

# **Through the Eyes of Refugees: Exploring Thriving Concepts in Protracted Camps**

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
Department of the Civil, Environmental and Geomatic Engineering  
University College London

## **Supervisors**

Professor Nick Tyler  
Dr Christopher Harker

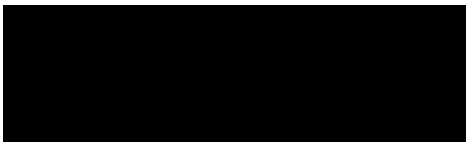
**James Rodolfo Shraiky**

February 2022

## **Declaration**

I, James Shraiky confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

James Shraiky



Signatur

Word count (exclusive of list of references and appendices): 99,988

## **Acknowledgment**

### *Shoukran & Thank You*

Firstly, I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to the residents of the Shatila refugee camp. Thank you for trusting in me and this project; I am eternally grateful to you for teaching me about your lives, trials, and triumphs. I am humbled to learn about your intelligent, creative, resilient, and forward-thinking efforts to create change in your lives.

I am also profoundly grateful to my supervisors, Professors Nick Tyler and Christopher Harker. Thank you for making this PhD process the best learning experience of my entire life. I am a better person and a more critical researcher, writer, and thinker because of your mentorship. Your commitment to students is awe-inspiring; your supervision made my experience exciting, fun, peaceful, and enriching.

For my fieldwork, I was remarkably fortunate to partner with Basmeh and Zeitooneh. Thank you for hosting me in Shatila and facilitating partnerships in the field. I was fortunate to collaborate with your staff and learn about your innovative approaches to humanitarian services. Special thanks to the Baylasan Theatre Group and the Shatila Studio for your intellectual and material input for this research. Your generous and creative efforts enriched both the process and the outcome of this research.

My sincere gratitude also goes to the RELIEF Centre, the Department of the Civil, Environmental, and Geomatic Engineering, and the Institute for Global Prosperity for providing intellectual, financial, and material resources for this research. Special thanks to the Economic and Social Research Council, the Engineering and Physical Sciences Research Council, the UCL Grand Challenge Fund, and the UCL Global Engagement Fund for funding the research activities. This research would never have happened without these contributions.

I am fortunate to have the support of my family on my PhD journey. Encouragement from my parents, siblings, and close friends has kept me motivated through these years. I'd like to specially recognise my mother, Professor Rita, who instilled the love of education in me since infancy. A special thanks to my wife, Dr. Danielle, who encouraged me through the lows, the highs, and the long, hard grind of this difficult process, from the initial application to moving to

Lebanon to conduct fieldwork activities, all the way to completion. I would like to extend my gratitude to my Punky Brewster – my daughter, Seraphina. You are the light of my world. You were born during both of your parents' PhDs and have survived two graduations and a pandemic. You brought joy to this PhD process.

Finally, I am grateful to my higher power for guiding me as I resigned from my academic job, moved to the UK, and assimilated into a new environment, as well as for introducing me to amazing researchers during this research process.

## Abstract

The United Nations estimates that there are over 82 million displaced people around the world, 22 million of whom are housed in numerous camps across the Global South, with unknown numbers living in informal settlements. Even though camps are systems designed only for emergency phases, many end up entering a protracted state, confining refugees, controlling their movements, separating them from surrounding communities, and, in many cases, providing dire long-term living conditions. With this in mind, social theorists seek to understand camps as spaces of control, stasis, and exclusion, while describing refugees as passive victims whose livelihood has been reduced to living a bare life.

Under these circumstances, refugees have taken matters into their own hands over time, challenging their living conditions and trying to build a thriving future for themselves in spite of the many challenges they face. They redefine spaces and their use of time in camps by independently building permanent housing structures, redefining their camps' social infrastructures and boundaries, setting up businesses, employing other refugees, and reviving their economic livelihoods. These activities focus on the thriving of refugees. Although social theorists' narratives reflect a reality of these camps, they don't consider refugees' pursuits of thriving over time.

Therefore, the purpose of this research is to understand refugee camps from the perspective of camp residents' thriving views and practices. In this study, refugees living in a protracted state in the Shatila camp of Lebanon discuss their views on thriving, photograph intimate details of everyday life, and document how they practice thriving concepts within the time-space of the camp. The outcome of this research will use refugees' practices in camps as an impetus for policy change concerning camp design and operation. By giving voices to refugees and supporting potential policy changes, this research may contribute to the improvement of quality of life for refugees in camps and encourage the building of better encampment environments.

Thriving, according to Shatila's residents, is understood to occur through three overlapping practices: a state of being, acts of connecting, and the process of progressing.

Thriving practices take three forms – evolving, enterprising, and expressing – each of which is comprised of several sub-themes highlighting the multidimensionality of refugees’ thriving practices. These views and practices can shape the way camps are managed, conceptualised, and built.

## Impact Statement

The academic impact for this research centres on introducing new layers to the concept of thriving in academic discourse, applying thriving as a new concept for diverse disciplines and as a novel lens for viewing refugees and camps. Despite extensive searches, no examples that discuss thriving in the context of camps have been found in the literature. Thriving concepts play a significant role in the health sciences, psychology, economy, and urban design disciplines, but have minimal representation in the context of mass displacement. Additionally, refugees' narratives from this research introduce novel ideas that are missing in current conceptualisations of thriving, which I argue should be considered essