارع. "

"The market is very crowded because many vendors and stalls encroach on the street and there is no room for people to walk on the street. "

- Excerpt from Abu Ahmad's interview – The Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"السوق القديم في الداخل اما الشارع الرئيسي اصبح سوق متاخرا قد اصبح سوقا لانه اوسع شارع في المخيم وينفذ الى القرى الاخرى حول المخيم. "

"The old market in the middle of the camp. As for the main street, it has become a market later. It has become a market because it is the largest street in the camp and leads to other villages around the camp. "

- Excerpt from Abu Ghassan's interview, Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

"الاطفال يلعبون بالشوارع اذ انه لا توجد حدائق ولا يوجد اماكن ترفيهية للاطفال لذا الشارع ملعبهم. "

"Children play in the streets, as there are no parks and no entertainment places for children, so the street is their playground. "
- Excerpt from Khalid's interview – Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

"يوجد اكتفاء ذاتي كل شيء متوفر ما بحتاج اخرج خارج المخيم لاي شيء. [...]كان شارع السوق هو الشارع الوحيد المعبد منذ بداية المخيم وبدأت الناس بعرض بضاعاتها هناك حتى تطور وفتحت محلات "
"There is self-sufficiency. Although the camp is separated everything is available, and I do not need to go outside the camp for anything. […] The market street was the only paved street since the beginning of the camp, and people began to display their products there until the development of stores".
- Excerpt from Manal's interview – Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"في البداية بدأت الناس بوضع خيم في هذا الشارع الرئيس. (سيدة تأتي للمحل لطلب صرافة). انا عندما جئت للمخيم كان عدد الناس فيه قليل جدا فتحت محل بسيط لبيع الخضرة وبعض المواد التموينية, ثم كثر الناس وزاد انشاء المحلات من خلال حجز المواقع على هذا الشارع عن طريق وضع الخيم. وهذا نشأ السوق. حسن وضع الناس والحياة فاذ كل شيء متوفر الان."
"At first, people started to set up tents on this main street. (A woman comes to the store to ask for cash change). When I got to the camp, there were a few people. I opened a small shop to sell vegetables and some food supplies. Then the number of people increased, and the establishment of shops increased by reserving sites on this street by placing tents. This originated in the market. It facilitated people's lives because everything is now available. "
- Excerpt from interview with a bike repair shop owner – Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

The cognitive level of social production of space in the streets of refugee camps includes complex processes and qualities under the three themes; the sense of community, identity, and representation, and produced living experience. The changes in these processes throughout time result in producing different cognitive levels that operate differently in the social production processes.

The structural level of social production of space is associated with spatial practice and the structure of the camp. This level includes spatial actions and spatial activities as theory-driven themes while the theme design issues were inducted from data within the structural level; these structural level themes are illustrated in Figure (5-11).

5.3   The structural level
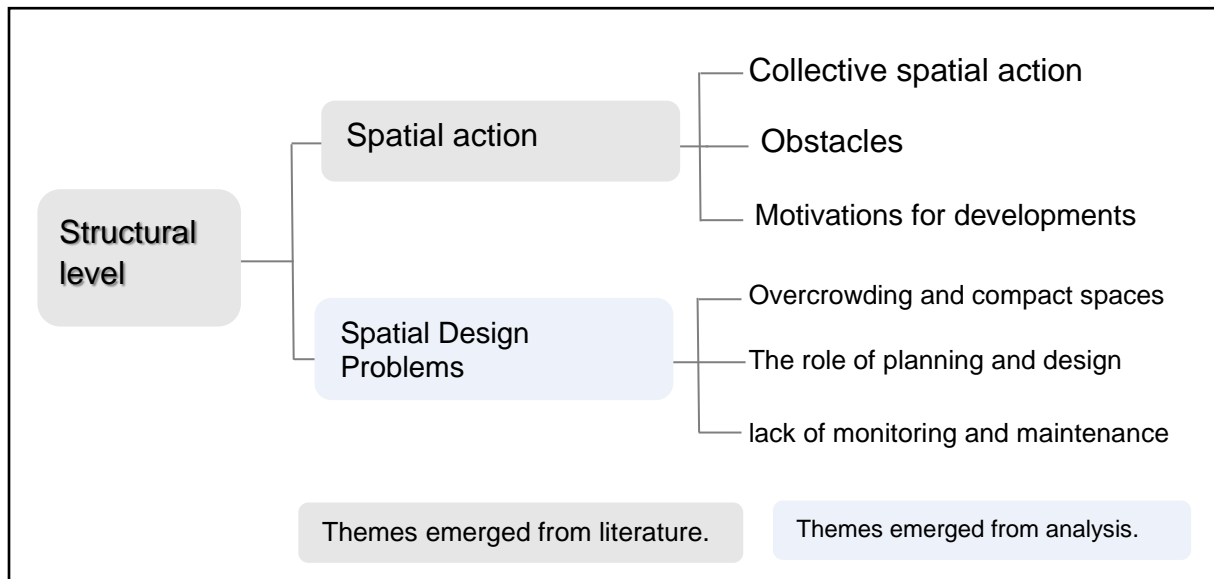
Figure 5-10: Themes of the structural level; themes emerged from literature and emerged from data.

5.3.1   Spatial action

From a comprehensive perspective from the literature, cognitive and structural approaches highlight the significance of spatial experience in empowering refugees (Kasmel 2011). The concept of the production of space is important as it includes all aspects of the urban environment within a systematic and inclusive social theory, which allows analysis and understanding of the spatial processes at different levels (Schmid 2008b). Soja (2010) further emphasises that everything social is inherently spatial, and conversely, everything spatial is inherently social. Within the refugee context, the social systemic models undergo continuous spatial transformations shaped by conflicts of interest and tensions between different governance approaches, such as top-down and bottom-up models (Harrouk 2021). It is crucial to recognise that space is an evident structure of social existence that plays a central role (West-Pavlov, 2009). In line with this, Löw (2008) argues that the social sciences often focus on exploring the potential of space as a framework for creating diversity and plurality.

The selection of subthemes, namely collective spatial action, forms of spatial appropriation, motivations, and obstacles, are components of spatial actions guided

by their significance within the research context and the objective of comprehending the social production of space in refugee settings. These subthemes have been derived from literature and data, and they capture essential elements of how refugees interact with and shape their space.

Collective spatial action refers to the collaborative actions taken by individuals or groups in utilizing their streets as public spaces. Forms of spatial appropriation encompass the various ways in which refugees claim space for their specific needs and activities. Motivations explore the underlying drivers and incentives that prompt refugees to engage in spatial actions, while obstacles represent the challenges that hinder taking these spatial actions.

5.3.1.1 Collective spatial action

Collective spatial action refers to any type of spatial activity that was shared between people that is made collectively, such as spatial extensions that encroach streets and the emergence of market streets. One of these shared activities is the 'emergent of the market street'. This commercial street had a huge influence on the lives of refugees:

"بدأ السوق عند مجمع الباصات ومن ثم امتد حتى اصبح السوق الرئيسي ووجود هذا السوق سهل حياة الناس اذ قبل كنا نضطر ان نجلب اغراضنا مشيا على الاقدام من خارج المخيم ونحملهم على رؤوسنا."
"The market started in the bus station and then expanded until it became the main market, and the existence of this market facilitated people's lives because before we had to bring our things on foot from outside the camp and carry them on our heads. "
- Excerpt from 5 women interviews at the Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"السوق نشأ في مكان ماكانت الناس تضع بسطاتها او خيمها وتبيح وحولوها لبراكيات ثم مباني وضل في نفس المكان منذ بداية المخيم."
"The market arose in a place where people used to place their stands or tents to sell goods, then they were transformed into brackets, then buildings. It remained at the same place since the beginning of the camp. "
- Excerpt from Abu Nimer's interview- Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"السوق نشا منذ بداية المخيم منذ عام 1968 كان في المنطقة هذه (يؤشر) ثم عند وضع البراكيات وتصميم المخيم اوجدوا مكان للسوق اما الشارع الرئيسي الذي يقسم المخيم هذا جديد نسبيا."
"The market arose since the beginning of the camp in 1968, it was in this area (pointing). Then when the prefabricated houses were installed and the camp was

designed, they created a place for the market. As for the main street that divides the camp, this is relatively new. Whoever does not have a job opens a small shop because there is no second option, and it is the easiest solution. "

- Excerpt from Abu Khaldoun's interview in Jerash Camp. Translated by the author.

" كان في منطقة وسطية بلشت الناس تحط بسطات وتجيب بضاعة وتبيع. وبعدين في ناس بلشت تفتح بمساكنها بقالات او تبيع يعني كل البقالات كانت وحدات سكنية. ثم كبر ونشأ السوق في الرئيسي في نفس مكان هاي البسطات"

"In a central area, people used to show and sell goods on the street. Then some people opened grocery shops in their dwellings, meaning all the groceries were in residential units before. Then it became the main market in the same place."

- Excerpt from Abu Rami's interview-Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

"مدينة مصغرة عن مدينة كبيرة وبالنسبة للعمل التجاري اصنفها من المدن التجارية الكبيرة كقوة وعمل والتجارة هنا قوية. طبعا حسن حياة الناس كثيرا. مثلا لدي شابين يعملان هنا يساعدون اهاليهم. كما انني ادعم اكثر من 50 محل اذ يأخذون البضاعة وعندما بيبعونها يسددون ثمنها وكل محل يساعد عائلة او اثنتين. هذا الشارع كان معبد من بداية المخيم وثم الحاجة جعلت الناس تصنع بعض الاشياء من المواد المتوافرة وتعمل بها مثل قص برميل من الصاج لخبز الخبز عليه ثم بدأ بالبيع. وفي هذا الشارع اصبحت الناس تنصب الخيام عليه وتبيع. ثم وضعوا الكرفانات الى ان اصبح سوق نظامي. "

"A mini city from any big city, and for business, I classify it as a big commercial city as work, and trade here is good. Of course, the market has improved people's lives a lot. For example, I have two young men working here helping their families. I also support more than 50 stores as they take the goods, and when they sell them, they pay me, and every shop helps one or two families. The need for a lot of things that were not available in the camp forced people to create things from the available materials, such as cutting a barrel of tin to bake bread on it, then this became a job and started a trade. This street was paved from the beginning of the camp on this street, where people pitched tents and started selling what they made or brought. Then they replaced them with caravans until they became a regular market. "

- Excerpt from grocery shop owner interview – the Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

"كان اغلب السوق من الزينكو والبعض كان خيم ثم استبدلتها الناس بالكرفانات وثم بدأو باستبدال ارضيات الكرفانات الخشبية بصبة خرسانية. لان الارضيات الخشبية لا تتحمل. ومع وجود السوق حسنت حياة الكثير من الناس ولكن ايضا قلت التبرعات كثيرا. كل شيء متوفر وموجود داخل المخيم. "

"Most of the market was made of zinc sheets, and some were in tents. Then people replaced them with caravans and then they began replacing the wooden floors of the caravan with a concrete cast. Because wood floors are not durable. With the presence of the market, the lives of many people improved as everything is available in the camp, but donations also decreased greatly. "

 -Excerpt from Abu Khalid's interview- Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

Another form of collective spatial action is 'violations on the streets'. Refugees tend to add extensions to their dwellings or shops that encroach on the street. These violations were a collective pattern of spatial transformation that existed among most of the camp's streets, see Figures (5-11, 5-12, 5-13).

a)

b)

Figure 5-11: violations on a) residential street, b) commercial street – The Baqaa. Source: Author, Fieldwork

a)

b)

Figure 5-12: violations on a) residential street, b) commercial street – Jerash camp. Source: Author, Fieldwork

a)

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b)

Figure 5-13: violations on a) residential street, b) commercial street – The Zaatari. Source: Author, Fieldwork

"السوق مزدحم كثيرا لان الكثير من البسطات تتعدى على الشارع ولامجال للاشخاص ان يمشوا في الشارع."

"The market is very crowded because many vendors and stalls encroach on the street and there is no room for people to walk on the street. "

-Excerpt from Abu Ahmad's interview at the Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"ثم في 2012 سمحنا ببناء الطابق الثاني ولكن بشروط فعلى من يرغب ببناء طابق ثاني فعليه ان يحضر كتاب من مكتب هندسي مصدق من نقابة المهندسين ان المبنى آمن هندسيا ولا يشكل خطورة على ساكنيه وعلى المباني المجاورة. ثم هنا بدأ المواطنين يبنون لانفسهم الا من كان وضعه سيء جدا فنبني له غرفة ومطبخ وحمام. كما يتم الكشف على المبنى بعد البناء للتاكد من عدم وجود المخالفات ونحن نتجاوز عن المخالفات الصغيرة لان الناس هنا غير مرتاحة."

"Then in 2012 we allowed building the second floor, but with conditions, those who wish to build a second floor must bring a letter from an engineering office certified by the Association of Engineers that the building is safe and does not pose a threat to its residents and neighbouring buildings. Then people here began to build for themselves, except for those whose situation was very bad, so we built a room for them, a kitchen and a bathroom. Also, the building is inspected after construction to make sure that there are no violations, and we overlook small violations because people here are not comfortable. "

-Excerpt from Al Aidy's interview-The Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"هذا المخيم سمح البناء فيه بالثمانينيات. قبل هذا كان مثل مخيم الزعتري. قبل التسعينيات لم يسمح ببناء عقدة السقف. يعني الجدران مبنية والسقف زينكو. في التسعينيات سمحوا ببناء طابق اول والان سمحوا ببناء طابقين. ويوجد الكثير من المخالفات. لكن البناء في المخيم كان بالتدريج بامر من الحكومة ودائرة الشؤون. الناس متمسكة في المخيم لان الاراضي هنا ملكيتها تكون للناس اما خارج المخيم فلا يجوز ان نتملك) يجب اخذ اذنا من دائرة الشؤون الفلسطينية والتي تقوم بمقام البلدية. ويأتون للكشف ولكن يتجاوزون عن كثير من المخالفات. ونادر جدا ان يهدوا بعض الاعتداءات وهم يتغاضون عن هذه المخالفات لانه لا توجد شكاوي. اذا ان الجيران حتى لو ضايقوا على بعضهم لا يشتكون لضيق الحال واذا لم يكن هناك شكاوي لا تكشف الدائرة."

"Then, in the 1990s, they allowed the construction of a first floor, and now they allow two floors to be built. Of course, there are a lot of violations. So, construction in the camp was gradual due to the government and DPA. People are attached to the camp because ownership here is for people, but outside the camp, it is not permissible for us to own properties). [...] Permission should be taken from the DPA, which acts as a municipality here. They come to examine the situation at home but overlook many violations. It is very rare for them to demolish these violations if there are no complaints. If neighbours are affected by each other's construction, they do not complain because they all have the same situation, and if there are no complaints, the department overlooks the violation. "

-Excerpt from Abu Ghassan's interview-Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

"لايوجد ملكية ولكن البيت يسجل في المفوضية. الاساس عدم التعدي على الشارع والاتفاق بين الناس."

"There is no ownership, but the house is registered with the commission. The basis is not to encroach on the street and the agreement between people. "

-Excerpt from the bike repair shop interview-The Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

"جيدة وكل شيء متوفر. ولكن يوجد بعض المشاكل مثل التحرش اللفظي. وهناك مشاكل بين بعض الجيران الذين يتعدون على مساحات بعضهم."

"Life is good and everything is available. But there are some problems, such as verbal harassment. And there are problems between some neighbours that encroach on each other's spaces. "

-Excerpt Sameera's interview-The Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

5.3.1.2   *Spatial appropriation*

Another form of spatial action is 'spatial appropriation', which includes all forms of incremental spatial expansions in encroachments made in residential and commercial streets. Refugees described how they defined their own units' boundaries from the beginning of the camp's development until today, regardless of their legal ownership status, which was formally registered very recently.

" بالنسبة للمساكن. اول شيء الوكالة وزعتهم, وعانينا من هاي الخيم شتا وبرد فبلشت الناس كل واحد يعمر على حسابه يعني اللي يقدر يبني بنا واللي ما يقدر بضل زي ما هو لحد ما ربنا بيسرله ويعمر شوي شوي. اما الوكالة كانت تعمر

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غرفة ومطبخ وحمام فقط لبعض الناس اللي مابتقدر تعمر ولسا مسكنها عبارة عن زينكو بعد الكشف على مساكنهم مهما كان عدد الافراد. "

"Regarding housing, the agency provided tents which could not protect us from cold weather, this forced people, who could afford it, to build their own houses, and those who could not stay as they were until they could financially build a house even if it took them years to do so, and if you know that we came here two in number and now we are more than eight people. "

-Excerpt from Wael's interview at The Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"وكانوا مفتوحين على بعضهم لايوجد شيء بينهم. وهنا صار الناس يجمعون الحطب و يسورون فيه هذه المساحة لعمل حوش لانهم لا يمكلون المال وبهذه الطريقة حصر كل شخص لنفسه مكان خاص فيه ووضعوا ستائر بين كل منزل واخر. الناس انطلقت للعمل منذ جاؤوا الى المخيم الذي عمل في البلدية والذي عمل في الجيش وهكذا. بعض الناس الذين لهم املاك في غزة باعوها وبنوا هنا. اول شيئ بنوه هو انشاء اسوار بينهم وبين الجيران لتحديد مساحة 8* 12 حتى يقدرون على بناء منازلهم. "

"These units were opened to each other, there was nothing that defined the space. Here, people collected firewood and enclosed this space making a courtyard because they did not have money. In this way, each person confined himself to his own unit space and placed curtains between the houses. People started working when they came to the camp, some worked in the municipality, some worked with the army, etc. Some people who had properties in Gaza sold them and built them here instead. The first thing they allowed us to build was to set up walls between them and the neighbours to define an area of 8m per 12 m. area so that people could build their homes. "

-Excerpt from Abu Khaldoun's interview-Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

"حصل تطور كبير لما اجت الناس هون كانت الحياة عدم, صحراء مافي اي شيء من مقومات الحياة. الناس هنا انجزت الشعب عملاق عملوا المحلات والمخابز والمطاعم وحتى عدلوا على الكرفانات وعملوها بيوت مرتبة هناك اشخاص عملوا حدائق. "

"There has been great development because when people came here, life was nothing, this was a desert, and there was nothing of the necessities of life. People here are great, they have done everything, they opened shops, bakeries, and restaurants, and even modified the caravans and built proper houses, and some created gardens. "

-Excerpt from interview with a grocery store owner-The Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

5.3.1.3   *motivations for structural developments*

Another important factor supporting spatial action is the 'motivations behind all structural developments' to improve their built environment. Refugees reported many reasons that forced them to take these spatial actions, such as '**protection from weather conditions**', '**the need to expand'** to accommodate the growing number, and '**family convenience'**:

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"الحماية من الظروف الجوية وحتى لا نضع دلاء في كل مكان (تضحك) يعني حتى لا نتبهدل."

"Purpose for the change is the protection from weather conditions, and so that we do not put buckets everywhere (laughs) means so that we suffer. "

-Excerpt from the interview with Adnan and his wife in the Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"وسكنت في البراكية ثم من اسبستوس الى طوب وسقف زينكو هنا كانت في الشتاء تنقط المياه داخل المنزل وترين طناجر ودلاء في كل مكان. ثم اصبحت الناس تصب صبة خرسانية للسقف."

"I lived in a prefabricated house, then made from asbestos to brick and zinc sheet roof. In winter, there was water dripping inside the house and you could see pots and buckets everywhere. Then the people poured concrete on the roof. "

-Excerpt from Abu Nimer's interview – The Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"اول ما اجينا حطونا بخيام. والمخيم كان كله طين والخيم مع الهوا بتطير. وبالثلج تهبط الخيمة من وزن الثلج. الحمدلله هلا الوضع تحسن وصرنا نبني. واحسن من قبل."

"At first when we came here, we lived in tents. The camp was all muddy and tents were blown by winds. Tents were used to fall from the snow weight. Thanks to God, the living conditions have improved, and we can build now, it is better than before. "

-Excerpt from two women street vendors interview – Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

"اعيش حياة كريمة. اما بالنسبة للتوسع فلا يوجد شخص راض عن المساحة. لانها لاتكفي لاسرة اكثر من 5 افراد في حين انك تجد اسر من 12 فرد. التغييرات هذه كلها كنت مجبر عليها والمستوى اقل بكثير من الذي نطمح له."

"To live a decent life. Regarding expansion, no one is satisfied with the space area. Because it is not enough for a family of more than 5, while most families are of 10 and 12. All these changes have been forced upon me, and the level is much less than what we hope for. "

-Excerpt from Abu Ghassan's interview – Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

"التوسعة والظروف الجوية. واغلب الناس غيرت بيتها فقط الناس المحتاجة لم تستطع على التغيير."

"Expansion and weather conditions. Most people changed their houses, except those who have a bad financial situation, which makes them unable to change."

-Excerpt from Abu Khalid's interview – The Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

"اهم شيء هو الحماية من الظروف الجوية. اذ ان المناخ هنا قاسي فهو حار جدا في الصيف وبارد جدا بالشتاء. وايضا الحماية من الغبار والزواحف والحشرات."

"The most important thing is protection from weather conditions. The climate here is harsh, as it is very hot in summer and very cold in winter. In addition, protection against dust, reptiles, and insects. "

-Excerpt from the interview with the shop owner at the Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

Other motivations for spatial actions are the 'prolonged situation' and the need for stability.

"ثم من عمل وجمع مالا بنى لنفسه بيتا. ولم يسمحوا بسقف خرساني الى سنة 1987 حتى سمحوها وهو اهم تغيير حتى يستقر الناس. والبعض خرج خارج المخيم."

"They did not allow a concrete roof until 1987, which is the most important change so that people can settle down. Some people left the camp. "

-Excerpt from Wael's interview at the Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"نعم اصبحنا في استقرار ويوجد تحسن بالحياة. وذلك عندما سمحوا ببناء الطوابق لنا."

"Yes, kind of settled and our life has improved. And that is when they allowed them to build more floors. "

- Excerpt from 5 women interviews at the Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"الامور اصبحت احسن بكثير من قبل. والناس اصبحت مقتنعة ان البقاء في المخيم سيكون طويلا وان الرجوع الى سوريا صعب وليس قريبا. وبعد التغييرات ابحت النفس مطمئنة والبال مرتاح."

"Things got a lot better than before. People have become convinced that staying in the camp will be long and that returning to Syria is difficult and not soon. After the changes, we became reassured and had a relaxed mind. "

- Excerpt from Abu Khalid's interview – The Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

"كنا اول في خيم وبس ثلجت هبطت علينا الخيمة كلها. بعدين اعطونا لكل عائلة كرفان ونحن 7 انفار ومنذ سنة اخذنا كرفان ثاني. و بعد اخذ الكرفان الثاني تحسن الوضع كثيرا واصبح مستقرا قليلا."

"We were the first in tents, when it snowed, the whole tent fell on us. Then, they distributed a caravan for each family. We were 7 people and a year ago we took a second caravan. After taking the second caravan, the situation improved a lot and became somewhat stable. "

- Excerpt from the interview with the stationary store owner – Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

"اهم اشي انه كنا في خيم والان في كرافانات. كانت نفسيتنا تعبانة بس لما صرنا بكرافانات وكل واحد واحد عنده حمامه الحياة صارت اسهل شوي وصار في استقرار."

"The most important thing is to move from tents to caravans. We were not comfortable, but when we lived in caravans and everyone had their own bathroom, life became easier and more stable. "

- Excerpt from the interview of the coffee kiosk owner – The Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

5.3.1.4 Obstacles

Finally, refugees reported challenges that hindered the spatial actions in the streets of refugee camps. These were labelled 'obstacles', which include all challenges for spatial actions within the streets of the camp. One of these challenges that refugees have reported extensively, intentionally and unintentionally, is having 'no right to the city':

"في بادئ الامر عشنا بالخيم. ثم وزعوا علينا براكيات. ثم من عمل وجمع مالا بنى لنفسه بيتا. ولم يسمحوا بسقف خرساني الى سنة 1987 حتى سمحوها وهو اهم تغيير حتى يستقر الناس. والبعض خرج خارج المخيم."

"At first, we lived in tents. Then UNRWA distributed prefabricated houses to us. Then those who worked and collected some money built a house. They did not allow for a concrete roof until 1987, which is the most important change so that people can settle down. Some people left the camp."
- Excerpt from an interview with a man (anonymous name) at the Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"التحول من البراكيات للبناء كان حسب الوضع المادي للشخص فالذي يملك المال ويعمل اصبح يستبدل البراكية في بيت مبني من الطوب والسقف صفائح زينكوا. ثم تضايقت الناس وقدموا للشؤون الفلسطينية حتى سمحوا بالسقف الخرساني. كما ان الان كبرت العائلات وازداد الاعداد ولهذا سمحت دائرة الشؤون الفلسطينية ببناء طابق اول ثم ببناء طابق ثاني بعد فترة."

"The change from prefabricated houses to buildings was based on the person's financial situation. He who has money and works replaces his prefabricated house with a brick house roofed with zinc sheets. People did not feel comfortable and asked the Palestinians' affairs to allow concrete roofs, and they did. […] Now families have grown and increased in numbers, which is why the DPA allowed building a first floor and then building a second floor after a while."
- Excerpt from Abu Anas' interview – The Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"الناس ليس لهم دور في التطوير لانه كل شيء بيد دائرة الشؤون الفلسطينية."

"People have no role in making decisions because everything is in the hands of the DPA."
- Excerpt from Abu Ghassan's interview – Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

"بصراحة كلمتنا غير مسموعة ولم يكن لنا دور بالتغيير. هم يعتبروننا ضيوف هنا اذ اني عشت هنا اكثر من خمسين سنة."

"Frankly, our speech here is unheard and we had no role in the change. They consider us to be guests here. I have lived here for more than 50 years, but I am still considered a guest."
- Excerpt from Abu Khaldoun's interview in Jerash Camp. Translated by the author.

"انا هنا منذ 7 سنين. الوضع حاليا افضل من قبل اذ كنا نعاني قبل تمديد الخدمات كالماء والصرف الصحي والشوارع السماح بدخول البسكليتات اذ انها تسهل الوصول الى الاماكن البعيدة لانه لاتوجد مواصلات."

"I have been here for 7 years. The situation is better than before, as we were suffering before installing services such as water, sewage, the streets and allowing the entry of bicycles, as it facilitates access to remote places because there is no transportation."
- Excerpt from shop owner interview – Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

"فقط اذا كان بالخلف يوجد مساحة للتوسع. غير هذا لا يسمح بالتغيير."

"You can extend the shop only from the back if there is space to expand. Other than this, changes are not allowed. "
- Excerpt from shop owner interview – Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

"البيوت هي مسجلة عند المفوضية ولكن من يتم ترحيله او يخرج من المخيم المفوضية تاخذها لتسكين شخص اخر. ممنوع البناء الاسمنتي الى الان. ويجب اخذ موافقة الجيران والمفوضية والمركز الامني للتوسيع."

"Houses are registered with the UNHCR, but whoever is deported or leaves the camp, the UNHCR takes his house to accommodate another person. Cement construction is not allowed. The consent of the neighbours, the Commission, and the Security Centre must be obtained for expansion."
- Excerpt from Abu Khalid's interview at the Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

Another spatial challenge or obstacle that refugees face in their spatial actions is the camp surface area, which is restricted to the rented land and cannot be expanded (UNRWA 2013). This obstacle was widely discussed as population density is growing throughout time within the same surface area, and families are growing in the same unit area.

*"جيت هون وعمري 10 سنوات. في 1967 نزح الفلسطينيون الى الاردن قسم منهم اجى الى هذه المنطقة وكانت ارض فارغة بحدود 1.5 * 1.5 كم. في بداية المخيم عشنا بخيم لونها ابيض لمدة 4 سنوات تقريبا وما كان في أي بنية تحتية والطرق كانت تربة حمراء وفي الشتاء كانت الناس تغرق في الطين 30-40 سم. بعدين قسموا المخيم الى وحدات 8م *12م ووزعوا فيها براكيات مثل هذه 3م * 4م فقط لتعيش فيها العائلة. الهدف من التغير في البداية كان للحماية من الظروف الجوية, لان السقف الزينكو مش عملي ابداً, بعدين صار للتوسعة لان مساحة 96 م لا تتسع الا لثلاث غرف ومطبخ وحمام. ما كان مسموح التبديل بين البيوت لان الوحدات كانت تسجل باسماء سكانها و المخيم صغير نسبيا والكل قريب من بعضه."*

*"I came here when I was 10 years old. In 1967, the Palestinians fled to Jordan, and some of them came to this area, which was an empty land measuring approximately 1.5 * 1.5 km. At the beginning of the camp, we lived in white tents for about 4 years, there was no infrastructure, roads were red soil and in winter people were drowning in the mud 30-40 cm. Then they divided the camp into units its dimensions are 8 m * 12 m, these units contained pre-fabricated houses of 3 m * 4 m dimensions only for the family to live in. [...] The aim of the change at the beginning was to protect from weather conditions, also because the zinc roof was not practical or durable, then to expand because the area of 96 square meters can only accommodate three rooms, a*

kitchen and a bathroom. […] It was not allowed to switch between houses or dwellings because units were registered with the names of their residents, the camp is relatively small, and everyone is close to each other" "

- Excerpt from Abu Anas's interview – The Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"بالنسبة الي انا بيتي يكفي لان بيتي القديم كنت انا اشتريته على حسابي وكان عند تقسيم الارض الى وحدات من 96م بعض المناطق تزيد مسافة صغيرة و ما بتنفع تكون وحدة فسمحوا للواحد يضمها اله. ولهذا مساحة الطابق في بيتي 150 م2."

"For me, my house is enough because the old house I bought myself, and when dividing the land into units of 96 m2, some areas there is a small distance and it is not useful to be a unit, so the person can annex it to his unit. That is why the floor area in my house is 150 square metres" "

- Excerpt from Abu Ahmad's interview – The Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"انّي اعيش حياة كريمة. اما بالنسبة للتوسع فلا يوجد شخص واحد راض عن المساحة. لانها ما تكفي لاسرة اكثر من 5 افراد في حين انه بتلاقي اسر من 12 فرد. التغييرات هذه كلها كنت مجبر عليها والمستوى اقل بكثير من الذي نطمح له."

"To live a decent life. As for expansion, no one is satisfied with the space area. Because it is not enough for a family of more than 5, while most families are of 10 and 12. All these changes have been forced upon me, and the level is much less than what we hope for."

- Excerpt from Abu Ghassan's interview, Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

"بدأ السوق في نفس مكانه الحالي, بدأ في تجارة الخضار والان توسع الى الشارع الرئيسي اذ لم يكن فيه محلات من قبل. كان مقسم الى بلوكات. طلبنا توسيع للسوق ايضا اذ انه في عطلة نهاية الاسبوع يكون مزدحم جدا."

"The market started in the same place it is now, it began with vegetable trade, and now it has expanded to the main street, as there were no shops there before. It was divided into blocks. We also asked for an expansion of the market, as it is very busy at the weekend."

- Excerpt from Ambassador's interview – Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

"مساحة البيت ضيقة اذ انا اسكن في قطاع 1 وهو مكتظ فلا مجال للتغيير. القانون هو اذا كان يوجد مساحة للتوسع ممكن ان توسع براحتك اما اذا كان يوجد شارع فالاولوية للشارع دائما. اي ان القانون المهم هو عدم التعدي على الشارع. هذا بالنسبة للتوسع للخلف اما من الجوانب فالمحلات متلاصقة واذا اردت التوسع فيجب ان ادفع لصاحب المحل حتى يتنازل عنه."

"The house area is small. I live in Sector 1, and it is overcrowded, there is no room for change. […] The law is that if there is space for expansion, you can expand as you want. But if there is a street, the priority is always the street. In other words, what is important is not to overrun the street. This is for the backward expansion. While from the sides, the shops are contiguous, and if you want to expand, you must pay the owner of the adjacent shop to give it up" "

- Excerpt from the interview of the shop owner (anonymous name) – The Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

"نحن نريد ان ننقل مسكننا لمكان اخر اذ لا مجال للتوسعة ابدا ونحن في البيت مضغوطين نسكن انا واختي واخي وامي ولدينا كرفان وصالون. انا وامي واختي ننام في جهة من الصالون واخي في جهة اخرى."

"We want to move our house to another place, there is no room for expansion at all, while the house is very small, I live with my sister, my brother and my mother, and we have a caravan and a salon. I, my mother and my sister sleep on one side of the salon and my brother is on the other side "

- Excerpt from Salma's interview – The Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

Accordingly, another obstacle related to the 'restricted surface area' that also obstructed spatial action is 'no future planning or vision' for the camp due to its temporariness. When refugees were asked if there was any planning before the transformations and urbanisation or vision for the camp, their answer was no, and they did not expect to live in the camp this much since it was supposed to be a temporary inhabitation.

"نحاول على التحسين المستمر تقريبا كل سنة. لم يكن في رؤية سابقة وانما الحلول تأتي حسب الحاجة. (دخول مراجعين توقف لمدة 6 دقيقة). والان لا يوجد مخططات مستقبلية, لانه للان يعتبر مخيم طوارئ."

"We try to continuously improve almost every year. There was no previous vision, but rather solutions would come as needed. (Reviewers enter stop for 6 minutes). Now there are no plans for the future because it is still considered an emergency camp" "

- Excerpt from Aidy's interview – The Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"لا ابدا ولا اي تخطيط مستقبلي. نعم ولكن لايوجد توجه , او نظرة للمحافظة للمستقبل ووضع المخيم فضل على حاله من 10 سنين الى الان لم يحصل تطوير ولا حتى تعبيد شوارع. وهذا ينطبق على جميع المخيمات."

"Not at all, there was no vision for the camp in the near future, nor any future planning. […] Yes, but there is no orientation or a vision of conservatism for the future here, and the camp situation has remained in the same condition for 10 years to date. There has been no development or even paving of the streets. This applies to all camps"

- Excerpt from the DPA Engineer interview – Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

5.3.2 Spatial Design Problems

Spatial problems have extensive effects on communities, limiting their development and well-being. For example, inadequate infrastructure increases unemployment, hampers economic growth, and urban decay, leading to social tensions and divisions

among communities. Furthermore, it fosters disappointments, draining the vitality and spirit of cities (Woetzel and Pohl 2014). Accordingly, the implementation of spatial arrangement programs to address these spatial problems can grant positive outcomes, contributing to sustainable improvements in the environment. Additionally, active participation in spatial actions aimed at overcoming spatial challenges promotes a sense of belonging among community members (Fatimah 2018). Participatory processes allow communities to discuss their situations, identify needs, and implement action plans, ensuring inclusive representation and strengthening social capital and community-based accountability. Various methods and techniques support community participation, fostering the overall empowerment of communities (the world bank 2013). Moreover, to address spatial challenges effectively, urban planners and designers must adopt a multi-dimensional and proactive framework that enhances the public realm. The multi-dimensional proactive urban design creates more attractive spaces and improves urban functionality. This approach enables a deeper understanding of the use and appropriateness of urban spaces, which guides the establishment of guidelines and policies for transforming public realms (ICCPP 2016). Therefore, the geographical features of public spaces and the physical characteristics and activities within them significantly influence community dynamics (Bigdeli Rad and Bin, 2013). However, it is important to note that public spaces have transformed, losing their historical role as facilitators of social interaction and becoming primarily functional spaces (Hall 2002). Sociability in public spaces is grounded in the fundamental need for social interaction and a sense of belonging. This can be achieved in supportive social space and physical comfort, a sense of possession, and justice (Alexander et al. 1968; Lang 1994; Bigdeli Rad and Bin 2013). Successful places can attract people and promote urban vitality through factors like activity, scale, safety, and comfort (Adams and Tiesdell 2012).

Therefore, design problems were widely reported by refugees as these issues directly affected their living experience. Refugees stated in interviews that they face different design issues daily. These issues are 'overcrowding and compact spaces', 'no role for planning or design', and 'lack of monitoring and maintenance', all of which will be discussed in detail in each case study.

5.3.2.1   Overcrowding and Compact Spaces

As mentioned above, one of the key obstacles to spatial action is the restricted camp area. This is due to the growing number of families and the increasing population density. This was also an issue that was discussed among refugees when asked about problems regarding structural design named 'overcrowding and compact spaces'; see Figures (5 -14), (5-15) (3-16) (5-17).

Figure 5-14: Overcrowding of stalls and people in the commercial street – The Baqaa. Source: Author, Fieldwork

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"هون بيناموا اولادي الشباب في غرفة الضيوف وكمان في الشتاء بتصير صالة معيشة لانها صغيرة ومسكرة, والبنات عندهم غرفة وانا وزوجتي عندنا غرفة."

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"Here my boys sleep in the guest room and in winter it is a living room because it is small and closed, and the girls have a room, and my wife and I have a room."

\- Excerpt from Adnan's interview – The Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

<div dir="rtl">

"قرب البيوت من بعضها بتقلل الخصوصية بس الناس تعودت. كمان المساحات صغيره يعني مساحة 96م مربع صغيرة للعائلات الكبيرة. بس بشكل عام الوضع حاليا احسن كخدمات وناحية تعليمية وناحية معيشية"

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"The main problem is the proximity of houses which do not provide any privacy, but people have become accustomed to this, another issue is the narrow spaces within these houses, especially for big families. the overall current situation is much better than before, especially in the provided services, the educational system, and living conditions. "

\- Excerpt from Zaid's interview – The Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

Figure 5-15: proximity of houses resulting in lack of privacy – The Baqaa camp. Source: Author, Fieldwork

<div dir="rtl">

"هون بيناموا اولادي الشباب في غرفة الضيوف وكمان في الشتاء بتصير صالة معيشة لانها صغيرة ومسكرة, والبنات عندهم غرفة وانا وزوجتي عندنا غرفة."

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Figure 5-16: proximity of houses resulting in lack of privacy – Jerash camp. Source: Author, Fieldwork

Figure 5-17: proximity of houses resulting in lack of privacy – The Zaatari camp. Source: Author, Fieldwork

"المقاول هو بقسم التقسيمة الدخلية للبيت يعني الوحدة الواحدة بتوسع بس ٣ غرف ومطبخ وحمام كله بال ١٢*٨ م٢ كل
البيوت نفس الشكل. الله يعيننا في هذه الغرفة الصغيرة مكن بيجينا ضيف وابني نايم بالصالة فبصحيه عشان يطلع برا
الغرفة لتخلص الزيارة. كاننا عايشين بقفص قفص. شو بدنا نساوي؟ الحمدلله"

*"The contractor divides the interior of the house. I mean, the unit can only accommodate three rooms, a kitchen, and a bathroom within 8 * 12 m2, all houses have the same style. May God help us, in this small space a guest may come to visit while my son is sleeping in the hall, so I have to wake him up to get out of the room until the end of this visit. We are like living in a cage, a cage. What shall we do? (Sigh) Praise be to God. "*

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- Excerpt from Abu Khaldoun's interview – Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

"والله من ناحية انشائية ومعمارية وانسانية هي عار! نعم عار في كل المقاييس يعني نظام تهوية سيء جدا, رطوبة قاتلة جدا ومعظم المخيم يعانون من امراض بسبب هذه الرطوبة. نحن نعيش كابراج الحمام مضغوط جدا."

"By God, in terms of construction, architecture, and humanity, it is a shame! Yes, a shame, by all accounts, I mean, the ventilation system is very bad, the humidity is lethal, and most people suffer from diseases because of this humidity. We live like a dovecote in a very dense situation."

- Excerpt from the school principal's interview – Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

"والان فرضت المفوضية مسافة مترين بين المنازل ولكن في قطاع 1 و2 لا يوجد مجال للتوسعة لانهما اكثر قطاعين مزدحمين. في منزلي الصالون ينامون فيه الاولاد من اجل الفصل و الاكل في الشتاء يكون في الكرفان اما في الصيف في الصالون."

"Now the commission imposed two metres between the houses, but in Sectors 1 and 2 there is no room for this expansion because they are the two most crowded sectors. In my house, the boys sleep in the hall for the sake of privacy for the girls. We eat and gather in the caravan in winter, but in summer we use the hall."

- Excerpt from Abu Khalid's interview – The Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

"والله الكرفان الاول مهترئ الان هي مليئة بالرطوبة والعفن وانا لدي ربو. لذا استخدمها كمخزن لوضع اغراضي فقط. النوم والاكل وكل شيء في الكرفانة الثانية. وبنيت صالة بين الكرفانتين. الكرفانة صغيرة جدا. وعندما يخرجون الاولاد للعب يدعسون على الجليد في فصل الشتاء. اذا التوسعة والراحة."

"Well, the first caravan is worn out now. It is a humid, musty place, and I have asthma. So, I use it as a warehouse to store my items only. Sleeping, eating and everything in the second cabin. And a hall was built between the two caravans. […] The caravan is very small. When the kids go out to play, they run on the ice in the winter. So, expansion and rest."

- Excerpt from the interview with the owner of the stationary shop- Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

5.3.2.2   The Role of planning and designing

Another design problem is 'no role of planning and designing' in managing spatial urbanisation processes and spatial actions. Refugees stated that all transformations were made randomly and in a standardised way without any help from specialised architects and planners:

"لايوجد مخططات مرسومة ولكن نشرح للمقاول هنا نريد غرفة وهنا نريد مطبخ وهكذا ولكن النمرة هي 96م تتسع ثلاث غرف وحمام ومطبخ فقط. عندما كانوا الاولاد صغارا كانوا ينامون جميعهم في نفس الغرفة اما عندما كبروا واحتاجوا لان يفصلوا الغرف اصبحت البنات لديهم غرفة والاولاد ينامون في الصالة. كل شيئ في نفس الغرفة."

"There are no drawn plans, we explain to the contractor that we want a room here, we want a kitchen there, and so on. But the unit is 96 square metres, it can accommodate three rooms, a bathroom, and a kitchen only. When the children were young, they all slept in the same room. But when they grew up and needed to separate the rooms, the girls had a room, and the boys slept in the hall. Everything is in the same room. "

- Excerpt from Um Mahmoud's interview – The Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"كنا نبني من دون مخططات عندما بنيت بيتي فقط شرحت للمتعهد ماذا اريد. ويطلب منا موافقة من الشؤون. "

"We used to build without drawing plans. When I built my house, I just explained to the contractor what I wanted. We are asked to apply for consent from affairs. "

- Excerpt from Hamza's interview – The Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"لا يوجد تخطيط لكن الدائرة تطلب مخطط للطوابق العليا ويكون هذا المخطط عشوائي حتى الطوابق الارضية عشوائية. "

"There is no planning for the house design, but the DPA requires a plan for the upper floors, and this plan is random. Also, the ground floors were built randomly. The interior plan was identical for everyone, as the unit can only accommodate the same pattern. The building process is random. "

- Excerpt from Abu Ghassan's interview – Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

"لا لم يكن هناك مخطط. كان البناء عشوائيا وكان تقليدي. الحين اختلف قليلا لا يعني هذا وجود مهندس معماري للتخطيط ولكن معلم بناء ياتي ويعاين المنزل ويشرحلك كيف يمكن ان تكون خيارات البناء. وصاحب المنزل هو من يأخذ القرارات وكان النساء لهم راي في هذا القرار ايضا. اي ممكن ان اختار ان تكون لدي صالون كبير على حساب مساحات الغرف وهكذا. والنمرة معروفة مساحتها ومحددة ثلاث غرف ومطبخ وحمام. "

"No, there was no plan drawing. The construction was random, and the form was traditional. Now it changed slightly. This does not mean that there is an architect for planning, but a builder comes to inspect the house and explains what the building options could be. The owner of the house makes decisions, and the women had a say in this decision as well. For example, it is possible to choose to have a large salon with fewer room areas, etc. The unit is known for its size, and it is limited to three rooms, a kitchen, and a bathroom. "

- Excerpt from Suaad's interview – Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

"القرارات في المنزل تخصني نعم. عندي ثلاث كرفانات واحدة لي ولزوجتي وواحدة للبنات وواحدة للاولاد. و عندي صالون ومطبخ وحمام. كرفان الاولاد لها باب خارجي وهي نفسها استضيف بها ضيوفي وهكذا لايضطرون الضيوف الى الدخول الى وسط المنزل للحفاظ على الخصوصية. "

"The decisions for expanding my house belong to me, yes. I have three caravans, one for me and my wife, one for the girls, and one for the boys. I have a living room, kitchen and bathroom. The boys' room or caravan has an external door, and it is the same room to host my guests, and thus guests do not have to enter the centre of the house to maintain privacy. "

- Excerpt from the interview of an electronic repair owner – Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

"ضمن مساحة بيتي والتقسيمة الداخلي انا اقرر. ولكن اذا كنت اريد ان اغير يجب اخذ اذن من المفوضية. المفوضية هي مسؤولة عن توزيع النقاط والمكان. "

"Within the space of my house, I decide on the internal division. But if I want to change, such as extending the space, I must get permission from the DPA. The commission is responsible for distributing units and locations. "

- Excerpt from the interview with the coffee kiosk owner – the Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

5.3.2.3   Lack of monitoring and maintenance

In addition to the lack of the role of design in the camp, there was also a lack of monitoring and maintenance. Indeed, any transformation process, in general, needs to be monitored and supervised. However, refugees reported that there was a lack of monitoring throughout time. Refugees reported that monitoring was restricted only to testing the structure of the building could hold another upper floor.

"وفي حالة اي تغيير او يجب اخذ تصريح من دائرة الشؤون, وهم يكشفون على البيوت وفي حالة المخالفة او الاعتداء على الشوارع واذا كان الجيران موافقين لا يتم هدم الجزء المخالف. "

"For any structural change, a permit must be taken from the Affairs Department, they inspect the house structure, and in case of violation or encroachment on the streets they will be fined, and if the neighbours do not press charges, the offending part is not demolished".

- Excerpt from Abu Anas's interview – The Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"لا لم يكن هناك مخطط. كان البناء عشوائيا وكان الشكل تقليدي. الحين اختلف قليلا لا يعني هذا وجود مهندس معماري للتخطيط ولكن معلم بناء يأتي ويعاين المنزل ويشرحلك كيف يمكن ان تكون خيارات البناء. وصاحب المنزل هو من يأخذ القرارات وكان النساء لهم راي في هذا القرار ايضا. اي ممكن ان اختار ان تكون لدي صالون كبير على حساب مساحات الغرف وهكذا. والنمرة معروفة مساحتها ومحددة ثلاث غرف ومطبخ وحمام. "

"No, there was no plan drawing. The construction was random, and the form was traditional. Now it changed slightly. This does not mean that there is an architect for planning, but a builder comes to inspect the house and explains what the building options could be. The owner of the house makes decisions, and the women had a say in this decision as well. For example, it is possible to choose to have a large salon with fewer room areas, etc. The unit is known for its size, and it is limited to three rooms, a kitchen, and a bathroom. "

- Excerpt from Suaad's interview – Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

"ثلاث طوابق. ارضي واول وثاني وممكن عمل اعمدة على الطابق الثالث لعمل تصوينة فقط. ويتم الكشف على البناء للتاكد من تحمله لعدد الطوابق."

"Three floors. Ground, first and second, and it is possible to make columns on the third floor for the parapet only. The building is only inspected to ensure that it is safe to add floors. "

- Excerpt from DPA engineer interview – Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

"لايوجد ملكية. فقط مسجل لدى المفوضية. المنظمات لديها سجلات لكل شخص وموقع بيته ومساحته ويجب اخذ موافقة من المفوضية لتغيير اي شيء."

"There is no ownership. It is only registered with the UNHCR. The organisations have records for each person's house area and location, and UNHCR must approve to change anything."

- Excerpt from the interview of the grocery shop owner – The Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

The structural level of social production of space includes spatial actions taken collectively and individually throughout time to improve refugees' lives. However, refugees who experience spatial design problems or challenges are both part of the social production processes of the streets and a product of these processes reciprocally.

The changes in the structural level of the social production of space affect the cognitive level and result from the cognitive level at the same time and vice versa. Both levels are based on each other and affect each other reciprocally. Every day, there are continuous processes of social production of space in the streets of refugee camps that have been producing community empowerment. The interaction of these two levels creates the lived space within everyday life.

5.4   Financial situation
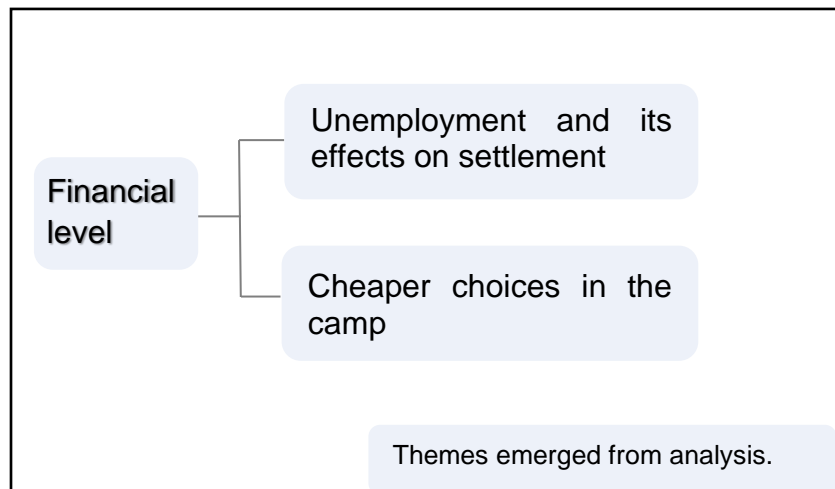
Figure 5-18: Themes of the financial level; themes emerged from data.

The financial situation is a theme that emerged directly from the analysis and was not deduced from the literature. Even if it might initially appear that this theme is not

necessarily related to this research's conceptual framework, a deeper analysis of this problem demonstrates that there are indeed strong implications related to the cognitive and structural levels of social production within the context of the camp's streets. It is the key motivation behind any change in the social production processes at both the cognitive and the structural levels. This theme was widely reported by refugees concerning cognitive and structural levels in all camps. However, it cannot be categorised under any of these two levels and thus forms a third level contributing to the social production of space in this context. The 'financial situation' of refugees entailed either a combination of two different mutually exclusive subthemes of 'unemployment and its effects on settlement' and 'cheaper choices in the camp', which eased the living expenses of refugees; see Figure (5-18).

5.4.1 Unemployment and its effects on settlement

Refugees discussed the importance of their financial situation on their settlement, which is why they engaged in employment discussions when asked about their feelings about stability and settlement. Employment was an important factor that affected their financial situation and hence their structural and cognitive settlement. When refugees improved their financial situation, they were able to improve their environmental conditions by changing the materials or expanding spatially. Accordingly, they feel more settled and comfortable in their living experience:

"ثم تداينا بعض المال لنكمل البيت وتعاوننا على البناء مع الاولاد لانهم عندما بنوا ارضية البيت تلفت. اللجنة هذه تبني لكل عائلة غرفة ومطبخ وحمام مهما كانت العائلة يعني معاناة عانينا."

"We borrowed money to complete the house and cooperated in building with our sons because when the committee built the room, they ruined the floor of the house. This committee built every family a room, kitchen, and bathroom, whatever the size of the family, I mean we suffered."

- Excerpt from Um Mahmoud's interview – The Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"التحول من البراكيات للبناء كان حسب الوضع المادي للشخص فالذي يملك المال ويعمل اصبح يستبدل البراكية في بيت مبني من الطوب والسقف صفائح زينكوا. ثم تضايقت الناس وقدموا للشؤون الفلسطينية حتى سمحوا بالسقف الخرساني. الوضع في السابق كان افضل من الوضع الحالي لانه كان الدخل يوازي الصرف اما الان يوجد غلاء في المعيشة. كما ان الان كبرت العائلات وازداد الاعداد ولهذا سمحت دائرة الشؤون الفلسطينية ببناء طابق اول ثم ببناء طابق ثاني بعد فترة. ولكن للان يوجد بعض البيوت بقيت من الزينكوا لانهم لا يقدرون على البناء."

"The change from prefabricated houses to buildings was based on the person's financial situation. He who has money and works replaces his own prefabricated house with a house built of bricks and a roof with zinc sheets. Then people did not feel

comfortable and asked the Palestinian affairs to allow concrete roofs, and they did. In the past, the situation was better than the current situation because income was equal to spending, but now there is an expensive cost of living. Also, now families have grown and increased in numbers, which is why the Palestinian Affairs Department allowed the building of a first floor and then also allowed the building of a second floor after a while. "

- Excerpt from Abu Anas's interview – The Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

" نعاني من قلة فرص العمل. في شباب دارسين جامعات ماشاء الله لكن والله ماعم بلاقوا شغل, بتلاقيهم بعد ما يخلصوا دراساتهم الجامعية عم يشتغلوا بالدكاكين او عامل باطون عشان يقدر يطلع مصروفه هذا الامر اهم من تطوير المخيم, نعم اهم. "

"We suffer from unemployment. We have young people who hold university degrees, but I swear they do not have jobs. After they finish college, they work in shops or construction so they can earn a little, and this matter is more important than developing the camp. Yes, indeed. "

- Excerpt from Abu Khaldoun's interview – Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

"وبنيناه بالتدريج عن طريق الجمعيات, هيك كل المخيم بكون في مجموعة بدفعوا مبلغ شهري وكل شهر يعطى المبلغ الكامل لاحد. حتى تكاليف الزواج يتم عن طريق الجمعيات. وبنيت طابقين. درست محاسبة في كلية ولم اعمل بعدها اذ كان بعتبر عيبا ان تعمل المرأة ويبعض منهم لا زال. "

"We gradually built our house through a financial association. The entire camp participates in these financial associations. They pay a monthly sum, and every month the full amount is given to one participant. Even the costs of marriage are paid through these associations. I gradually built two floors. I studied accounting at a college and did not work afterwards, as it was not acceptable in our culture for women to work and some of them still think like this. "

- Excerpt from Suaad's interview – Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

"من ناحية الشغل الوضع صعب كتير عملت مرتين خلال السبع سنين مرتين فقط. وهذا المحل اشتريته منذ شهرين فقط قد باع والد زوجتي ارضا له واعطاها هذا حقه حتى نشتري به المحل. شو بدنا نساوي بعين الله. "

"In terms of work, the situation is very difficult. I have worked twice in the seven years, only twice. I bought this shop only two months ago since my wife's father sold the land and gave her the money so that we could buy the shop with it. What can we say? "

- Excerpt from the interview with the owner of the stationary store – the Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

"اكيد, وافضل العيش في المخيم الا اذا وجد زوجي عملا خارج المخيم فقط "

"Yes, I prefer living in the camp. The only reason I will accept to live outside the camp is if my husband finds a job outside the camp. "

-Excerpt Sameera's interview Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

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5.4.2 Cheaper options in the camp

The camp provided cheaper choices for infrastructure such as electricity and water and all their basic needs. This forced people to stay in the camp, especially with increasing living expenses over time.

"الوضع زمان كان افضل من هلا لانه كان الدخل يوازي الصرف اما الان في غلاء معيشة. كما ان الان كبرت العائلات وازداد الاعداد. كل شيء متوفر في المخيم وارخص من الخارج فلا احتاج للخروج من المخيم لاي شيء."

"In the past, the situation was better than the current situation, because income was equal to spending, but now there is an expensive cost of living. Also, now families have grown and increased in numbers, […] Everything is available in the camp and cheaper than outside, so I don't need to leave the camp for anything. "

- Excerpt from Abu Anas's interview – The Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

"الان كل الخدمات متوفرة كما تم تمديد شبكات المياه والصرف الصحي والكهرباء. كما ان جميع المنتجات متوفرة حتى الناس من جميع المناطق المحيطة للمخيم يأتون للمخيم لشراء منتجاتها لان هنا الاسعار ارخص."

"Now all services are available, and water, sewage, and electricity networks have been extended. Also, all the products are available, so people from all surrounding areas of the camp come to the camp to buy their products because here the prices are cheaper. "

- Excerpt from Abu Ahmad's interview – The Baqaa camp. Translated by the author.

" مافي مجال اذ ان الحياة في المخيم ارخص بكثير من خارجه. مثلا، حق كيلو البندورة في المخيم 20 قرش، بينما حقه ليرتين في عمان. الناس بتحب تطلع من المخيم ولكن لايوجد بديل. "

"There is no choice, as life in the camp is much cheaper than outside. For example, one kilo of tomato in the camp is 20 pennies while in Amman (the capital of Jordan) it is 2 JD. So, People would love to live outside of the camp, but there is no other alternative. "

- Excerpt from Saleh's interview – Jerash camp. Translated by the author.

"يوجد اكتفاء ذاتي كل شيء متوفر ما بحتاج اخرج خارج المخيم لاي شيء"

"There is self-sufficiency. Although the camp is separated [from the city], everything is available, and I do not need to go outside the camp for anything."

- Excerpt from Manal's interview – The Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

"كل شيء متوفر وموجود. ويوجد اكتفاء ذاتي."

"Everything is available, and there is self-sufficiency. "

- Excerpt from the interview with the coffee kiosk owner – The Zaatari camp. Translated by the author.

Financial problems forced refugees to stay in the camp and work more to improve their living conditions. Finances were the medium where the structural and cognitive operate as, throughout time, refugees worked to improve their financial situation to expand spatially and hence feel more settled. Accordingly, this developed an interaction loop between cognitive, structural, and financial levels of the social production of space.

5.5   Summary and Findings

In conclusion, refugees have been actively producing their lived space in the streets throughout their everyday lives. Additionally, they were able to gain community empowerment in their living experience through the interaction between the cognitive, structural, and financial levels, intended as a medium that is evolving continuously over time. This medium is a means or mechanism through which interactions between these levels take place. Therefore, it emphasises the dynamic nature of their interaction and the interconnectedness and mutual influence, highlighting that it is an ongoing and evolving process over time.

The relationship between these themes and subthemes resulted in different living experiences throughout time, and the change in the living experience resulted in the change of the produced community empowerment throughout time. The interaction between everyday events is like an interwoven network of processes and products that synergetically interact to shape the urban life of refugees within the streets. Figure (5-19) presents this network of processes and products.
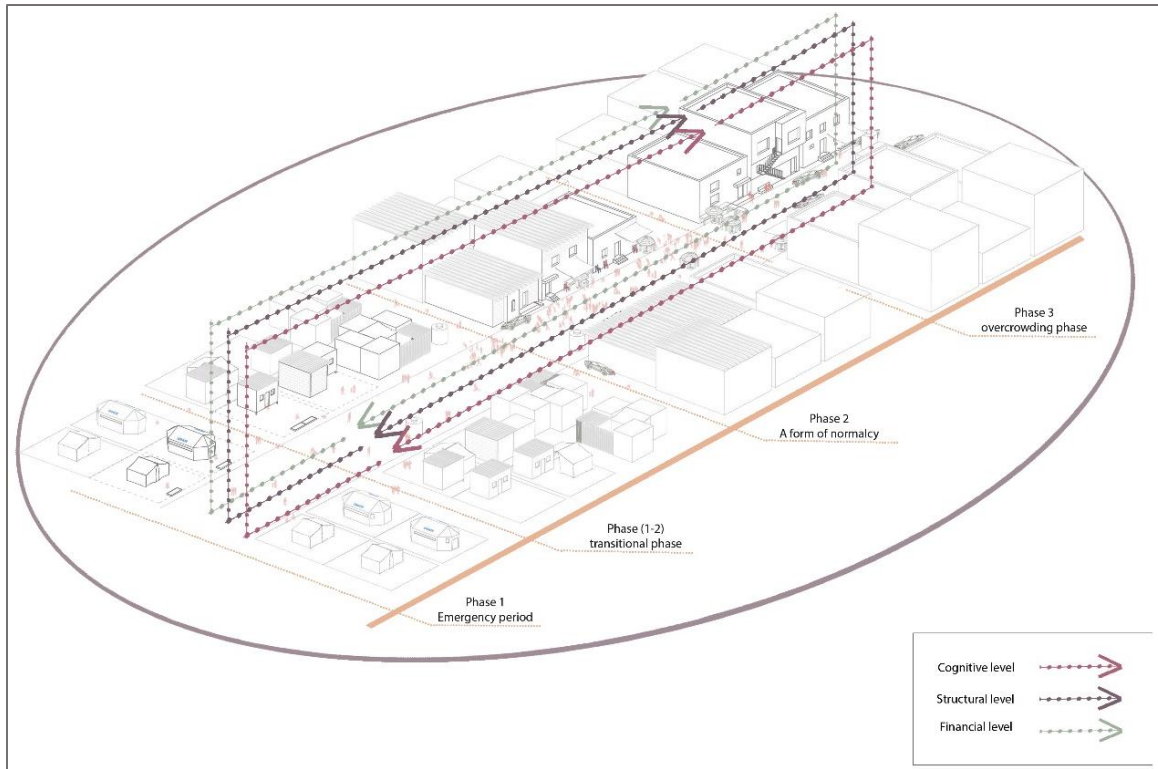
Figure 5-19: The three-level continuous processing daily producing lived space.

The diagram (5-20) and the axonometric representation (5-21) serve as this chapter's comprehensive spatial research outcome. They capture the interplay between different levels of social production of space and their influence on creating the lived space within the everyday life of refugees.

In the axonometric (5-21), the cognitive level is coloured in red, representing its themes, subthemes, and the smaller details of the everyday life of refugees that contribute to community empowerment. The thematic framework and axonometric drawing utilise various shades of red to signify the various factors within the cognitive level and how they collectively shape the lived space. Similarly, the structural level is represented in purple, encompassing its themes, subthemes, and the factors that shape the refugees' lived space and community empowerment. The axonometric highlights the connections between different elements within the structural level, illustrating their impact on spatial dynamics. Additionally, the green colour represents the financial situation, including its themes and subthemes and its influence on the

formation of the lived space. This level demonstrates how economic factors contribute to the spatial experiences of refugees.

The thematic framework and axonometric drawing present the interconnectedness between the three levels, revealing shared components and how these can overlap. For example, within the same level, social disputes and equality between refugees are factors that overlap under the same theme, which is the sense of community affecting refugees' everyday lives. While the poor living environment and safety are factors of social production of space that overlap within the cognitive level, they overlap within two different themes of a sense of community and the produced living experience. Additionally, the analogy of the camp and home city are factors of social production that are shared between the identity and representation and the produced living experience within the cognitive level. Furthermore, the poor living environment and the need for expansion contribute to both the structural and cognitive levels.

Some components within the levels of social production of space are tangible and visually represented through symbols in the axonometric drawing. In contrast, others are intangible and depicted through a dotted oval line surrounding the street stretch, indicating their existence within the broader context of the entire street. By incorporating these visual elements and colour-coded representations, the axonometric provides a comprehensive and in-depth exploration of the interrelationships between the evolving factors over time. It goes beyond textual descriptions, offering a visual narrative that enhances the understanding of the spatial dynamics and the processes involved in creating the lived space within the everyday lives of refugees.

Levels	Themes	Sub-Themes	Relevant discussed points

Cognitive level

- **Sense of community**
  - Causes
    - dealing internally with social-spatial issues
    - equality between peoples' situations
    - Rich social life
    - processes including neighbour consent
  - Obstacles
    - increasing social problems
    - inequality in distributing aid
    - the living conditions
  - Products
    - safety
    - sense of belonging
    - socializing in streets'

- **Identity and representation**
  - Forms of Identity and representation in streets
    - Analogy of the camp and home city
    - Family system clustering
    - The camp as a symbol of Palestinian cause

- **Produced living experience**
  - Positive living experience
    - the camp feels like home city
    - safety
    - liveability
  - Negative living experience
    - Refugees busy with work all day
    - lack of privacy
    - not feeling settled
    - Poor living environment
    - Increasing population density

Components of social production of space in streets of refugee camps

Structural level

- **Spatial Action**
  - Collective spatial action
    - emergent of the market street
    - streets violations
  - Obstacles
    - no right to the city
    - no future planning or vision
    - Restricted camp area
  - Motivations for developments
    - prolonged inhabitation
    - protection from weather conditions
    - the need to expand
    - family convenience
  - Types of spatial appropriation
    - gradual structural developments

- **Structural design issues**
  - Overcrowding and Compact space
  - The role of design
  - lack of monitoring and maintenance

Financial level

- **Financial situation**
  - Unemployment and its effects on settlements
  - Cheaper choices in the camp

Figure 5-20: Framework of results of thematic analysis.
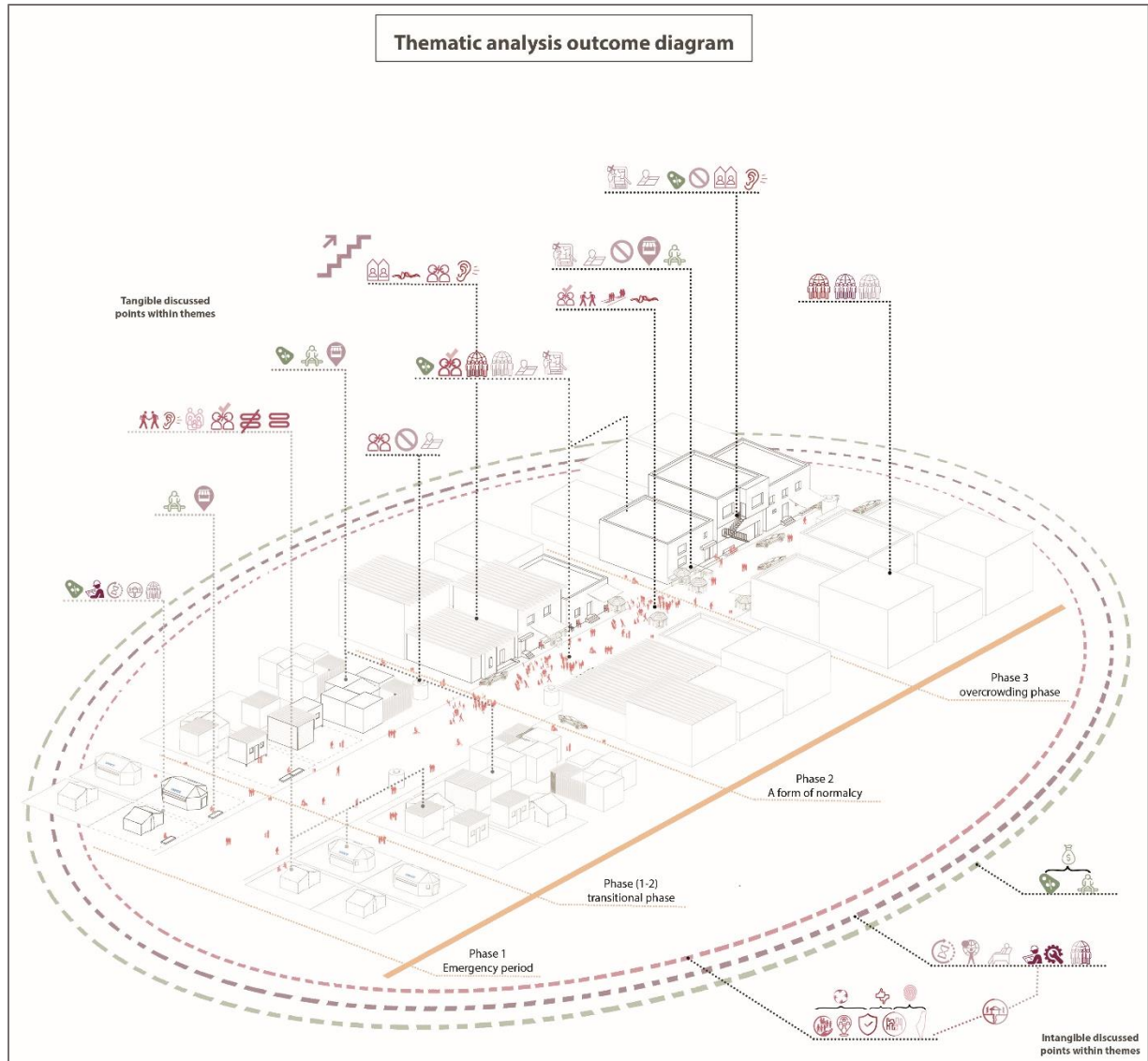
Figure 5-21: Axonometric drawing of the outcome of the thematic analysis. Source: Author.

Finally, in the next two chapters, a further comparison analysis between the three phases of the living experience is conducted to understand how the social production of space operates in each phase. Furthermore, a comparison analysis is conducted between the different case studies to detect how community empowerment is socially produced differently.

In addition, a more detailed discussion of these research outcomes and their relation to the reviewed literature is presented in the discussion presented in Chapter 8.

6

Social production of space in the street of Baqaa and Jerash camps

This chapter investigates the social production of lived space in the streets of Palestinian refugee camps. The analysis in this chapter focuses on investigating the processes of social production of streets in Palestinian camps through the lens of community empowerment. Themes in this investigation were deduced from the literature, while some new themes were inducted from the data. Furthermore, the axonometric drawings used in this investigation serve as a tool to explore these themes and illustrate in detail the phases of living experience in the Palestinian camps. Hence, this chapter starts by comparing the themes of investigation within the camp and then continues to the explorations of these themes within axonometric drawings. Finally, this chapter concludes with a discussion of the resulting findings and their implications.

6 Social production of space in the streets of Baqaa and Jerash camps

6.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to analyse the social production of space in the streets of Palestinian refugee camps in Baqaa Camp and Jerash (Gaza) Camp, and investigate the production of community empowerment, addressing the following research question:

- *How were the streets of Baqaa and Jerash refugee camps socially produced under the lens of community empowerment? How do the key factors within the cognitive, structural, and financial levels operate in these camps?*

Answering this question in this chapter will contribute to responding to a more complex main research question of this doctoral thesis, which was introduced in the first chapter, namely:

How do the processes of social production of space in the streets of refugee camps foster community empowerment?

Consequently, this chapter investigates the social production of space in the streets of Palestinian camps to foster community empowerment in two phases of analysis. The first phase is the analysis of each case study, which includes the social production of space in both commercial and residential typologies, and within the different phases of living experience over time. The Baqaa and Jerash camps were purposefully chosen because they share the Palestinian identity and similar contexts. However, they possess distinctive characteristics that allow a meaningful examination of the processes of social production of street spaces that foster community empowerment. Factors such as the proximity of the camp to the capital city, the diverse origins of refugees in Baqaa compared to those from Gaza in Jerash, and variations in access to citizenship offer valuable insights to address the main research question and generate relevant research outcomes, as discussed in Chapter 3. The themes included in this investigation were thoroughly analysed and explained in Chapter 5. Subsequently, in this chapter, these themes were investigated and compared within the same case study throughout the three phases of living experience over time,

different types of streets, and between different case studies. This approach is crucial in exploring the social production of space and exploring the dynamics of community empowerment. Thus, examining these case studies will identify key factors that have facilitated the production of community empowerment in the streets of these case studies. The research results derived from this comparative analysis will significantly contribute to enhancing the understanding of these phenomena in the context of refugee camps.

Therefore, as stated in Chapter 4, Palestinian refugee camps experience three phases of lived space over time. These phases have changed over time at the cognitive, structural, and financial levels; therefore, these levels within the three phases were analysed in detail. Additionally, it was evident from the interviews in Chapter 5 that the thematic framework was both theory-driven and data-driven in that comparative analysis, which could be identified as their comparative dimensions. This includes themes, subthemes, and contributing factors that refugees discussed when asked about their living in refugee camps throughout time. Refugees produced different living experiences through different phases, resulting in socially producing different community empowerment. This analysis is key to shifting the understanding of the everyday life of refugees within the street, which leads to the social production of the street space-time under the lens of community empowerment. Therefore, this chapter compares how the themes, subthemes, and contributing factors constituting the lived space operated differently on several types of streets, different phases of living experience, and through various case studies. The thematic analysis in the previous chapter provided an understanding of how community empowerment is socially produced on the streets, which clarifies the cognitive processes behind the spatial transformation of the streets and why. However, this chapter used content analysis to focus on how much each theme was reported in each phase and each camp. This approach allowed identifying why community empowerment was socially produced in the streets differently, depending on the inherent circumstances of each camp.

6.2 The Baqaa refugee camp within-case analyses

This section investigated in detail the processes of social production of space within the streets of the Baqaa camp and then compared these processes and their results throughout the three phases of the living experience. This investigation combines semi-structured interviews with data-driven and theory-driven themes that are considered factors that contribute to the social production of space under the lens of community empowerment. Additionally, design research tools using axonometric drawings to produce knowledge on these streets. These axonometric drawings are not only a representational method but also an analytical tool that enables the investigation of the intangible contributing factors of the study within the streets of refugee camps.

6.2.1 semi-structured interviews

Table 6-1 Details of the interviewees from the Baqaa refugee camp

CASE	PARTICIPANT AGE	NO. OF PARTICIPANTS	Total No.
	Men > 50	7	
	Women > 50	10	
BAQAA CAMP	Men < 50	5	26
	Women < 50	3	
	Camp Manager	1	

Fieldwork in the Baqaa camp took place on 22, 26, 27 July, and 5 August 2020, and semi-structured interviews took the form of friendly conversations in the streets of the refugee camp. Twenty-six interviews were conducted with men and women of different ages. Table (6 -1) illustrates the details of the interviewees.

6.2.2 Cognitive level

6.2.2.1 Sense of community

The sense of community is one of the most discussed themes by refugees in the interviews at the Baqaa camp.
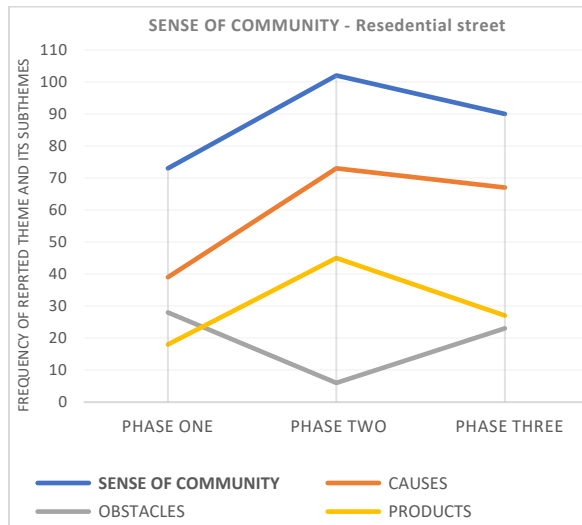
Figure 6-1: Sense of community and its subthemes of the residential street in the Baqaa camp
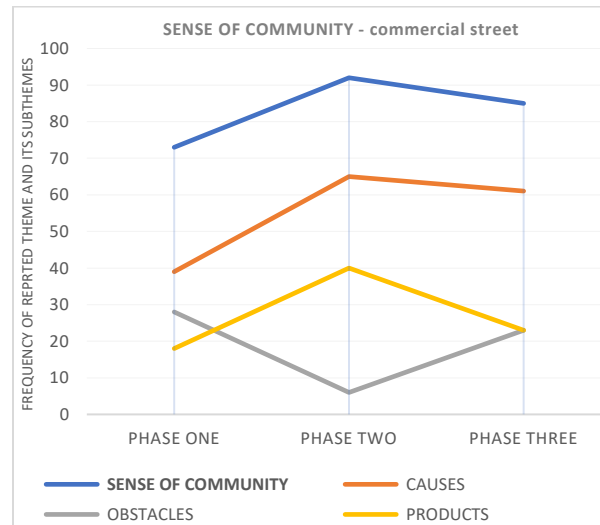
Figure 6-2: Sense of community and its subthemes of the Commercial Street in the Baqaa camp

Refugees reported that in Phase 2, 'a form of normalcy phase', their sense of community was produced the most. Figure (6-1) illustrates the theme 'sense of community' throughout the three phases of the living experience in the residential streets of the Baqaa camp. From the graph, it can be seen that the theme sense of community encompasses subthemes of **'causes', 'products',** and **'obstacles',** which were explained further in Chapter 5. The subtheme causes, according to refugees, facilitated the production of a sense of community reached its highest peak in Phase 2, and it is the subtheme most reported under the sense of community theme. These causes include 'dealing internally with social-spatial issues', 'equality between people' situations', 'rich social life', and 'processes that include neighbour consent'. Another important finding is that the **products** of the sense of community also reached their highest level when the sense of community reached its highest level. According to the graph, **causes** and resulting **products** have direct relationships with the sense of community, while **obstacles** have an inverse relationship with the sense of

community. These obstacles are 'increasing social problems', 'inequality in distributing aid', and 'poor living conditions'.

Refugees reported more 'causes' of a sense of community than 'obstacles' in all phases. One of the most important products mentioned by the interviewees that facilitated the processes of social production of the sense of community in the streets of the Baqaa is the 'sense of belonging', which, in turn, leads to community empowerment.

The rates of sense of community among refugees in the Baqaa camp experience vary based on the different phases of the living experience. These variations can be attributed to the interplay between the factors contributing to the sense of community in Phase 2. The factors that facilitated the production of a sense of community were high. In contrast, the obstacles that hindered the production of a sense of community were low and contrary to those of phases 1 and 3.

Figure (6-2) illustrates the theme sense of community in the commercial street in the Baqaa camp. It shows that the production of the sense of community on the commercial street is similar to the residential street and involves **causes**, **obstacles, and products**. Furthermore, 'causes' and 'product' have direct relationships with the sense of community, while 'obstacles' have an inverse relationship with the sense of community. However, the sense of community in residential streets was more produced as refugees reported having a richer social life and equality between people's situation under 'causes', while reported more obstacles in the commercial streets such as increasing social problems. This can be interpreted as refugees within a residential street may have more social encounters with the same residents living within the same street, which establishes stronger relationships. On the other hand, relationships between refugees on commercial streets are limited to selling and buying, neighbouring sellers, and social encounters of customers, which are more formal and less frequent. Therefore, social relationships in residential streets are deeper and stronger, as one of the key causes of a sense of community, led to the establishment of a greater sense of community.

Throughout the progression of the phases, the interrelation between these factors of the sense of community evolves, leading to fluctuations in the levels of sense of community and thus resulting in different levels of outcomes experienced by the refugees. These outcomes, namely, 'products', are safety, a sense of belonging, and socialising in the streets. This dynamic relationship highlights the importance of considering the temporal aspects and evolving nature of factors that contribute to the sense of community over time.

6.2.2.2 Identity and Representations

In residential and commercial streets, line graphs (6 - 3) and (6 - 4) illustrate that identity and representation have changed throughout the three phases of the living experience. The evolving relationship between identity and its representation over time can be observed through various contributing factors that shape this dynamic. A significant factor is the symbolic significance of the camp as a 'representation of the Palestinian cause'. The camp serves as a physical manifestation of the collective identity and struggle of the Palestinian people, which influences how individuals within the camp perceive and present their own identities.
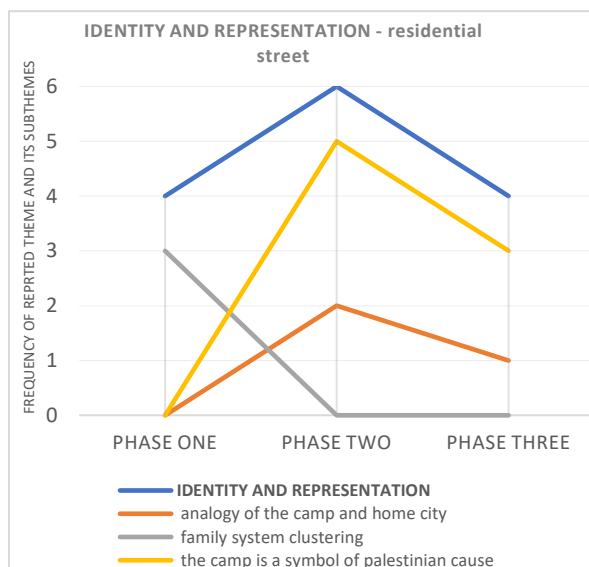
Figure 6-3:Identity & representation and its subthemes of the commercial street in the Baqaa camp
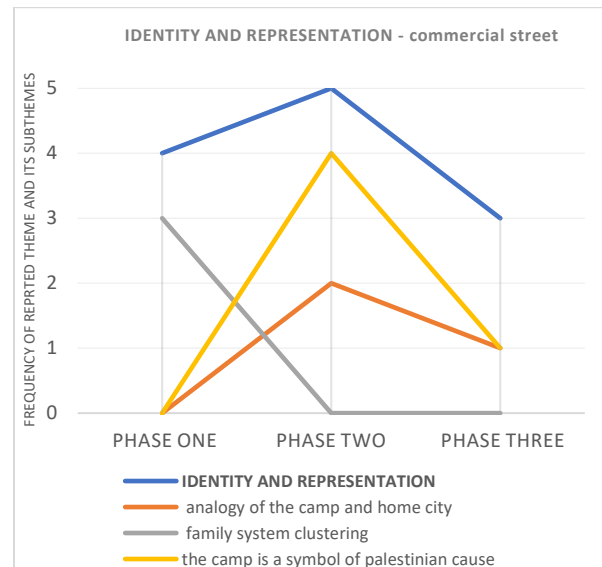
Figure 6-4: Identity & representation and its subthemes of the residential street in the Baqaa camp.

Furthermore, the 'family clustering system' plays a crucial role in shaping identity and representation within the camp. The proximity of families and the interconnectedness of social relationships foster a sense of communal identity and solidarity, resulting in a sense of safety and comfort among refugees.

Additionally, the analogy between the camp and its home city contributes to the evolving relationship between identity and representation. The refugees often mirror certain aspects in the camp of the larger city from which the refugees originated. This connection creates a sense of belonging and reinforces the shared identity among camp residents. The analogy allows individuals to draw on their cultural heritage and historical background, further influencing their representation within the camp community.

As these factors interact and evolve with time, the identity and representation of the camp experience continuous transformational processes. Through this ongoing evolution, individuals within the camp represent their identities, considering the various aspects that shape their sense of self and how they choose to be represented. Therefore, the forms of refugee identity representation peaked in Phase 2, while they decreased through Phase 3. Line graphs illustrate that the factor 'the camp as a symbol of the Palestinian cause' was the most important factor that formed the identity of the camp. In Phase 1, refugees wanted to cluster their tents with their relatives together. Still, this was not a problem in Phases 2 and 3, as people's relationships got stronger and were not just limited to relatives and family.

In Phase 3, the contributing factors shaping identity and representation experience notable declines in residential and commercial streets. These changes influence the interplay of these factors in relation to producing a sense of community within the camp. Therefore, the importance of the camp as a symbol of the Palestinian cause experienced a deteriorating impact during this phase. The symbolic connection between the camp and the larger struggle may weaken over time. This can affect how individuals perceive their identities. As time progresses, family structures within the camp can disperse due to various reasons such as resettlement or natural generational shifts. The diminished presence of closely knit families can impact the

sense of communal identity and solidarity, potentially altering the production of a sense of community. Furthermore, the analogy between the camp and its home city declined in Phase 3. The camp and its residents face challenges and changes over time. This can influence the refugees' identity and representation within the camp. This can lead to changes in the produced sense of community.

The graphs indicate that the level of identity representation is higher in the residential street compared to the commercial street. This observation suggests that the residential street serves as a space where individuals express and identify with their personal and collective identities more prominently. On the other hand, the commercial street focuses on fulfilling specific functional needs and purposes for people, potentially limiting the extent of identity representation in that context.

6.2.2.3   Produced living experience.

Refugees from the Baqaa camp on both residential and commercial streets reported having numerous negative experiences throughout their living in the camp, more than positive experiences. Line graphs (6-5) and (6-6) compare the changes in positive and negative living experiences within the three phases of lived space over time on residential and commercial streets.
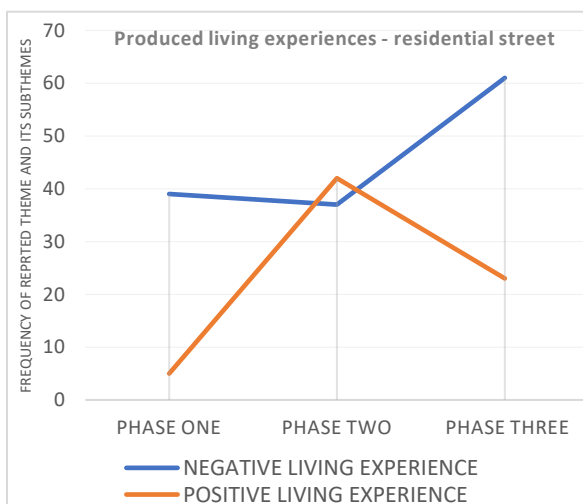
Figure 6-5: Produced living experience and its subthemes of the residential street in the Baqaa camp.
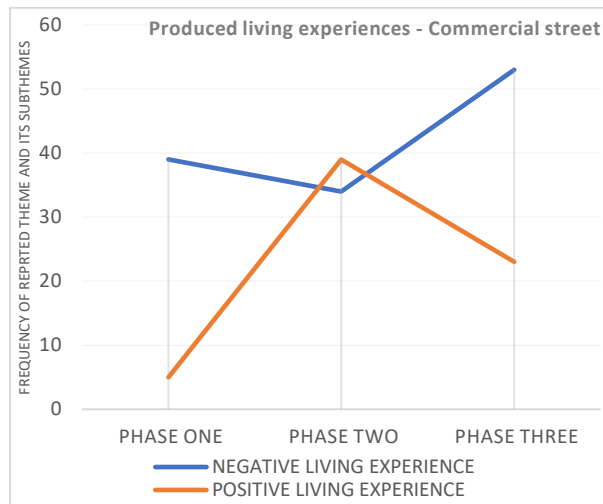
Figure 6-6: Produced living experience and its subthemes of the commercial street in the Baqaa camp.

Refugees in the Baqaa camp described many different experiences living in the camp within the three phases, and these descriptions were categorised into contributing factors that fall under **positive** and **negative** experiences. Positive descriptions such as the similarity of the camp to their home city, the safety of the camp, the feeling of being settled, and the liveability of the streets. On the other hand, harsh living conditions, the fact that refugees were at work all the time, lack of privacy, and lack of stability were the refugee's descriptions of contributing factors to the negative living experience. Overall, the positive living experience reached its highest peak in Phase 2, while the negative living experience reached its lowest in that phase. The findings derived from the interviews reveal a significant pattern related to the phases of the refugee camp. This pattern demonstrates a clear correlation between the presence of a sense of community and representations of identity, particularly observed in Phase 2. Consequently, it can be inferred that refugees experience a more positive living environment in this phase. In contrast, in phases 1 and 3, the production of these themes is less noticeable, leading to a more negative experience for the refugees. These findings highlight the importance of fostering a strong sense of community and promoting a robust identity representation to enhance the general well-being and living experience of refugees in different phases of the camp.

The comparison of the living experience between the residential street and the commercial street reveals interesting patterns. In Phase 1, both streets exhibit similar levels of produced living experience. However, as the phases progress, positive living experiences increase in both streets, with a slightly higher inclination observed in the residential street during Phase 2. This suggests a more favourable environment and an enhanced sense of community in the residential street. In Phase 3, the positive living experience decreases on the residential street and begins to intersect with the commercial streets. This indicates a possible decline in the overall living conditions and community involvement in both areas. Furthermore, the negative increases in living experience significantly rise in Phase 3, particularly in the residential street, highlighting the challenges and difficulties faced by residents in this phase. These findings highlight the importance of considering the evolving nature of the living experience in different streets within the camp. It emphasises the need for targeted

interventions and supports to maintain positive living experiences and address the growing negative aspects, particularly in Phase 3.

6.2.2.4 Summary

In summary, line graphs (6-7) and (6-8) illustrate all the combined themes of the cognitive levels.
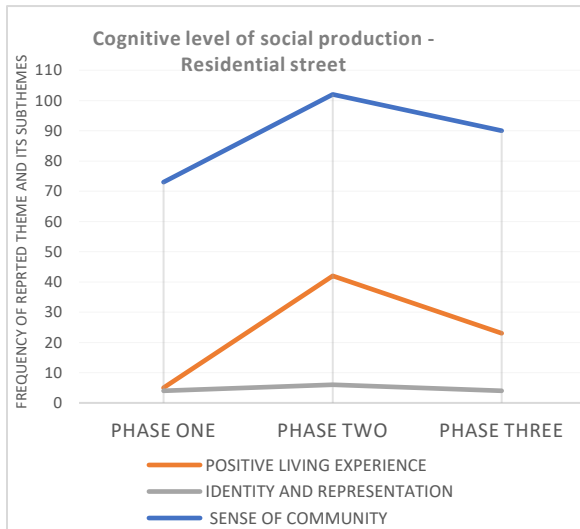
Figure 6-7: Themes of cognitive level of social production in the residential street in the Baqaa camp
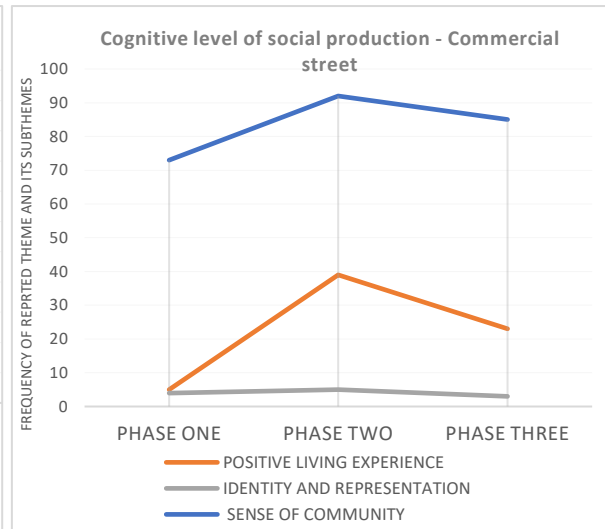
Figure 6-8: Themes of cognitive level of social production in the commercial street in the Baqaa camp

These line graphs show that on both residential and commercial streets, the spatial-social production of lived space in Phase 2 was the highest peak on the cognitive level. The sense of community was the highest reported theme of social production of streets on the cognitive level in both residential and commercial streets. It is important to note that the specific dynamics and contextual factors within each phase, including social, economic, and political influences, play a crucial role in shaping the overall lived space. By understanding these patterns and factors, planners, policymakers, and stakeholders can develop targeted interventions and strategies to enhance living experiences and promote community empowerment in future phases of the refugee camp. Additionally, it is worth emphasising that the contributing factors within the cognitive level differ in every type of street, which is thoroughly discussed in the discussion section of this chapter.

6.2.3 The structural level

6.2.3.1 Spatial action

Soja (2010) emphasises that everything social is spatial and vice versa. In refugee contexts, social life undergoes spatial transformations influenced by conflicts and tensions between different governance approaches (Harrouk 2021). Space is recognised as a significant structure in social existence (West-Pavlov 2009). Hence, refugees conducted spatial action to shape this social life. Refugees from the Baqaa camp in both residential and commercial streets took spatial actions during their daily lives over time in the streets of the camp.
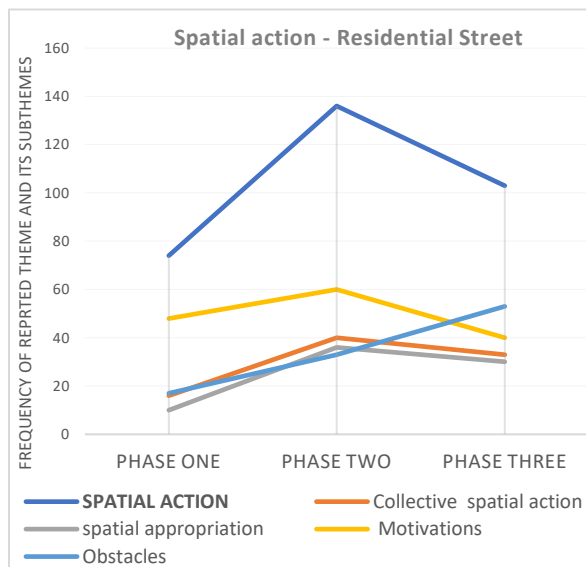
Figure 6-9: spatial action and its subthemes of the residential street in the Baqaa camp
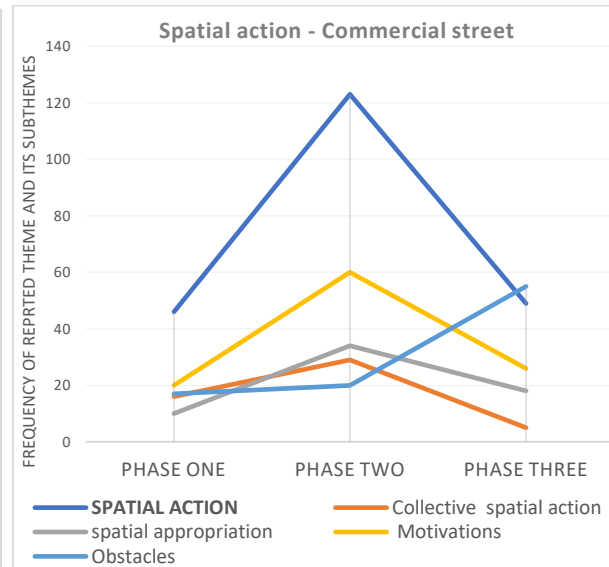
Figure 6-10: spatial action and its subthemes of the commercial street in the Baqaa camp

Spatial actions within the camp were any type of spatial transformations taken to enhance refugees' living experience, such as adding extensions to the prefabricated units, vertical extensions, and building shops. Refugees engaged in **collective spatial action** and **forms of spatial appropriation** when asked about spatial action. Furthermore, refugees stated the **motivations** behind these actions and the **obstacles** that limit these spatial actions. These specific subthemes are theory- and data-driven, reflecting key aspects of how individuals and communities engage with and shape their space. Therefore, these subthemes are identified as components of spatial actions based on their relevance to the research context and the aim of

understanding the social production of space in refugee settings. The line graphs (6-9) demonstrate subthemes that fall under the spatial action theme in the residential street, spatial action increased over time until Phase 2, and then it started to decrease. On the other hand, the line graph (6-10) illustrates the spatial action and its subthemes in the commercial street. Similarly to the residential street, spatial actions increased until Phase 2 and dramatically decreased until Phase 3. A higher intensity of spatial action is reported on the residential street due to the growth of the population and the need to expand spatially to host growing families. The subtheme 'Collective spatial actions' was reported despite not being popular in all phases compared to other subthemes. This is related to refugees' individual needs and not obtaining their right to the city which is one of the contributing factors in the 'obstacles' subtheme. The relationship between these subthemes evolves overtime as refugees navigate through different phases in the camp context. Contributing factors within these subthemes explained in Chapter 5 can impact the intensity and frequency of spatial actions.

6.2.3.2 Spatial Design Problems

The residential and commercial streets of the Baqaa camp have an increasing number of spatial design problems that increased over time, as illustrated in the line graphs (6-11), (6-12).
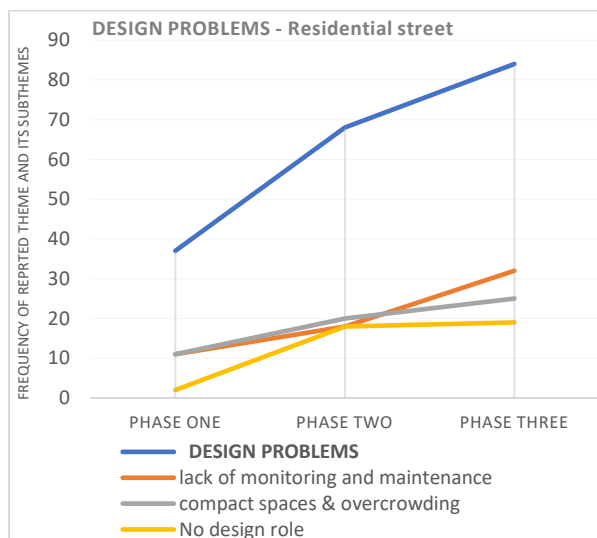
Figure 6-11: Spatial design problems and its subthemes of the residential street in the Baqaa camp
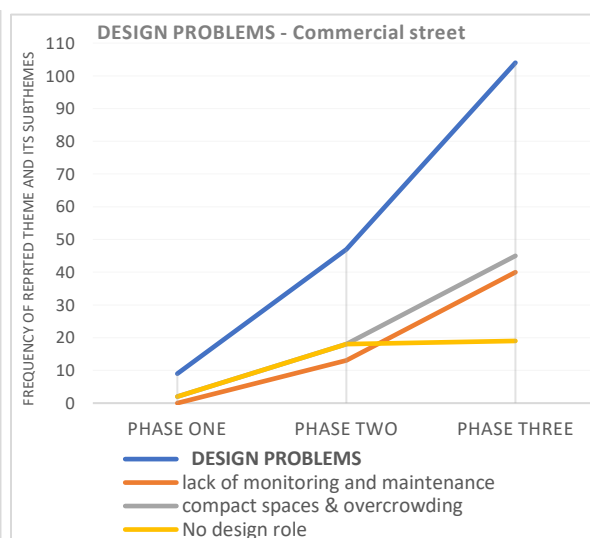
Figure 6-12: spatial design problems and its subthemes of the commercial street in the Baqaa camp

Refugees stated that they have many design problems in the everyday of streets of refugee camps, such as **compact spaces and overcrowding**, **lack of monitoring and maintenance**, and **no role for planning or design** within their spatial actions. This might also be related to their limited ability to intervene in decision-making about their spatial living conditions in camps. Design problems with all its subthemes increased over time and reached their highest in Phase 3.

In the residential street, during Phase 2, design problems were reported more than in commercial streets. These included issues such as overcrowding, limited space, and no role of design in spatial developments. However, as the phases progressed to Phase 3, there was a significant increase in both types of streets. However, the commercial street had more design problems than the residential street. These variations highlight the dynamic nature of design problems and how they manifest differently in residential and commercial streets across different phases.

In conclusion, there is a clear relationship between spatial actions and design problems, as increased spatial actions tend to be accompanied by a higher occurrence of design problems.

6.2.3.3   summary

In summary, in both residential and commercial streets, there has been a consistent increase in spatial design problems over time. These design problems have affected the spatial actions taken by the residents of these streets. Interestingly, after Phase 2, there was a decrease in the frequency or intensity of these spatial actions. As a result, these developments have influenced the processes of spatial-social production, particularly on the structural level; see Figures (6 -13), (6 -14).
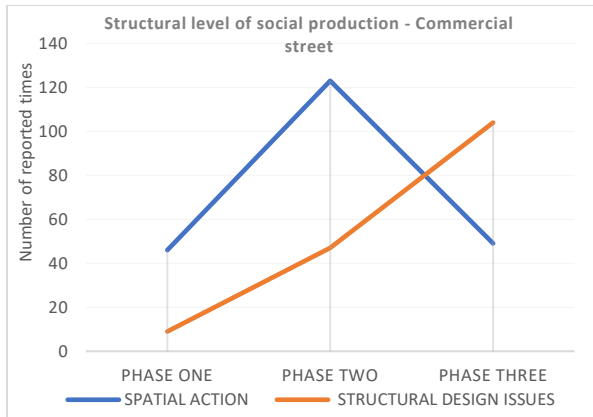
Figure 6-14: structural level of social production in the residential street in the Baqaa camp
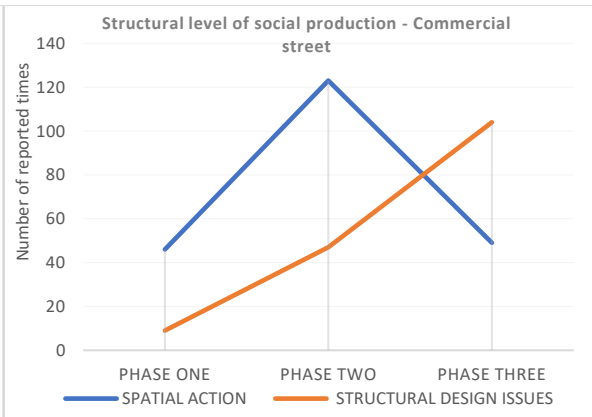
Figure 6-13: structural level of social production in the commercial street in the Baqaa camp

For example, one of the design problems in the residential street is overcrowding, leading to expanding spaces to the maximum and, thus, leading to social disputes over parking space or lack of privacy. This problem hinders the residents' ability to utilise the space effectively and discourages them from engaging in collective activities to improve their living conditions. As a result, this hinders the processes of social production of space. The same principle applies to the commercial street, where design problems such as overcrowding led to inadequate access for delivery trucks may limit the commercial activities and social interactions of the street's occupants, consequently affecting the processes of social production of space on the structural level. The line graphs demonstrate that in the residential street, design problems are produced beyond spatial actions, such as issues related to infrastructure, overcrowding, and inadequate housing conditions, and both reach their highest peak in Phase 2. In contrast, spatial actions were more than design problems in the commercial street. Another finding of comparing the residential street with the commercial street typologies is that design problems in residential street typology are reported more than in commercial street typology in all phases. As a result, spatial actions were conducted to address these structural issues, as discussed in detail in the Discussion section of this chapter.

6.2.4 Financial situation

The financial situation on residential and commercial streets in the Baqaa camp is demonstrated in line graphs (6-15) and (6-16). Subthemes that refugees reported

under the financial situation theme are **cheaper choices in the camp** than outside, **unemployment**, and **financial influence on settlement**.
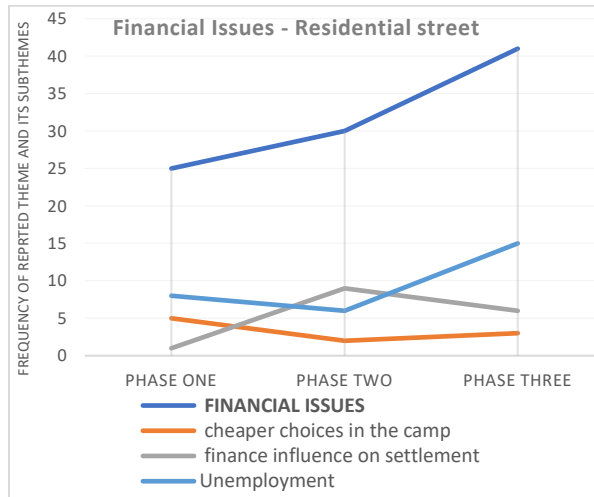
Figure 6-15: financial issues and its subthemes in the residential street in the Baqaa camp
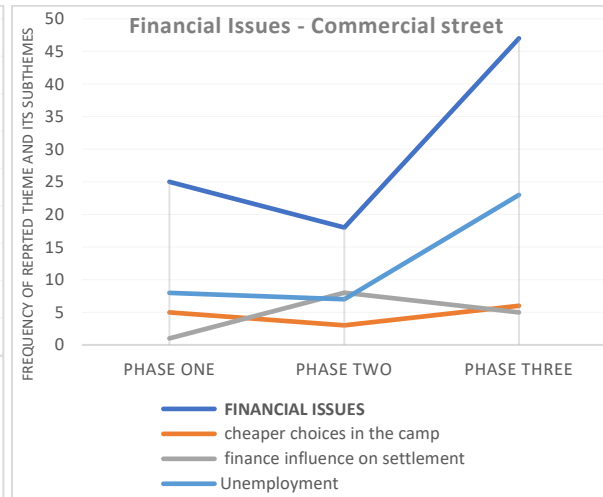
Figure 6-16: financial issues and its subthemes in the commercial street in the Baqaa camp

Financial issues decreased in Phase 2 and increased dramatically in Phase 3 in both residential and commercial streets. Consequently, refugees reported feeling more settled in the camp when they had a better financial situation, and this was at its highest peak in Phase 2, where unemployment was at its lowest level. Therefore, refugees reported that living expenses increased over time. As a response to these financial constraints, cheaper choices for basic needs were made available in the camp during the three phases of the living experience. In residential streets, financial issues increase through all phases of the living experience, while in commercial streets, it decreases from Phase 1 to Phase 2 and then dramatically increases in Phase 3. This can be interpreted as the commercial street being the key source of employment in the camp and its importance for the financial situation of refugees. However, the financial situation was better in Phase 2, which collectively impacted the spatial-social production processes on both the structural and cognitive levels.

6.2.5 Within case analysis

Themes and subthemes of the cognitive, structural, and financial levels vary over time and within the three phases of the living experience. The bar graph (2-17) compares

the themes of social production of space at all levels and within the three phases of living experience between residential and commercial streets.
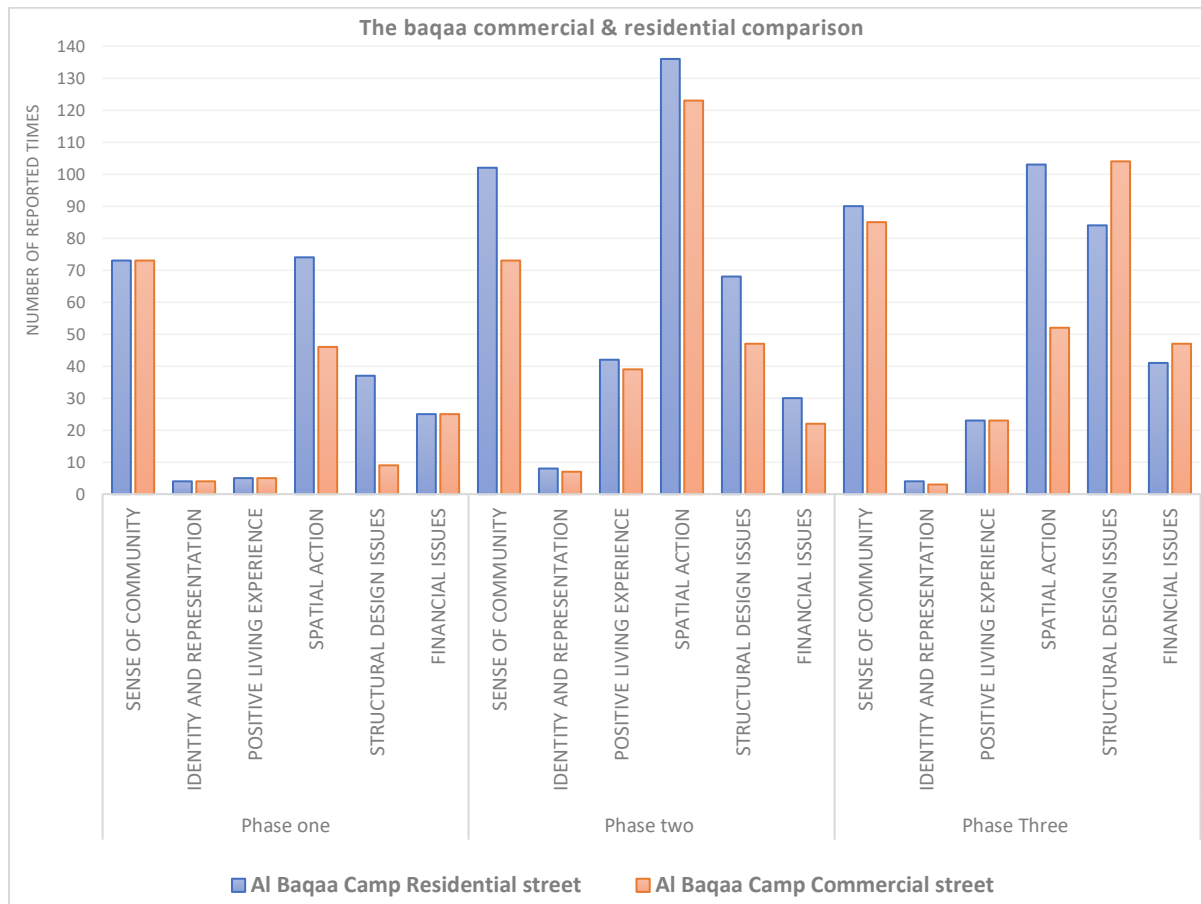
Figure 6-17: Comparison of all themes within the three phases of living experience at the Baqaa camp

The line graph illustrates that **spatial actions** were reported the most in all phases, and within two types of streets, it is the highest reported theme among all themes in Phase 2. The least reported theme is **identity and representation**, which can be explained by the fact that identity and representation could be embedded within the lives of refugees without realising it, and, therefore, they did not bring it into discussion during their interviews. In general, the social production processes of community empowerment have operated analogously in both types of streets. However, some differences between commercial and residential streets in these themes developed over time. These differences emerged from the fact that the commercial street is more functional and serves a specific purpose, while the residential street plays a greater social role among its residents. In Phase 2, the residential street exhibited a greater

dominance of themes within the social production of space than the commercial street. However, in Phase 3, significant changes were observed in both streets. The commercial street experienced a higher prevalence of design problems and financial issues themes, accompanied by a decrease in the reported spatial actions theme compared to residential. This process suggests that the social and spatial dynamics in the residential street remain relatively stable in Phase 2 while fluctuating socioeconomic factors influence the commercial street over time. This finding highlights the importance of recognising the evolving nature of social-spatial dynamics in different street typologies. The residential street demonstrates a consistent pattern of social engagement and utilisation of space. In contrast, the commercial street is more sensitive to the interplay of economic dynamics, which can impact the overall social production of the street. An important finding that emerged from these interviews is the importance of Phase 2, 'a form of normalcy' in facilitating the social production of space in streets, while Phase 2 is a 'product' of the social production of space over time. Consequently, this mutually beneficial and interconnected nature of the relationship between processes and products is iterative and reciprocal. It highlights how processes and products continually shape and influence each other, promoting an ongoing cycle of community empowerment within the lived space of the camp.

6.2.6 The Baqaa Camp Axonometric Drawings

Axonometric drawings are used as a design research tool to help process data and generate knowledge in architectural space; this facilitates making meaning of complex research through drawings (Mäkelä et al. 2014). The layers in axonometric drawings represent the processes of social production in the space of the street in the Palestinian refugee camps to foster community empowerment. Each layer illustrates the contributing factors and themes included within the cognitive or structural levels of social production. The base layer represents the structural level of the street of the refugee camp. Another successive layer above represents the social encounters and activities in the street. Then the layer above illustrates the depth of conversation, which indicates the strength of relationships between refugees. Then the layer above

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represents the extension and strength of neighbouring relationships. The final layer illustrates community empowerment within the streets of refugee camps.

6.2.6.1 Residential streets

Figure (6-18) illustrates Phase 1, 'the emergency period', in the residential street in the Baqaa camp. In Phase 1, the structure of the camp was simple, and the units were all similar and consisted of tents and communal public facilities. Refugees reported being in the streets most of the day due to activities like using communal facilities such as public toilets, communal kitchens, and public water taps where refugees collected water every day. Conversations between refugees in Phase 1 were limited to shallow conversations. Relationships between refugees were limited to neighbours, which were relationships that were known before fleeing to the camp due to the clustering of grand families. Community empowerment was produced in the lived space of the everyday in refugees' streets, which was produced with lower intensity in Phase 1 due to the emergency circumstances explained in the layers of the axonometric street. These circumstances are due to fewer social encounters and the temporariness of the situation. In Phase 2, 'a form of normalcy', refugees made numerous spatial actions and expansions. They developed a better-lived space on the structural, cognitive, and financial levels. This produced better community empowerment within the residential streets of the Baqaa camp; see Figure (6-19).

The production of community empowerment decreased in Phase 3 'overcrowding crisis phase', where the living expenses and unemployment rate increased, and the space became limited and congested and could not accommodate any additional spatial extension, leading to an increase in social disputes. This deterioration at the structural, cognitive, and financial levels affected the processes of social production of street' spaces to community empowerment, see Figure (6-20).

The Baqaa Camp - Residential

"Phase 1: Emergency period"

Baqaa Camp

Space for community
Empowerment
"Ripple effect"

strength and extension of relationships
family relations, neighbourship,
friendships.

social encounters and depth of
conversations
space for sharing joys and sorrows

Residential street
users and uses of street
cooking, sharing food, socialising
Emergency shelter

structural space
narrow non-paved residential street with
tents as shelters.
Family dwelling: safety , sleeping
public water taps collecting water
Public toilets and kitchens cooking,
sharing food, socializing

Text legend

Activities
Structural level
Cognitive level

The process of social production
in residential street.

social interactions

Actors

residential units that define the
boundaries of streets

more extended
relationship
among street

stronger
relationships
& more
frequent
interaction

Community Empowerment ripple effect

empowerment
among
bigger
community

Stronger community empowerment

1968   1971   1997   2022

Phase 1

Phase 2

Phase 3

a moment in phase 1

Conversations

1
Man1: hello, how have you been?
Man 2: man i'm still looking for a job!

2
Woman1: hello, how are you?
Woman 2: oh, the wind blew out our tent last night

3
Man1: hi, do you have any kind of vegetables?
Man 2: yes, I have tomatoes.
Man1: great, I have cucumbers do you want to exchange
some?

Figure 6-18: Phase 1 of the social production of space in the residential street in the Baqaa camp fostering community empowerment.

The Baqaa Camp - Residential
"Phase 2: A form of normalcy"

Baqaa Camp

Space for community empowerment
Ripple effect

Strength and extension of relationships
family relations, neighbourship, friendships.

social encounters and depth of conversations
space for sharing joys, sorrows and camp news

Resedential street.
users and uses of street
"shopping, socialising, kids play area, car parking "
Camp- cities public space

structural space
narrow paved street with mixed use 1-2 storey buildings.
Vertical expansion:
more space to expand and to accommodate
the growing families
Camp units: zinc structures, brick and stone structures.
small shops are distributed among the street.
Family dwelling: safety , sleeping

Text legend

Activities
Structural level
Cognitive level

The process of social production
in residential street.

social interactions

Actors

residential units that define the
boundaries of streets

more extended
relationship
among street

stronger
relationships
& more
frequent
interaction

Community Empowerment ripple effect

empowerment
among
bigger
community

Stronger community empowerment

1968	1971	1997	2022

Phase 1

Phase 2

Phase 3

a moment in phase 2

Conversations

1
Man1: hello, how have you been?
Man 2: thank God the work is going fine !

2
woman1: hi next week me and the neighbours are
coming to visit you at home.
woman 2: you are most welcome.

3
Man1: hi neighbour, my son is going to get married soon and I
want to build a first floor above my house, I'm sorry for any
inconvenience.
Man 2: congratulations, sure no worries.

Figure 6-19 Phase 2 of the social production of space in the residential street in the Baqaa camp fostering community empowerment.

The Baqaa Camp - Residential street
"Phase 3: Overcrowding crisis"

Baqaa Camp

Space for Community empowerment
Ripple effect

Strength and extension of relationships
family relations, neighbourship, friendships.

social encounters and depth of conversations
space for sharing joys, sorrows, and camp's news.

Residential street.
users and uses of street
" socialising, car parking, kids play area "
Camp- cities public space

structural space
narrow paved street --> broken and dirty street.
with mixed use 2- 3 storey buildings.
Vertical expansion:
 more space to expand and to
  accommodate the growing families

Camp units: zinc structures, brick and stone structures.

Family dwelling: safety , sleeping

Text legend
Activities
Structural level
Cognitive level

The process of social production in residential street.

⬭ social interactions

👥 Actors

▱ residential units that define the boundaries of streets

more extended relationship among street

stronger relationships & more frequent interaction

Community Empowerment ripple effect

empowerment among bigger community

Stronger community empowerment

1968   1971   1997   2022

Phase 1   Phase 2   Phase 3

a moment in phase 3

Conversations

1
Man1: Hi neighbour, what happened here yesterday?!
Man 2: my neighbour and I disagreed yesterday. His boys went up to the roof and they could reveal inside my house, we failed to come to an agreement and thus I filed a complaint with the police office.

2
woman 1: hi neighbour, come in for a cup of coffee.
woman 2: Sorry I can't I have to go to work.

3
Man1: Hello neighbour, you have been parking your car in front of our door since yesterday, and it is blocking the entrance.
Man 2: Sorry neighbour, please bear with me until tonight because I have guests and they are parking in my spot. There is no place to park here, you know!

Figure 6.20. Phase 3 of the social production of space in the residential street in the Baqaa camp fostering community empowerment.

6.2.6.2   Commercial streets

The commercial street in the Baqaa camp went through processes of social production of space similar to the residential streets, especially in Phase 1, the 'emergency period'. All streets in refugee camps were similar; tents formed the modules of structural units that UNRWA distributed to all refugees. However, refugees started to exchange the food they received from outside the camp; this exchange became a pattern and included more than just food. Therefore, they chose to continue with this pattern on the main road of the camp, where people mostly pass by, and this is how the commercial street developed in the camp.

Figure (6-21) illustrates the commercial street in the Baqaa camp in Phase 1. It can be seen that similar to the residential street in the same phase, the structural and cognitive levels were in a situation of temporariness and emergency. In the commercial streets, refugees set up floor stalls in front of their tents to exchange goods. In this phase, refugees reported limited levels of contributing factors within the structural, cognitive, and financial levels of the social production of space. Therefore, refugees produced a small amount of community empowerment in this phase, while they produced financial empowerment in this commercial street. This refers to the ability of individuals or communities to control their financial resources and access opportunities that improve their economic well-being and overall financial security.

In addition, refugees made numerous spatial actions and expansions in Phase 2, 'a form of normalcy', see Figure (6-22). The camp developed structurally, cognitively and especially financially. This produced community and financial empowerment within the commercial streets of the Baqaa camp.

Community empowerment production decreased in Phase 3 'overcrowding crisis phase'; see Figure (6-23), where the living expenses and unemployment increased, the space became limited and congested, and thus, could not accommodate any other additional spatial extensions, leading to the increase of social disputes. The deterioration observed at the structural, cognitive, and financial levels affected the social production of street spaces for fostering community empowerment. For example, at the structural level, inadequate housing conditions and congested spaces

increased social disputes over these spaces, leading to deterioration at the cognitive level. Furthermore, at the financial level, the limited resources placed significant barriers to the ability of refugees to engage in income-generating activities and pursue economic empowerment, further affecting their overall community empowerment. However, refugees in commercial streets produced more financial empowerment than community empowerment, as shops were an important source of finance in the camp.

The Baqaa Camp - commercial street
"Phase 1: Emergency Period"

Baqaa Camp

Space for community Empowerment
"Ripple effect"

Space for financial individual &
community Empowerment
Ripple effect

strength and extension of relationships
family relations, neighbourship, friendships.

social encounters and depth of conversations
space for sharing joys and sorrows

movement within the street

Residential- Commercial street
users and uses of street
"shopping, socialising "

Emergency shelter

structural space
narrow non-paved street with tents as
shelters.
simple stalls on the floor with few
vegetables to sell.

Text legend

Activities
structural level
Cognitive level

The process of social production
in resedential street.

social interactions

Actors

resedential units that define the
boundaries of streets

Movement

more extended
relationship
among street

stronger
relationships
& more
frequent
interaction

Community Empowerment ripple effect

empowerment
among
bigger
community

Stronger community empowerment

Financial
empowerment
among
bigger
community

Stronger financial empowerment

1968   1971   1997   2022

Phase 1
Phase 2
Phase 3

a moment in phase 1

Conversations

1
Man1: Hello, how have you been?
Man 2: We are managing, the wind blew our tent
away at dawn !

2
Man: Hello, how is the trade going on stalls?
Man 2: not bad but I cant enter goods every day,
just if you are lucky.

3
Man1: Hi, I received some tomatoes from outside the camp so
I thought why not sell them. what have you got?
Man 2: one of my relatives also passed me a Zucchini box
from under the fence.

Figure 6.21: Phase 1 of the social production of space in the commercial street in the Baqaa camp fostering community empowerment

The Baqaa Camp - Commercial street
"Phase 2: A form of normalcy"

Baqaa Camp

Space for Community empowerment
Ripple effect

Space for financial individual &
community empowerment
Ripple effect

Strength and extension of relationships
family relations, neighbourship,
friendships.

social encounters and depth of
conversations
space for sharing joys and sorrows

Movement within the street
Space for people to move is narrowed down

Commercial street with resedential units.
users and uses of street
"shopping, socialising "
trade and economic source - job
Camp- cities public space
public space represents refugees
socio-economic area

structural space
narrow paved street with mixed use
1-2 storey buildings.
Vertical expansion:
more space for facilies to expand and
to have a source of income

Camp units: zinc structures, brick and
stone structures.
the street is shaded with the old tent
materials and zinc sheets
stalls are distributed among the street.

Family dwelling: safety , sleeping
shops: trading & source of income

The process of social production
in resedential street.

social interactions

Actors

resedential units that define the
boundaries of streets

Movement

more
extended
relationship
among
street

stronger
relationships
& more
frequent
interaction

Community Empowerment ripple effect

empowerment
among
bigger
community

Stronger community empowerment

Financial
empowerment
among
bigger
community

Stronger financial empowerment

1968   1971   1997   2012

Phase 1

Phase 2

Phase 3

a moment in phase 2

Text legend

Activities
structural level
Cognitive level

Conversations

1
Man1: Hello, how is the trade going in your shop?
Man 2: thank god, it is going fine.

2
Man1: Hi man, you are extending your shop?!
Man 2: oh yes I have built another floor to live in and to transform
this floor to my shop instead of the stalls.

3
Man: Hello, how have you been?
Man 2: not bad I want to expand my shop, but my
neighbour still doesn't to sell me his shop.

Figure 6.22 Phase 2 of the social production of space in the commercial street in the Baqaa camp fostering community empowerment

The Baqaa Camp – Commercial street
"Phase 3: Overcrowding phase"

Figure 6.23 Phase 3 of the social production of space in the commercial street in the Baqaa camp fostering community empowerment

6.3 Jerash (Gaza) refugee camp within-case analyses

This section investigated in detail the processes of social production of space within the streets of the Jerash (Gaza) camp throughout the three phases of living experience and compared these processes and their results throughout the three phases of living experience. The comparative analysis includes the Jerash camp due to its distinct characteristics that distinguish it from the Baqaa camp. The Jerash camp has unique features such as its location far from Amman, the capital city, the surface area of the camp is relatively small compared to the Baqaa and Zaatari, and all its refugees are from the Gaza Strip, which significantly influences the dynamics of spatial-social processes and results of community empowerment. This will provide valuable insights into the contextual nuances and allow for a more comprehensive exploration of the research questions to understand the social production of space and community empowerment and its contributing factors. This investigation uses semi-structured interviews and axonometric drawings as analytical tools to explore the relationship between the social production of space, community empowerment, and the intangible factors within the streets of refugee camps.

6.3.1 semi-structured interviews

Fieldwork in Jerash camp was carried out on 11, 12, and 26 August 2020; during the fieldwork, semi-structured interviews took the form of friendly conversations in the streets of the refugee camp Table (6-2) illustrates the details of the interviewees.

Table 6-2: Details of Jerash (Gaza) refugee camp interviewees

CASE	PARTICIPANT AGE	NO. OF PARTICIPANTS	Total No.
	Men > 50	6	
	Women > 50	2	
JERASH CAMP	Men < 50	4	16
	Women < 50	3	
	Camp Manager	1	

6.3.2 Cognitive level

6.3.2.1 Sense of community

'Sense of community' is a widely discussed theme by refugees in Jerash camp on the cognitive level. Refugees repeatedly reported causes, obstacles, and products of a sense of community within their streets. The line graph (6-24) presents the sense of community and its subthemes across the three phases in the residential street in Jerash camp.
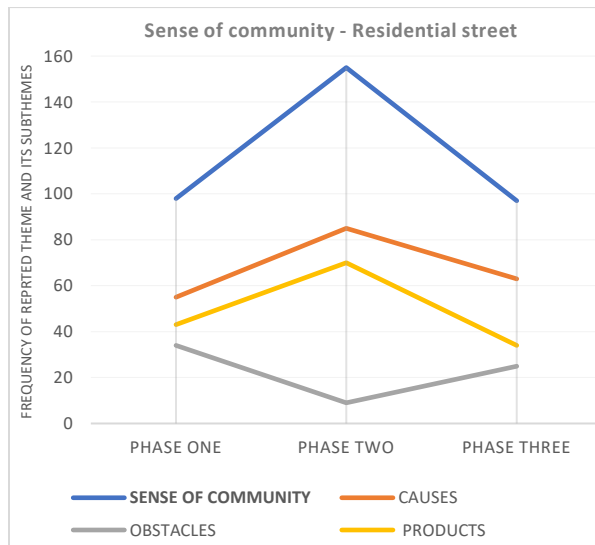
Figure 6-24: Sense of community and its subthemes in Jerash camp residential street
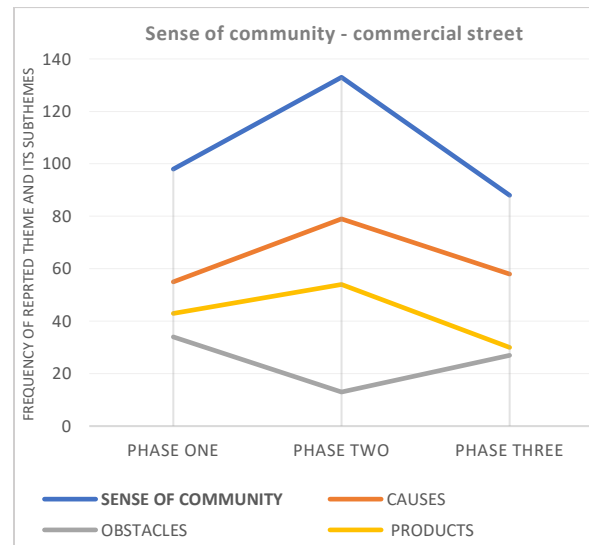
Figure 6-25:Sense of community and its subthemes in Jerash camp commercial street

Overall, the sense of community increases gradually between Phase 1 and peaks in Phase 2 before dropping dramatically in Phase 3. The graph indicates that the sense of community encompasses subthemes such as "causes," "products," and "obstacles," which are further discussed in Chapter 5. Additionally, it was found that Phase 2, known as the "a form of normalcy phase," was the phase during which the sense of community was most prevalent. Among these subthemes, the **causes** that facilitated the production of a sense of community reached their peak in Phase 2 and were the most reported. These causes were identified as contributing factors to the sense of community, including dealing with social-spatial issues, equality between people's situations, rich social life, and processes involving neighbour consent. Additionally, the **products** of the sense of community were most reported when the sense of community was at its highest level. On the contrary, **obstacles**, such as

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increasing social problems, aid inequality, and poor living conditions, had an inverse relationship with the sense of community. Refugees consistently reported a higher presence of causes of community compared to obstacles in all phases. One notable product that resulted from the sense of community and was frequently mentioned by interviewees, which facilitated the processes of social production of the sense of community in the streets of Jerash camp, was the sense of belonging. Subsequently, this sense of belonging led to community empowerment. The levels of sense of community among refugees in the Jerash camp varied in the different phases of the living experience. These variations are caused by the evolving interplay between factors contributing to the production of a sense of community. In Phase 2, the factors under the cause subtheme that facilitated the production of a sense of community were high, while the obstacles that hindered its production were low. On the contrary, Phases 1 and 3 exhibited different dynamics. Throughout the progression of the phases, the interrelation between these factors of the sense of community evolved, resulting in shifts in the levels of the sense of community and, consequently, different outcomes experienced by the refugees. These outcomes, including safety, a sense of belonging, and street socialisation, are considered **products** of the sense of community. This dynamic relationship asserts the significance of considering the temporal aspects and evolving nature of the factors contributing to the sense of community over time.

The graph (6-25) represents the theme of a sense of community on the commercial street of Jerash camp. The graph shows similarities between producing a sense of community in the residential and commercial streets. Similarly, there is a direct relationship between causes and products with the sense of community, while obstacles display an inverse relationship.

However, the sense of community was more pronounced in the residential streets, as refugees reported a richer social life and more equality among people's situations as causes. On the contrary, the commercial street faced more obstacles, such as increasing social problems, leading to a less sense of community. This difference can be interpreted as refugees on residential streets who have more frequent social

encounters and deeper relationships with each other, which contributes to a stronger sense of community. On the other hand, relationships in the commercial street revolve around buying, selling, and encounters with customers, which are more formal and less frequent. As a result, social connections in residential streets tend to be more profound, and these deeper relationships are key factors in the production of a stronger sense of community.

6.3.2.2   Identity and Representations

The second theme within the cognitive aspect of the social production of streets to achieve empowerment is identity and representation.
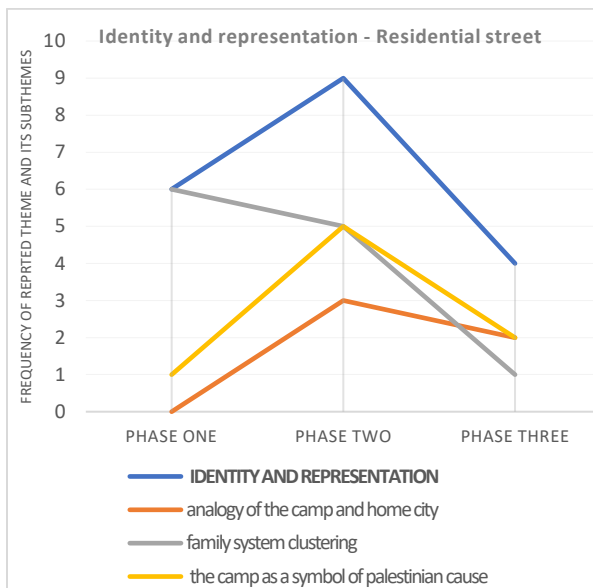
Figure 6-26: Identity & representation and its subthemes in Jerash camp residential street
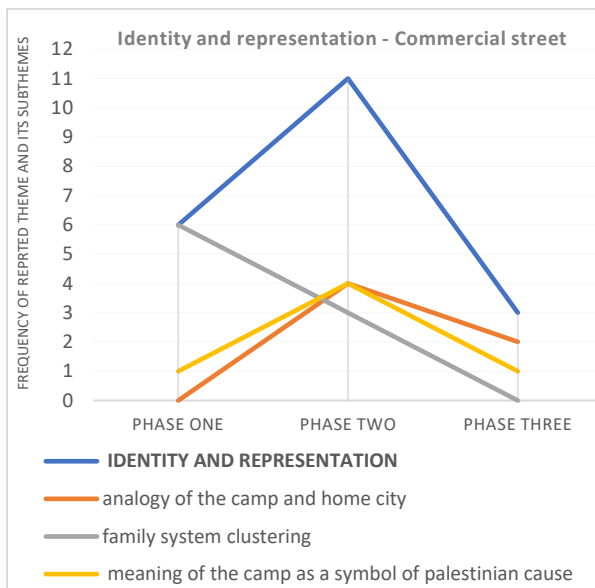
Figure 6-27; Identity & representation and its subthemes of the commercial street in Jerash camp

When refugees are asked about representations and identity in general, they engage with the Palestinian cause, the resemblance of the camp to their home city, and family clustering close to each other since the beginning of the camp. If someone was assigned a tent located far from family, they used to exchange locations to be close to family. The evolving relationship between identity and its representation over time can be observed through various contributing factors that shape this dynamic.

Line graph (6-26) illustrates the theme 'identity and representation' and its sub-themes on the residential street in Jerash camp. Overall, identity and representation increased

between Phase 1 and Phase 2, peaked in Phase 2, and declined dramatically until Phase 3.

Similarly, 'Identity and representation' on the commercial street in the Jerash camp illustrated in the line graph (6-27), identity and representation increased between Phases 1 and 2 and reached their peak in Phase 2 and decreased dramatically between Phases 2 and 3. In both types of streets, the family clustering system declined dramatically over time and through the three phases of living experience until Phase 3, refugees reported that when they fled to the camp, they tried to group their tents together in Phase 1; this family clustering system became less significant in Phases 2 and 3 as relationships extended beyond family ties. Additionally, the 'Analogy of the camp and refugee's home city' and 'the camp as a representation of the Palestinian cause' weaken in Phase 3, potentially affecting how individuals perceive their identities. This is due to multiple factors, such as the lack of sense of identity due to generational shifts and changes in family structures within the camp, such as resettlement.

These changes in identity and representation have implications for the production of a sense of community within the camp. 'Identity and representation' in both residential and commercial streets are convergent; however, the commercial street helped shape the urban form of the camp, which helped refugees feel that the resulting camp looked similar to their original home city. Overall, the evolving dynamics of identity and representation in the camp demonstrate the complex interplay of factors contributing to producing a sense of community. The camp's symbolic significance, family clustering, and the analogy with the home city all play crucial roles in shaping identity, but their influence may fluctuate over time.

6.3.2.3   Produced living experience.

The third theme within the cognitive aspect of the social production of streets to achieve empowerment is **the lived experience produced,** which was data-driven through interviews with refugees. Line graphs (6-28) and (6-29) demonstrate the living experience produced in residential and commercial streets within the three phases of the living experience, respectively.
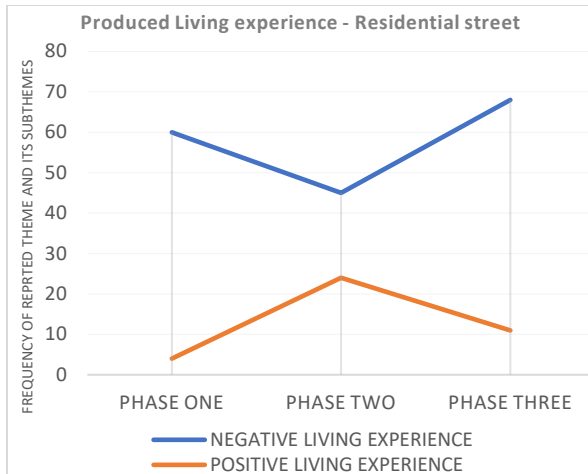
Figure 6-28: Produced living experience and its subthemes of the commercial street in Jerash camp.
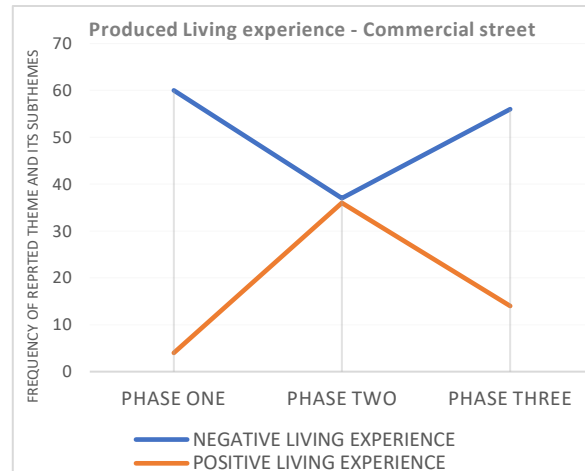
Figure 6-29: Produced living experience and its subthemes of the residential street in Jerash camp.

The living experience is the core characteristic that facilitates the processes of the social production of streets and is also a product of these processes. Refugees in the Jerash camp shared diverse experiences throughout the three phases, which were categorised into positive and negative contributing factors. Positive experiences included the similarity of the camp to its home city, the safety of the camp, the feeling of settled, and the liveability of the streets. Negative experiences included harsh living conditions, continuous work, lack of privacy, and instability. The relationship between these contributing factors evolved overtime.

The highest level of positive living experiences and the lowest level of negative experiences were prevalent in Phase 2. This phase demonstrated a clear correlation between the presence of a sense of community and representations of identity, indicating a more positive living environment for refugees. In contrast, phases 1 and 3 exhibited a less noticeable production of these themes, resulting in a more negative experience for the refugees. These findings highlight the importance of promoting a strong sense of community to enhance the well-being and living experience of refugees across different phases of the camp.

When comparing the residential and commercial streets, both initially showed similar levels of living experience in Phase 1. However, as the phases progressed, positive experiences increased in both streets, with a slightly higher inclination observed in the

residential street during Phase 2, indicating a more favourable environment and an enhanced sense of community. In Phase 3, the positive living experience declined in the residential street and intersected with the commercial street, indicating a potential deterioration in overall living conditions and community engagement in both street typologies. The negative living experience notably rose in Phase 3, particularly in the residential street, highlighting the challenges faced by residents during this phase due to overpopulation, social disputes, and the need to continuously expand spatially. These findings emphasise the evolving nature of the living experience in different street typologies within the camp and the need for interventions and support to maintain positive living experiences and address growing negative aspects, particularly in Phase 3.

6.3.2.4   Summary

In summary, line graphs (6-30) and (6-31) illustrate all themes of the combined cognitive levels. The line graphs demonstrate that in both residential and commercial streets, Phase 2 was the best phase of spatial-social production of lived space on the cognitive level.
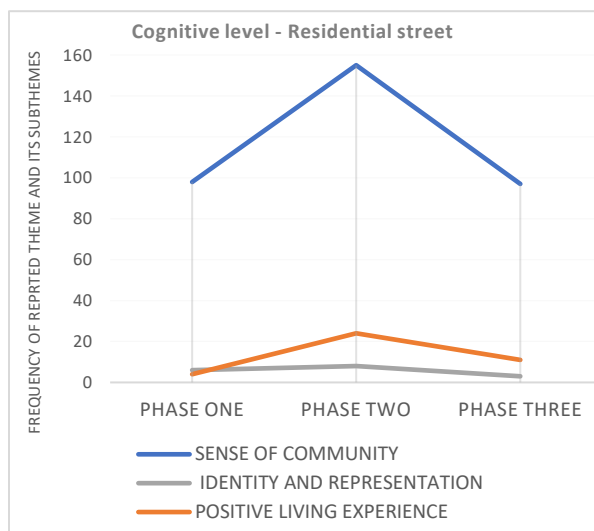
Figure 6-30: Themes of cognitive level in the residential street in Jerash camp
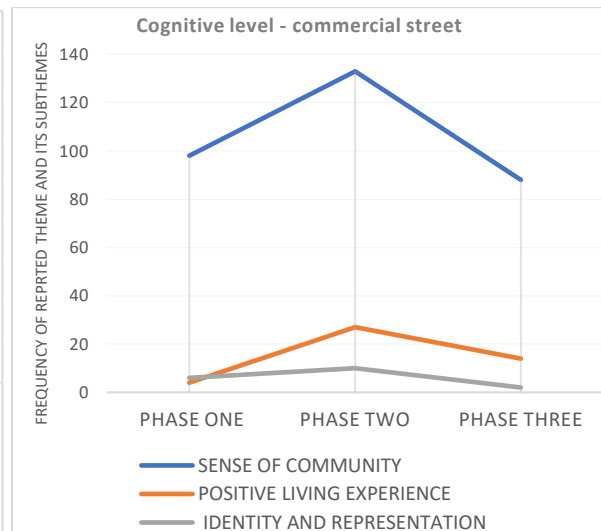
Figure 6-31: Themes of cognitive level in the commercial street in Jerash camp

The interplay of themes, subthemes, and contributing factors at the cognitive level during the three phases of the living experience significantly impacted the production of community empowerment in both residential and commercial streets. In Phase 1,

the residents faced challenges adapting to the camp and establishing a new life with a temporary perspective. However, with prolonged inhabitation, a shift towards a settled and normalised environment led to a promoted community empowerment in Phase 2. Unfortunately, in Phase 3, deteriorating living conditions and increasing social problems affected the sense of community in both street typologies. These findings emphasise the importance of addressing the contributing factors and subthemes at the cognitive level to foster a strong sense of community and improve the living experience of refugees in the camp. For example, the sense of community was the highest reported theme contributing to the social production of space fostering community empowerment at the cognitive level in both street typologies. Therefore, interventions that maintain a sense of community among refugees are important to contribute to the production of community empowerment and mitigate the deterioration of lived space in refugee camps. A further thorough discussion is presented in the discussion section below.

6.3.3 The structural level

6.3.3.1 Spatial action

Refugees undertook spatial actions to meet their needs every day in the streets of Jerash camp. The spatial actions theme includes various subthemes, such as collective spatial action and forms of spatial appropriation. Refugees stated motivations behind these actions and obstacles that limit these spatial actions.

The line graph (6-32) illustrates the spatial action theme and its subthemes forming components in the residential street in Jerash camp. Spatial action increased over time and peaked in Phase 2 due to the increase of contributing factors such as motivations for improving the built environment, collective spatial actions, and spatial appropriations, while obstacles decreased in this phase. In contrast, the theme of spatial action experienced a significant decline during Phase 3 due to the escalating obstacles that limited various forms of spatial engagement, such as the lack of right to the city, no future planning and vision of the camp, and the limited surface area of the camp. This has posed challenges to the active participation of refugees in shaping

their space, as it reflects the refugees' aspirations and active engagement in enhancing their physical surroundings and seeking normal life within the camp.
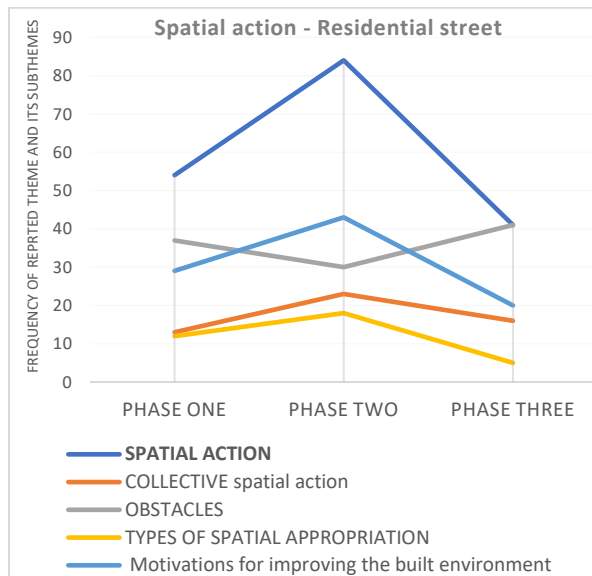
Figure 6-32: Spatial action and its subthemes of the commercial street in Jerash camp
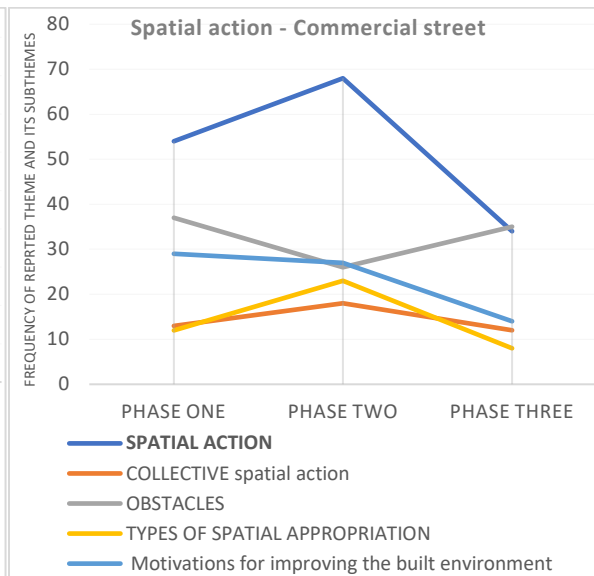
Figure 6-33: Spatial action and its subthemes of the residential street in Jerash camp

On the other hand, the line graph (6-33) demonstrates spatial action and its subthemes in the commercial street. Similarly to the residential street, spatial actions increased until Phase 2 and then dramatically decreased until Phase 3 in the commercial street. 'Obstacles' are reported more frequently in the subtheme on commercial streets. The 'collective spatial action' and 'types of spatial appropriation' are convergent, and their relationship between them and the spatial action is direct. Importantly, motivations to improve the built environment in the commercial street have a minor increase between Phases 1 and 2, while it declined between Phases 2 and 3. Spatial action was reported more on the residential street due to population growth and the need to expand spatially to accommodate the growing families. In addition to the motivation to improve the built environment, more is reported in the residential street. Collective spatial actions were less prevalent in all phases, possibly due to individual needs and the lack of refugees' right to the city and actively participating in shaping their urban environment. This includes elements such as adequate housing, services, amenities, and meaningful decision-making processes that affect their living conditions. Therefore, this refers to a limited collective

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transformative capacity of their common socio-spatial environment. Hence, Promoting the right to the city in the refugee camp context empowers individuals and communities by addressing structural challenges, enabling agency and access to resources, fostering a sense of belonging and community, and empowering them to actively shape their social and physical environment. Remarkably, spatial action decreased hugely in Phase 3; this decline can be interpreted as the space in Phase 3 becoming highly congested and, therefore, could not accommodate any more expansion.

6.3.3.2 Spatial Design Problems
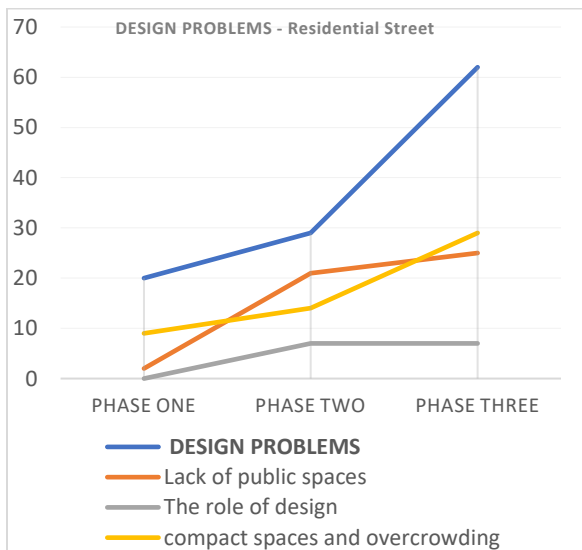
Figure 6-34: Spatial design problems and its subthemes of the residential street in Jerash camp
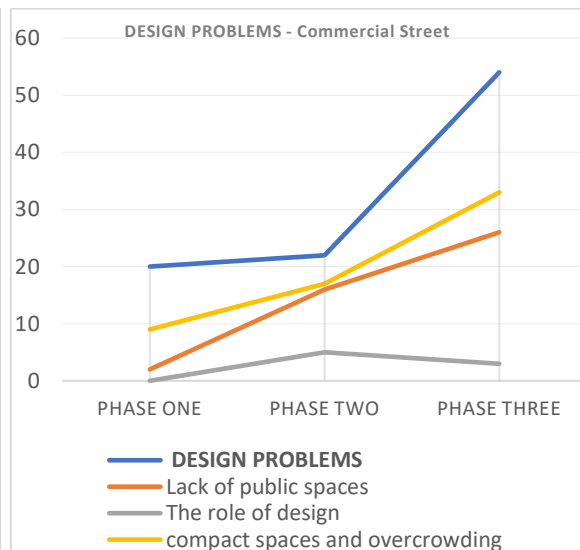
Figure 6-35: Spatial design problems and its subthemes of the residential street in Jerash camp

Refugees reported various design problems within their everyday living in the streets of refugee camps, including compact spaces, overcrowding, and no role in planning and design within their spatial actions. The line graph (6-34) demonstrates the spatial design problems that were discussed in the interviews and reported in the residential street in Jerash camp. Design problems increased over time and peaked in Phase 3. The issue most reported was the lack of public spaces that refugees faced throughout the three phases of their living experience, which increased throughout the time between Phase 1 and Phase 2, then increased slightly until Phase 3. Another design problem is compact spaces and overcrowding, an issue that slightly increased between Phase 1 and Phase 2 and then greatly increased in Phase 3. When refugees

are asked about the role of design in their spatial activities, they report a minor role in designing and planning.

Additionally, the line graph (6-35) demonstrates the subthemes discussed in interviews and reported as spatial design problems in the commercial street in Jerash camp. Similarly, in residential street design, problems increased over time and peaked in Phase 3.

The difference in design problems between residential and commercial streets is that there is a dramatic increase in these problems in the commercial streets in Phase 3, while in Phase 2, design problems were reported more in the residential streets. Refugees faced compact spaces and overcrowding more than in commercial streets, while the lack of public spaces and the role of design were convergently reported in both types of streets.

Refugees have widely reported design problems in both types of streets, as they directly affect refugees' lives every day. Design problems affect the processes of the social production of streets, and it is also a product of these processes at the same time. As a result, spatial actions were conducted to address these design problems, as discussed in detail in the discussion below.

6.3.3.3   Summary

In conclusion, at the structural level, both residential and commercial streets experienced various spatial actions and design problems, which have reverse relationships illustrated in line graphs (6-36), (6-37). Accordingly, when design problems peaked, spatial action declined and vice versa. Thus, this impacted the processes of spatial-social production on the structural level.
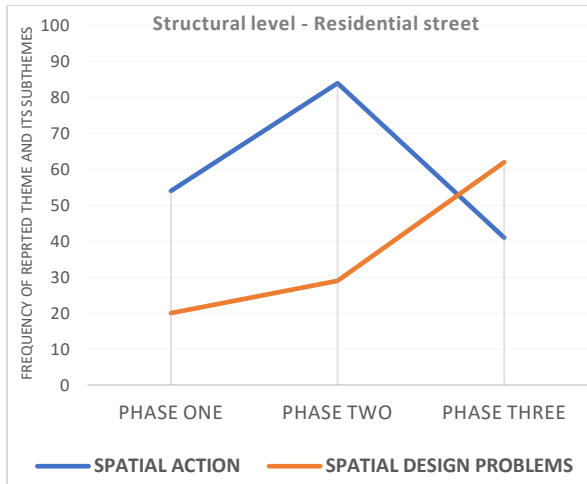
Figure 6-36: Structural level of social production of space in the residential street of Jerash camp
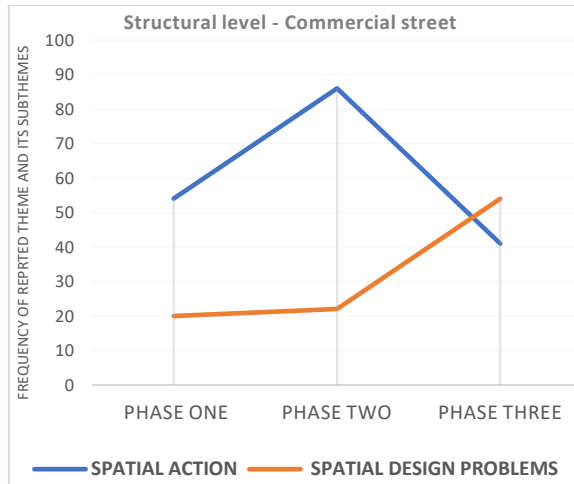
Figure 6-37: Structural level of social production of space in the commercial street of Jerash camp

Line graphs illustrate that design problems in the residential street are at a higher rate than those related to the 'spatial action' theme. Furthermore, spatial action was reported more in the commercial street than in design problems. In Jerash camp, the structural level and its themes converge between residential and commercial streets. Spatial action was taken to tackle structural challenges, and more spatial action caused design problems; thus, this is a reciprocal relationship between these two themes at the structural level.

6.3.4 Financial situation

The financial situation emerged as an important topic during the analytical stage of this investigation and was not initially considered in the literature review process. Furthermore, Smith (2015) states that the financial situation significantly impacts the processes of social production of street spaces fostering community empowerment within refugee camps. Studies have shown that limited access to financial resources limits the development of economic opportunities and the ability of refugees to actively engage in community-building activities, eventually affecting their overall empowerment (Crisp 2000; Betts, A., & Collier 2017). Thus, refugees widely reported this theme regarding cognitive and structural levels. Hence, it was categorised out of these levels and formed the third level in the social production of space framework. As can be seen in the line graph (6-38), the financial situation in the residential street

of Jerash camp entails its effects on settlement, unemployment, living expenses, and cheaper choices in the camp. 'Unemployment' is the subtheme that was most reported in the financial situation, which decreased slightly in Phase 2 while increasing significantly in Phase 3. Finances influence settlement and living expenses. Both subthemes that have almost no role in Phase 1 gradually increased throughout time and Phases 2 and 3. Refugees have cheaper options to live in the camp than in any other place outside the camp, which motivates them to stay there.
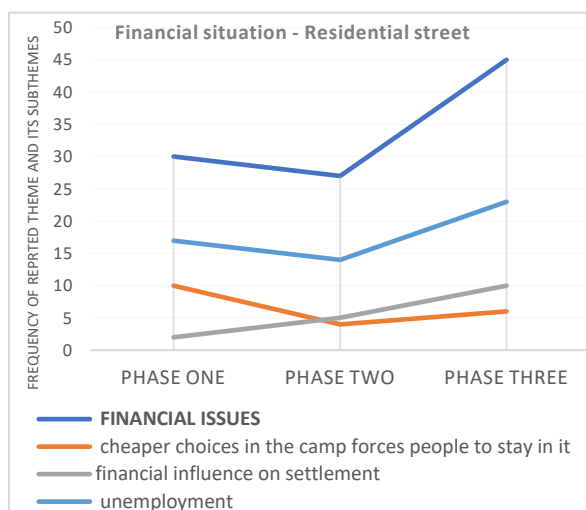
Figure 6-38: Financial situation and its subthemes of the residential street in Jerash camp
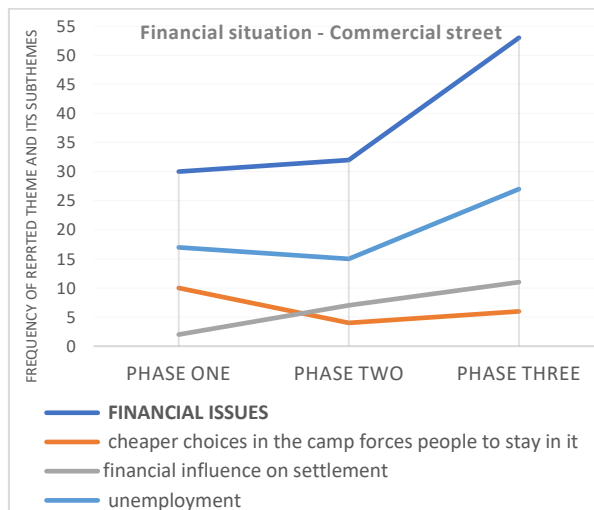
Figure 6-39: Financial situation and its subthemes of the commercial street in Jerash camp

Line graphs (6-39) demonstrate the financial situation and the subthemes of the commercial street in the Jerash camp. Similarly to the financial situation on the residential street, financial problems increased slightly in Phase 2 while experiencing a huge increase in Phase 3. All subthemes of the financial situation change throughout the three phases of the living experience; these subthemes in the commercial street experience similar changes to the changes of subthemes in the residential street. The only difference between residential and commercial streets is that 'cheaper choices' were the least reported in commercial streets in Phase 3. In general, the financial situation was better in Phase 2, which collectively impacted the spatial-social production processes at both structural and cognitive levels.

6.3.5 Axonometric drawings of Jerash camp

6.3.5.1 Residential streets

Phase 1, 'the emergency period' in the residential street in Jerash camp, is illustrated in Figures (6-40). The structure of the camp in Phase 1 was simple and consisted of tents with communal public facilities. Refugees reported using communal facilities such as communal toilets, communal kitchens, and public water taps where refugees collected water every day on the streets. Hence, social encounters between refugees in this phase were limited to shallow conversations and small talk. Social relationships were restricted to neighbouring relationships as these emerged from clustering grand families together. Through the everyday on the residential street, refugees produced community empowerment in their lived space moderately. A possible explanation for this may be the instability and temporariness of the situation.

In Phase 2, 'A form of normalcy', refugees expanded their housing units to accommodate the growth of their families. Throughout time, refugees improved their lived space on the structural, cognitive and financial levels. This facilitated further production of community empowerment within the residential streets of the Jerash camp; see Figures (6-41).

Figure (6-42) shows the production of community empowerment in Phase 3 of the 'overcrowding crisis phase'. In this phase, unemployment and living expenses increased greatly, the streets were extremely overcrowded with buildings and people, where the camp space could not accommodate more spatial actions, and social disputes between neighbours increased. These problems caused structural, cognitive, and financial deterioration that affected the social production of space fostering community empowerment in the residential street of Jerash camp.

Jerash Camp -residential street

"Phase 1: Emergency period"

Space for community Empowerment
"Ripple effect"

strength and extension of relationships
family relations, neighbourship,
friendships.

social encounters and depth
of conversations
space for sharing joys and

Residential street
users and uses of street
cooking, sharing food, socialising
Emergency shelter

Jerash camp

structural space
narrow non-paved residential street with
tents as shelters.
Family dwelling: safety , sleeping

Text legend
Activities
Structural level
Cognitive level

1968   1971   1997   2022

Phase 1
a moment in phase 1
Phase 2
Phase 3

Conversations

1
Man1: hi neighbour, what happened with
you regarding the job?
Man 2: I go out everyday looking for a job
but with no luck until now!

2
Woman1: hello, how are you?
Woman 2: oh, the wind blew out our
tent last night

3
Man1: hi neighbour, have you received any
kind of vegetables?
Man 2: yes, I have tomatoes, what have you
got?
Man1: great, I received zucchini, do you
want to exchange some?

**The process of social production
in residential street.**

social interactions

Actors

residential units that define the
boundaries of streets

more extended
relationship
among street

stronger
relationships
& more
frequent
interaction

Community Empowerment ripple effect

empowerment
among
bigger
community

Stronger community empowerment

Figure 6.40 Phase 1 of the social production of space to serving community empowerment in the residential street in Jerash camp

Jerash camp

Jerash Camp- residential street
"Phase 2: A form of normalcy"

Space for Community empowerment
Ripple effect

Strength and extension of relationships
family relations, neighbourship, friendships.

social encounters and depth of conversations
space for sharing joys, sorrows and camp news

Residential street.
users and uses of street
"shopping, socialising, kids play area, car parking "
Camp- cities public space

structural space
narrow paved street with mixed use 1-2 storey
buildings.
Vertical expansion:
more space to expand and to accomodate the
growing families
Camp units: zinc structures, brick and stone structures.
small shops are distributed among the street.
Family dwelling: safety , sleeping

Text legend
Activities
Structural level
Cognitive level

**The process of social production
in residential street.**

social interactions

Actors

residential units that define the
boundaries of streets

more extended
relationship
among street

stronger
relationships
& more
frequent
interaction

Community Empowerment ripple effect

empowerment
among
bigger
community

Stronger community empowerment

1968   1971   1997   2022

Phase 1

Phase 2

A moment of living
experience in phase 2

Phase 3

1 *Conversations*

Man1: hello, how have you been?
Man 2: working all day, thank God !

2

woman1: hi how are you? don't forget our gathering after tomorrow at my place .
woman 2: sure me and my cousins are all coming.

3

Man1: hi neighbour, How are you? I want to build
a first floor and an exterior staircase. I hope you
don't mind? and sorry for any inconvenience.
Man 2: sure no worries.

Figure 6-41: Phase 2 of the social production of space fostering community empowerment of the residential street in Jerash camp

Jerash Camp - residential street
"Phase 3: overcrowding crisis"

Jerash camp

Space for Community empowerment
Ripple effect

Strength and extension of relationships
family relations, neighbourship, friendships.

social encounters and depth of conversations
space for sharing joys, sorrows, and camp's news.

Residential street.
users and uses of street
" socialising, car parking, kids play area "
Camp- cities public space

structural space
narrow paved street --> broken and dirty street.
with mixed use 2- 3 storey buildings.
Vertical expansion:

 more space to expand and to accommodate the growing families

Camp units: zinc structures, brick and stone structures.
small shops are distributed among the street.
Family dwelling: safety , sleeping

Text legend
Activities
Structural level
Cognitive level

**The process of social production
in residential street.**

social interactions

Actors

residential units that define the
boundaries of streets

more extended
relationship
among street

stronger
relationships
& more
frequent
interaction

Community Empowerment ripple effect

empowerment
among
bigger
community

Stronger community empowerment

1968   1971   1997   2022

Phase 1
Phase 2
Phase 3

a moment in phase 3

Conversations

1
Man1: Hi neighbour, what happend here yesterday?!
Man 2: my neighbour and I disagreed yesterday. His boys went up to the roof and they can reveal inside my house, we failed to come to an agreement and thus I filed a complaint to the police office.

2
woman1: hi neighbour, come in for a cup of coffee.
woman 2: sorry I can't I have to go to work.

3
Man1: Hello neighbour, you have been parking your car in front of our door since yesterday, and it is blocking the entrance.
Man 2: Sorry neighbour, please bear with me until tonight because I have guests and they are parking in my spot. There is no place to park hear, you know!

Figure 6-42: Phase 3 of the social production of space fostering community empowerment in the residential street in Jerash camp

6.3.5.2 Commercial streets

Similarly, to the Baqaa camp, the commercial street in the Jerash camp experienced similar processes of social production of space. As mentioned in Section 2.2.2, the commercial street in Jerash camp emerged from tents, where people chose a central street and added floor stalls to exchange goods and begin trade.

Figure (6-43) shows that in Phase 1 of the social production of the commercial street in Jerash camp, refugees experienced a limited level of community empowerment while focusing more on financial empowerment. This can be demonstrated by establishing small businesses and economic activities within the street, where refugees trade and exchange goods to meet their immediate needs. The temporary situation and the limited resources available in the camp influenced their priorities, which led them to emphasise financial empowerment as a means of survival and economic stability during this phase.

In Phase 2, 'a form of normalcy', the commercial street of the camp developed structurally, cognitively and financially through numerous spatial actions and expansions in shops and stronger relationships. This increased the production of community empowerment and financial empowerment within the commercial streets of the Jerash camp; see Figure (6-44).

The social production of space fostering community empowerment in the streets of the camp decreased in Phase 3 of the 'overcrowding crisis phase'. In this phase, living expenses and unemployment have increased, the space is overcrowded and cannot accommodate more spatial expansion, and social disputes increased. These deteriorations affected the structural, cognitive, and financial levels and thus altered the processes of social production of space fostering community empowerment in the commercial street. As can be seen in Figures (6-45), refugees in the commercial street produced more individual financial development than collective community empowerment, as the commercial activities are the key financial resource of the camp.

Jerash Camp - Commercial street
"Phase 1: Emergency period"

Jerash camp

Space for community empowerment
"Ripple effect"

Space for financial individual & community Empowerment
Ripple effect

strength and extension of relationships
family relations, neighbourship, friendships.

social encounters and depth of conversations
space for sharing joys and sorrows

movement within the street

Residential- Commercial street
users and uses of street
"shopping, socialising"
Emergency shelter

structural space
narrow non-paved street with tents as shelters.
simple stalls on the floor with few vegetables to sell.

Text legend

Activities
structural level
Cognitive level

The process of social production in residential street.

social interactions

Actors

residential units that define the boundaries of streets

Movement

more extended relationship among street

stronger relationships & more frequent interaction

Community Empowerment ripple effect

empowerment among bigger community

Stronger community empowerment

Financial empowerment among bigger community

Stronger financial empowerment

1968   1971   1997   2022

Phase 1

Phase 2

Phase 3

a moment in phase 1

Conversations

1
Man1: Hello, how have you been?
Man 2: We are managing, the wind blew our tent away at dawn !

2
Man: Hello, how is the trade going on stalls?
Man 2: not bad but I cant enter goods every day, just if you are lucky.

3
Man1: Hi, I received some tomatoes from outside themp so I thought why not sell them. what have you got?
Man 2: one of my relatives also passed me a Zucchini box from under the fence.

Figure 6-43: Phase 1 of the social production of space fostering community empowerment in the commercial street in Jerash camp

Jerash Camp - Commercial street

"Phase 2: A form of Normalcy"

Space for Community empowerment
Ripple effect

Space for financial individual & community empowerment
Ripple effect

Strength and extension of relationships
family relations, neighbourship, friendships.

social encounters and depth of conversations
space for sharing joys and sorrows

Movement within the street
Space for people to move is narrowed down

Commercial street with resedential units.
users and uses of street
"shopping, socialising "
trade and economic source - job
Camp- cities public space
public space represents refugees
socio-economic area

structural space
narrow paved street with mixed use 1-2 storey buildings.
Vertical expansion:
Camp units: zinc structures, brick and stone structures.
more space for facilities to expand and to have a source of income
the street is shaded with the old tent materials and zinc sheets stalls are distributed among the street.
Family dwelling: safety , sleeping shops: trading & source of income

Jerash camp

The process of social production in residential street.

social interactions

Actors

residential units that define the boundaries of streets

Movement

more extended relationship among street

stronger relationships & more frequent interaction

Community Empowerment ripple effect

empowerment among bigger community

Stronger community empowerment

financial empowerment among bigger community

Stronger financial empowerment

Text legend

Activities
structural level
Cognitive level

1968   1971   1997   2022

Phase 1
Phase 2
Phase 3

a moment in phase 2

Conversations

1
Man1: Hello, how is the trade going in your shop?
Man 2: thank god, it is going fine.

2
Man1: Hi man, you are extending your shop?!
Man 2: oh yes I have built another floor to live in and to transform this floor to my shop instead of the stalls.

3
Man: Hello, how have you been?
Man 2: not bad I want to expand my shop, but my neighbour still doesn't to sell me his shop.

Figure 6-44: Phase 2 of the social production of space fostering community empowerment in the commercial street in Jerash camp

Jerash Camp - Commercial street
"Phase 3: overcrowding crisis"

Jerash camp

Space for Community empowerment
Ripple effect

Space for financial individual &
community empowerment
Ripple effect

strength and extension of relationships
family relations, neighbourship,
friendships.

social encounters and depth of
conversations
space for sharing joys and sorrows

movement within the street
Space for people to move is narrowed down
crowder with people over time

Commercial street some resedential units.
users and uses of street
"shopping, socialising "
Camp- cities public space

structural space
narrow paved street with mixed
use 2- 3 storey buildings.
most of the street is shded with
the old tent materials and zinc
sheets
stalls filling the street.

**The process of social production
in residential street.**

social interactions

Actors

residential units that define the
boundaries of streets

Movement

more
extended
relationship
among
street

stronger
relationships
& more
frequent
interaction

Community Empowerment ripple effect

empowerment
among
bigger
community

Stronger community empowerment

Financial
empowerment
among
bigger
community

Stronger financial empowerment

1968	1971	1997	2022

Phase 1

Phase 2

Phase 3

a moment in phase 3

Text legend

Activities
structural level
Cognitive level

1
Conversations
Man1: Hello, how is the trade going in your shop?
Man 2: the sales is going low these days, may god help us!

2
Man1: Hi man, you are extending your shop?!
Man 2: oh yes I have built another floor to live in and to
transform this floor to my shop instead of the stalls.

3
Man1: Hello, how have you been?
Man 2: well, as you can see the street is so crowded that it is so
difficult even to bring goods inside.

Figure 6-45: Phase 3 of the social production of space fostering community empowerment in the commercial street in Jerash camp

6.3.6 Within the case analysis

Semi-structured interviews in the Jerash camp revealed that refugees had experienced three cognitive, structural, and financial phases, as in the Baqaa camp. Themes and subthemes of the cognitive, structural, and financial levels vary over time and within the three phases of the living experience. The line graph (6-46) compares the themes of social production of space at all levels and within the three phases of the living experience between residential and commercial streets.
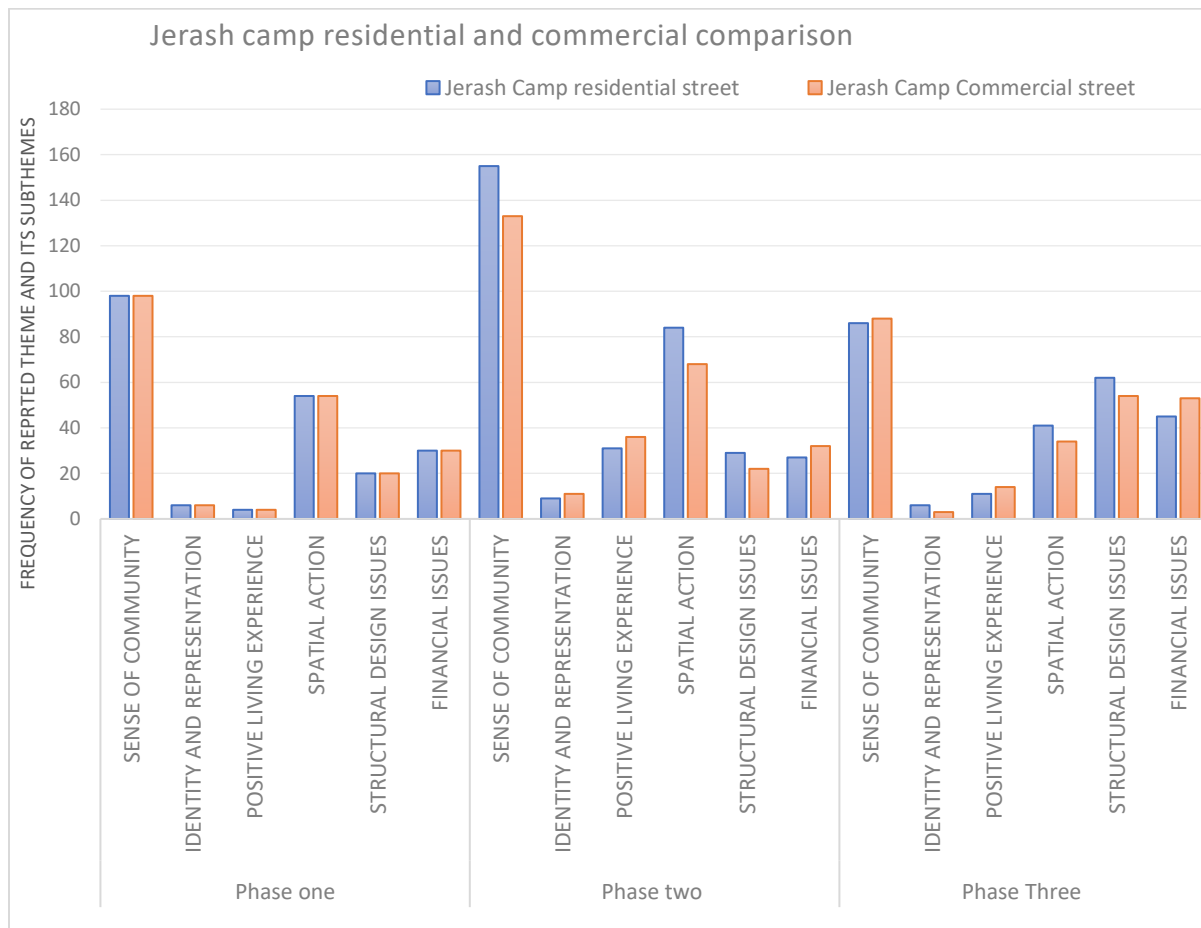
Figure 6-46: comparison of all themes within the three phases of living experience in Jerash camp

The high report of the sense of community theme in the Jerash camp, consistently in all phases and particularly in Phase 2, can be attributed to several factors. Firstly, during Phase 2, refugees in the camp may have experienced a greater sense of stability, leading to stronger social bonds and a greater sense of belonging. This phase may have provided opportunities for the community to establish routines, build

relationships, and participate in communal activities. Furthermore, the interplay of various contributing factors during Phase 2, such as the presence of dealing internally with social problems, rich social life, and equality of refugees' situation leading to a sense of safety, sense of belonging, and socialising in the streets, may have synergistically influenced the development of the sense of community. These factors can enhance the agency of individuals and enable them to actively participate in shaping their social environment, fostering a stronger sense of community. The least discussed theme is identity and representation in all phases of living experience. This can be interpreted as refugees unintentionally representing their identity within their lives without realising it and therefore did not discuss it in their interviews. Some differences between commercial and residential streets developed throughout time; however, overall, the processes of social production operate similarly between both streets' typologies. These differences emerged from the fact that the commercial street is more functional and serves a specific purpose, while the residential street plays a greater social role among its residents. An important finding that emerged from these interviews is the importance of Phase 2 in facilitating the social production of space fostering community empowerment, and at the same time, Phase 2 is a result of the 'product' of the processes of social production of space within time. Consequently, the relationship between processes and products is iterative and reciprocal.

However, a sense of community was produced with a higher intensity in residential streets because there are a higher number of contributing factors. In contrast, the obstacles are a minor number compared to commercial streets. This can be interpreted as refugees within a residential street may have more social encounters with the same residents living within the same street, which establishes stronger social relationships. On the other hand, social relationships between refugees on the commercial street are limited to trade, neighbouring sellers, and social encounters with customers, which are more formal and less frequent. Therefore, social relationships in residential streets are deeper and, as one of the key causes of a sense of community, led to the establishment of a greater sense of community. In the case of residential streets, the contributing factors that influence the establishment of a

stronger sense of community can include a rich social life, equality between people's situations, dealing internally with problems where these factors were affected by proximity, frequency of interaction, shared experiences, common goals or interests, and a sense of mutual support. These factors create meaningful social relationships and foster a sense of belonging among residents. The social relationships observed in residential streets can involve various forms of social interaction and connections. These include neighbourly interactions, friendships, extended family relationships, and informal support networks. These relationships are often built over time through daily interactions, shared activities, celebrations, and community gatherings. They contribute to familiarity, trust, and mutual assistance among residents.

From a Lefebvrean perspective, the production of social space in residential streets resulted from creating a sense of place, a shared identity, and a collective memory among residents. Through their interactions and engagements, residents shape the meaning and use of the space, creating a social fabric that reinforces a sense of community. Therefore, social space is not only a physical entity but is shaped by the social interactions, meanings, and activities within it.

6.4 Summary and Findings

This chapter explores how refugees in Baqaa and Jerash camps produce community empowerment through their daily life experiences, focusing on the urbanisation processes and social interactions in residential and commercial streets. The analysis identifies themes and contributing factors at the cognitive, structural and financial levels and examines their impact on community empowerment. Comparing different phases, street typologies, and camps provides insights into the social production of space fostering community empowerment and the contextual factors that facilitate effective socio-spatial processes, considering the specific needs and dynamics of each camp and its residents. Overall, the findings highlight the active role of refugees in both residential and commercial streets in contributing to the development and strengthening of community empowerment, emphasising the reciprocal nature of this ongoing social production. The key findings of this chapter can be summarised in twofold points:

Phase 2, "form of normalcy"

Refugees achieved 'a form of normal life' in Phase 2, as social production processes produced community empowerment more than in the other phases. The contributing factors facilitating the social production of space fostering community empowerment in the streets of Palestinian camps were present and combined with a higher intensity in the refugees' everyday lives in Phase 2. Thus, it resulted in producing a living experience that is as close as possible to normal life that refugees related their life in the camp as similar to their life in their home town before becoming refugees. Importantly, Phase 2 in both residential and commercial streets was the phase where the themes of social production of space were balanced in a certain way that allowed the social production of space fostering community empowerment. This particular configuration implies that the various themes, subthemes, and contributing factors related to community empowerment were in harmony and effectively interplayed during this phase. The balanced social production of space signifies a state in which the structural, cognitive, and financial levels of lived space align in a way that supports community empowerment. This may encompass the balance of themes and factors, such as between spatial action and minimal design problems, which is crucial in maintaining good social relationships. By ensuring that the physical environment supports social interactions and fosters a sense of community while addressing any design challenges or obstacles that may hinder these interactions, the likelihood of reaching Phase 3 can be mitigated. The core nature of this balance includes the positive interaction of a series of contributing factors and their interaction that should be operating in space; these key factors are further discussed in the next section.

Key Contributing Factors

The thematic analysis confirmed that community empowerment is produced more in residential streets than commercial streets in both Palestinian camps. This can be interpreted as that in residential streets, people are more willing to articulate social relationships; frequent social interactions in residential streets facilitate the creation of a lived space that promotes higher community empowerment, specifically neighbouring relationships that become stronger over time. However, in commercial

streets, different types of relationships appear, such as a seller-customer relationship, which is usually limited to trade action, a seller-neighbour relationship, which is strong but also limited to free time, and customers and passerby relationships, which could be minor interactions between them of higher intensity, nevertheless with a key role in the social production of space. Consequently, the **spatial action** from the structural level and the **sense of community** from the cognitive level are key factors in the processes of social production of space fostering community empowerment in the streets of refugee camps. However, the cognitive and structural factors were more active in the residential streets, while the financial level was the key factor on the commercial streets.

Financial empowerment plays a significant role in community empowerment in general, as the existence of commercial streets that support economic activities is vital to generating resources and opportunities that contribute to the overall well-being and development of the community. However, it is essential to ensure that spatial actions within these spaces are regulated to respect the cultural values and preferences of refugees to maintain a harmonious and inclusive environment that supports community empowerment.

7

Social production of space in the Zaatari camp and comparison of the three case studies

This chapter investigates the social production of the lived space in the streets of the Zaatari refugee camp under the lens of community empowerment. The themes of this investigation are explained in Chapter 5. However, this chapter examines these themes within the case study. In addition, axonometric drawings were used in this investigation as an architectural design research tool to explore these themes in detail within phases of the living experience in the Zaatari camp to create new knowledge. Therefore, this chapter starts by comparing the themes of investigation within the camp and then continues to explore these themes within axonometric drawings. After that, this chapter compares all case studies through axonometric drawings of the streets and the themes of investigation. Finally, this chapter concludes by discussing the resulting findings and their implications.

7 Social production of space in the Zaatari camp and comparison of the three case studies

7.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to analyse the social production of the space in the streets of the Zaatari refugee camp and investigate the production of community empowerment between the three case studies. The investigation in this chapter contributes to addressing the main research question posed in the first chapter of the dissertation:

How do the processes of social production of space in the streets of refugee camps foster community empowerment?

Therefore, addressing the following research questions helps to answer the main question of this dissertation.

- *How and why were the streets of the Zaatari refugee camp socially produced under the lens of community empowerment in this specific way? What are the differences in the social production of streets between the two Palestinian camps and the Zaatari camp, particularly concerning community empowerment?*

Accordingly, this chapter investigates the social production of space fostering community empowerment in the streets of the Zaatari camp. This investigation includes the study of the social production of space fostering community empowerment in both types of streets, commercial and residential, and within the different phases of living experience over time. Furthermore, this chapter includes a comparative analysis of the social production of space fostering community empowerment between the Zaatari camp and two cases of Palestinian camps, as explained in Chapter 3. Subsequently, in this chapter, the themes discussed in Chapters 2 and 4 were investigated and compared within the Zaatari camp throughout the three phases of living experience over time, different types of streets and between all three case studies. This comparison is important to understand the factors that affect the social production of space fostering community empowerment and to predict the future development of urban space in the streets of refugee camps.

Therefore, this chapter will provide an understanding of the social production in the streets of the Zaatari camp and explain their relationship to community empowerment.

As stated in Chapter 4, the Zaatari refugee camp has experienced two phases of lived space throughout time until now. These phases have changed over time at the cognitive, structural, and financial levels; thus, these levels within the phases were analysed in detail. The same as in the previous chapter, the factors included within the thematic framework were both theory-driven and data-driven; refugees discussed them when asked about their living experience in refugee camps throughout time. Refugees produced different living experiences through different phases, resulting in socially producing different community empowerment throughout these phases. This analysis is key in shifting the understanding of the everyday life of refugees within the street, leading to the social production of street space over time under the lens of community empowerment.

Subsequently, this chapter compares how the contributing factors that constitute the lived space operated differently in various types of streets, in different phases of the living experience, and across the three case studies. The thematic analysis in Chapter 5 provided an understanding of how community empowerment is socially produced in the streets, which in turn clarifies the cognitive processes behind the spatial transformation of the streets and why. However, this chapter used content analysis to highlight the different degrees of intensity of times that each theme has been reported in each phase and each camp. This approach allowed identifying why community empowerment was socially produced in the streets differently.

This combined approach of thematic and content analysis of data provides in-depth and nuanced data analysis. Additionally, it includes both the coding of the data and the interpretation of the quantitative counts of the themes in content analysis.

7.2   The Social Production of Space in the Zaatari refugee camp.

The analysis in Chapter 5 revealed that refugees in the Zaatari went through two phases of living experience within their streets. Accordingly, this section investigated in detail the processes of social production of space within the streets of the Zaatari camp and then compared these processes and their results throughout the three phases of the living experience. This investigation includes semi-structured interviews with data-driven and theory-driven themes related to the social production of space

under the lens of community empowerment. Additionally, using axonometric drawings as a design research tool to produce knowledge on these streets. These axonometric drawings are not only a representational method but an analytical tool that enables the investigation of the intangible dimensions of the study within the streets of refugee camps.

7.2.1 semi-structured interviews

Fieldwork in the Zaatari camp took place on 6 and 8 September 2020, and semi-structured interviews took the form of friendly conversations in the streets of the refugee camp; 26 interviews were conducted between men and women of different ages. Table (7-1) illustrates the details of the interviewees.

Table 7-1 Details of the Zataari refugee camp interviewees

CASE STUDY	PARTICIPANTS	NO. OF PARTICIPANTS	TOTAL NUMBER
AL ZAATARI CAMP	Men	11	17
	Women	6	

7.2.2 Cognitive level

7.2.2.1 Sense of community

The sense of community is an important theme that refugees discussed in interviews at the Zaatari camp. Figure (7-1) illustrates the sense of community throughout the phases of the living experience in the residential streets of the Zaatari camp. Figure (7-2) illustrates the sense of community theme in the commercial street of the Zaatari camp. As stated in Chapter 4, the residential street in the Zaatari camp is still in a transitional phase between Phases 1 and 2. From interviews, refugees reported no sense of community between refugees at the beginning of living in the camp. However, their sense of community was produced and developed throughout time and reached its highest in the transitional phase (1-2). From the graph, the causes that facilitated the production of a sense of community reached their highest between Phase 1 and Phase 2. Moreover, a great number of obstacles that hinder the

production of the sense of community were consistently reported by refugees, making it the most prevalent subtheme within the broader theme of a sense of community.
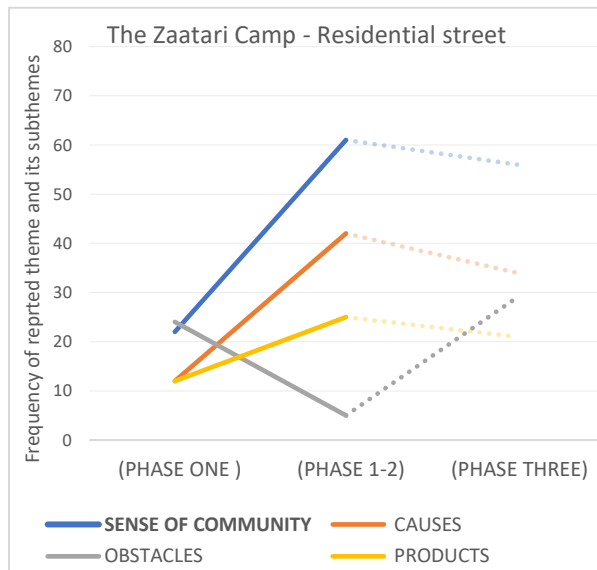
Figure 7-1: Sense of community and its subthemes of the residential street in the Zaatari camp
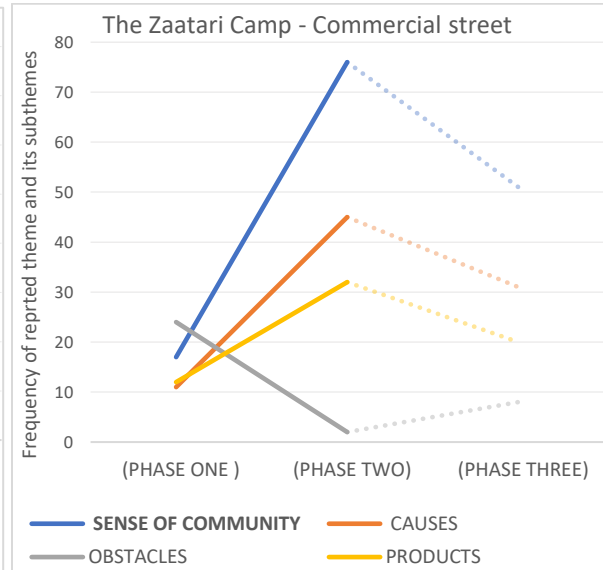
Figure 7-2: Sense of community and its subthemes of the commercial street in the Zaatari camp

This finding highlights the significance of recognising and addressing these obstacles to foster and enhance community cohesion and empowerment within the refugee context. Additionally, the subtheme **products** refer to the outcomes generated through establishing a strong sense of community. Hence, products of the sense of community also reached their highest level when the sense of community reached its highest level. The interplay between causes, obstacles, and products played a significant role in shaping and producing a "sense of community" theme in the Zaatari camp. The causes, such as dealing internally with social-spatial issues, equality between peoples' situations, rich social life, and processes including neighbour consent among the refugees, created a foundation for community building. However, some obstacles need to be addressed, such as increasing social problems, inequality in distributing aid, and living conditions. Despite these obstacles, the community in the Zaatari managed to develop and maintain a sense of community through various products, such as safety, a sense of belonging, and socialising in the streets. These interrelated factors influenced and shaped the formation and sustenance of the sense of community in the Zaatari camp.

'Sense of belonging' is one of the most important products for which the interviewees stated that it facilitated the processes of the social production of the sense of community in the streets of the Zaatari leading to community empowerment. As causes and obstacles influencing the sense of community may change over time, the products of the sense of community will also vary accordingly. The specific products of the sense of community will depend on the unique dynamics and circumstances within each phase of the living experience.

Graph (7-2) shows that the theme sense of community is prevalent the most in Phase 2 on the commercial street, since in Phase 2, refugees reported a high intensity of 'causes' and 'products' while reporting lower levels of 'obstacles'. On the contrary, Phase 1 demonstrates lower levels of sense of community as refugees reported high intensity of obstacles such as inequality in distributing aid depending on relationships. This inequality in the streets of the Zaatari camp facilitated the increase in social problems.

Significantly, the sense of community production was more pronounced in commercial streets than residential streets, primarily due to a higher presence of causes that fostered its development and fewer obstacles that hindered its formation. This can be interpreted as refugees within a commercial street may have more social encounters as the greater presence of users, while there are fewer users in residential streets, leading to establishing a stronger relationship. Therefore, social encounters in commercial streets are more frequent and, as one of the key causes of a sense of community, led to establishing more sense of community. According to refugees, no shared social activities in the residential streets would have helped increase the sense of community.

7.2.2.2   Identity and representations

Empowerment, influenced by social capabilities and aspects of representation, plays a crucial role in fostering identity within communities (Blomkvist 2003). Hence, according to Lelandais (2014), Lefebvre's ideas on the production of space contribute to residents' recognition of collective identity through space. In residential and

commercial streets, Figures (7 - 3) and (7- 4) illustrate that the theme of identity and representation has changed throughout the phases of the living experience.
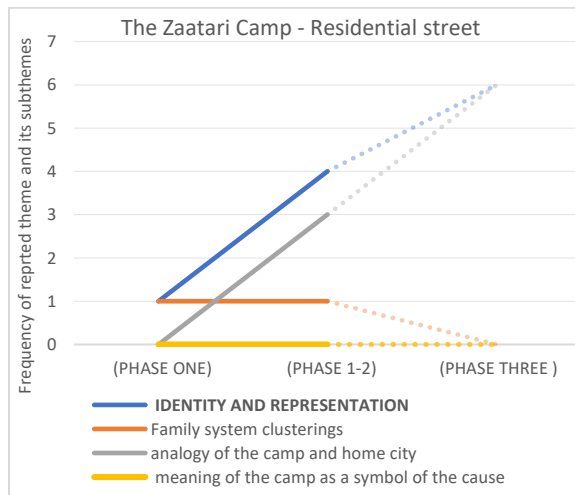
Figure 7-3: Identity & representation and its subthemes of the residential street in the Zaatari camp
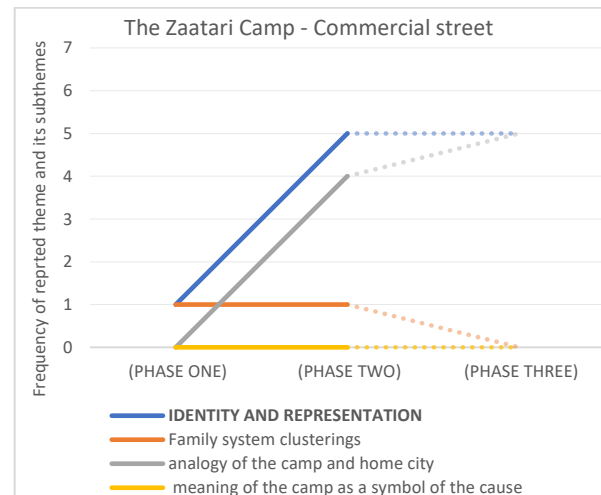
Figure 7-4: Identity & representation and its subthemes of the commercial street in the Zaatari camp

In the Zaatari camp, refugees reported low levels of **family system clustering** and **symbolising the camp for their cause** while reported increasing levels of the **resemblance of the camp** over time, which facilitated the increase in identity and representations in both residential and commercial streets. Therefore, the forms of representation of refugees' identity reached their highest peak in the present phase, phases (1-2) in the residential street and Phase 2 in the commercial street. The line graphs illustrate that the contributing factor, 'the analogy of the camp and home city,' was the most important component for forming the identity of the camp.

The graphs indicate that the commercial street exhibits higher levels of identity representation compared to the residential street, suggesting that the commercial street has progressed further into Phase 2 while the residential street remains in phases (1-2).

7.2.2.3   Produced living experience

The recreation of everyday life can be achieved as an artistic endeavour, with active practitioners working to develop the living experience (Lefebvre 1991, p.227). The living experience itself undergoes continuous change, with inhabitants actively attaching meaning to it (Soja 1996). Subsequently, refugees described many different

experiences by living in the camp within these phases, and these descriptions fall into two categories of positive and negative experiences. The **positive description** reported is the similarity of the camp to their home city, the safety of the camp, the feeling of settled, and the liveability of the streets. On the other hand, harsh living conditions, the fact that refugees were at work all the time, lack of privacy, and lack of stability were the refugee's descriptions of the **negative living experience**. The line graphs (7-5) and (7-6) compare the changes in positive and negative living experiences within the phases of living experience over time on residential and commercial streets.
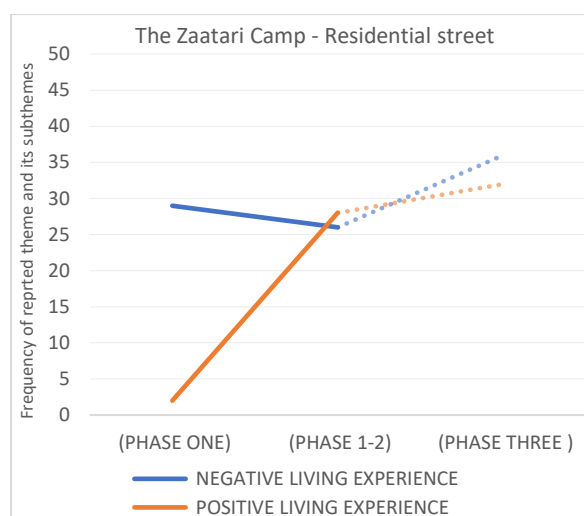
Figure 7-5: Produced living experience and its subthemes of the residential street in the Zaatari camp.
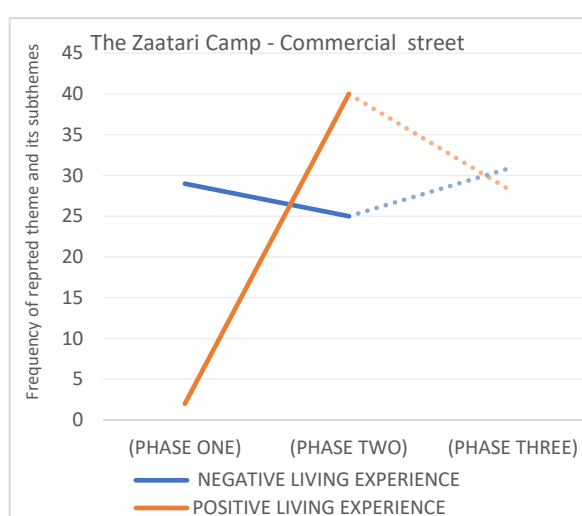
Figure 7-6: Produced living experience and its subthemes of the commercial street in the Zaatari camp.

In general, the positive living experience increased from Phase 1 over time and reached its highest peak in Phases (1-2) in the residential street, while the negative living experience reached its lowest level in that phase. This may be attributed to the link between the other two themes of a sense of community, identity, and representation that also increased throughout time. Refugees residing in the residential streets of Zaatari camp reported a prevalence of negative experiences throughout their time in the camp, exceeding the positive experiences until they met in the present time.

The commercial street of Zaatari camp in Phase 1 exhibits a high intensity of reported negative living experiences compared to positive experiences. However, refugees

reported a significant increase in positive living experiences during Phase 2, exceeding the reported negative experiences during this phase. This indicates potential improvements in the overall lived space of the refugees, particularly the increase of positive themes at all cognitive, structural, and financial levels.

The comparison of living experiences between the residential street and commercial street reveals a similar pattern in Phase 1, followed by an increase in positive experiences in both streets up to phases (1-2) and (2). Notably, the commercial street exhibits higher positive living experiences than the residential street during Phase 2. This is due to a notable improvement in positive living experiences on both streets as time progresses. Furthermore, the commercial street indicates that this area might offer more opportunities for the refugees to enhance their living situation and overall well-being.

7.2.2.4   Summary

In summary, line graphs (7-7) and (7-8) illustrate all the themes of the cognitive levels in the Zaatari camp combined.
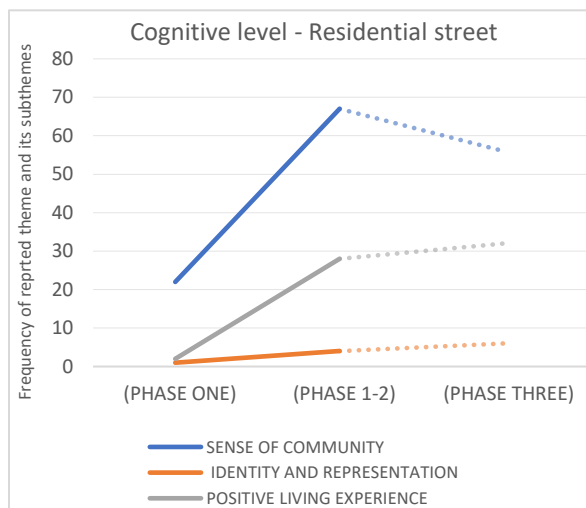
Figure 7-7: Cognitive level of social production in the residential street in the Zaatari camp.
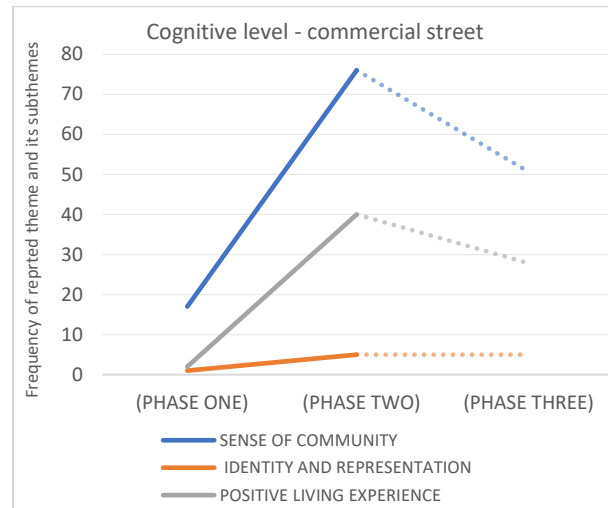
Figure 7-8: Cognitive level of social production in the commercial street in the Zaatari camp

The line graphs demonstrate that in Phase 2, the spatial-social production of lived space reached its highest level on the cognitive level, with the sense of community being the most reported theme in both residential and commercial streets. However, it is important to note that the contributing factors within the cognitive level vary in

each type of street, which will be further explored and discussed in the subsequent section of this chapter.

In conclusion, the development of the cognitive level plays a crucial role in producing community empowerment, and it does not operate independently but rather in conjunction with other contributing factors at the structural and financial levels.

7.2.3 The structural level

7.2.3.1 Spatial action

Soja (2010) emphasises that everything social is inherently spatial; contrarywise, everything spatial is inherently social. Hence, refugees from the Zaatari camp took spatial actions throughout their lives in both the residential and commercial streets of the camp. Line graphs (7-9) (7-10) demonstrate subthemes that fall under the 'spatial action' theme in the residential and commercial streets. Over time, there was a progressive increase in spatial actions, reaching its highest point between Phases 1 and 2 in the residential street and Phase 2 in the commercial street. For example, refugees stated that they have been adding caravans to expand their house space, forming a convenient design, additionally replacing temporary materials with more durable materials in their shops on commercial streets, such as aluminium, tiles, and glass facades. This rise can be attributed to the increase in contributing factors, including **motivations for improving the built environment**, **collective spatial actions**, and **spatial appropriations**. Additionally, the rise **of obstacles** from Phase 1 until the present was minimal.
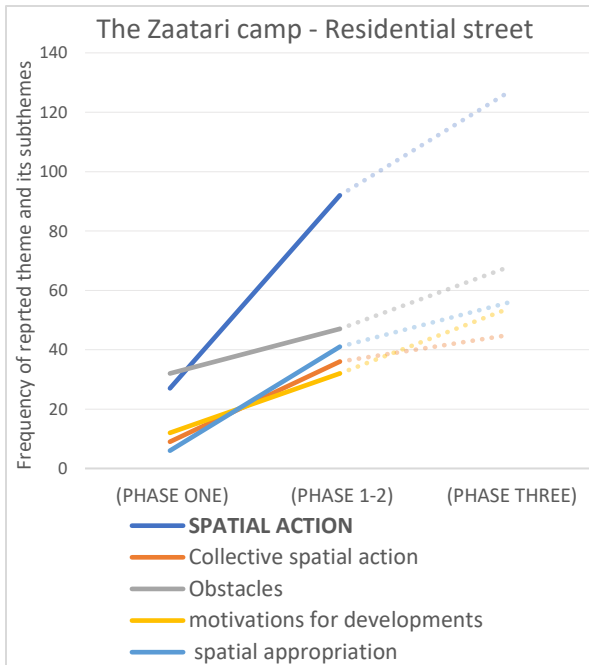
Figure 7-9: Spatial action and is subthemes in the residential street in the Zaatari camp.
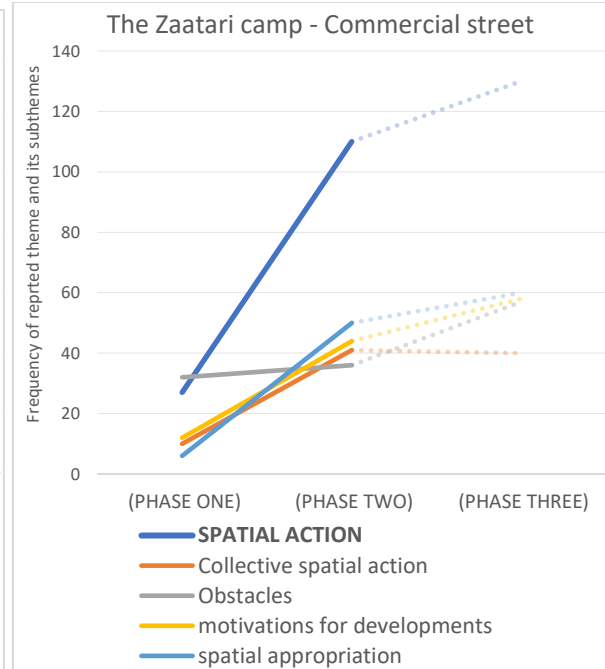
Figure 7-10: Spatial action and is subthemes in the commercial street in the Zaatari camp.

The 'spatial action' theme was more prominent on the commercial street than on the residential street. This can be interpreted as refugees recognising the need to develop commercial streets and their shops to increase their income and improve their livelihoods. This strongly motivated them to actively engage in spatial actions such as constructing and enhancing their shops. Their collective efforts contributed to establishing and growing these shops, forming the commercial street, namely 'Sham Elysees'. This collective engagement led to the physical development of the street and fostered a sense of ownership and community among the refugees.

Consequently, the overall development of the camp was significantly influenced by these endeavours, which created a sense of stability and provided a platform for economic activities to grow.

However, obstacles were present throughout the process of spatial action, including spatial restrictions and limited resources. Nonetheless, acknowledging the obstacles faced throughout this process, including spatial restrictions and limited resources, is important. Despite these challenges, the motivation to improve the built environment and engage in collective spatial actions empowered the community to overcome them

with resilience and determination. Subsequently, the commercial street has reached Phase 2 of development, while the residential street remains in a transitional phase between Phases 1 and 2. Furthermore, obstacles to spatial actions were consistently reported as the most prevalent subtheme across all phases, likely influenced by spatial restrictions and limited resources within the Zaatari camp.

The dotted lines in the charts represent predictions of the progression of themes and subthemes in the streets of the camps over time, based on previous outcomes from Palestinian case studies and the available data from the Zaatari camp. These predictions serve to enhance our understanding of the potential outcome in Phase 3 if no action is taken, as well as inform the necessary interventions required to support the camp in maintaining Phase 2 and mitigating the transition to Phase 3 for as long as possible.

7.2.3.2   Spatial Design Problems

Spatial problems have significant implications for community development, such as urban decay, leading to social tensions and divisions among communities (Woetzel and Pohl, 2014). However, the implementation of spatial arrangement programs can yield positive outcomes by fostering environmental improvements, while active participation in spatial actions promotes a sense of belonging among community members (Fatimah, 2018). Effectively addressing spatial challenges requires a multi-dimensional and proactive framework that enhances the public realm and strengthens social capital (Adams and Tiesdell, 2012; ICCPP, 2016; The World Bank, 2013).

The residential and commercial streets of the Zaatari camp have an increasing number of spatial design problems that increase over time, as illustrated in the line graphs (7-11), (7-12).
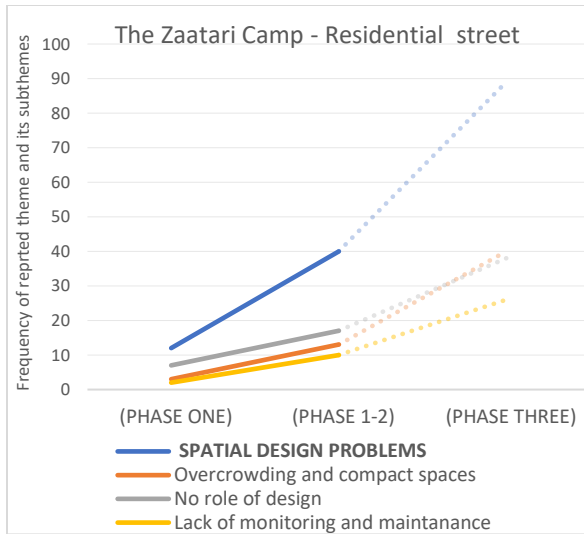
Figure 7-11: spatial design problems and is subthemes in the residential street in the Zaatari camp.
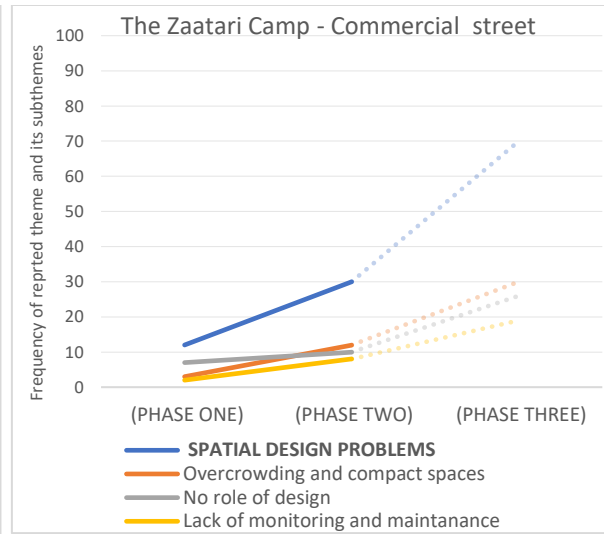
Figure 7-12: spatial design problems and is subthemes in the commercial street in the Zaatari camp.

Refugees reported having several spatial design problems within the everyday streets of refugee camps, such as **congested spaces and overcrowding**, **lack of monitoring and maintenance**, and **no role for strategic planning or design thinking** within their spatial actions. This could also be related to their limited ability to intervene in decision-making about their spatial living conditions in the camps. Spatial design problems with all its subthemes increased throughout time in residential streets and reached their highest in the transitional phase between one and two. This is due to the increase of spatial development over time that refugees made after prolonged inhabitation and seeking a normal life. Accordingly, spatial problems have emerged due to random spatial actions, particularly in areas surrounding commercial streets, leading to congestion and high housing density despite limited space. These actions lacked strategic planning, design thinking, and adequate monitoring and maintenance, resulting in urban deterioration.

Spatial design problems were more prevalent in the residential street compared to the commercial street. This can be attributed to the fact that shops in the commercial street do not require frequent expansions like housing units do, and the commercial street holds significance for generating income and fostering a sense of settlement for refugees. Consequently, the commercial street advanced to Phase 2 before the residential street, primarily driven by its functional importance.

7.2.3.3 Summary
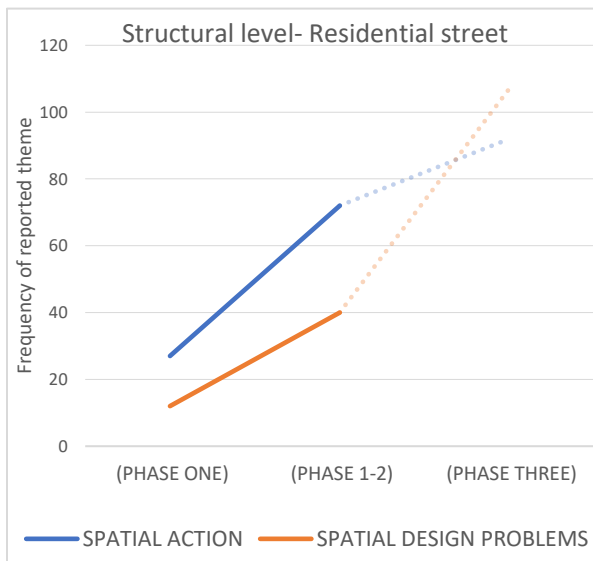
Figure 7-13: Structural level of social production in the residential street in the Zaatari camp
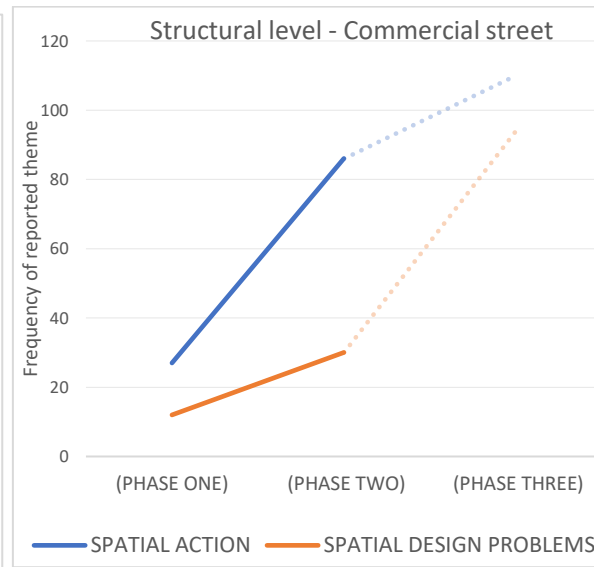
Figure 7-14: Structural level of social production in the commercial street in the Zaatari camp

In summary, in both street types, structural design challenges and spatial actions have increased throughout time; these two subthemes are directly related, as more spatial actions can cause more spatial design problems and vice versa. Thus, it impacted processes of spatial-social production on the structural level; see Figures (7-13), (7-14). Line graphs demonstrate that in the residential street, spatial design problems appear with a higher intensity and frequency compared to spatial actions, and both reach their highest level in Phase 2. On the contrary, spatial action was reported in commercial streets more than structural issues. The higher prevalence of spatial design problems in residential streets compared to commercial streets can be attributed to several factors. Firstly, residential areas often face challenges related to population growth and the need for housing expansion, whereas commercial areas tend to have more stable spatial requirements. Additionally, the residential street may have faced limited resources and inadequate planning and design, leading to a higher number of reported issues. To address these spatial design problems, refugees took more spatial actions, as further discussed in the Discussion section of this chapter.

7.2.4 Financial situation

Smith (2015) highlights that the financial situation significantly influences the social empowerment of communities residing in refugee camps. Therefore, the financial level emerged as a central theme during the analytical phase of this study. The financial situation on residential and commercial streets in the Zaatari camp is demonstrated in the line graphs (7-15) and (7-16).
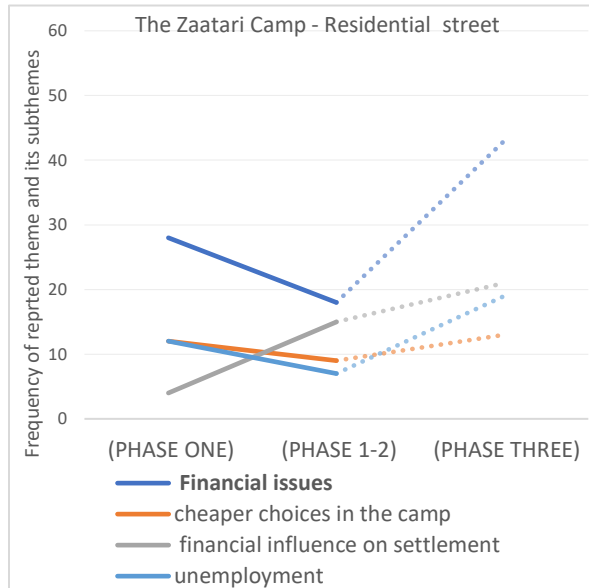
Figure 7-15: financial issues and its subthemes in the residential street in the Zaatari camp
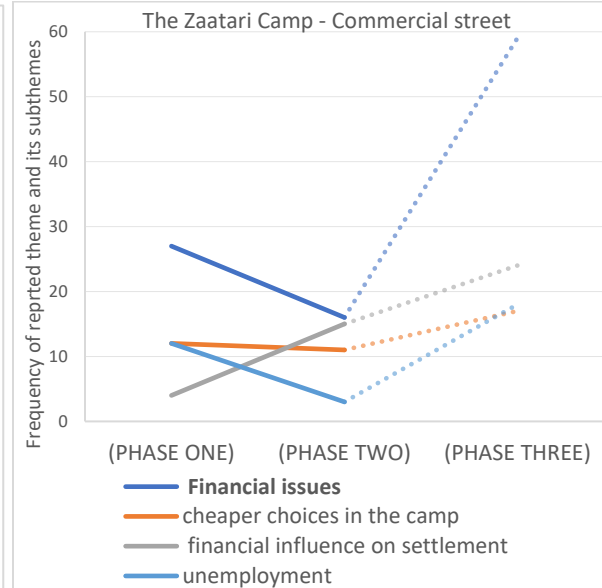
Figure 7-16: financial issues and its subthemes in the commercial street in the Zaatari camp

The subthemes that refugees reported under the 'financial situation' are **cheaper choices in the camp than outside**, **unemployment**, and **financial influence on settlement**. In general, financial issues decreased between Phase 1 and Phase 2 in both residential and commercial streets.

Refugees expressed a greater sense of settlement in the camp when their financial situation improved, with the lowest unemployment rates observed during the progression of phases until Phase 2. Additionally, refugees reported increasing living expenses over time; thus, camps provided more affordable options for basic needs than outside throughout the different phases. While unemployment slightly decreased on residential streets during the living experience, a more substantial decline was observed on commercial streets, indicating its significance as a primary source of

employment and its impact on the overall financial situation. Notably, the financial situation exhibited improvement between Phase 1 and Phase 2, influencing the spatial-social dynamics at both structural and cognitive levels throughout the camp.

7.2.5 Within case analysis

Semi-structured interviews have revealed that refugees have experienced different cognitive, structural, and financial phases. Themes and subthemes of the cognitive, structural and financial levels vary throughout time and within the phases of the living experience. The line graph (7-17) compares the themes of social production of space at all levels and within the phases of living experience between residential and commercial streets.

The line graph illustrates that spatial actions were the most reported theme over the three phases of the living experience, and within two types of streets, it is the highest reported theme among all themes in Phase 2. The least reported theme is identity and representation, which may be explained by the fact that identity and representation could be embedded in refugees' lives without realising it, and, therefore, they did not bring it into discussion during their interviews, and it might not be represented spatially. In general, the social production of space fostering community empowerment processes has operated analogously in both types of streets. However, these processes are lagging in residential streets as they are still transitional. These differences emerged from the fact that the commercial street is more functional, serves a specific purpose, and reached Phase 2. In contrast, the residential street serves a more social role among its residents and is still in the transitional phase between Phase 1 and Phase 2. An important finding that emerged from these interviews is the importance of Phase 2, 'A form of normalcy' in facilitating the social production of space fostering community empowerment, while Phase 2 is a 'product' of the social production of space over time.
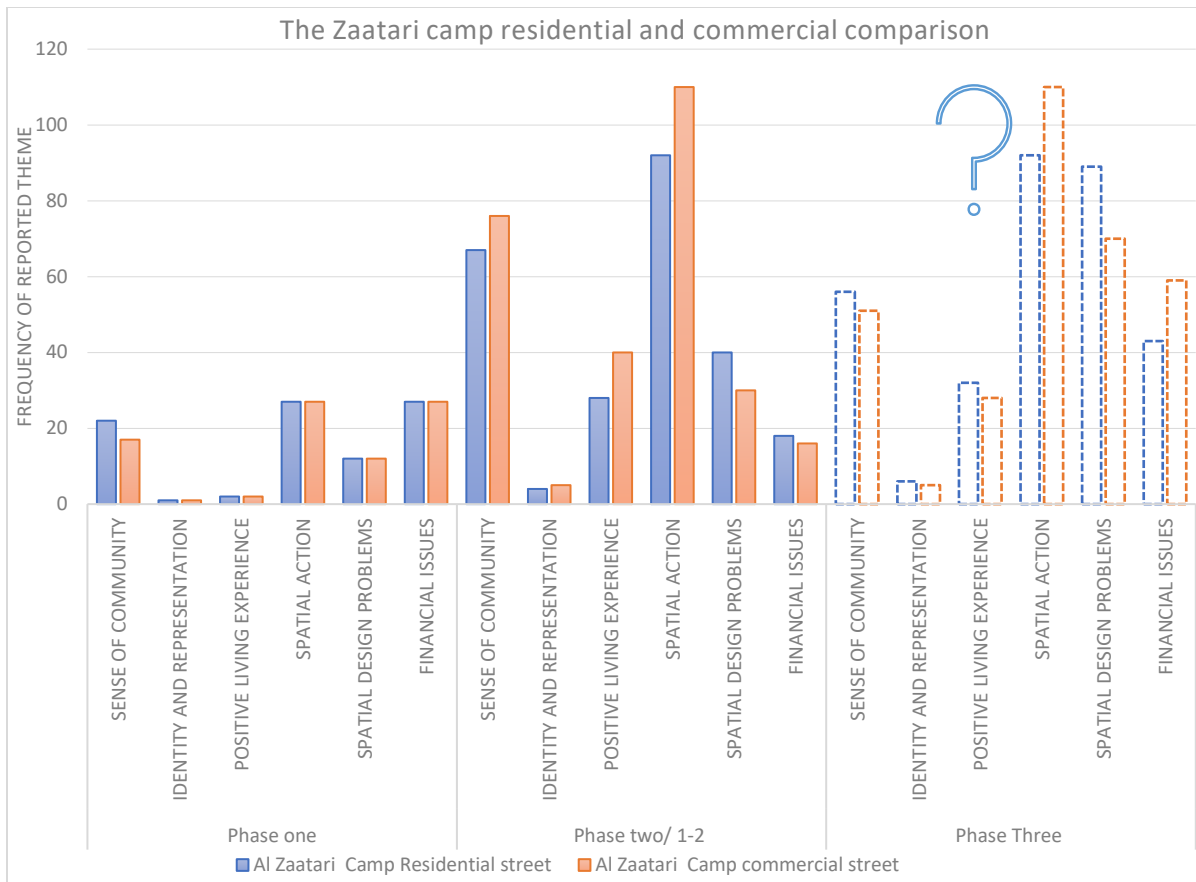
Figure 7-17: all themes within the three phases of living experience at the Zaatari camp

Consequently, the relationship between processes and the products is iterative and reciprocal, and the balance between the cognitive, structural, and financial levels is really important for socially producing community empowerment. The relationship between processes and products is iterative and reciprocal; that is, the processes of social production produce a living experience that is a product and a process shaping and influencing social production again. For example, Phase 1 is a product of the social production of space, and with time it became a process that produced the next phase. Achieving a balance in promoting the cognitive, structural, and financial levels is crucial in this iterative and reciprocal relationship. Striking a balance among these levels ensures a holistic and sustainable approach to producing community empowerment. Subsequently, the Zaatari camp street needs a comprehensive design framework to rebalance these levels, especially in residential streets, as these are experiencing a lag in the social production of space or what I would like to call the '*disruption of spatiality*'.

7.2.6 Axonometric drawings of the Zaatari camp

Axonometric drawings serve as a valuable architectural design research tool due to their ability to process data and generate knowledge, allowing for a deeper understanding of architectural space. This approach is effective in conveying complex information and facilitating understanding in a visually engaging manner.

Layers in axonometric drawings represent the processes of social production of space fostering community empowerment in the streets of the Zaatari camp. Each layer illustrates factors or dimensions that are included within the social production of space levels. The base layer represents the **structural level** of the street of the refugee camp. The next layer above represents the social encounters and activities that take place in the street. Then, the subsequent layer illustrates the depth of conversation, which indicates the strength of relationships between refugees. The layer above represents the extension and strength of neighbouring relationships, representing the **cognitive level**. The **financial level** is embedded with the other two levels. The final layer illustrates the produced **community empowerment** within the lived space in the streets of refugee camps.

7.2.6.1 Residential streets

Figure (7-18) illustrates Phase 1, "the emergency period," in the residential street in the Zaatari camp. In Phase 1, the structure of the camp was simple, and the units were all similar and consisted of tents with communal public facilities. Refugees reported being in the streets during the day due to activities around communal facilities such as communal toilets, communal kitchens and public water taps where refugees collected water every day. However, conversations between refugees in Phase 1 were limited to greeting each other and shallow discussions, as highlighted in its related layer in the axonometric drawing. The relationships between refugees were limited to neighbours, which were relationships that were known before fleeing to the camp due to the clustering of grand families. Community empowerment was produced in the lived space of the everyday in refugees' streets. However, it was very limited in Phase 1 due to the emergency circumstances explained in the layers of the axonometric

street. These circumstances are due to fewer social encounters and the temporariness of the situation.

In the transitional phase between Phase 1 and Phase 2, refugees made spatial actions and expansions trying to cope with the long inhabitation in the camp. They developed a better situation on the structural, cognitive and financial levels in general. Nevertheless, structural developments were limited to housing units only without their surroundings, such as the yard and the street. Hence, the social production of space was disruptive in the residential street. However, community empowerment was achieved within the residential streets of the Zaatari camp due to better social relationships among refugees. This can be seen from the depth of conversations between refugees; between refugees, see Figure (7-19).

The Zaatari Camp - Residential street
"Phase 1: Emergency period"

The Zaatari Camp

Space for Community empowerment
Ripple effect

Strength and extension of relationships
family relations, neighbourship, friendships.

social encounters and depth of conversations
space for sharing joys and sorrows

Residential street with tents.
users and uses of street
emergency shelter

structural space
non-paved street with tents as emergency shelters.

2012   2015   2021

Phase 1
Phase 2

A moment of living experience in phase 1

Conversations

1
Man1: Hello, how have you been? what happened with you ?
Man 2: My brother's family still live in our tent. They are still waiting for their tent. It is a mess!

2
Woman1: Hello, how are you?
Woman 2: oh, the wind blew out our tent last night

3
Man1: Hi, do you have any kind of vegetables?
Man 2: Yes, I have tomatos.
Man1: great, I have cumcumbers do you want to exchange some?

The process of social production in residential street.

social interactions

Actors

residential units that define the boundaries of streets

more extended relationship among street

stronger relationships & more frequent interaction

Community Empowerment ripple effect

empowerment among bigger community

Stronger community empowerment

Text legend
Activities
structural level
Cognitive level

Figure 7-18 Phase 1: the emergency period in residential streets in the Zaatari camp. Source: researcher

The Zaatari Camp

The Zaatari Camp - Residential street
"Transitional Phase 1-2"

Space for Community empowerment
Ripple effect

Strength and extension of relationships
family relations, neighbourship, friendships.

social encounters and depth of conversations
space for sharing joys and sorrows

Residential street with tents.
users and uses of street
emergency shelter

structural space
non-paved street.
road for circulation
Camp units : brick dwellings with zinc or concrete roofing

Family dwelling: safety , sleeping, and socializing
and more space for families to expand

Text legend
Activities
structural level
Cognitive level

The process of social production in residential street.

social interactions

Actors

residential units that define the boundaries of streets

stronger relationships & more frequent interaction

size indicates to the size of social connection

Community Empowerment ripple effect

bigger circle of social connection which leads to community empowerment

Less frequent social encounters or less spent time at any encounter

2012   2015   2021

Phase 1
Phase 2

A moment of living experience between phase 1 and phase 2

Conversations

1
Man1: Hi neighbour, what happend here yesterday?!
Man 2: my neighbour added a zinc extension attached to my house. now I have no place to expand and not even to breathe.

2
Man1: Hello neighbour, how did you get another caravan easily, because I need one to expand my unit.
Man 2: to be honest I know one of the workers in the agency, he helped me to get it faster.

3
woman1: hi neighbour, come in for a cup of coffee.
woman 2: sorry I can't I have to go to work.

7.2.6.2   Commercial streets

The commercial street in Zaatari camp experienced similar processes of spatial production as the residential streets, particularly during Phase 1, known as the 'emergency period.' In refugee camps, all streets had a similar structure, consisting of tents distributed by UNHCR. However, refugees began engaging in the exchange of not only food but also other goods, establishing a recurring pattern. As a result, they decided to maintain this pattern on the main road, which attracted the most foot traffic, giving rise to the commercial street within the camp.

Figure (7-20) depicts the commercial street during Phase 1 in the Zaatari camp, revealing a temporary and emergency condition at both the structural and cognitive levels. Refugees in the commercial area set up floor stalls in front of their tents to exchange goods. Consequently, in this phase, refugees experienced a modest increase in community empowerment and achieved financial empowerment through activities on the commercial street.

Furthermore, refugees took numerous spatial actions and expansions in Phase 2 of 'A form of normalcy'. The camp developed structurally, cognitively, and especially financially, see Figure (7-21). This produced better community empowerment within the commercial streets of the Zaatari camp. However, refugees on commercial streets produced more **financial empowerment** than **community empowerment**, as shops were an important source of finance in the camp.

The Zaatari Camp - Commercial street
"Phase 1: Emergency Period"

The Zaatari Camp

Space for Community empowerment
Ripple effect

Space for financial individual &
community empowerment
Ripple effect

Strength and extension of relationships
family relations, neighbourship,
friendships.

social encounters and depth of
conversations
space for sharing joys, sorrows, and
camp's news

Movement within the street

commercial street with tents and stalls
users and uses of street
emergency shelter

structural space
main paved street.
road for circulation
Camp units : tents as shelters with
stalls on the main street for trading

2012   2015   2021

Phase 1
Phase 2

A moment of living
experience in phase 1

Conversations

1
Man1: Hello, how have you been?
Man 2: We are managing, the wind blew our tent away at dawn !

2
Man: Hello, how is the trade going on stalls?
Man 2: not bad but I cant enter goods every day, just if you are lucky.

3
man1: Hi, I received some tomatoes from outside the camp so I thought why not sell them. what
have you got?
Man 2: one of my relatives also passed me a Zucchini box from under the fence.

**The process of social production
in residential street.**

social interactions

Actors

residential units that define the
boundaries of streets

Movement

more
extended
relationship
among
street

stronger
relationships
& more
frequent
interaction

Community Empowerment ripple effect

empowerment
among
bigger
community

Stronger community empowerment

Text legend

Activities

structural level

Cognitive level

Financial
empowerment
among
bigger
community

Stronger financial empowerment

Figure 7.20 Phase 1: the emergency period in the commercial street in the Zaatari camp. Source: researcher

The Zaatari Camp - Commercial street
"Phase 2: A form of normalcy"

The Zaatari Camp

Space for Community empowerment
Ripple effect

Space for financial individual & community empowerment
Socio-economic life
Ripple effect

Strength and extension of relationships
family relations, neighbourship, friendships.
Customer and sellers relations.

social encounters and depth of conversations
space for sharing joys, sorrows and camp news
Public space community

Movement within the street
Space for people to move is narrowed down

Commercial street with tents.
users and uses of street
dynamic space and the heart of the camp
"camp city"

structural space
non-paved street.
Main comercial street and road for circulation

Camp units-->shops: caravans with brick extensions and zinc sheets roofing. wooden and alumunium structures.

shopping, socialising, and source of income.

The process of social production in residential street.

social interactions

Actors

residential units that define the boundaries of streets

Movement

more extended relationship among street

stronger relationships & more frequent interaction

Community Empowerment ripple effect

empowerment among bigger community

Stronger community empowerment

Financial empowerment among bigger community

Stronger financial empowerment

Text legend
Activities
structural level
Cognitive level

2012   2015   2021

Phase 1

Phase 2

A moment of living experience in phase 2

Conversations

1
Man1: Hello, how is the trade going in your shop?
Man 2: thank god, it is going fine.

2
Man1: Hi man, you have changes your shop?!
Man 2: oh yes vegetable's shop didn't work for me, there are plenty of these in this street. Thus, I have turned my shop into bike service.

3
Man: Hello, how have you been?
Man 2: not bad I want to expand my shop, but my neighbour still doesn't to sell me his shop.

Figure 7.21 Phase 2 a form of normalcy in a commercial street in the Zaatari camp Source: researcher

7.3   Comparison between all case studies

This section discusses the social production of space under the lens of community empowerment and compares the three case studies; the Baqaa, Jerash, and the Zaatari camp. This comparison aims at producing more replicable knowledge for answering broader questions related to how and why refugees socially produce community empowerment within their everyday lives in the streets of the refugee camps. Moreover, the analysis investigates whether the processes of social production of space are similar in the three camps or if there are distinct factors or contextual specificities that differentiate its experiences. The comparison is carried out within the three case studies over time and throughout the three phases of the living experience, including analysis and synthesis of the similarities, differences, and patterns between them.

7.3.1   Comparison of thematic analysis

The comparative analysis in this study provides valuable insights into the social production of space in refugee camps. Therefore, the identified themes, sub-themes, and contributing factors serve as comparative dimensions in this study. These dimensions can be compared for several reasons. Firstly, the themes, sub-themes, and contributing factors are rooted in fundamental aspects of human living experience and social dynamics that exceed specific contexts and can be examined across diverse contexts. Secondly, comparing these themes in different case studies allows for identifying commonalities and differences in how they work together and interact within the refugee camp setting. This helps in understanding the unique challenges and opportunities present in these environments. Thirdly, comparative analysis broadens the understanding of the relationship among different contributing factors and helps identify the most significant dimensions contributing to positive community empowerment outcomes. Thus, the bar graphs below illustrate the themes of social production of space in the residential and commercial streets across the three case studies. Each type of street is compared between the different camps during the three phases of the living experience.

The bar graph (7-22) demonstrates the themes discussed in the residential streets in the case studies over time throughout the three phases of the living experience. In general, the themes related to the social production of space on residential streets were reported at similar rates across all phases in the three camps. The highest reported theme of social production on the streets among the three case studies is the **sense of community** which was most prevalent in Jerash camp. The difference in the sense of community between the three camps in Phase 2 can be attributed to several factors. First, the Jerash camp is relatively smaller in surface area compared to the Baqaa and Zaatari camps. Second, since the refugees in the Jerash camp fled from Gaza City, they share a common origin and cultural heritage. This contributed to building stronger social relationships and fostering a sense of community. The regular interactions shared cultural references and collective experiences contributed to a more cohesive and tightly knit social fabric within the residential streets of Jerash camp during Phase 2. Although there is community empowerment in the three camps, the specific factors in the Jerash camp, such as the smaller size and the shared background of the residents, contribute to a more pronounced sense of community during Phase 2. Furthermore, **spatial action** was the second reported theme among the three camps and the most dominant in the Baqaa and the Zaatari camps. This difference can be attributed to the larger surface area of the Baqaa and Zaatari camps, which provides more space for activities and movement, allowing a greater range of spatial actions during Phases 2 and 3. Additionally, the Baqaa camp benefits from its proximity to Amman, the capital city of Jordan, which provides opportunities to engage with the surrounding urban environment. Thus, exposure to the diverse capital city broadens refugees' perspectives. These factors, coupled with the relatively recent establishment of the Zaatari camp in 2012, fostered higher living standards and a desire to incorporate external cultural elements within the Baqaa and Zaatari camps. However, the smaller size and limited external access of the Jerash camp can limit spatial actions, hindering a wide range of activities and interactions. It is important to note that the higher standard of living experience in the three camps is a complex outcome influenced by various factors beyond spatial actions alone. In Phase 2 of the residential street, an increased number of spatial actions led to a higher prevalence

and discussion of "design problems." This trend continued to a greater extent in Phase 3.

Refugees in the Jerash camp experience a higher occurrence of financial problems compared to the other camps. This can be attributed to the issue of unemployment, resulting from the limited job opportunities available to Gazans due to political factors and the absence of Jordanian citizenship.

The cognitive level themes show an increase between Phases 1 and 2 in all camps, facilitating the social production of space and fostering community empowerment. This demonstrates the direct relationship between cognitive factors and community empowerment.

Factors such as a sense of community, living experience, and identity play crucial roles in community empowerment. When refugees feel a sense of belonging and connection, it creates a supportive and inclusive environment where they can collectively address challenges and work towards common goals. These components are essential for community empowerment. The Baqaa and Jerash camps are commonly associated with representing the Palestinian cause, with their identity and representation reaching their highest point in Phase 2 but declining in Phase 3. In contrast, the Zaatari camp does not exhibit an association with symbolising a cause in terms of the identity and representation theme. However, refugees in the Zaatari camp mentioned the resemblance of the camp to their original hometown as a contributing factor. Additionally, refugees in the three camps reported having several negative experiences throughout their time in the camp rather than positive experiences. However, the positive experience of living reached its highest peak in Phase 2, while the negative experience of living reached its lowest level in that phase.
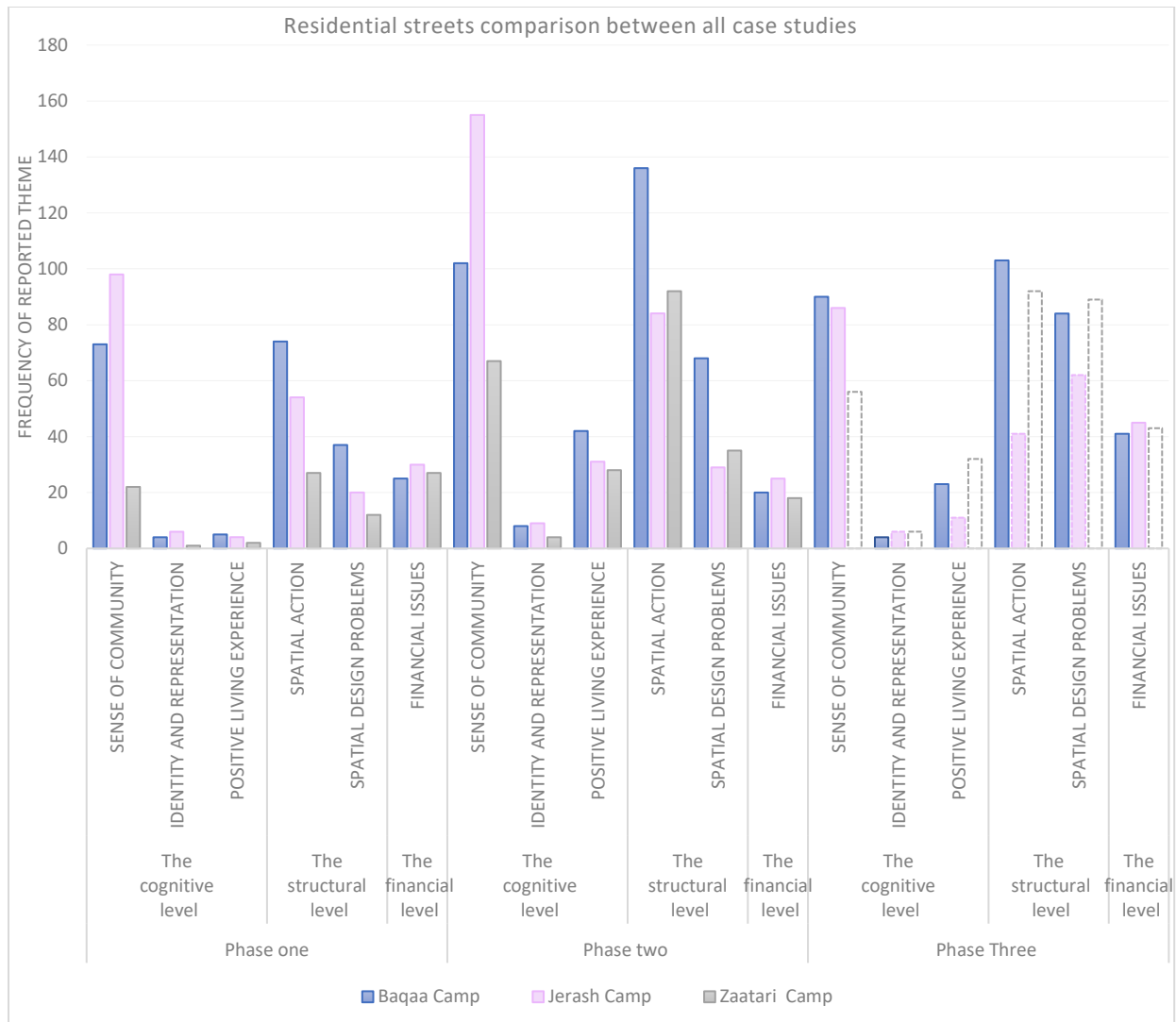
Figure 7-22: Comparison of residential streets between the Baqaa camp, Jerash and the Zaatari camp throughout the three phases of living experience.

Moreover, the analysis of the structural level themes reveals an increase between Phase 1 and Phase 2, indicating that spatial actions have a role in facilitating community empowerment to a certain extent. The limited and congested space within refugee camps necessitates specific spatial actions to enhance the functionality and livability of the environment. However, it is important to acknowledge that spatial design problems can limit the social production of space fostering community empowerment. When the design of the camp fails to address the needs of its residents, it can lead to social disputes and a reduction in community empowerment.

The structural level also has an impact on the cognitive level, which in turn affects the production of community empowerment. The physical environment shapes individuals' perceptions, attitudes, and beliefs, crucial cognitive factors influencing community empowerment. A well-designed and functional physical structure can enhance residents' sense of belonging and identity, reinforcing their cognitive connection to the community. On the other hand, inadequate or deteriorating structures may contribute to feelings of dissatisfaction, disengagement, and decreased empowerment.

Furthermore, the financial level plays a significant role in influencing both the cognitive and structural levels. A better financial situation within the camp allows for the improvement of physical infrastructure, conducting necessary spatial actions, and expanding communal spaces. These enhancements contribute to the structural level by creating a more favourable environment for community interactions and empowerment. Additionally, improved financial resources positively impact the cognitive level by increasing residents' feelings of stability, security, and settlement. Having access to necessities and economic opportunities enhances their overall well-being and fosters a stronger sense of community.

The interrelation and interconnectedness of the three levels become evident, highlighting the need to consider them holistically rather than in separation. The cognitive, structural, and financial levels work synergistically to shape the social production of space fostering community empowerment within refugee camps. Neglecting or disregarding any of these levels can disrupt the overall process and hinder the achievement of positive outcomes.

The analysis highlights Phase 2 as the most favourable phase regarding the social production of lived space in the three camps. This is supported by the successful social production processes observed in the cognitive, structural, and financial dimensions, leading to community empowerment within the refugee camp streets. Additionally, the comparison of the camps reveals variations in the social production processes. The analysis shows that the Baqaa camp had more social production of space in Phase 3 despite facing spatial deterioration, while the Jerash camp was more

developed at the cognitive level in Phase 1 and Phase 2. This suggests the importance of maintaining balance across cognitive, structural, and financial levels, as disruption in any of these dimensions can impact the overall social production of space. Additionally, the comparison with the Zaatari camp indicates that the production processes in Zaatari are lagging, and the future of residential streets in the camp is uncertain. Without experiencing Phase 2, the production processes might not reach a balanced phase and could potentially turn disruptive. This means that if the situation continues with the same rhythm, the lived space might transform from the transitional phase between Phase 1 and Phase 2 to Phase 3 without experiencing Phase 2, which is the most balanced phase. This emphasises the need to address and improve the social production processes in the Zaatari camp to ensure positive community outcomes.

The findings of the comparison of social production of space in residential streets revealed several interesting interpretations. They shed light on the dynamics of all the identified themes, especially the sense of community, spatial actions, and the financial situation within the everyday. Understanding these dynamics is crucial for producing community empowerment and informing effective interventions in refugee camp environments.

Sense of Community: The variation in the sense of community across different phases within Jerash camp suggests that factors influencing community cohesion and social bonds may fluctuate over time. The high sense of community in Phases 1 and 2 indicates a strong initial connection among residents, which the previously explained contributing factors may have influenced. However, the decline in Phase 3 implies that changes in camp dynamics could have affected the sense of community and, thus, affected the production of community empowerment.

Spatial actions: Baqaa camp stands out for its significant structural and spatial improvements throughout the different phases. This indicates the impressing motivations for development throughout time in camps. These improvements likely contributed to the overall livability and functionality of the camp environment.

Financial Situation: the three camps showed a relatively consistent performance at the financial level across the phases. This could be attributed to the synergetic relationships with the cognitive and structural levels. This implies that an improved financial situation supported the social production of space by enhancing the physical environment and promoting stability among refugees in the camps. Furthermore, the presence of favourable physical and cognitive conditions contributed to a better financial situation, as it motivated refugees to pursue financial improvement.

The bar chart (7 - 23) illustrates the themes discussed in the commercial streets in the case studies over time throughout the three phases of the living experience. Overall, the themes of social production of space in commercial streets exhibited a high degree of similarity and convergence with the themes observed in residential streets across all camps and phases. The sense of community was the most reported theme on the cognitive level of the social production of streets of all case studies and was most prevalent in Jerash camp. Additionally, spatial action was the second theme reported among all camps and the most reported theme in the Baqaa and the Zaatari camps. 'Identity and representation' is the least discussed theme in the commercial streets in all camps. Furthermore, 'financial issues' decreased between Phase 1 and Phase 2 in all camps and were more reported in the commercial street in Jerash camp.

The cognitive level increased between Phase 1 and Phase 2 in all camps, facilitating the social production of space and fostering community empowerment. Similar to the residential street, themes at the cognitive level are directly related to community empowerment due to its role in promoting social cohesion and a sense of community. However, 'identity and representation' forms emerge as the least discussed theme in the context of commercial streets across the three camps. This finding is noteworthy as it contradicts the consistent indirect mentions of Palestinian refugees about the camp symbolising the Palestinian cause and in the Zaatari refugees evoking memories of their original hometowns. This can be attributed to refugees not consciously perceiving the representation of their identity, as it becomes embedded in their everyday lives without deliberate intention. Refugees reported having various negative experiences throughout their lives in the camp more than positive

experiences. Thus the number of positive experiences increased in Phase 2, and the negative living experience reached its lowest level in that phase. Refugees associated their positive living experience with a sense of community and the strength of social relationships. Their perspective suggests a greater sense of community and stronger relationships correlated with a more positive living experience. On the structural level, the Baqaa camp's spatial actions and structural improvements were most prevalent, leading to increased spatial design problems due to random and uncontrolled spatial actions. On the financial level, it can be seen that the Zaatari and the Baqaa camps had fewer financial issues in Phase 2 due to the success and continuous improvement of the commercial street.
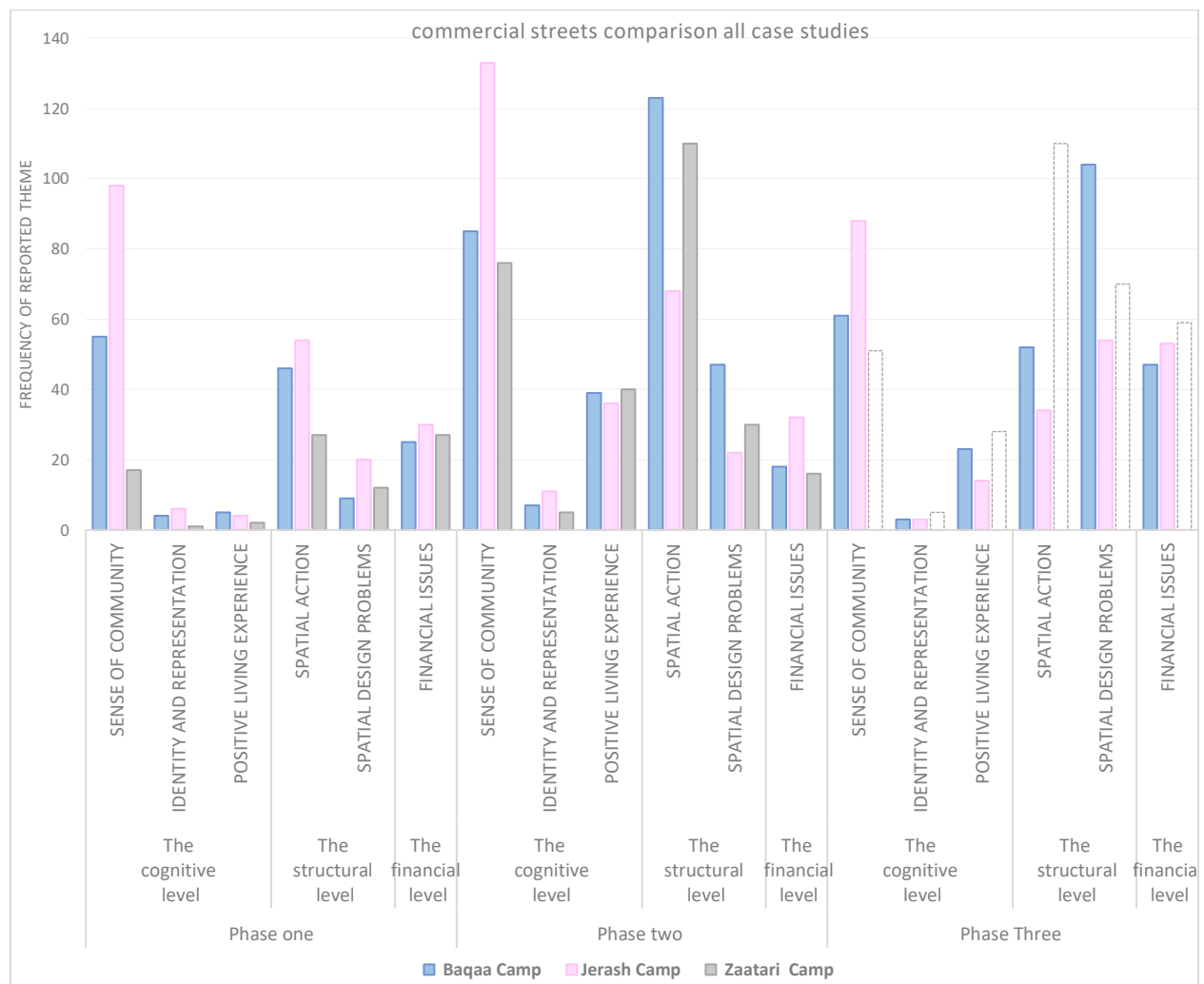
Figure 7-23: Comparison of the commercial streets between the Baqaa camp Jerash and the Zaatari camp during the three phases of the living experience.

Graph (7 - 23) suggest that Phase 2 in the commercial streets in the three camps was the best phase of spatial, social production of space fostering community empowerment as all factors within cognitive, structural and financial levels reveal that the social production processes resulted in the production of some community empowerment and produced more financial empowerment within the commercial street of refugee camps.

Moreover, when considering the Zaatari camp, it is noteworthy that the processes of social production of space in the commercial street are expected to follow a similar trajectory as observed in other camps. However, the graph indicates that the Zaatari camp will enter Phase 3, where social production may turn into disruptive processes for the streets due to the random spatial actions within the limited and congested space.

Furthermore, the comparative analysis highlights that the themes observed in the commercial streets align closely with those in the residential streets. This can be attributed to the interconnected nature of these street typologies within the overall lived space of the camp. It is important to note that the residents of the camp are the same individuals who operate businesses on commercial streets. As a result, refugees engage with themes that are related to the lived space in the camp without completely separating the residential and commercial streets.

Therefore, the presence of a successful commercial street contributes to the dynamics of the residential street. The commercial street facilitates a better financial situation for the refugees, enabling spatial actions to take place in both the commercial and residential streets. These spatial actions, such as improvements or expansions, contribute to the settlement and stability of refugees in the residential streets, ultimately enhancing the sense of community.

The comparison of the themes between residential and commercial streets resulted in producing community empowerment in both types of streets differently in all phases of the living experience. Community empowerment is generally produced more on residential streets than commercial streets in both camps.

The outcomes of the comparative thematic analysis indicate the following:

- Unique social dynamics: The study of the Jerash camp reveals different social structures, relationships, and community dynamics that differentiate it from the Baqaa and Zaatari camps. These differences include aspects such as a rich social life within the camp, all contributing to a greater sense of community.

- Cultural and identity dynamics: The specific origins of the Jerash camp, with a majority of refugees coming from Gaza, give rise to cultural and identity dynamics that influence the social production of space fostering community empowerment.

In summary, these findings demonstrate that the Baqaa camp exhibits more development at the structural and financial levels, while the Jerash camp exhibits more development at the cognitive level. However, the Zaatari camp lags in the three levels of social production of space in the residential street typology.

Consequently, achieving a synergetic state in all structural, cognitive, and financial dimensions is fundamental to the social production of space fostering community empowerment. To support this production, it is essential to study and comprehend the specific dynamics of the space to achieve the required balance.

7.3.2 Comparative analysis of architectural design research through axonometric drawings

The generated knowledge regarding community empowerment in residential streets and financial empowerment has been effectively represented through comparative diagrams spanning the three phases. The axonometric comparison diagram (7-24) illustrates the social production of space fostering community empowerment in all phases of the living experience and all camps in residential streets. The comparison of the analysis revealed that residential streets in refugee camps produced community empowerment throughout the everyday, especially in Phase 2, where the three levels of social production worked synergetically. It can be seen from the comparison drawing that residential streets in the Palestinian camps went through the same social production processes within the same levels. Conversely, the residential street in the

Zaatrai camp is still in the transitional phase, as the levels of social production of the street were not comparable to those in the Palestinian camps. Thus, the residential streets of the Baqaa and Jerash camps demonstrate a greater degree of community empowerment than the Zaatari camp. This suggests that social dynamics and interactions within residential streets contribute more significantly to fostering a sense of community. Additionally, it is a result of the structural restrictions imposed by the governance of the Zaatari camp. If vertical construction had been allowed, the presence of the structural level would have been more prominent. However, in the absence of such measures, there is a risk that the streets may transition directly from the current phase to Phase 3 without experiencing Phase 2 due to the limited and congested space available. This may hinder the potential for balanced and effective social production processes, and thus, the future of the social production of the residential streets in the Zaatari camp is not promising.

It can be seen that in the Jerash camp, refugees produced community empowerment almost similarly to the Baqaa camp. This is due to the high intensity of spatial actions in the Baqaa camp and the high intensity of the sense of community in the Jerash camp. In Phase 3, a higher degree of community empowerment in the Jerash camp was produced than in the Baqaa camp, which can be interpreted as the Jerash camp being smaller and having a smaller population density than the Baqaa camp. Another possible explanation is that most of the residents of Jerash camp stayed in the camp and did not leave the camp, while many of the Baqaa camp residents left the camp; thus, other "foreigners" came and rented these residents. The multitude of random structural development within the congested and limited space has increased spatial deterioration over time. Consequently, despite the Baqaa camp demonstrating a more balanced and synergistic interplay among the cognitive, structural, and financial levels, the rapid pace of these random spatial actions has contributed to further deterioration. On the other hand, in the Jerash camp, where there were fewer spatial actions and a stronger sense of community, the residents have sustained community empowerment for longer. These findings highlight the crucial role of the sense of community as the leading theme in producing and maintaining community empowerment. In contrast, spatial actions play a significant role in facilitating the

social production of space fostering community empowerment. However, their implementation without proper management and planning can lead to disruptive processes in the streets of the camps.

Therefore, community empowerment is produced within the streets of refugee camps through the interplay of contributing factors under the cognitive, structural, and financial levels. These variations highlight the complex interplay between physical, social, and cultural factors in producing community empowerment within refugee camps over time.

Baqaa Camp

Baqaa Camp

Phase 3
"overcrowding crisis"

Phase 2
"a form of normalcy"

Phase 1
"the emergency period"

Jerash Camp

Jerash camp

Phase 3
"overcrowding crisis"

Phase 2
"A form of normalcy"

Phase 1
"the emergency period"

Zaatari Camp

Zaatari Camp

predictions of Phase 3
"overcrowding crisis"

Phase (1-2)
transitional phase

Phase 1
"the emergency period"

Phase Three

Cognitive level: The depth and frequency of conversations deteriorated, resulting in a decreased sense of community due to an increase in social disputes.

Structural level: The space is congested, and the physical structure has deteriorated over time.

Financial level: Financial problems have increased due to the rise in needs and living expenses, resulting in a difficult financial situation exacerbated by increasing unemployment rates.

OUTCOME:
Disruption of spatiality.

Lived space: Disruption of spatiality — Baqaa Camp
Lived space: Disruption of spatiality — Jerash Camp

Phase Two

Cognitive level: The substantial depth and frequency of conversations indicate a robust sense of community.

Structural level: The physical structure experienced transformation processes and became urbanised.

Financial level: Refugees actively addressed and improved their financial situation by tackling the majority of their financial problems.

OUTCOME:
Social production of community empowerment

Lived space: community empowerment — Baqaa Camp
Lived space: community empowerment — Jerash Camp

Phase one

Cognitive level: The limited depth and frequency of conversations indicate a lack of strong sense of community.

Structural level: The physical structure remained in its original state as bare land without undergoing any urbanisation or development.

Financial level: Refugees faced numerous financial challenges and experienced a significantly distressed financial situation.

OUTCOME:
Initial production processes and formation of lived space

Lived space: space of ambiguity and Temporariness

Phase Three

Cognitive level: The depth and frequency of conversations deteriorated, resulting in a decreased sense of community due to an increase in social disputes.

Structural level: The space is congested, and the physical structure has deteriorated over time.

Financial level: Financial problems have increased due to the rise in needs and living expenses, resulting in a difficult financial situation exacerbated by increasing unemployment rates.

OUTCOME:
Disruption of spatiality.

Predicted lived space

Lived space: Disruption of spatiality — Baqaa & Jerash Camps
Lived space: Disruption of spatiality — Zaatari Camp

Phase Two

Cognitive level: The substantial depth and frequency of conversations indicate an improved sense of community.

Structural level: The physical structure experienced transformation processes but still lagging.

Financial level: Refugees improved their financial situation a little.

OUTCOME:
Social production of incipient amount of community empowerment.

Lived space: community empowerment — Baqaa & Jerash Camps
Lived space: Less community empowerment — Zaatari Camp

Phase one

Cognitive level: The limited depth and frequency of conversations indicate a lack of strong sense of community.

Structural level: The physical structure remained in its original state as bare land without undergoing any urbanisation or development.

Financial level: Refugees faced numerous financial challenges and experienced a significantly distressed financial situation.

OUTCOME:
Initial production processes and formation of lived space

Lived space: space of ambiguity and Temporariness

more financial issues
Depth of conversations
Predicted deteriorated physical space
Spatial Improvments
"Financial level"   "Cognitive level"   "Structural level"

Community empowerment
bigger circle of social connection which leads to community ambience

Less frequent social encounters or less spent time at any encounter
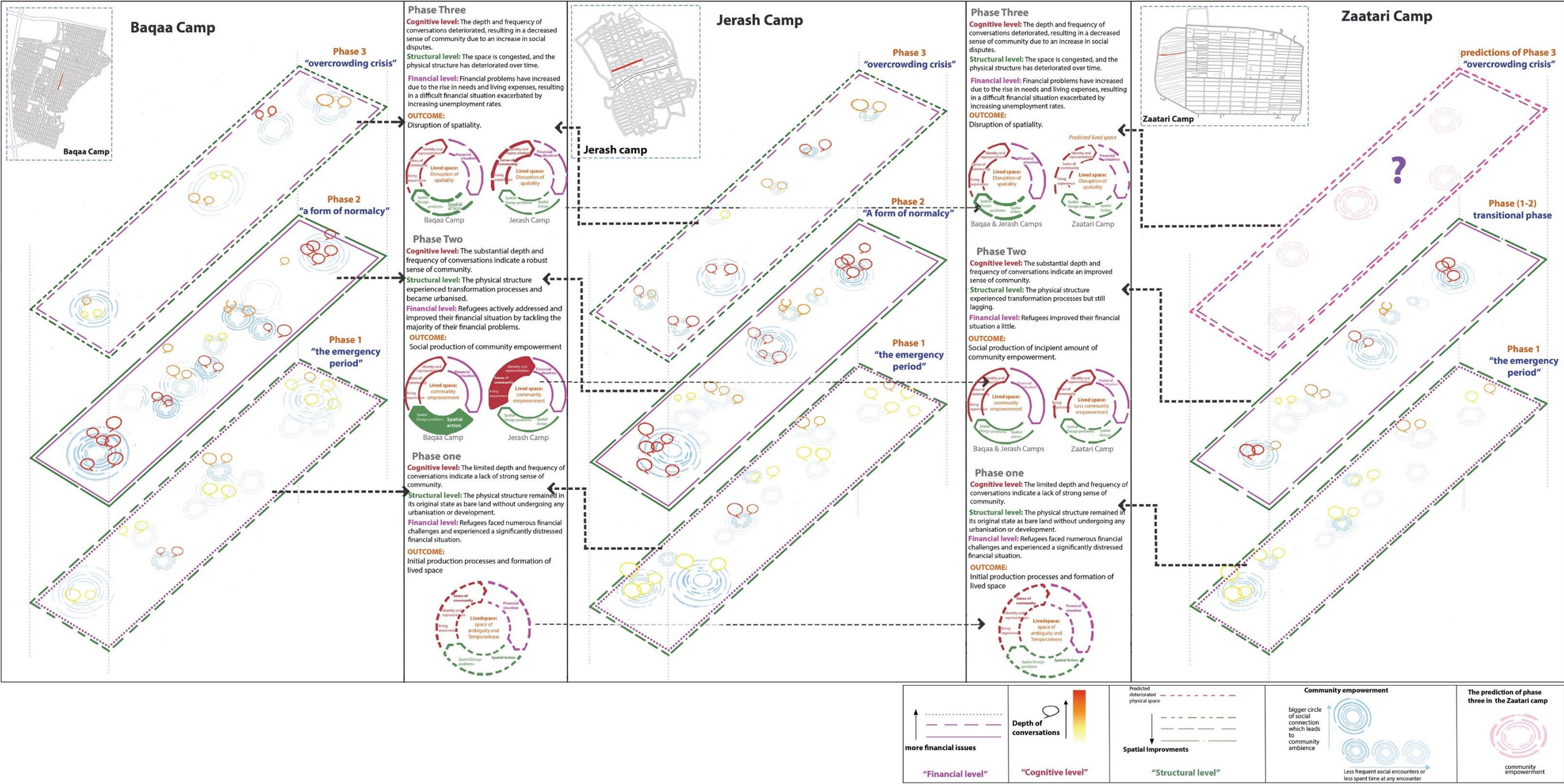
The prediction of phase three in the Zaatari camp
community empowerment

Figure 7.24 Comparison of the social production of space in residential streets between all camps. Source: Researcher

Baqaa Camp

Phase 3 overcrowding crisis

Phase 2 "A form of normalcy"

Phase 1 "the emergency period"

Jerash Camp

Jerash camp

Phase 3 "overcrowding crisis"

Phase 2 "A form of normalcy"

Phase 1 "the emergency period"

Zaatari Camp

Phase 3 "overcrowding crisis"

Phase 2 "A form of normalcy"

Phase 1 "the emergency period"

Phase Three
Cognitive level: The depth and frequency of conversations deteriorated, resulting in a decreased sense of community due to an increase in social disputes.

Structural level: The space is congested, and the physical structure has deteriorated over time.

Financial level: Financial problems and unemployment rates have increased.

OUTCOME: Disruption of spatiality and focusing more on individual financial empowerment.

Lived space: Disruption of spatiality & individual financial empowerment

Baqaa Camp   Jerash Camp

Phase Two
Cognitive level: The substantial depth and frequency of conversations indicate a robust sense of community.

Structural level: The physical structure experienced transformation processes and became urbanised.

Financial level: Refuges actively addressed and improved their financial situation by establishing comercial streets to tackle financial problems.

OUTCOME: Synergetic processes for social production of community and financial empowerment

Lived space: community & financial empowerment

Baqaa Camp   Jerash Camp

Phase one
Cognitive level: The limited depth and frequency of conversations indicate a lack of strong sense of community.

Structural level: The physical structure remained partialy in its original state with litle spatial actions.

Financial level: Refugees faced numerous financial challenges and started exchanging goods to address this issue.

OUTCOME: Initial production processes and formation of lived space with community and financial empowerment

Livedspace: space of ambiguity and Temporariness

Phase Three
Cognitive level: The depth and frequency of conversations deteriorated, resulting in a decreased sense of community due to an increase in social disputes.

Structural level: The space is congested, and the physical structure has deteriorated over time.

Financial level: Financial problems & unemployment rates have increased.

PREDICTED OUTCOME: Disruption of spatiality and focusing more on individual financial empowerment.

Predicted lived space

Lived space: Disruption of spatiality & individual financial empowerment

Baqaa & Jerash Camps   Zaatari Camp

Phase Two
Cognitive level: The substantial depth and frequency of conversations indicate an improved sense of community.

Structural level: The physical structure experienced transformation processes but still lagging.

Financial level: Refuges improved their financial situation a little.

OUTCOME: Social production of incipient amount of community empowerment and more financial empowerment

Lived space: community empowerment   Lived space: Less community empowerment

Baqaa & Jerash Camps   Zaatari Camp

Phase one
Cognitive level: The limited depth and frequency of conversations indicate a lack of strong sense of community.

Structural level: he physical structure remained partialy in its original state with litle spatial actions.

Financial level: Refugees faced numerous financial challenges and started exchanging goods to address this issue.

OUTCOME: Initial production processes and formation of lived space with community and financial empowerment

Livedspace: space of ambiguity and Temporariness

Legend:

more financial issues — "Financial level"

Predicted deteriorated physical space

Spatial Improvments — "Structural level"

Depth of conversations — "Cognitive level"

Community empowerment — bigger circle of social connection which leads to community ambience / Less frequent social encounters or less spent time at any encounter

Financial empowerment — Financial empowerment among bigger community / Stronger financial empowerment

The prediction of phase three in the Zaatari camp — community empowerment / Financial empowerment
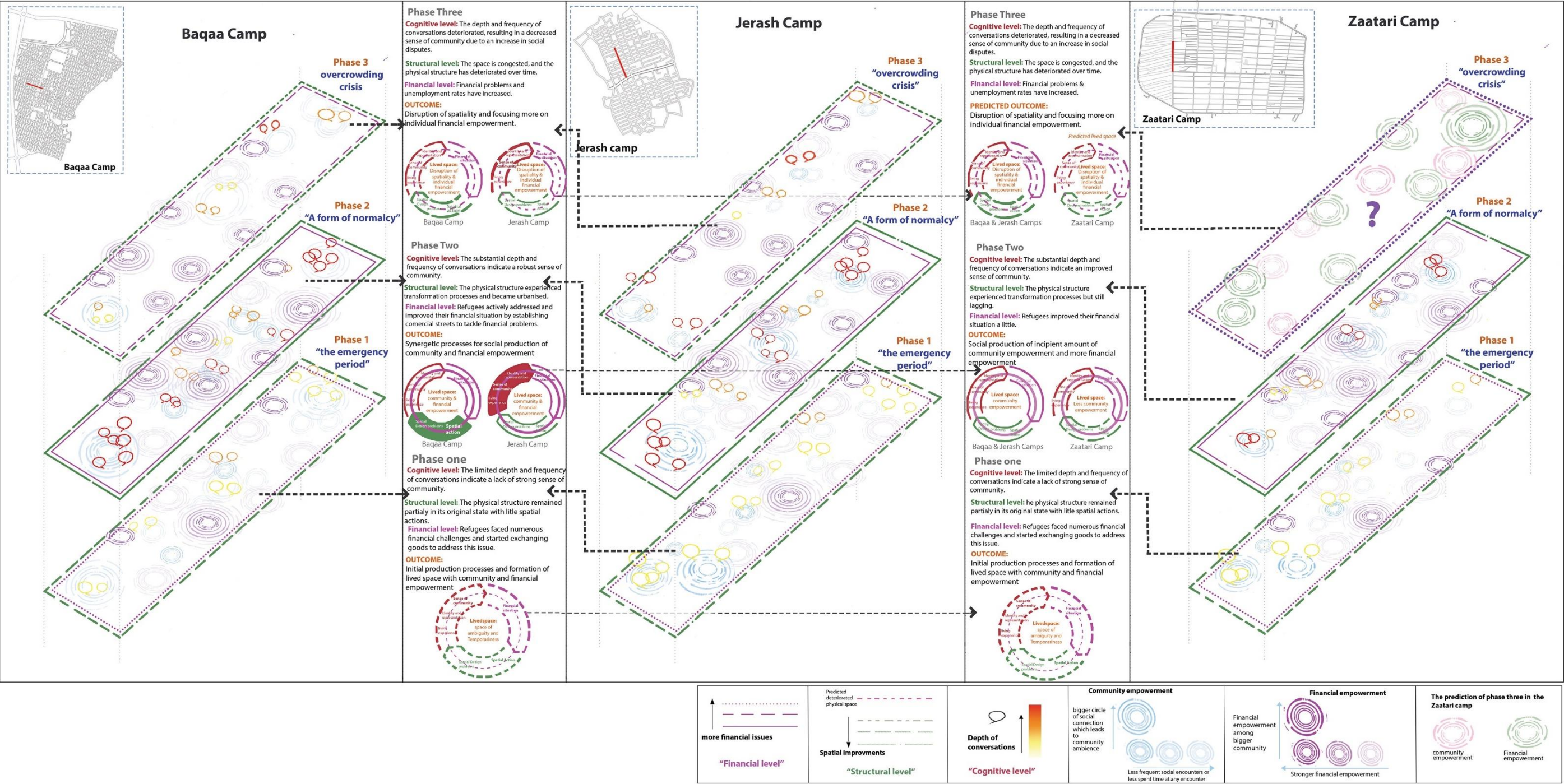
Figure 7.25 Comparison of the social production of space in commercial streets between all camps. Source: Researcher

The axonometric comparison diagram (7-25) demonstrates the community empowerment and financial empowerment produced in commercial streets in all phases of the living experience and all camps. The results of the analysis show that commercial streets offered opportunities for economic activities that produced financial empowerment in addition to community empowerment. This can be explained by the fact that the commercial street emerged when refugees started to exchange goods and then begin the trade to fulfil their needs. Therefore this commercial street became the main source of jobs for refugees and thus their financial support. In the Baqaa camp, the commercial streets developed more than in the Jerash and Zaatari camps. This is perhaps due to the size of the camp and its proximity to Amman, the capital of Jordan, which could have attracted more customers from the capital city and contributed to a higher development of commercial uses in this area.

Furthermore, the pace of the social production processes is higher on the commercial street of the Zaatari camp than on the residential street due to the importance of the commercial street in providing jobs and meeting the needs of the inhabitants.

In conclusion, the financial situation was the main force behind the production of processes on commercial streets. In contrast, in residential streets, social relationships were a key force in producing the residential street. Significantly, the dynamics of these social relationships were influenced by various cultural norms rooted in traditional Arabic life, including values of selflessness, nobility, generosity, and mutual assistance. These cultural and social norms were more prevalent in Palestinian camps 50 years ago compared to those observed in the Zaatari camp.

7.4   Summary and Findings

This chapter of the analysis investigated how and why refugees produced community empowerment through daily life over time, particularly through their urbanisation processes and social interaction in both residential and commercial streets. Both themes identified from the analysis and the literature are embedded within these processes and include cognitive, structural, and financial dimensions. The thematic analysis allowed for identifying how they operate to produce community empowerment

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and comparison of them between different phases, street typologies, and camps, allowing an understanding of the social production of space fostering community empowerment in the streets and the context that facilitated the best production processes and can be useful for further predictions on the future development of camps, such as the Zaatari in Phase 3.

Therefore, refugees produced community empowerment on both residential and commercial streets; the production processes are active and continuous. These social production processes are carried out every day on the streets of refugee camps at the cognitive, structural, and financial levels. All dimensions under these three levels are important to produce community empowerment, and at the same time, they are the results of this social production of space. Thus, every day is a reciprocal and synergetic process of social production and reproduction of community empowerment. The key findings of this chapter can be summarised in three points:

- Phase 2

Similar to the findings of the previous chapter, refugees experienced a form of normalcy and community empowerment during "Phase 2" in both residential and commercial streets of the refugee camps. This phase exhibited a balanced social production of space, where themes, subthemes, and contributing factors aligned synergetically, especially the themes and their embedded contributing factors; sense of community, spatial action, and financial situation. This allowed for producing a lived space resembling their pre-refugee life, and achieving this balance involved addressing design challenges, promoting social interactions, and maintaining positive relationships, thereby reducing the probability of transitioning to Phase 3 and its associated disruptions.

- Key Contributing Factors

As stated in the previous chapter, thematic analysis indicates that residential streets in both Palestinian camps exhibit more community empowerment than commercial streets. This can be attributed to the frequent social interactions and stronger neighbouring relationships within residential streets, which contribute to the creation

of a lived space facilitating community empowerment. While the financial level plays a significant role in empowering the community on commercial streets, it is crucial to regulate spatial actions in a culturally sensitive manner to maintain a harmonious environment that supports community empowerment.

However, it is noteworthy that in the Zaatari camp, the commercial street phase demonstrated a higher level of community empowerment compared to the transitional phase of the residential street. Several factors can explain this difference. Firstly, the commercial street in the camp provided refugees with increased opportunities for economic activities and engagement in trade, fostering a sense of empowerment and agency. Additionally, the commercial street facilitated social interactions among residents as neighbours, customers, and sellers, resulting in a dynamic and diverse social environment. The weaker social connections of Syrian refugees than Palestinian refugees before fleeing their countries due to cultural differences in the present time compared to the past may have contributed to a diminished sense of community and belonging. Therefore, developing the commercial street became particularly important in establishing a sense of stability and enhancing social dynamics that fostered better social relationships.

Consequently, **spatial action** from the structural level and the **sense of community** from the cognitive level are key factors in the processes of social production of space fostering community empowerment on the streets of refugee camps. These two themes have direct relationships to the production of community empowerment but cannot be separated from other themes. The reciprocal and synergetic relationship between these levels is more important to produce community empowerment than the single factor. However, factors at the cognitive and structural levels were more active on residential streets, while the financial level was the key factor on commercial streets. Hence, interventions in the Zaatari camp must prioritise the promotion of a strong sense of community, particularly within residential streets.

- Future of the Zaatari refugee camp

Similarly to the Palestinian camps, the commercial street of the Zaatari went through Phases 1 and 2 with more balanced structural, cognitive, and financial levels than the

residential street. Consequently, financial empowerment is the mode of production in the Zaatari camp, and more attention should be paid to the empowerment of the community and how to produce it.

The commercial street's role in facilitating a better financial situation influences both the residential street and the overall sense of community. However, the potential for disruptive processes in the Zaatari camp highlights the importance of maintaining a balanced approach to the social production of space in both street typologies. In summary, the comparison between residential and commercial streets within the camps demonstrates their interconnectedness and impact on community dynamics.

By examining the patterns and trends observed in the social production of space across different phases, it is possible to make informed predictions about the potential trajectory of the Zaatari camp.

The analysis conducted in this research provides valuable insights into the dynamics and factors influencing the social production of space within refugee camps. Through the comparison of themes and sub-themes, the study has identified commonalities and variations in the social production processes across different camps. This analysis allows for a more nuanced understanding of how different dimensions, such as cognitive, structural, and financial factors, interact and contribute to community empowerment.

Based on the findings, it is evident that the residential street in the Zaatari camp's social production of space lags behind the other camps, particularly in terms of the spatial-social balance achieved in Phase 2. The processes are more disruptive than productive as the cognitive, structural, and financial levels are not working synergetically to facilitate the social production of space fostering community empowerment. The restricted spatial conditions and the absence of Phase 2 development indicate potential challenges in achieving a balanced and effective social production process in the Zaatari camp.

Therefore, it can be predicted that if the current conditions and patterns persist, the Zaatari camp's residential streets may transition directly from Phases 1 to 3 without

experiencing the most balanced phase. This suggests that the social production processes in the Zaatari camp may face difficulties in achieving optimal community empowerment outcomes.

Additionally, the gap in spatial development between the commercial street and the residential street indicates a huge interest in the physical environment of the commercial street with random spatial actions. Hence the commercial street might transform into Phase 3, 'the overcrowding crisis', at a faster pace than the Palestinian camps.

This significant research outcome contributes to the understanding of the social dynamics within refugee camps and provides valuable insights for policymakers, camp administrators, and organisations working to mitigate the transformation to Phase 3 in both street typologies and maintain the lived space within Phase 2.

These predictions are based on the analysis of data and observations from the other Palestinian camps, which provide a valuable basis for understanding the dynamics of social production within refugee camp environments. However, it is important to acknowledge that predictions are subject to various factors and uncertainties, including changes in camp governance, external interventions, and unforeseen events.

- Disruption of spatiality

The notion of 'disruption of spatiality' emerges as a significant outcome of Phase 3, 'the overcrowding crisis', in which various factors can disturb the social and physical organisation of space within a given context. This disruption occurs when the cognitive, structural, and financial levels no longer operate synergistically and experience a lack of balance. For example, The random and excessive spatial expansions in this phase without adequate consideration for the cognitive level lead to disruptions in the cognitive level and the overall social cohesion of the community.

More specifically, factors such as limited space, congestion, and random structural development can contribute to spatial deterioration over time. This can result in a loss of functionality, decreased social cohesion, and a reduced sense of community

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empowerment within residential streets. Similarly, the absence of specific themes, such as the sense of community, can disrupt social-spatial dynamics.

Furthermore, contextual particularities, such as the proximity to urban areas, can shape the experiences and outcomes of spatiality disruption.

Overall, the notion of disruption of spatiality as an outcome of these inquiries emphasises the complex interplay between various factors. It recognises that disruptions in spatiality can have significant implications for the well-being, social relationships, and overall experiences of individuals and communities within a given space.

This understanding of the "Disruption of spatiality" sheds light on the challenges faced in maintaining a harmonious and well-functioning living environment in refugee camps during times of overcrowding. Future interventions and planning should attempt a balanced interplay between the cognitive, structural, and financial dimensions to mitigate the negative effects of spatial disruption and promote community empowerment.

These future interventions should be implemented without excessive control and governance. This can be achieved by involving the community in the decision-making process, providing them with the necessary resources and support, and ensuring their voices are heard. It is also important to ensure that the community is aware of the benefits of the interventions and planning and that they are involved in the conception, design and implementation processes.

One way to achieve a balanced interplay between the cognitive, structural, and financial dimensions is to use a participatory approach. This ensures that community needs and concerns are taken into account. By involving the community in the planning process, it is possible to identify the most effective interventions and strategies to mitigate the negative effects of spatial disruption.

Another way to achieve a balanced interplay between the cognitive, structural, and financial dimensions is to use a collaborative approach. This approach involves working with other stakeholders, such as government agencies, non-governmental

organizations, and private sector organizations, to develop and implement interventions and strategies. These intervention strategies should always be comprehensive and ensure that all the cognitive, structural, and financial dimensions are balanced without one dominating the other. By working collaboratively, it is possible to grasp the strengths and resources of different stakeholders to achieve a more effective and sustainable outcome. This helps in producing design guidelines and spatial regulations under the balanced framework of social production of space that maintains Phase 2 as long as possible and mitigates Phase 3 in the streets of camps.
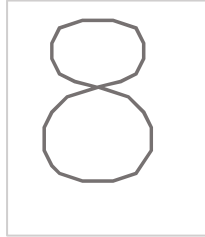
Social production of community empowerment in refugee camps' space

This chapter discusses the results of the analysis in detail with reference to the reviewed literature. Additionally, it synthesises how this investigation answers the research sub-questions and, thus, the main question of this thesis. Furthermore, this chapter explains the shift in understanding the social production of space fostering community empowerment on the streets of refugee camps. Finally, it concludes the research and outlines the main conclusions, implications, and contributions of this study to the knowledge in literature and the practical situation of designing and planning refugee camps. Furthermore, the chapter states the limitations of this study and makes some recommendations for future work

8 Social production of community empowerment in refugee camps' space

8.1 Introduction

Refugee camps were extensively studied within the fields of architecture and urban planning under the humanitarian-social aspects (Agamben 1998; Agier 2011; Hartmann et al. 2013; Ramadan 2013). Furthermore, numerous studies have attempted to explain urbanisation and transformations in refugee camps (Doraï 2010; Sanyal 2012; Sanyal 2014; Maqusi 2017). In particular, many studies were of interest in refugee camps in Jordan (al-Qutub 1989; Dalal 2015; Al-Nassir 2018; Aburamadan 2022). Although these studies dealt with processes of urbanisation in refugee camps, they have not addressed in much detail the social production of space in the streets of these camps under a specific lens. Therefore, this thesis aims to investigate the processes of social production of space in the streets of refugee camps in Jordan under the lens of community empowerment. The main findings suggest that refugees produce community empowerment through their everyday lives in different typologies of streets. Additionally, the random processes of social production of street space throughout time lead to disruption of spatiality within the refugee camps context. Therefore, the resulting insights of this doctoral research contribute to understanding refugee camp spaces.

8.2 Research summary

This doctoral research revolved around the processes of social production on the streets of refugee camps in Jordan that foster community empowerment in their lives. Urbanisation in refugee camps has been extensively studied, as temporary inhabitation has been extended to be permanent. Therefore, understanding the social processes of transformation from shelters to camp cities and their effect on refugees' communities is important to inform design schemes, policies, and spatial regulations for refugee camps (Agier 2002). This thesis revealed that refugees in the two Palestinian camps – Baqaa and Jerash – produced community empowerment within the lived space of their streets by seeking a normal life during their long inhabitation. Therefore, everyday life within different typologies of streets in these refugee camps

included processes of production and reproduction on structural and cognitive levels that fostered community empowerment. Consequently, the Zaatari camp, a more recent camp established in 2012 as a result of the Syrian civil war (2011- present), is experiencing processes that the other two Palestinian camps selected as case studies have already experienced over the years. Despite the contextual, demographical and socio-political differences, the knowledge arising from these processes in these two Palestinian camps over the years would constitute key experiences for mitigating the urban and socio-economic deterioration and maintaining the processes of social production of space to foster community empowerment in the Zaatari camp.

To contextualise the findings of this thesis, there are three concepts that this research revolved around refugee camps streets, social production of space, and community empowerment. The concept of a 'camp' in literature is conceived as a temporary facility to host refugees who fled from their countries as a short-term solution (UNHCR 2022d). Turner and Al-Nassir (Turner 2016; Al-Nassir 2018) conceive the camp as a space of exception with a social life, contrary to the Agambenian (1998) idea that camp produces bare life. Hence, the conception of camps that, with time and spatial transformations, resulted in primitive cities named camp-cities (Agier 2002).

Subsequently, from this understanding of camps considered exceptional spaces that host social life and power within the everyday, this thesis interprets the streets of refugee camps as their public spaces that are socially produced and as means of reproduction processes within daily life. Thus, Lefebvre's social-spatial theories are essential in this discussion. The Lefebvre spatial triad considers space socially produced by conceived, perceived, and lived spaces. Accordingly, this study investigates the lived space identified in social theory as everyday life. According to Lefebvre, the notion of 'lived space' includes many aspects that affect people's lives within everyday life in the city. Therefore, people produce meanings through living in a space and thus creating social life (Lefebvre 1991):

> *"Social space is a (social) product. The space thus produced also serves as a tool of thought and of action; in addition to being a means of production, it is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power."*

Furthermore, Soja (1996) continues interpreting Lefebvre's spatial triad; he defines lived space as 'an-Other' understanding of spatiality and the 'third space' as the life experienced in the 'first space' facilitated through 'second space' expectations. That being said, this thesis investigates the streets through this spatiality structural theoretical approach.

The previous chapters answered four research questions, each serving a specific purpose in pursuit of the overall objective of this thesis. These questions are as follows.

1. *What are the living pattern characteristics observed in the three refugee camps, and how do these patterns relate to the social production of space and community empowerment in the streets of the camps?*

2. *How were the streets of refugee camps socially produced under the lens of community empowerment? What are the key factors in the social production of space that foster community empowerment under the cognitive, structural, and financial levels of the living experience?*

3. *How were the streets of Baqaa and Jerash refugee camps socially produced under the lens of community empowerment? How do the key factors within the cognitive, structural, and financial levels operate in these camps?*

4. *How and why were the streets of the Zaatari refugee camp socially produced under the lens of community empowerment in this specific way? What are the differences in the social production of streets between the two Palestinian camps and the Zaatari camp, particularly concerning community empowerment?*

This chapter draws upon the previous analytical work conducted in the three camps within the theoretical framework outlined in earlier chapters. Its objective is to provide a comprehensive discussion that explores the processes of social production to foster community empowerment in the streets of refugee camps, addressing the questions at hand. The main findings of the thesis address the socio-spatial situation in the streets of refugee camps and its relationship with community empowerment. First, the focus has been on analysing the social production of lived space in the streets of the two Palestinian camps and the Zaatari camp. Secondly, it has been proven by the research findings that the street spaces of refugee camps are vital for the living experience of inhabitants in the camps. Finally, the re-design of the streets of camps, according to this thesis' research findings, would foster increasing their levels of community empowerment.

8.3   Main Findings and Implications

8.3.1   Shift in the understanding of the social production of space

8.3.1.1   Phases of living experience in refugee camps in Jordan

The main investigations of semi-structured interviews and their mapping and processing on axonometric drawings focused on the social-spatial aspects of life within the streets of refugee camps. As mentioned before in this thesis, the space of the street is interpreted as the main public space in camps and as a means of social production of community empowerment. The responses to semi-structured interviews of all camps were thematically analysed to understand the collective patterns of lived space in camps. This analysis focused on living experience within the time aspect.

The findings showed that three main phases of living experience socially produced lived space in the streets of refugee camps. These phases are not chronological, although time is an aspect that affects the processes of social production because it is an embedded factor within the temporary - permanence of inhabitation in camps. These phases are Phase 1, '*the emergency period'*, an early stage in camp emergence and formation where everything is in the state of temporariness that lasts two to five years. Phase 2, 'a form of normalcy', is a phase of spatial expansion and transformations that is made to cope with population growth within prolonged inhabitation. In this phase, the refugees transformed their temporary housing unit into a built form and made many gradual modifications, leading to a normal living experience. Lastly, the third phase of the 'overcrowding crisis' is when the camp space is congested and limited for spatial and structural expansions and is extremely overcrowded with people and buildings.

Consequently, these three phases of living experience resulted from the differences in the aspects within the three levels of social production of community empowerment in the streets of refugee camps: cognitive, structural, and financial. These levels within the social production of space affect the production of different phases of living experience and hence different levels of community empowerment. Therefore, the street space in refugee camps includes Lefebvrian's notion of 'lived space' that produces different living experiences according to the theoretical framework through

which it is investigated or the different contexts where the processes of social production of space are taking place.

In conclusion, this study revealed that refugees achieved higher levels of community empowerment in Phase 2 compared to the other phases, with the production processes of community empowerment reaching their peak in cognitive, structural, and financial aspects. Additionally, minor differences were observed among the camps during Phase 2, indicating variations in the extent and manifestation of community empowerment within the respective contexts. Hence, these contributing factors that affected the social production of community empowerment in Phase 2 provided refugees with their right to the city, as people could socialise, work, and have a sense of appropriation through making spatial changes. Therefore, the findings of this research indicated that this is possible through space, which is consistent with Harvey (2008; 2014), who states that it is important to enable inhabitants to be part of forming their cities, as changing cities can change people. Consequently, the comparison between the two Palestinian refugee camps and the Zaatari highlights the significance of addressing Phase 3 in the Zaatari to promote community empowerment in the streets of the camp. The structural level in the overcrowding crisis phase deteriorated in the two Palestinian camps, which negatively affected refugees' sense of community and belonging of the refugees and, thus, their community empowerment. Furthermore, with their spatial regulations promoting spatial equality, Baqaa and Jerash camps present higher rates of community empowerment as refugees feel like they all have equal spatial rights.

8.3.1.2 *Factors affecting social production of streets space to foster community empowerment in refugee camps*

Semi-structured interviews revolved around the three main levels of social production: cognitive and structural, and the financial situation is an important level that connects these two levels to produce community empowerment. The cognitive level includes factors such as the sense of community, identity and representation, and produced living experience. According to the results of this thesis, the 'sense of community' is the key factor within the cognitive level that affects community empowerment, as refugees reported their sense of belonging to the community and the desire to live in

the camp despite all its challenges. 'Identity and representations' is a factor present within streets through culture and the resemblance of living in the camp, considered a smaller scale replica of the refugees' original cities from where they had to escape. The produced living experience is what refugees experience every day in their streets, which has a specific role and could also be perceived as a means for the ongoing social production processes. Subsequently, the study revealed that the strength of refugees' relationships is correlated with community empowerment that changes according to the three levels of social production over time.

The structural level includes structural and spatial factors that affect the production processes, such as spatial actions and spatial design problems. 'Spatial actions' involve forms of spatial appropriation and collective spatial actions, their causes, and obstacles, which is the main factor operating within the structural level. On the other hand, spatial design problems, which is a theme that was deducted from interviews where refugees frequently mentioned the issues of infrastructure, public spaces, and the role of design within their lives in camps. According to them, the camp suffered from many structural problems, especially in Phase 3, due to space restrictions and overcrowding.

At this point, the researcher would argue that the contradiction between refugees' sense of ownership and spatial violation manifests as a complex interplay that significantly influences the social production of the street. On one hand, collective spatial action implies a shared sense of ownership, where the community collectively engages in shaping and utilizing public spaces. This cooperative endeavour fosters a sense of belonging and community identity. Conversely, extreme actions of spatial appropriation involve spatial violations of established norms, which lead to social disputes between neighbours. The contradiction lies in the dual nature of ownership and violation, as they can either reinforce or constrain the social production of the street. When collective spatial action is recognized and respected, it reinforces a positive sense of ownership, promoting a vibrant and inclusive street life. However, when spatial appropriation leads to violations of community space or cultural norms, it can hinder the social-spatial production of the street, generating tensions and limiting the potential for a harmonious community. Thus, understanding this dynamic interplay

is crucial for urban planners and policymakers seeking to foster positive and inclusive street environments.

The financial level that interviewees frequently mentioned is an important factor that affects both the cognitive and the structural levels of social production of space. The financial situation greatly impacts social production and community empowerment, as it reveals that the financial situation plays the largest role in spatial transformations and empowerment. However, unemployment also produces community empowerment, as unemployed refugees sit, spend time and socialise in the streets. This contradiction between the relationship of financial situation and employment with community empowerment is important to consider when balancing the existence in the streets and employment.

Finally, time is an important factor in the issue of social production. This was captured in the analysis as great changes in urban life within the streets of refugee camps throughout time. These changes influence the lived space and hence affect the production of community empowerment. Therefore, it is important to maintain lived space on the streets of the camp and mitigate the effects of Phase 3 with the new understanding of social production.

8.3.2 Balancing the three levels within the Processes of Social Production of lived space

The results highlight the importance of space, which is more than a structural measured container; it is a whole ambience where 'living' is experienced. According to Lefebvre (2003), space refers to the existence, and hence essential time, subjective and objective. Additionally, Lefebvre (1991) states that space is a product that can be used and consumed. It is a fashion space determined by it, a way of production, a system of exchanging materials and energy. Thus, Lefebvre (1991) stated that social space is influenced by citizens rather than bureaucratic power. However, the results revealed that bureaucratic power is embedded within the formation of that social space. This power is represented in promoting temporariness living, and spatial rules

and regulations had a great role in the social production of space and the formation of their camp city. Furthermore, the results revealed that social life affects the spatial structure of the refugee community, and the spatial structure also affects sociality through multidimensional processes within the synergetic relationship. Therefore, this is consistent with Soja's idea that everything social is spatial and vice versa (2010).

Furthermore, the findings justified that lived space can be studied on structural and cognitive levels, which is in agreement with Lefebvre's (1990) insights on lived space as a social product created by everyday practice. However, it adds to the need to include another level or levels of investigation according to which perspective of lived space the research is conducted. According to Schmid (2008), the concept of the production of space integrates all the aspects of the city in a systematic, comprehensive social theory, which allows for analysing and understanding the spatial processes at different levels. Therefore, it is important to identify a lens on which lived space can be investigated.

The findings of this thesis detected the production of community empowerment on the streets of refugee camps within a specific context of conceived and perceived space that facilitated the processes of its social production. This finding is consistent with Soja's notion of 'processes of cultural hybridity' (1996) that generates an unrecognisable new meaning and representation which features the theory of Third Space by Homi Bhabha (Rutherford 1990). Therefore, the representation of refugees' identity is produced distinctively in each phase. In Phase 2, refugees from the three camps were able to produce community empowerment as one of their representations and claim agency in seeking their normal lives.

According to Soja (1996), the notion of 'Third space' is an 'Other' understanding of human spatiality of lives to facilitate the rebalancing of spatiality–historically–sociality. This agrees with the comparative approach of this thesis to grasp this understanding and the new spatial awareness of the social production of space in the streets of refugee camps. This comparative approach compares the spatial-social aspects of social production and how they change over time. It compares the recent camp

'Zaatari' to the camps that have existed for more than 60 years to grasp this new spatial understanding.

8.3.3 Reconceptualising the streets of refugee camps as liveable public spaces

The results of this study indicate that the streets are a vital component in the production of living experiences in the refugees' collective public lives. Therefore, it is important to reconceptualise the streets of refugee camps from just streets as means of circulation to public spaces that are considered as means for the social production of community empowerment. Therefore, the comparison between commercial and residential streets revealed that community empowerment in residential streets was produced with higher intensity than in commercial streets. This is related to the need for financial support and the individual interest in commercial streets; this does not mean that refugees do not socially produce community empowerment, but the production of financial empowerment is needed more in commercial streets. However, commercial streets are more dynamic and liveable than residential streets. This is because commercial streets offer a greater sense of activity, vibrancy, and opportunities for interaction and engagement. The use of these streets for various commercial activities adds to their liveliness and attractiveness. This indicates the contradiction of social production of community empowerment between commercial and residential streets. The social production of space in the residential streets of refugee camps produces community empowerment through sharing information, experiences, and stories and preserving the cultures of refugees.

Additionally, it can promote deeper relationships if the space can accommodate these production processes, or else it becomes a process of producing social-spatial deterioration or what is named in this thesis as 'disruption of spatiality'. Importantly, the empowerment of the community was produced with lower intensity within the residential streets of the Zaatari than produced in the two Palestinian camps due to spatial issues. One notable spatial issue is that spatial regulations provided spatial equality in the two Palestinian camps since all refugees have a similar plot and unit size, as mentioned by refugees in the interviews. In contrast, refugees in the Zaatari

confirmed that expansion of the living unit depends on the individual's ability to expand financially and the space around the unit. Therefore, spatial management in Palestinian camps controlled the spatial structure of the urban fabric that supported the production of community empowerment, such as the proximity and narrowness of the street.

8.3.4 Street Design for Producing Community Empowerment

The comparative approach, which includes comparing the three phases of living experience within the camp over time and the comparison between the different case studies, explored the common patterns of living experience in the streets of refugee camps. Random spatial transformations that lead to informal settlements can establish processes of production of community empowerment in streets throughout time until a certain point. Then it starts its reverse processes of degradation of the previous community empowerment levels. Consequently, the relationship between physical and lived spaces is correlated. The deterioration of physical space led to the deterioration of social relationships. The deterioration of social relationships also led to the negligence of the physical space of the street, which is the public space for its inhabitants. Hence, spatial interventions should maintain lived space in Phase 2 as much as possible with this shift in the understanding of the processes provided by the present research. Therefore, this revealed the importance of balancing the levels of social production to maintain the production of community empowerment. Thus, the relationship between structural, cognitive, and financial levels and the production of community empowerment is synergetic and cooperative. Therefore, the findings are consistent with Wallerstein (1992; 2006), who defined community empowerment as processes of social action that support community participation to achieve their goals of control, social justice, and improving quality of life.

Hence, community empowerment can also be assessed through structural and cognitive indicators. Therefore, the design of the streets can foster the empowerment of the community by hosting collective spatial action and social communications. Thus, it promotes positive social production of space, which helps inhabitants to normalise their lives. This is a synergetic process, as community empowerment can

promote the social production of space, and the social production of space promotes community empowerment by supporting collective spatial action, see Figure (8-1). It is a process of gaining knowledge to allow inhabitants to make spatial decisions through "a lived space that is empowering".
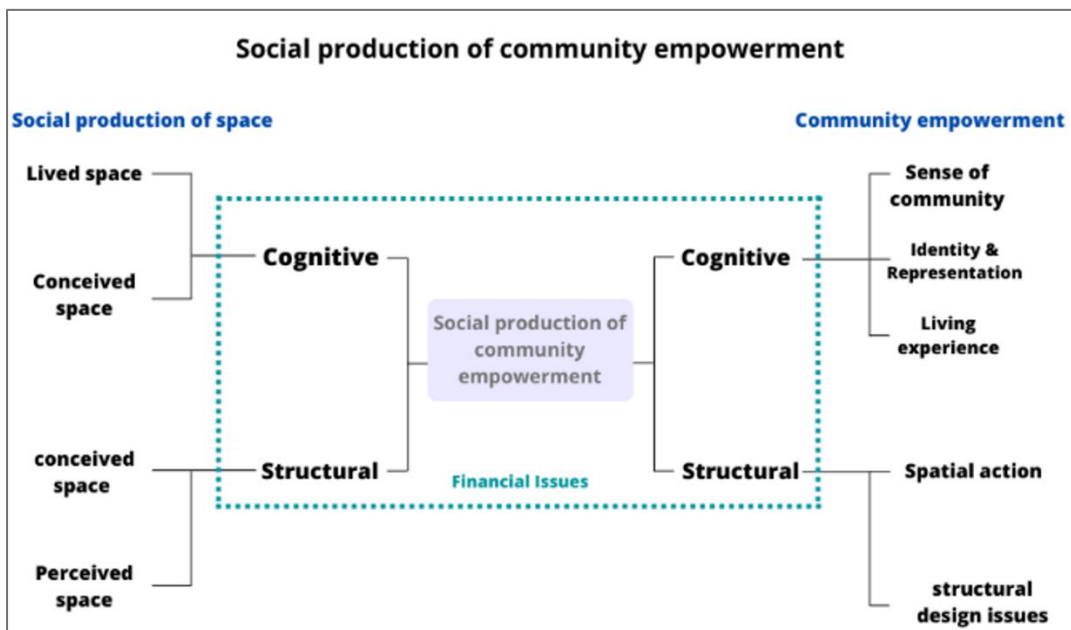
Hence, community empowerment can also be assessed through structural and cognitive indicators. Therefore, the design of the streets can foster the empowerment of the community by hosting collective spatial action and social communications. Thus, it promotes positive social production of space, which helps inhabitants to normalise their lives. This is a synergetic process, as community empowerment can promote the social production of space, and the social production of space promotes community empowerment by supporting collective spatial action, see Figure (8-1). It is a process of gaining knowledge to allow inhabitants to make spatial decisions through "a lived space that is empowering".

Figure 8-1: a framework for Social Production of community empowerment

Importantly, the outcomes of the study should inform and adapt to any spatial regulatory frameworks of the hosting countries.[1] It is important to note that the regulatory framework of each country is unique and can vary significantly from one another. In this study, the Jordanian government frameworks align with UNRWA and UNHCR spatial governance (Awamleh and Dorai 2023; UNHCR 2023). Hence, there are minor variations in the regulatory frameworks governing the three camps discussed earlier in Chapter 4 within the context of refugee camp sections. Therefore, it is crucial to consider the spatial regulatory framework of the hosting countries when interpreting the results of the study and making design recommendations.

Additionally, it is crucial to create specific practical recommendations for designers and planners involved in future refugee camp interventions, considering the context of Jordanian/UNHCR regulations or as potential additions to them:

- Inclusive Design Strategies: Incorporate participatory design methods that involve refugees in the planning process, ensuring their diverse needs, cultural practices, and preferences are considered.
- Flexible infrastructure allows for modular and easily expandable components that can adjust to evolving camp dynamics and population fluctuations.
- Flexible structures, such as prefabricated units, offer adaptability by enabling easy expansion or modification to meet changing requirements. For instance, prefabricated units can be used as housing units and combined to create public amenities, providing essential services while maintaining flexibility for future adjustments.
- Recognising the importance of streets: Integrate small green spaces and street gardens and cultural and recreational activities within the camp layout where people can gather daily to support community-building, resilience, and the preservation of cultural identities. This would facilitate involving communities in design decision-making and their maintenance.

1: The term "spatial regulatory framework" refers to the policies, institutional arrangements, technologies, data, and regulations for any spatial change in refugee camps.

- Job Training and Education Facilities: Design public spaces within the camp dedicated to vocational training and spatial awareness, fostering skill development and providing opportunities for refugees to engage in spatial actions and appropriations.

These recommendations aim to enhance the design and planning of refugee camps, aligning with existing regulations while addressing specific needs and challenges faced by refugees in their daily lives.

8.4 Significance of the research

8.4.1 Contribution to Theory and Academia

From a methodological perspective, this research used a novel approach that combines qualitative methods with design research tools to explore lived space in the streets of refugee camps in Jordan. Most of the previous studies used either qualitative or quantitative methods or a mix of both qualitative and quantitative methods. Thus, the analytical framework in this research has proven helpful in expanding our understanding of the social production of space, as this approach helps in depicting lived space. The thematic analysis was twofold: on the one hand, it aimed at exploring the shared patterns of living experience between all camps. On the other, the aim was to conduct thematic analysis, more specifically with combined data-driven and literature-driven themes, which has supported in-depth insights into the social production processes. Additionally, using axonometric drawings to explore themes represented by everyday life in the streets where they can depict real-life events and context. Thus, this approach helps to enquire for new knowledge from the interrelated interactions between the multiple layers at play in the social production of space.

Moreover, this study contributes to the way of investigating social production of space, as it considers the lived space of every day as a comprehensive concept that includes all aspects of life (Schmid, 2008); it is important to set an adequate lens which could lead the investigation. Hence, the lived space should be examined by specified layers according to the research question. Therefore, setting a specific perspective on what is produced in lived space helps create a new understanding of this perspective. The

theoretical framework under which this study was conducted is mainly related to community empowerment. Thus, understanding that refugees can produce community empowerment in the streets of refugee camps helps to understand that refugees claim their right to the city, their resilience, and their agency within the long-term inhabitation perspective in camps. Therefore, top-down approaches within the political-spatial management of the camp should consider the bottom-up camp-city transformation led by its inhabitants.

This research expands our understanding of Lefebvre's spatial triad, encompassing three interconnected factors contributing to the overall spatial experience. The findings of this thesis demonstrate that in the context of refugee camps, lived space takes precedence over perceived and conceived space, as the production of space initiates from the moment refugees establish their lives within the camp. These social production processes happen every day, every moment in life and within every social activity on the streets.

Throughout this thesis, the complex dynamics of social production processes revealed that they include every aspect of daily life on the streets of these camps. These processes are intricately woven into the fabric of refugees' existence, influencing their interactions, relationships, and experiences within the camp. The significance of these social production processes is evident in the ways they contribute to community empowerment, fostering a sense of belonging and solidarity among the inhabitants.

The findings of this research challenge traditional notions of spatiality in the context of refugee camps, highlighting the dynamic and ever-evolving nature of lived space. It emphasises the importance of considering the lived experiences and perspectives of the refugees themselves when analysing and conceptualising the spaces they inhabit.

Furthermore, this study sheds light on the powerful role of everyday life in shaping the social production of space. It illustrates that the social interactions and activities occurring daily on the streets play a pivotal role in constructing and reconstructing the lived space of the camps.

8.4.2 Contribution to Practice

Many studies exploring refugee camp dynamics have examined the reimaging and reconceptualising of urbanised spaces within these camps, as well as the process of naming the camp itself (Crisp and Jacobsen 1998; Al-Nassir 2018). In contrast, this research represents the first investigation of the lived space through the theoretical approach of 'community empowerment', specifically within the streets of Baqaa, Jerash, and Zaatari camps.

Thus, from a practical perspective, the research findings can be valuable to decision-makers in planning and designing processes. For example, by reconceptualising and conceiving the streets of refugee camps as public spaces, planners and practitioners can create environments that serve as hubs for collective social production processes, fostering community empowerment through the lived space. This approach can involve designing streets that encourage social interactions, providing amenities and infrastructure that support community activities, and implementing participatory planning methods involving the refugee community in shaping their environment.

One example of such a method is the Participatory Design (PD) approach, which involves engaging the community in the design and construction of community place projects in refugee camps (Albadra et al. 2021; Jaradat and Beunders 2023). This approach has been applied in two refugee camps in Greece, and the findings demonstrate positive impacts on the well-being of refugees and the hosting communities (Jaradat and Beunders 2023).

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) supports participatory approaches and community engagement in all its work with the people it serves. Through consultation and participation, communities engage meaningfully and fundamentally in all programs that affect them and play a leading role in change. UNHCR has developed a toolkit in collaboration with the Migration Policy Group to give practical guidance to local actors and to further inspire them to include refugees (UNHCR 2007; UNHCR 2021a; UNHCR 2022a). Hence, there are no specific regulations that require modification or to be introduced to ensure the process of participation and 'bottom-up' dynamics can take place.

Importantly, as the refugee camp is always associated with the concept of exclusion and spatial deterioration, this research aims to explore empowering positive aspects directed from the bottom up. Therefore, the findings of this research extend the existing knowledge on planning and designing streets of refugee camps that should be sensitive to social production for community empowerment. Focusing on the cognitive and structural levels that impact production processes and the financial situation are key factors that connect these levels.

Lastly, from this shift in the understanding of the processes of social production that foster community empowerment in street spaces, factors that affect these social production processes may differ in other camps depending on their physical contexts, demographics, and socio-economic and cultural circumstances. This would be especially the case in other cultural contexts, where the findings may not be generalised. However, the methods, tools and techniques used in this research to investigate lived space could be replicated in a research model that could be implemented in different contexts, and they contribute to new insights into the investigated lived space. Thus, this understanding helps to promote a goal within this perspective when designing.

8.5 Limitations

The investigation of social production of space in streets of refugee camps under the lens of community empowerment has limitations to be considered. The analytical and circumstantial limitations identified are listed below.

- This study is limited to refugee camps in Jordan and is bound by the regulatory framework as approved by the Government of Jordan. The management and policies in other countries are different. Thus, the generalisability of this study's outcomes to the international context needs to be carefully analysed according to the requirements of these other sites.
- This study addresses some extremely complex theories, such as the notions of 'lived space' intended as an intangible aspect of life. Although this study attempted to capture this aspect through Architectural and Urban Design Research (AD-R / UD-R) methods via the means of axonometric drawings –

capturing moments of time within the streets of refugee camps – it was extremely challenging to capture in one single static moment the ongoing evolution of lived space and the liveability of the streets. Ideally, these AD-R / UD-R drawings should have been displayed in the form of animation videos in constant motion. However, the time constraints and technological limitations of this doctoral thesis haven't reached that level of complexity. There might be the opportunity to look for an advanced version of the present AD-R/UD-R analytical model that would be beyond the scope of the present thesis.

- This study uses a comparative approach that employs qualitative methods combined with design research tools that help gain deep insights into the issue. However, more fieldwork time could help to get deeper insights, which was limited due to COVID-19 restrictions.

8.6   Recommendations and opportunities for future work

This study recommends that further research should be undertaken in this very important scope of space of refugee camps. Despite the limitations, the study suggests expanding this investigation to include other camps of different contextual backgrounds. Moreover, the investigation is limited to refugee camps with a specific typology isolated from urbanised areas. Thus, further investigation and comparison with other camp's typologies is important to allow a deeper and more extensive comparison.

Furthermore, a study focusing on differences in gender factors within the lived space in the streets of refugee camps would expand the knowledge on how community empowerment is produced differently through gender-based social production.

Furthermore, it is worth considering the development of a set of design guidelines for refugee camp planning that would sustain the processes of social production of the streets' spaces to foster community empowerment.

8.7 Concluding remarks

Designing refugee camps and considering urban planning schemes, whether in Jordan or different contexts, requires an in-depth understanding of how the space is experienced by its inhabitants. Therefore, it is important to specify a lens through which the life of inhabitants is looked at, as this could expand the understanding of social-spatial practices.

Moreover, investigating what leads to disruption of spatiality in the spaces of refugee camps and studying this in camps that have existed for a long time is vital for extending the understanding of the produced lived space throughout time and refugees' needs.

Accordingly, this thesis suggests facilitating the spatial independence of refugee camp's inhabitants, especially with long inhabitation and their right to the city, as this can support their community empowerment. This helps maintain the camps in a state of 'normal life' in Phase 2 and mitigates as much as possible the degrading effects of Phase 3, which is the state of overcrowding and spatial deterioration. Hence, supporting refugees in getting hold of their right to the city helps construct an integrated city that is not considered a burden on host countries and provides a normal life for refugees.

However, enabling refugees' rights to the city and supporting bottom-up approaches in the social production of refugee camps does not cancel top-down frameworks or neglect their role in managing the camps. Still, it is a flexible mediation solution that supports the inclusion of refugees in any planning schemes and gives them the right to participate in making spatial decisions in their camps over time.

In concluding this research, it is important to emphasize the significance of a meaningful and transparent exchange of knowledge to benefit the camps' residents involved. Effective communication activities with locals, residents, NGOs, managerial bodies, and stakeholders, such as workshops and research funding, extend beyond the scope of this doctoral research. Establishing an ongoing dialogue ensures that the outcomes of this research are not confined to academic circles but are actively shared with directly affected people. Transparent communication channels, workshops, and

ongoing collaboration will contribute to the practical application of research outcomes, ultimately promoting positive and sustainable impacts on the lives of the individuals and communities under study.

Furthermore, recognizing the importance of creating more humane and effective living environments for refugees, it is essential to extend collaboration beyond traditional stakeholders. In particular, working closely with architects and urban planners becomes crucial to developing suitable design solutions for current refugee camps and establishing comprehensive design guidelines for any future camps. The research outcomes, including innovative design solutions and guidelines, should be shared with relevant bodies, including international organizations, governmental agencies, and humanitarian groups. This multidisciplinary approach ensures that the research extends its impact beyond academic realms, offering practical and implementable solutions for the improvement of refugee camps worldwide.
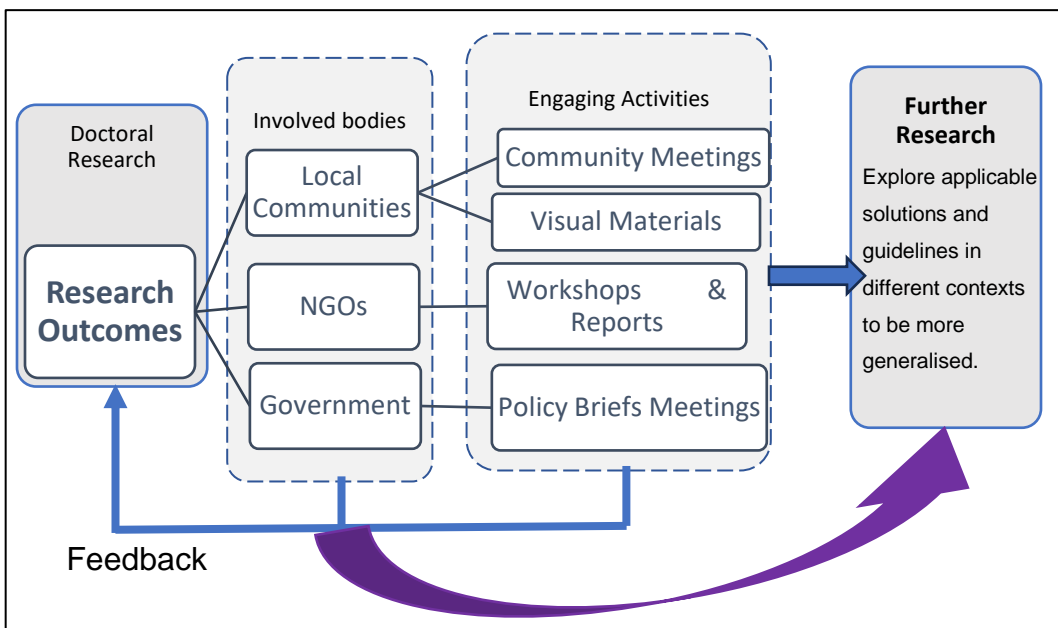
Figure 8-2: Ways of communicating research outcomes beyond the doctoral research.

In conclusion, the urgency of addressing the current situation within the three refugee camps cannot be overstated. The challenges faced by the refugee communities are immediate and multifaceted, encompassing issues of shelter, infrastructure, and the overall well-being of the residents. The Palestinian refugee camps have transitioned

into Phase Three, resulting in a state of unbearable overcrowding leading to an imminent risk of severe social conflicts. On the other hand, the results of this study have shown that the Zaatari camp will reach the same phase shortly. The time-sensitive nature of these challenges demands swift and effective interventions. Delayed action prolongs the suffering of refugees and intensifies the long-term consequences of inadequate living conditions, as demonstrated in Phase 3 of this research. Thus, it is crucial to underscore that the urgency of the matter extends beyond this study; it requires an intensive effort from policymakers, humanitarian organizations, and the international community to implement practical solutions that directly address the pressing needs of the refugees. The lives and futures of refugees in the camps hinge on the timely implementation of comprehensive and compassionate interventions.

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Appendices

Appendix (A): Interview guides

Interview guide for community leaders

- **Introduction** (introducing the purpose of research and confidentiality assurance to interviewees)

Hello, my name is Luma Daradkeh, I am a PhD student researching the spatial development and urbanization processes of refugee camps along with social relations and activities role in its production. I would like to ask you some questions and get to know your living experience as a camp inhabitant and a community leader. Also, I'll be recording the interview. All the information you provide will be sensitive to your privacy concerns, so this information will be confidential and only exposed to the research team. I'm as a student signed an Ethics form that would guarantee your privacy concerns and to ensure that everything, I'm telling you is sincere. Thank you.

Table 0-1 Interview Guide 1.1 (Community Leaders)

Variables		Questions
Spatial Major transformations	Architectural scale	- What are the most significant spatial changes that was made in the camp and affected the daily living experience (houses, districts and the camp) in the time span of living in the camp?
	Urban (Camp) Scale	- Have you made special spaces for public gatherings and social activities after becoming a refugee?
	Public Space	- What are the specific activities that were made in these spaces? How these activities changed since becoming a refugee until now?
		- Have you as a community leader guided or lead any spatial changes in the camp since becoming a refuge?
		- Was your approval required for every spatial change? Even individual dwellings? Or just for district scale and public spaces?
Layers of Spaces	Lived Space	- As a community leader what was your general aim behind these spatial changes in regards of the community support?
	Conceived Space	- What was the expected purpose behind every spatial change? Was it safety, comfort, privacy or anything else? And did you achieve this purpose after the change or not? (the meaning you were looking for)
	Perceived Space	- How these transformations changed the community life?
		- Have you planned every space you created or transformed before making changes? Was this planning an imitation of other specific spaces you interacted with before becoming a refugee or consultation from specific people?
		- Are you satisfied with the resulted camp-city? Why?
		- Describe living in this camp from the beginning until now? (was it a disappointment, opportunity, hope, miserable etc.).

Social Sustainability	- What was your role in community resilience? (what was your role in social equity, community developments, social justice, and placemaking)? And how spatial decisions and changes had impacted those aspects and vice versa? - Were there any community involvements in spatial decisions? How?
Social Relations	- Describe how strong people's social relations immediately after becoming refugees? - How these relations changed throughout time? - How important are these social relations for people's lives in regards of community support? - How these relations affected the spatial transformation (Ex. Moving according specific social relations) - Where were social activities hosted in the camp space? How these spaces changed since becoming a refugee until now? - In general, how is the orientation of living outside the camp changed? (where do people preferred to live since the beginning up until now?)
The right to the city& Spatial governance	- Did you have the right to make decisions regarding any spatial change? - What are the most important spatial decisions that affected the living experience in the camp (Positively and Negatively)? - Were there any rules or constrains for any spatial change? - Have you posed any rules on spatial transformations? What are they? And why? - Describe the relationship between you and your community and impacts of this relation in spatial decisions? - Describe the relationship between you and your community with formal frameworks (NGOs, local authorities) who are responsible for spatial decisions regarding spatial changes? Was it easy to make spatial transformation? Were there any conflicts and why? - Have the formal frameworks demolished or rejected any spatial change in these Camps? Why? - Have any social classes generated throughout time that divided camp spaces according to these classes?
Socio Economic	- How do refugees started to work to get income? What are the professions that people started to work with at the beginning? How these developed throughout time? - How did this change the camp space? - Were you as a community leader had a role in orienting people in this? - Did refugee become stakeholders? How did this affect the camp space? Have this caused major spatial changes? - Were the shops created around a specific area? Why? - How shops have evolved throughout time? What was the main reason behind shop opening? - were these shops created in a fragmented form or clustered in one area? - Was creating these shops part of community improvement plan? - Have these shops or shopping area remained until now? Do they still have their importance as their beginning? - How other shops or shopping area was created later and why? - How shops affected inhabitant's relations and living experience?

Closing: thank you for your time and sharing information. Finally, if I may take some pictures (for your house, shop, public space)? Do you mind me taking your photo to depict some social activities?

Interview guides for men inhabitants aged more than 50s as they witnessed spatial transformation

- **Introduction** (introducing the purpose of research and confidentiality assurance to interviewees)

  Hello, my name is Luma Daradkeh, I am a PhD student researching the spatial development and urbanization processes of refugee camps along with social relations and activities role in its production. I would like to ask you some questions and get to know your living experience as a camp inhabitant. Also, I'll be recording the interview. All the information you provide will be sensitive to your privacy concerns, so this information will be confidential and only exposed to the research team. I'm as a student signed an Ethics form that would guarantee your privacy concerns and to ensure that everything, I'm telling you is sincere. Thank you.

Table 0-2 Interview Guide 1.2 (Men Inhabitants)

Variables		Questions
Spatial Major transformations	architectural scale	What are the most significant spatial changes that was made in the camp and affected the daily living experience (houses, districts and the camp) in the time span of living in the camp? How much time did it take?
	Urban (Camp) Scale	Tell me about major spatial transformations in your house since becoming a refugee until you felt settled? Why every specific change was made? How much time did it take?
	Public Space	Were there special spaces for public gatherings and meetings after becoming a refugee? What are the specific activities that were made in these spaces? How these activities changed since becoming a refugee until now?
Layers of Spaces	Lived Space	What was the expected purpose behind every spatial change? Was it safety, comfort, privacy or anything else? And did you achieve this purpose after the change or not? (the meaning you were looking for)
	Conceived Space	How these transformations changed your life?
	Perceived Space	Have you planned every space you created or transformed before making changes? Was this planning an imitation of other specific spaces you interacted with before becoming a refugee or consultation from specific people?
		Are you satisfied with the resulted camp-city? Why?
		Describe living in this camp from the beginning until now? (was it a disappointment, opportunity, hope, miserable etc.).
		Tell me about your daily routine (Every day's living experience)? Where do you socialize? How your daily routine changed since the beginning until now?

Social Sustainability	Why you have made these changes? How did it affect your life and social relations? What are social and cultural activities that helped people to normalize their lives? What about children? Were there any specific spaces for them? What was your role in community resilience and support? Have you had a role in making spatial decisions? How?
Social Relations	Describe how strong people's social relations immediately after becoming refugees? How these relations changed throughout time? How important are these social relations for people's lives in regards of community support? How these relations affected the spatial transformation (Ex. Moving according specific social relations) Where were the social activities hosted in the dwellings? Where there any spaces to host visits from family members or neighbours or foreigners? How this is changed since becoming a refugee until now? How did you arranged family activities such as (sleeping, eating, socializing and different activities) between family members in the dwelling? How this was changed? since becoming a refugee until now? Why?
The right to the city& Spatial governance	Did you own the space your living in? does ownership had a role in making spatial changes in your dwelling? Did you have the right to make decisions regarding any spatial change? What are the most important spatial decisions that affected the living experience in the camp (Positively and Negatively)? Were there any rules or constrains for any spatial change? Describe the relationship between you and your community members, community leaders, and formal frameworks workers that are responsible for spatial changes. Was it easy to make spatial transformation? Were there any conflicts and why? Have any social classes generated throughout time that divided camp spaces according to these classes?
Socio Economic	How did you start to get income? Why this specifically? What are the professions that people started to work with at the beginning? How these developed throughout time? How did this affect the camp space? Have this caused major spatial changes? How shops have evolved throughout time? What was the main reason behind shop opening? (Shops as viable places to socialize) Were the shops created around a specific area? Why? were these shops created in a fragmented form or clustered in one area?

	Was creating these shops part of community improvement plan? Have these shops or shopping area remained until now? Do they still have their importance as their beginning? How other shops or shopping area was created later and why? How shops affected inhabitant's relations and living experience?

Closing: thank you for your time and sharing information. Finally, if I may take some pictures (for your house, shop, public space)? Do you mind me taking your photo to depict some social activities?

Interview guides for women inhabitants aged more than 50s

Introduction (introducing the purpose of research and confidentiality assurance to interviewees)

> Hello, my name is Luma Daradkeh, I am a PhD student researching the spatial development and urbanization processes of refugee camps along with social relations and activities role in its production. I would like to ask you some questions and get to know your living experience as a camp women inhabitant. Also, I'll be recording the interview. All the information you provide will be sensitive to your privacy concerns, so this information will be confidential and only exposed to the research team. I'm as a student signed an Ethics form that would guarantee your privacy concerns and to ensure that everything I'm telling you is sincere. Thank you.

Table 0-3 Interview Guide 1.3 (Women Inhabitants)

Variables		Questions
Spatial Major transform-m-ations	architectural scale	- What are the most significant spatial changes that was made in the camp and affected the daily living experience (houses, districts and the camp) in the time span of living in the camp?
	Urban (Camp) Scale	- Tell me about major spatial transformations in your house since becoming a refugee until you felt settled? Why every specific change was made? - Have you made special spaces for women gatherings after becoming a refugee? What are the specific activities that were made in these spaces? How these activities changed since becoming a refugee until now?
	Public Space	- What is the most significant change that you were happy about as a woman within the different scales in the camp? Why?
Layers of Spaces	Lived Space	- What was the expected purpose behind every spatial change? Was its safety, comfort, privacy or anything else? And did you achieve this purpose after the change or not? (the meaning you were looking for) - How these transformations changed your life?
	Conceived Space	- Have you planned every space you created or transformed before making changes? Was this planning an imitation of other specific spaces you interacted with before becoming a refugee or consultation from specific people?

	Perceived Space	- Are you satisfied with the resulted camp-city? Why? - Describe living in this camp from the beginning until now? (was it a disappointment, opportunity, hope, miserable etc.). - Tell me about your daily routine (Every day's living experience)? Where do you socialize? How your daily routine changed since the beginning until now?
Social Sustainability		- Why you have made these changes? How did it affect your life and social relations? - What are social and cultural activities that helped people to normalize their lives? - What about children? Were there any specific spaces for them? - What was your role in community resilience specially for women support? - Were there any women involvements in spatial decisions? How?
Social Relations		- Describe how strong people's social relations immediately after becoming refugees? - How these relations changed throughout time? - How important are these social relations for people's lives in regards of community support? - How these relations affected the spatial transformation (Ex. Moving according specific social relations) - In regards of women activities and socializing, where did it took place the most? What was the activities? How about their roles as mothers, how did it affect social activities within spaces in different scales of the camp? - Where were the social activities hosted in the dwellings? Where there any spaces to host visits family members or neighbours or foreigners? How this is changed since becoming a refugee until now? - How did you arranged family activities such as (sleeping, eating, socializing and different activities) between family members in the dwelling? How this was changed? since becoming a refugee until now? Why?
The right to the city& Spatial governance		- Did you have the right to make decisions regarding any spatial change? Were these decisions restricted only to men or women or both discussed together? - What are the most important spatial decisions that affected the living experience in the camp (Positively and Negatively)? - Were there any rules or constrains for any spatial change? - Describe the relationship between you and your community members, community leaders, and formal frameworks workers that are responsible for spatial changes. - Was it easy to make spatial transformation? Were there any conflicts and why?
Socio Economic		- How did you start to get income? Why this specifically? - How did this affect the camp space? Have this caused major spatial changes? - What are the professions that people started to work with at the beginning? How these developed throughout time? - How did this change the camp space? - How did this affect the camp space? Have this caused major spatial changes?

	- How shops have evolved throughout time? What was the main reason behind shop opening? (Shops as viable places to socialize) - Were the shops created around a specific area? Why? - were these shops created in a fragmented form or clustered in one area? - Was creating these shops part of community improvement plan? - Have these shops or shopping area remained until now? Do they still have their importance as their beginning? - How other shops or shopping area was created later and why? - How shops affected women's relations and living experience? Did women worked or only socialized there?

Closing: thank you for your time and sharing information. Finally, if I may take some pictures (for your house, shop, public space)? Do you mind me taking your photo to depict some social activities?

Interview guides for younger inhabitants (living experience in refugee camps)

- **Introduction** (introducing the purpose of research and confidentiality assurance to interviewees)

Hello, my name is Luma Daradkeh, I am a PhD student researching the spatial development and urbanization processes of refugee camps along with social relations and activities role in its production. I would like to ask you some questions and get to know your living experience as a camp inhabitant. Also, I'll be recording the interview. All the information you provide will be sensitive to your privacy concerns, so this information will be confidential and only exposed to the research team. I'm as a student signed an Ethics form that would guarantee your privacy concerns and to ensure that every thing I'm telling you is sincere. Thank you.

Table 0-4 Interview Guide 1.4 (Younger Inhabitants)

Variables		Questions
Spatial Major transformations	Architectural scale	Have you witnessed important spatial changes made in the camp and affected the daily living experience (in your house, district and the camp)?
	Urban (Camp) Scale	
	Public Space	
Layers of Spaces	Lived Space	Tell me about your daily routine (Every day's living experience)? What are your needs regarding of space? Do you have any depiction of what would the space camp should be?
	Conceived Space	
	Perceived Space	
Social Sustainability and a Social Relations		Do you do social activities at the same spaces that were created in the beginning for social activities? Do you prefer socializing in or outside the camp? Why? Do you prefer to live in or outside the camp in the future?

The right to the city& Spatial governance	What were the most important spatial decisions that affects the living experience in the camp (Positively and Negatively)?
Socio Economic	Do you work within the camp spaces? Why (If yes or no)? Do the important shops that were created at the beginning still have its importance? Do you still shop there?

Closing: thank you for your time and sharing information. Finally, if I may take some pictures (for your house, shop, public space)? Do you mind me taking your photo to depict some social activities?

Interview guides for UNRWA Workers & Local Authorities planners managing the spatial governance of camps.

- **Introduction** (introducing the purpose of research and confidentiality assurance to interviewees)

Hello, my name is Luma Daradkeh, I am a PhD student researching the spatial development and urbanization processes of refugee camps along with social relations and activities role in its production. I would like to ask you some questions and get to know your working experience as a planner in refugee camps. Also, I'll be recording the interview. All the information you provide will be sensitive to your privacy concerns, so this information will be confidential and only exposed to the research team. I'm as a student signed an Ethics form that would guarantee your privacy concerns and to ensure that everything I'm telling you is sincere. Thank you.

Table 0-5 Interview Guide 1.5 (UNRWA Workers & Local Authorities)

Variables		Questions
Spatial Major transformations	architectural scale	What are the most important spatial changes (within different scales) that was made in the camp by your organization throughout time?
	Urban (Camp) Scale	
	Public Space	
Layer of Spaces	Lived Space	Why these spatial changes were made?
	Conceived Space	Was there a vision for the near or far future of the camp?
	Perceived Space	What was or is the aim of planning developments in camps (Baqaa & Gaza camps)?
		Are the spatial changes similar in all camps or camp-specified?
		Are you satisfied with the resulted camp-cities?

Social Sustainability	Why you have made these changes (Public spaces)?
	How did these changes affect life and social relations between inhabitants?
	Where did refugees interacted with space (men, women, children)?
Social Relations	Describe how strong social relations between refugees immediately after the refuge?
	How these relations changed throughout time?
	How important these relations for people's lives in camps?
	How these relations affected the spatial transformation (like Moving according specific social relations)?
	How some specific spaces (In the house or public space) affected relations ships between people? And how relationships affected creating spaces?
The right to the city& Spatial governance	What are the most important spatial decisions that affected the living experience in the camp (Positively and Negatively)?
	Were there any rules or constrains imposed on spatial change?
	How did spatial changes and decisions affect relations between inhabitants and formal frame works (Your organizations, workers)?
	Have you demolished or rejected any spatial change in these Camps? Why?
	Were there any conflicts regarding spatial issues? About what? Why?

Socio Economic	Did you have a role in providing jobs for refugees? Was it part of community improvement plan?
	What were the main jobs that was available for refugees?
	Was creating shopping area part of community improvement plan?
	How shops affected inhabitant's relations and living experience?

Closing: thank you for your time and sharing information. Finally, if I may take some pictures (for your house, shop, public space)? Do you mind me taking your photo to depict some social activities?

دليل مقابلة لقادة المجتمع

- **مقدمة**)تقديم الغرض من البحث وضمان سرية المقابلة(

مرحباً ، اسمي لمى درادكة ، أنا طالبة دكتوراه ابحث عن التطوير المكاني وعمليات التحضر في مخيمات اللاجئين إلى جانب دورالانشطة و العلاقات الاجتماعية في إنتاجها .أود أن أطرح عليك بعض الأسئلة والتعرف على تجربتك المعيشية كمقيم في المخيم وزعيم مجتمع. سوف أسجل المقابلة اذا لم يكن لديك مانع .سنحفظ على سرية وخصوصية جميع المعلومات التي تقدمها ولن تعرض إلا لفريق البحث .أنا كطالب وقّعت على نموذج أخلاقيات من شأنه أن يضمن مخاوفك المتعلقة بالخصوصية ولضمان صدق كل شيء أقوله لك. شكرا لك.

المتغيرات		الاسئلة
التحولات الرئيسية المكانية	المسكن	- ما هي أهم التغييرات المكانية التي تم إجراؤها في المخيم والتي أثرت على تجربة الحياة اليومية (المنازل والأحياء والمخيم) في فترة المعيشة في المخيم؟
	الاماكن العامة	- هل قمت بتوفير مساحات خاصة للتجمعات العامة والأنشطة الاجتماعية بعد أن أصبحت لاجئًا؟
	مقياس المخيم الحضري	- ما هي الأنشطة المحددة التي تم إجراؤها في هذه المساحات؟ كيف تغيرت هذه الأنشطة منذ أن أصبحت لاجئًا حتى الآن؟
		- هل قمت كقائد للمجتمع بتوجيه أو قيادة أي تغييرات مكانية في المخيم منذ أن أصبحت ملجأ؟
		هل كانت موافقتك مطلوبة لكل تغيير مكاني؟ حتى المساكن الفردية؟ أو لمجرد نطاق المناطق والأماكن العامة؟
طبقات الفراغات	عيش الفضاء	- كقائد مجتمع ما هو هدفك العام وراء هذه التغييرات المكانية فيما يتعلق بدعم المجتمع؟
	تصور الفضاء	- ما هو الهدف المتوقع وراء كل تغيير مكاني؟ هل كان الأمان والراحة والخصوصية أم أي شيء آخر؟ وهل حققت هذا الهدف بعد التغيير أم لا؟ (المعنى الذي كنت تبحث عنه)
	ادراك الفضاء	- كيف غيرت هذه التحولات حياة المجتمع؟
		- هل خططت لكل مساحة قمت بإنشائها أو تحويلها قبل إجراء التغييرات؟ هل كان هذا التخطيط عبارة عن تقليد للمساحات المحددة الأخرى التي تفاعلت معها قبل أن تصبح لاجئًا أو تشاورًا من أشخاص محددين؟
		- هل أنت راض عن مدينة المخيم الناتجة؟ لماذا ا؟
		- صف العيش في هذا المخيم منذ البداية وحتى الآن؟ (هل كانت خيبة أمل أم فرصة أم بائسة وما إلى ذلك).

الاستدامة الاجتماعية	–	ما هو دورك في مرونة المجتمع؟ (ما هو دورك في العدالة الاجتماعية وتطورات المجتمع والعدالة الاجتماعية وتحديد المواضع)؟ وكيف أثرت القرارات والتغيرات المكانية على تلك الجوانب والعكس صحيح؟
	–	هل كان هناك أي إشراك للمجتمع في القرارات المكانية؟ كيف؟
علاقات اجتماعية	–	صف مدى قوة العلاقات الاجتماعية للأشخاص فورًا بعد أن أصبحوا لاجئين؟
	–	كيف تغيرت هذه العلاقات على مر الزمن؟
	–	ما مدى أهمية هذه العلاقات الاجتماعية لحياة الناس فيما يتعلق بدعم المجتمع؟
	–	كيف أثرت هذه العلاقات على التحول المكاني (على سبيل المثال الانتقال وفق علاقات اجتماعية محددة)
	–	أين تم استضافة الأنشطة الاجتماعية في مساحة المخيم؟ كيف تغيرت هذه المساحات منذ أن أصبحت لاجئًا حتى الآن؟
	–	بشكل عام ، كيف تغير التوجه للعيش خارج المخيم؟ (أين فضل الناس العيش منذ البداية وحتى الآن؟)
الحق في المدينة والحكم المكاني	–	هل لديك الحق في اتخاذ القرارات المتعلقة بأي تغيير مكاني؟
	–	ما هي أهم القرارات المكانية التي أثرت على تجربة المعيشة في المخيم (إيجابيا وسلبا)؟
	–	هل كانت هناك أي قواعد أو قيود لأي تغيير مكاني؟
	–	هل فرضت أي قواعد على التحولات المكانية؟ ما هم؟ و لماذا؟
	–	صف العلاقة بينك وبين مجتمعك وتأثير هذه العلاقة في القرارات المكانية؟
	–	صف العلاقة بينك وبين مجتمعك بالأطر الرسمية (المنظمات غير الحكومية والسلطات المحلية) المسؤولة عن القرارات المكانية المتعلقة بالتغييرات المكانية؟ هل كان من السهل إجراء تحول مكاني؟ هل كانت هناك أي صراعات ولماذا؟
	–	هل هدمت الأطر الرسمية أو رفضت أي تغيير مكاني في هذه المعسكرات؟ لماذا ا؟
	–	هل ظهرت أي طبقات اجتماعية مع الوقت وقسمت مساحات المخيم وفقًا لهذه الفئات؟
	–	هل تم اتخاذ قرارات التغييرات المكانية بشكل جماعي أم من قبل الأفراد؟ وهل طُلب رأيك من الجمعيات ؟
العمران البيئي الاجتماعي	–	ما هي الجوانب التي أبقت مدينة المخيم في تغير مستمر من الناحية المكانية؟ (لماذا استمرت هذه التحولات المكانية تتغير طوال الوقت؟)
الاجتماعية والاقتصادية	–	كيف بدأ اللاجئون العمل للحصول على دخل؟ ما هي المهن التي بدأ الناس العمل بها في البداية؟ كيف تطورت هذه على مر الزمن؟

		الاسئلة	المتغيرات
		- كيف غير هذا مساحة المخيم؟	
		- هل كانت لك دورا في توجيه الناس في هذا؟	
		- هل أصبح اللاجئون أصحاب مصلحة؟ كيف أثر هذا على مساحة المخيم؟ هل تسبب هذا في تغييرات مكانية كبيرة؟	
		- هل تم إنشاء المتاجر حول منطقة معينة؟ لماذا ا؟	
		- كيف تطورت المتاجر طوال الوقت؟ ما هو السبب الرئيسي وراء فتح المتجر؟	
		- هل تم إنشاء هذه المتاجر في شكل مجزأ أو مجمعة في منطقة واحدة؟	
		- هل كان إنشاء هذه المحلات جزءًا من خطة تحسين المجتمع؟	
		- هل بقيت هذه المتاجر أو مناطق التسوق حتى الآن؟ هل لا تزال لديهم أهميتها كبداية؟	
		- كيف تم إنشاء متاجر أخرى أو منطقة تسوق لاحقًا ولماذا؟	
		- كيف أثرت المحلات التجارية على علاقات السكان وتجربتهم المعيشية؟	

دليل مقابلة

للرجال الذين تتراوح أعمارهم بين أكثر من 50 عام وشهدوا التحول المكاني

- **مقدمة)**تقديم الغرض من البحث وضمان سرية المقابلة(

مرحباً ، اسمي لمى درادكة ، أنا طالبة دكتوراه ابحث عن التطوير المكاني وعمليات التحضر في مخيمات اللاجئين إلى جانب دورالانشطة و العلاقات الاجتماعية في إنتاجها. أود أن أطرح عليك بعض الأسئلة والتعرف على تجربتك المعيشية كمقيم في المخيم. سوف أسجل المقابلة اذا لم يكن لديك مانع. سنحفظ على سرية وخصوصية جميع المعلومات التي تقدمها ولن تعرض إلا لفريق البحث. أنا كطالب وقّعت على نموذج أخلاقيات من شأنه أن يضمن مخاوفك المتعلقة بالخصوصية ولضمان صدق كل شيء أقوله لك. شكرا لك.

الاسئلة		المتغيرات
- ما هي أهم التغييرات المكانية التي تم إجراؤها في المخيم والتي أثرت على تجربة الحياة اليومية (المنازل والأحياء والمخيم) في فترة المعيشة في المخيم؟ كم استغرقت من الوقت ؟	المسكن	التحولات الرئيسية المكانية
- أخبرني عن التحولات المكانية الرئيسية في منزلك منذ أن أصبحت لاجئًا حتى شعرت بالاستقرار؟ لماذا تم إجراء كل تغيير محدد؟ كم من الوقت استغرق؟	الاماكن العامة	
- هل كانت هناك أماكن خاصة للتجمعات العامة والاجتماعات بعد أن أصبحت لاجئًا؟ ما هي الأنشطة المحددة التي تم إجراؤها في هذه المساحات؟ كيف تغيرت هذه الأنشطة منذ أن أصبحت لاجئًا حتى الآن؟	مقياس المخيم الحضري	

طبقات الفراغات	عيش الفضاء	– ما هو الهدف المتوقع وراء كل تغيير مكاني؟ هل كان الأمان والراحة والخصوصية أم أي شيء آخر؟ وهل حققت هذا الهدف بعد التغيير أم لا؟ (المعنى الذي كنت تبحث عنه)
	تصور الفضاء	– كيف غيرت هذه التحولات حياتك؟
	ادراك الفضاء	– هل خططت لكل مساحة قمت بإنشائها أو تحويلها قبل إجراء التغييرات؟ هل كان هذا التخطيط عبارة عن تقليد للمساحات المحددة الأخرى التي تفاعلت معها قبل أن تصبح لاجئًا أو مشاورة من أشخاص محددين؟
		– هل أنت راض عن مدينة المخيم الناتجة؟ لماذا ا؟
		– صف العيش في هذا المخيم منذ البداية وحتى الآن؟ (هل كانت خيبة أمل أم فرصة أم بائسة وما إلى ذلك).
		– أخبرني عن روتينك اليومي (تجربة الحياة اليومية)؟ أين يتم التفاعل الاجتماعي؟ كيف تغير روتينك اليومي منذ البداية وحتى الآن؟
الاستدامة الاجتماعية		– لماذا قمت بإجراء هذه التغييرات؟ كيف أثرت على حياتك وعلاقاتك الاجتماعية؟
		– ما هي الأنشطة الاجتماعية والثقافية التي ساعدت الناس على عيش حياته طبيعيه؟
		– ماذا عن الأطفال؟ هل كانت هناك مساحات محددة لهم؟
		– ماذا كان دورك في مرونة المجتمع ودعمه؟
		– هل كان لك دور في اتخاذ القرارات المكانية؟ كيف؟
علاقات اجتماعية		– صف مدى قوة العلاقات الاجتماعية للأشخاص فورًا بعد أن أصبحوا لاجئين؟
		– كيف تغيرت هذه العلاقات على مر الزمن؟
		– ما مدى أهمية هذه العلاقات الاجتماعية لحياة الناس فيما يتعلق بدعم المجتمع؟
		– كيف أثرت هذه العلاقات على التحول المكاني (على سبيل المثال الانتقال وفق علاقات اجتماعية محددة)
		– أين تم استضافة الأنشطة الاجتماعية في المساكن؟ أين توجد أي مساحات لاستضافة زيارات أفراد الأسرة أو الجيران أو الأجانب؟ كيف يتم تغيير هذا منذ أن أصبحت لاجئا حتى الآن؟
		– كيف رتبت أنشطة عائلية مثل (النوم ، الأكل ، التواصل الاجتماعي والأنشطة المختلفة) بين أفراد الأسرة في المسكن؟ كيف تم تغيير هذا؟ منذ أن أصبحت لاجئًا حتى الآن؟ لماذا ا؟

الحق في المدينة والحكم المكاني	– هل تملك المسكن الذي تعيش فيها؟ هل للملكية دور في إجراء تغييرات مكانية في مسكنك؟
	– هل لديك الحق في اتخاذ القرارات المتعلقة بأي تغيير مكاني؟
	– ما هي أهم القرارات المكانية التي أثرت على تجربة المعيشة في المخيم (إيجابيا وسلبا)؟
	– هل كانت هناك أي قواعد أو قيود لأي تغيير مكاني؟
	– صف العلاقة بينك وبين أفراد مجتمعك ، وقادة المجتمع ، والعاملين في الأطر الرسمية المسؤولين عن التغييرات المكانية.
	– هل كان من السهل إجراء تحول مكاني؟ هل كانت هناك أي صراعات ولماذا؟
	– هل تم إنشاء أي فصول اجتماعية طوال الوقت تقسم مساحات المخيم وفقًا لهذه الفئات؟
	– هل تم اتخاذ قرارات التغييرات المكانية بشكل جماعي أم من قبل الأفراد؟ وهل طُلب رأيك من الجمعيات ؟
العمران البيئي الاجتماعي	– ما هي الجوانب التي أبقت مدينة المخيم في تغير مستمر من الناحية المكانية؟ (لماذا استمرت هذه التحولات المكانية تتغير طوال الوقت؟)
الاجتماعية والاقتصادية	– كيف بدأت في الحصول على دخل؟ لماذا هذا على وجه التحديد؟
	– ما هي المهن التي بدأ الناس العمل بها في البداية؟ كيف تطورت هذه على مر الزمن؟
	– كيف أثر هذا على مساحة المخيم؟ هل تسبب هذا في تغييرات مكانية كبيرة؟
	– كيف تطورت المتاجر طوال الوقت؟ ما هو السبب الرئيسي وراء فتح المتجر؟ (المحلات التجارية كأماكن حيوية للتفاعل الاجتماعي)
	– هل تم إنشاء المتاجر حول منطقة معينة؟ لماذا ا؟
	– هل تم إنشاء هذه المتاجر في شكل مجزأ أو مجمعة في منطقة واحدة؟
	– هل كان إنشاء هذه المحلات جزءًا من خطة تحسين المجتمع؟
	– هل بقيت هذه المتاجر أو مناطق التسوق حتى الآن؟ هل لا تزال لديهم أهميتها كبداية؟
	– كيف تم إنشاء متاجر أخرى أو منطقة تسوق لاحقًا ولماذا؟
	– كيف أثرت المحلات التجارية على علاقات السكان وتجربتهم المعيشية؟

مقابلة للنساء الذين تتراوح أعمارهم بين أكثر من 50 عام وشهدوا التحول المكاني

- **مقدمة**)تقديم الغرض من البحث وضمان سرية المقابلة(

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مرحباً ، اسمي لمى درادكة ، أنا طالبة دكتوراه ابحث عن التطوير المكاني وعمليات التحضر في مخيمات اللاجئين إلى جانب دورالانشطة و العلاقات الاجتماعية في إنتاجها .أود أن أطرح عليك بعض الأسئلة والتعرف على تجربتك المعيشية كمقيم في المخيم. سوف أسجل المقابلة اذا لم يكن لديك مانع .سنحفظ على سرية وخصوصية جميع المعلومات التي تقدمها ولن تعرض إلا لفريق البحث .أنا كطالب وقّعت على نموذج أخلاقيات من شأنه أن يضمن مخاوفك المتعلقة بالخصوصية ولضمان صدق كل شيء أقوله لك. شكرا لك.

المتغيرات		الاسئلة	
التحولات الرئيسية المكانية	المسكن	الاماكن العامة	مقياس المخيم الحضري	– ما هي أهم التغييرات المكانية التي تم إجراؤها في المخيم والتي أثرت على تجربة الحياة اليومية (المنازل والأحياء والمخيم) في فترة المعيشة في المخيم؟ – أخبرني عن التحولات المكانية الرئيسية في منزلك منذ أن أصبحت لاجئًا حتى شعرت بالاستقرار؟ لماذا تم إجراء كل تغيير محدد؟ – هل قمت بتوفير مساحات خاصة للتجمعات النسائية بعد أن أصبحت لاجئة؟ ما هي الأنشطة المحددة التي تم إجراؤها في هذه المساحات؟ كيف تغيرت هذه الأنشطة منذ أن أصبحت لاجئًا حتى الآن؟ – ما هو التغيير الأكثر أهمية الذي كنت سعيدًا فيه كامرأة ضمن المستويات المختلفة في المخيم؟ لماذا ا؟
طبقات الفراغات	عيش الفضاء	تصور الفضاء	ادراك الفضاء	– ما هو الهدف المتوقع وراء كل تغيير مكاني؟ هل كان الأمان والراحة والخصوصية أم أي شيء آخر؟ وهل حققت هذا الهدف بعد التغيير أم لا؟ (المعنى الذي كنت تبحث عنه) – كيف غيرت هذه التحولات حياتك؟ – هل خططت لكل مساحة قمت بإنشائها أو تحويلها قبل إجراء التغييرات؟ هل كان هذا التخطيط عبارة عن تقليد للمساحات المحددة الأخرى التي تفاعلت معها قبل أن تصبح لاجئًا أو مشاورة من أشخاص محددين؟ – هل أنت راض عن مدينة المخيم الناتجة؟ لماذا ا؟ – صف العيش في هذا المخيم منذ البداية وحتى الآن؟ (هل كانت خيبة أمل أم فرصة أم بائسة وما إلى ذلك). – أخبرني عن روتينك اليومي (تجربة الحياة اليومية)؟ أين يتم التفاعل الاجتماعي؟ كيف تغير روتينك اليومي منذ البداية وحتى الآن؟
الاستدامة الاجتماعية				– لماذا قمت بإجراء هذه التغييرات؟ كيف أثرت على حياتك وعلاقاتك الاجتماعية؟ – ما هي الأنشطة الاجتماعية والثقافية التي ساعدت الناس على عيش حياته طبيعيه؟ – ماذا عن الأطفال؟ هل كانت هناك مساحات محددة لهم؟ – ماذا كان دورك في مرونة المجتمع النسائي ودعمه؟

	– هل كان لك دور في اتخاذ القرارات المكانية؟ كيف؟
علاقات اجتماعية	– صف مدى قوة العلاقات الاجتماعية للأشخاص فورًا بعد أن أصبحوا لاجئين؟
	– كيف تغيرت هذه العلاقات على مر الزمن؟
	– ما مدى أهمية هذه العلاقات الاجتماعية لحياة الناس فيما يتعلق بدعم المجتمع؟
	– كيف أثرت هذه العلاقات على التحول المكاني (على سبيل المثال الانتقال وفق علاقات اجتماعية محددة)
	– فيما يتعلق بالأنشطة النسائية والتنشئة الاجتماعية ، أين حدث ذلك أكثر؟ ما هي الأنشطة؟ ماذا عن أدوارهم كأمهات ، وكيف أثر ذلك على الأنشطة الاجتماعية داخل المساحات في مستويات مختلفة من المخيم؟
	– أين تم استضافة الأنشطة الاجتماعية في المساكن؟ أين توجد أي مساحات لاستضافة زيارات أفراد الأسرة أو الجيران أو الأجانب؟ كيف يتم تغيير هذا منذ أن أصبحت لاجئا حتى الآن؟
	– كيف رتبت أنشطة عائلية مثل (النوم ، الأكل ، التواصل الاجتماعي والأنشطة المختلفة) بين أفراد الأسرة في المسكن؟ كيف تم تغيير هذا؟ منذ أن أصبحت لاجئًا حتى الآن؟ لماذا ا؟
الحق في المدينة والحكم المكاني	– هل تملك المسكن التي تعيش فيها؟ هل للملكية دور في إجراء تغييرات مكانية في مسكنك؟
	– هل لديك الحق في اتخاذ القرارات المتعلقة بأي تغيير مكاني؟هل كانت هذه القرارات مقتصرة فقط على الرجال أو النساء أو كلاهما تمت مناقشتهما معًا؟
	– ما هي أهم القرارات المكانية التي أثرت على تجربة المعيشة في المخيم (إيجابيا وسلبا)؟
	– هل كانت هناك أي قواعد أو قيود لأي تغيير مكاني؟
	– صف العلاقة بينك وبين أفراد مجتمعك ، وقادة المجتمع ، والعاملين في الأطر الرسمية المسؤولين عن التغييرات المكانية.
	– هل كان من السهل إجراء تحول مكاني؟ هل كانت هناك أي صراعات ولماذا؟
	– هل تم إنشاء أي فصول اجتماعية طوال الوقت تقسم مساحات المخيم وفقًا لهذه الفئات؟
	– هل تم اتخاذ قرارات التغييرات المكانية بشكل جماعي أم من قبل الأفراد؟ وهل طُلب رأيك من الجمعيات ؟
العمران البيئي الاجتماعي	– ما هي الجوانب التي أبقت مدينة المخيم في تغير مستمر من الناحية المكانية؟ (لماذا استمرت هذه التحولات المكانية تتغير طوال الوقت؟
الاجتماعية والاقتصادية	– كيف بدأت في الحصول على دخل؟ لماذا هذا على وجه التحديد؟

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-	ما هي المهن التي بدأ الناس العمل بها في البداية؟ كيف تطورت هذه على مر الزمن؟	
-	كيف أثر هذا على مساحة المخيم؟ هل تسبب هذا في تغييرات مكانية كبيرة؟	
-	كيف تطورت المتاجر طوال الوقت؟ ما هو السبب الرئيسي وراء فتح المتجر؟ (المحلات التجارية كأماكن حيوية للتفاعل الاجتماعي)	
-	هل تم إنشاء المتاجر حول منطقة معينة؟ لماذا ا؟	
-	هل تم إنشاء هذه المتاجر في شكل مجزأ أو مجمعة في منطقة واحدة؟	
-	هل كان إنشاء هذه المحلات جزءًا من خطة تحسين المجتمع؟	
-	هل بقيت هذه المتاجر أو مناطق التسوق حتى الآن؟ هل لا تزال لديهم أهميتها كبداية؟	
-	كيف تم إنشاء متاجر أخرى أو منطقة تسوق لاحقًا ولماذا؟	
-	كيف أثرت المحلات التجارية على علاقات السكان وتجربتهم المعيشية؟	

دليل مقابلة للسكان الأصغر سنا (تجربة المعيشة في مخيمات اللاجئين)

- **مقدمة)**تقديم الغرض من البحث وضمان سرية المقابلة)

مرحباً ، اسمي لمى درادكة ، أنا طالبة دكتوراه ابحث عن التطوير المكاني وعمليات التحضر في مخيمات اللاجئين إلى جانب دور الانشطة و العلاقات الاجتماعية في إنتاجها .أود أن أطرح عليك بعض الأسئلة والتعرف على تجربتك المعيشية كمقيم في المخيم. سوف أسجل المقابلة اذا لم يكن لديك مانع .سنحفظ على سرية وخصوصية جميع المعلومات التي تقدمها ولن تعرض إلا لفريق البحث .أنا كطالب وقّعت على نموذج أخلاقيات من شأنه أن يضمن مخاوفك المتعلقة بالخصوصية ولضمان صدق كل شيء أقوله لك. شكرا لك.

المتغيرات		الاسئلة
التحولات الرئيسية المكانية	المسكن	هل شاهدت تغييرات مكانية مهمة تم إجراؤها في المخيم وأثرت على تجربة الحياة اليومية (في منزلك ، في المقاطعة وفي المخيم)؟
	الاماكن العامة	
	مقياس المخيم الحضري	
طبقات الفراغات	عيش الفضاء	أخبرني عن روتينك اليومي (تجربة الحياة اليومية)؟
	تصور الفضاء	ما هي احتياجاتك فيما يتعلق بالمساحة؟
	ادراك الفضاء	هل لديك أي تصور لما ينبغي أن يكون معسكر الفضاء؟
الاستدامة الاجتماعية و العلاقات الاجتماعية		هل تمارس أنشطة اجتماعية في نفس المساحات التي تم إنشاؤها في بداية المخيم لهذه الأنشطة الاجتماعية؟
		هل تفضل قضاء الوقت داخل أو خارج المخيم؟ لماذا ا؟

	هل تفضل العيش في المخيم أو خارجه في المستقبل؟
الحق في المدينة والحكم المكاني	ما هي أهم القرارات المكانية التي تؤثر على تجربة المعيشة في المخيم (إيجابيا وسلبيا)؟
	هل تعمل داخل مساحات المخيم؟ لماذا (إذا كانت الإجابة بنعم أم لا)؟
	هل تم اتخاذ قرارات التغييرات المكانية بشكل جماعي أم من قبل الأفراد؟ وهل طُلب رأيك من الجمعيات ؟
الاجتماعية والاقتصادية	هل لا تزال المحلات التجارية الهامة التي تم إنشاؤها في البداية لها أهميتها؟
	هل ما زلت تسوق هناك ام خارج المخيم؟ لماذا؟

دليل مقابلة لمخططي السلطات المحلية و الأونروا الذين يعملون في الإدارة المكانية للمخيمات

- **مقدمة**)تقديم الغرض من البحث وضمان سرية المقابلة(

مرحباً ، اسمي لمى درادكة ، أنا طالبة دكتوراه ابحث عن التطوير المكاني وعمليات التحضر في مخيمات اللاجئين إلى جانب دورالانشطة و العلاقات الاجتماعية في إنتاجها. أود أن أطرح عليك بعض الأسئلة والتعرف على تجربتك في العمل في التخطيط في الإدارة المكانية للمخيمات. سوف أسجل المقابلة اذا لم يكن لديك مانع .سنحفظ على سرية وخصوصية جميع المعلومات التي تقدمها ولن تعرض إلا لفريق البحث. أنا كطالب وقّعت على نموذج أخلاقيات من شأنه أن يضمن مخاوفك المتعلقة بالخصوصية ولضمان صدق كل شيء أقوله لك. شكرا لك.

المتغيرات		الاسئلة
التحولات الرئيسية المكانية	المسكن الاماكن العامة مقياس المخيم الحضري	- ما هي أهم التغييرات المكانية التي تم إجراؤها في المخيم والتي أثرت على تجربة الحياة اليومية (المنازل والأحياء والمخيم) في فترة المعيشة في المخيم؟
طبقات الفراغات	عيش الفضاء تصور الفضاء ادراك الفضاء	- لماذا تم عمل هذه التغييرات المكانية؟ - هل كانت هناك رؤية للمستقبل القريب أو البعيد للمخيم؟ - ما هو أو كان الهدف من تخطيط التطورات في المخيمات (مخيمات البقعة وغزة)؟ - هل التغيرات المكانية متشابهة في جميع المخيمات أو المخيمات المحددة؟
الاستدامة الاجتماعية		- لماذا أجريت هذه التغييرات (الأماكن العامة)؟ - كيف أثرت هذه التغييرات على الحياة والعلاقات الاجتماعية بين السكان؟ - أين تفاعل اللاجئون مع الفضاء (رجال ، نساء ، أطفال)؟
علاقات اجتماعية		- وصف مدى العلاقات الاجتماعية القوية بين اللاجئين مباشرة بعد اللجوء؟ - كيف تغيرت هذه العلاقات عبر الزمن؟ - ما مدى أهمية هذه العلاقات لحياة الناس في المخيمات؟ - كيف أثرت هذه العلاقات على التحول المكاني (مثل الانتقال وفقًا لعلاقات اجتماعية محددة)؟ - كيف أثرت بعض الأماكن المحددة (في المنزل أو في الأماكن العامة) على العلاقات بين الناس؟ وكيف أثرت العلاقات على خلق مساحات؟
الحق في المدينة والحكم المكاني		- ما هي أهم القرارات المكانية التي أثرت على التجربة المعيشية في المخيم (إيجابًا وسلبًا)؟ - هل كانت هناك قواعد أو قيود مفروضة على التغيير المكاني؟ - كيف أثرت التغييرات المكانية والقرارات على العلاقات بين السكان وأعمال الأطر الرسمية (منظماتك ، عمالك)؟ - هل هدمت أو رفضت أي تغيير مكاني في هذه المخيمات؟ لماذا ا؟

ـ هل كانت هناك أي نزاعات بشأن القضايا المكانية؟ عن ما؟ لماذا ا؟ كيف تتم عملية إجراء التغييرات المكانية؟ ـ هل اتخذت قرارات التغييرات المكانية بشكل جماعي مع السكان؟	
ـ ما هي الجوانب التي أبقت مدينة المخيم في تغيير مستمر مكاني؟ (لماذا ظلت هذه التحولات المكانية تتغير طوال الوقت؟)	العمران البيئي الاجتماعي
ـ هل كان لديك دور في توفير الوظائف للاجئين؟ هل كان جزءًا من خطة تحسين المجتمع؟ ـ ما هي الوظائف الرئيسية المتاحة للاجئين؟ ـ هل كان إنشاء منطقة تسوق جزءًا من خطة تحسين المجتمع؟ ـ كيف أثرت المتاجر على علاقات السكان وتجربة المعيشة؟	الاجتماعية والاقتصادية

Appendix (B): Ethics Approval form

WELSH SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE
ETHICS APPROVAL FORM FOR STAFF AND PHD/MPHIL PROJECTS
wsa

Tick one box:	☐ STAFF	☑ PHD/MPHIL
Title of project:	DEVELOPING A SUSTAINABLE ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN STRATEGY FOR REFUGEES CAMPS LIVING SPACE	
Name of researcher(s):	Luma Daradkeh	
Name of principal investigator	Luma Daradkeh	
Contact e-mail address:	Daradkehls@cardiff.ac.uk	
Date:	10/1/2020	

Participants		YES	NO	N/A
Does the research involve participants from any of the following groups?	• Children (under 16 years of age)		✓	
	• People with learning difficulties		✓	
	• Patients (NHS approval is required)		✓	
	• People in custody		✓	
	• People engaged in illegal activities		✓	
	• Vulnerable elderly people		✓	
	• Any other vulnerable group not listed here	✓		
• When working with children: I have read the Interim Guidance for Researchers Working with Children and Young People (http://www.cardiff.ac.uk/archi/ethics_committee.php)				✓

Consent Procedure	YES	NO	N/A
• Will you describe the research process to participants in advance, so that they are informed about what to expect?	✓		
• Will you tell participants that their participation is voluntary?	✓		
• Will you tell participants that they may withdraw from the research at any time and for any reason?	✓		
• Will you obtain valid consent from participants? (specify how consent will be obtained in Box A)[1]	✓		
• Will you give participants the option of omitting questions they do not want to answer?	✓		
• If the research is observational, will you ask participants for their consent to being observed?	✓		
• If the research involves photography or other audio-visual recording, will you ask participants for their consent to being photographed / recorded and for its use/publication?	✓		

Possible Harm to Participants	YES	NO	N/A
• Is there any realistic risk of any participants experiencing either physical or psychological distress or discomfort?		✓	
• Is there any realistic risk of any participants experience a detriment to their interests as a result of participation?		✓	

Data Protection	YES	NO	N/A
• Will any non-anonymous and/or personalised data be generated or stored?		✓	
• If the research involves non-anonymous and/or personalised data, will you:	• gain written consent from the participants			
	• allow the participants the option of anonymity for all or part of the information they provide			

Health and Safety	YES	
Does the research meet the requirements of the University's Health & Safety policies? (http://www.cf.ac.uk/osheu/index.html)	✓	

Research Governance	YES	NO	N/A
Does your study include the use of a drug? You need to contact Research Governance before submission (resgov@cf.ac.uk)		✓	
Does the study involve the collection or use of human tissue? You need to contact the Human Tissue Act team before submission (hta@cf.ac.uk)		✓	

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[1] If any non-anonymous and/or personalised data be generated or stored, *written consent* is required.

Prevent Duty	YES	
Has due regard be given to the 'Prevent duty', in particular to prevent anyone being drawn into terrorism? https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/445916/Prevent_Duty_Guidance_For_Higher_Education__England__Wales_.pdf http://www.cardiff.ac.uk/publicinformation/policies-and-procedures/freedom-of-speech	/	

If any of the shaded boxes have been ticked, you must explain in Box A how the ethical issues are addressed. If none of the boxes have been ticked, you must still provide the following information. The list of ethical issues on this form is not exhaustive; if you are aware of any other ethical issues you need to make the SREC aware of them.

Box A   The Project (provide all the information listed below in a separate attachment)

1. Title of Project
2. Purpose of the project and its academic rationale
3. Brief description of methods and measurements
4. Participants: recruitment methods, number, age, gender, exclusion/inclusion criteria
5. Consent and participation information arrangements - please attached consent forms if they are to be used
6. A clear and concise statement of the ethical considerations raised by the project and how is dealt with them
7. Estimated start date and duration of project

All information must be submitted along with this form to the School Research Ethics Committee for consideration

SEE ATTATCHMENT

Researcher's declaration (tick as appropriate)

• I consider this project to have **negligible ethical implications** (*can only be used if none of the grey areas of the checklist have been ticked*).	
• I consider this project research to have **some ethical implications**.	/
• I consider this project to have **significant ethical implications**	

Signature Luma Daradkeh	Name Luma Daradkeh	Date 10/01/2020
Researcher or MPhil/PhD student		
Signature	Federico Wulff Name	Date 28.1.20
Lead investigator or supervisor		

Advice from the School Research Ethics Committee

The proposal has been revised following the recommendations of the committee (meeting 23/01/20). The revisions have been reviewed by 4 members of the committee and deemed to address the issues raised.

This ethical approval is contingent on the approval of a full risk assessment.

STATEMENT OF ETHICAL APPROVAL

This project had been considered using agreed Departmental procedures and is now approved

Signature	Name Dr Chris Whitman	Date 07/02/20
Chair, School Research Ethics Committee		

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Appendix (C): Risk Assessment – Overseas Travel

For advice on Health and Safety contact SSWEL.

On completion, please ensure that the hard copy Risk Assessment is signed by Head of School/Professional Service.

- Travel is not permitted to areas where the Foreign and Commonwealth Office advise against travel.
- If you choose to ignore the current recommended vaccine and travel health advice for the countries which you are visiting, you will be travelling at your own risk

Name & School/Professional Service	Luma Daradkeh / Welsh School of Architecture	Signature of traveller	
Country & Cities to be visited	Jordan Baqaa, Jerash, Mafraq	Date	Jul 24, 2020
Date of Departure/Return	within June and August 2020	Signature of Head of School/Professional Service	
Purpose of Visit	Field work includes interviews with camp's inhabitants, observations and taking some photographs.	Name of Head of School/Professional Service Date	

• Have you completed the Travel Overseas Form online? (Permission to travel overseas and request cash advance (EXP4))	Yes
• Have you travelled to this country before?	Yes
• Please specify if you have <u>extensive knowledge</u> of the country you are visiting (gained from residence, citizenship or work experience there)	I'm Jordanian and my Field work will be in Jordan, which I lived there all my life and I've Jordanian nationality and citizenship. I've lived in the capital of Jordan Amman. However, I have some friends and some acquaintances who lives o works in these camps which will ease the accessibility, the process of getting consents to do interviews, and to accompany me during the field work.

Category	Associated problems	Probability: Low, Medium, High, Extreme?	Measures taken to reduce risk – (see www.fco.gov.uk)
Crime	street crime, local scams, theft, hotel room security	Low	As the researcher my husband will accompany me during my field work, in addition to some acquaintances who have extensive knowledge in

				the camp-cities I'm conducting my research in.
Terrorism		bombings, security alerts, terror attacks	Low	The probability that this could happen is absent. Never happened before in these camps.
Conflict		localised tensions or fighting that could result in outbreak of hostilities	Low	Will be accompanied by my husband and working with acquaintances who have extensive knowledge of the camps.
Political		civil unrest, strikes, riots, political demonstrations, upcoming elections or significant events	Low	These things are unlikely to happen.
Kidnap		abduction/kidnapping	Low	As the researcher my husband will accompany me during my field work, in addition to some acquaintances who have extensive knowledge in the camp-cities I'm conducting my research in.
Infrastructure	Transportation	airport collection, local driving standards, hazardous terrain, roadworthiness, safety belts	Low	As I'm Currently in Jordan there is no need to be picked up from the airport.
	Medical capabilities	hospital proximity and standards, methods of payment for treatment, access to local doctor	Low	There is a medical centre in Baqaa and a hospital and many private doctor's clinics. In Jerash Camp there is a French medical centre, many private clinics, and two near

				hospitals. Finally, in the Zaatari there are one hospital, and two medical centres. In addition to being accompanied with my husband who is a doctor.
	Contaminated food	allergies, Hepatitis A, dysentery/diarrhoea, severe stomach upset	Low	I'll take my homemade healthy food with me during my visits.
	Contaminated water & drinking water	dysentery/diarrhoea, legionella, leptospirosis, polio, cholera, typhoid	Low	I'll take sealed water bottles with me during my visits.
	Utilities	compatibility of equipment, voltage, safety standards, power cuts	Low	I'll conduct my study with daily visits to these camps. My accommodation will be my own home in Amman which safe.
	Accommodation	Location of the accommodation, safe area, distance to and from task/activity, transport and timing considerations.	Low	I'll conduct my study with daily visits to these camps. My accommodation will be my own home in Amman which is safe.
Natural Risks	Climate conditions	extreme heat or cold, high humidity, monsoon/storms, altitude	Low	Between April and June, the weather will be fine, and the temperatures will be ranging from approximately 15 c -28c with no extreme heat or cold, high humidity, monsoon/storms, and altitude
	Natural disasters	typhoon, tornado, tsunami, avalanche, earthquake, flood	Low	There is no known natural disaster in the areas of study.

	Contact - with insects	bites/stings, Lyme's disease, malaria, yellow fever	Low	There are no known insects' incidents in the areas of study.
	Contact - with animals	allergies, asthma, bird flu, bites, dermatitis, rabies, stings	Low	There are no animals within the camp spaces. Hence there will be no contant with animal during the study.
Cultural Risks	Local Culture	customs, dress, religion, behaviour	Low	The culture of the refugees is very similar to my culture. This will not be a problem as the researcher is familiar in the traditions of the refugees.
	Legal differences	local codes/guidance, local statute	Low	There are no such differences between the camp inhabitants and the surrounding areas or Jordanian. This will not be a problem.
Hazardous activities	Activities	Skiing, white water rafting, bungee jumping, diving etc.	Low	Not available at the study sites.
	Hazardous substances/chemicals	available antidotes, transport requirements, spillage	Low	The areas of study are normal cities with no hazardous chemicals and substances.
	Field work/research	permits to work, safe systems, tides/water conditions, medical back-up, remoteness of work site	Low	All the consents and permissions are obtained from the formal frameworks.
Other		The current situation of (COVID-19)	Medium	According to the current situation of COVID- 19 the field work will not be carried out until the restriction eases

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			to a suitable level, and it is safe to undertake the research.
			Once the field work commences, the following controls will be put into place. - 1. Local government guidelines must be reviewed and followed at the time of fieldwork. This will include assessing and enforcing social distancing, wearing of mask and gloves, and any other guidelines outlined.
			2. Clear communication with people in the camps who will be taking part in the research, so they are aware of the safety controls in place to keep them and the researcher safe.
			3. Conducting the interviews with interviewees outdoors for the safety of researcher and residents.
			4.Good hygiene to be enforced at all times with regular use of hand sanitizer and appropriate cleaning of equipment used.
			5.Fieldwork to be postponed if researcher displays any Symptoms of Covid 19 in line with local

			government guidance for self-isolation. 6.Considerations should also be made to ensure that any vulnerable people within the camp should not be placed at additional risk as a result of the research. Local Government guidelines should be followed.

Your School/Department Contact	Embassy in-country	Emergency Number
Please enter the number of your emergency contact person in your School/Professional Service here:	Please enter the number of the local Embassy in the country you are visiting (see country page on www.fco.gov.uk)	Please call the Security hotline on **0292 874444** for 24 hour emergency assistance helpline if you need

Appendix (D): Security clearance

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

وزارة التخطيط والتعاون الدولي

الرقم: ٦٠٥١/١٩/٢/٥

التاريخ: ....

الموافق: ٢٠٢٠/٠٩/٠٢

المهندسة لمى درادكه المحترمة
جامعة الزيتونة الأردنية

تحية طيبة وبعد،

إشارة إلى الاستدعاء المقدم من قبلكم بتاريخ 2020/8/11، والمتضمن طلب زيارة مخيم الزعتري من أجل عقد مقابلات مع العاملين واللاجئين، وذلك لغايات البحث العلمي.

أرجو التكرم بالعلم بموافقة مديرية شؤون اللاجئين السوريين بموجب الكتاب رقم م.ن/6228/8/28 تاريخ 2020/8/30 (مرفق بطيه) على طلبكم المشار إليه أعلاه.

وتفضلوا بقبول فائق الاحترام والتقدير،،،

د. وسام عدنان الريضي
وزير التخطيط والتعاون الدولي

المهندس محمد العضايلة
قائم بأعمال الأمين العام

نسخة: مديرية شؤون اللاجئين السوريين

المملكة الأردنية الهاشمية - عمان
هاتف ٤٦٤٤٤٦٦ ٦ ٩٦٢+، فاكس ٤٦٤٩٣٤١ ٦ ٩٦٢+ ص.ب، ٥٥٥ عمان ١١١١٨ الأردن، الموقع الإلكتروني mop@mop.gov.jo

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وزارة الداخلية

مديرية شؤون اللاجئين السوريين

الرقم م.ن/٢٨/١٨/ ٦٢٢٨

التاريخ   محرم   ١٤٤٢هـ

الموافق   ٢٠ آب   ٢٠٢٠م

وزارة التخطيط والتعاون الدولي

الموضوع : <u>التصاريح</u>

اشارة لكتابكم رقم ٥/ ٢ / ١٩ / ٥٥٦٢ تاريخ ١٦ / ٨ / ٢٠٢٠م

١. لا مانع من إجابة طلب المهندسة لمى سلام صالح الدرادكة المنوه عنها بكتابكم الاشارة أعلاه .

٢. لإجراءاتكم لطفـــــــــاً .

وزارة التخطيط والتعاون الدولي
رقم السجل   ٩٩٤

٢١ آب ٢٠٢٠

رقم الملف
محول إلى

" واقبلوا الاحترام "

العميد
مدير مديرية شؤون اللاجئين السوريين
نورز "محمد خير" هاكـــــوز

السادة وزارة التخطيط والتعاون الدولي المحترمين

<u>الموضوع: تسهيل مهمة</u>

تحية طيبة وبعد،

أنا لمى سلام صالح درادكه، أردنية وأحمل الرقم الوطني (9902035262) مبتعثة من جامعة الزيتونة الأردنية–كلية العمارة والتصميم لدراسة الدكتوراه في جامعة كارديف البريطانية، حيث أقوم حالياً بتحضير بحث دكتوراه متعلق بالتصميم الحضري لمخيمات اللاجئين في الأردن، وأتواجد حالياً في المملكة بهدف عقد مقابلات مع العاملين في مخيم الزعتري واللاجئين هناك بهدف إستكمال بحثي.

بناء على ما تقدم، أرجو الموافقة على مخاطبة الجهات ذات العلاقة لمنحي تصريح دخول لمخيم الزعتري.

وتفضلوا بقبول فائق الاحترام والتقدير

لمى درادكه

Al-Zaytoonah University of Jordan
Office of the President

" Tradition and Quality "

جامعـــة الـزيتـونــة الأردنيـــة
مكتــب الـرئيـــس

" عـراقـة و جـودة "

Ref:.....................

Date: ....

الرقـم: 10/183/2019-2020

التاريخ: 2020/01/16

السيد محمد الطاهر المحترم

UNHCR –Jordan

مساعد مسؤول العلاقات الخارجية – مخيم الزعتري

تحية طيبة وبعد،

<u>الموضوع: تسهيل مهمة</u>

فيرجى التكرم بالموافقة على تسهيل مهمة المهندسة لمى الدرادكة والمبتعثة من جامعة الزيتونة الأردنية كلية العمارة والتصميم/ قسم هندسة العمارة لدراسة الدكتوراه في جامعة كارديف علماً أنها تحضر بحث الدكتوراه المتعلق بالتصميم الحضري لمخيمات اللاجئين في الأردن .

وتفضلوا بقبول فائق الاحترام والتقدير

قَ م/أ. رئيس الجامعة
الاستاذ الدكتور/ محمد احمد المجالي

نسخة لكل من:
* رئيس جامعة الزيتونة الاردنية
* عميد كلية العمارة والتصميم

جامعــة الـزيتـــونــة الأردنـيــة
مكـتــب الـرئيــس

" عــراقـــة و جــودة "

Ref:.....................
Date: ....

السيد محمد الطاهر المحترم

UNHCR –Jordan

مساعد مسؤول العلاقات الخارجية – مخيم الزعتري

تحية طيبة وبعد،

الموضوع: تسهيل مهمة

فيرجى التكرم بالموافقة على تسهيل مهمة المهندسة لمى الدراكة والمبتعثة من جامعة الزيتونة الأردنية كلية العمارة والتصميم/ قسم هندسة العمارة لدراسة الدكتوراه في جامعة كارديف علماً أنها تحضر بحث الدكتوراه المتعلق بالتصميم الحضري لمخيمات اللاجئين في الأردن .

وتفضلوا بقبول فائق الاحترام والتقدير

ق /أ. رئيس الجامعة
الاستاذ الدكتور محمد احمد المجالي

نسخة لكل من:
- رئيس جامعة الزيتونة الاردنية
- عميد كلية العمارة والتصميم

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Appendix (E): Consent Form

Consent Form - Confidential data

I understand that my participation in this project will involve completing an interview about the relation between social relations and spaces, spatial transformations and social activities within the space of the camp which will take about 30 minutes of my time.

I understand that participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I can withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason.

I understand that I am free to ask any questions at any time. I am free to withdraw or discuss my concerns with Luma Daradkeh.

I understand that the information provided by me will be held confidentially, such that only the Principal Investigator can trace this information back to me individually. The information will be retained for up to two to three years or until finishing the study when it will be deleted/destroyed.

I understand that I can ask for the information I provide to be deleted/destroyed at any time and, in accordance with the Data Protection Act, I can have access to the information at any time.

I, _____ **[PRINT NAME]** consent to participate in the study conducted by Luma Daradkeh, Welsh School of Architecture, Cardiff University with the supervision of Federico Wulff.

Signed:

Date: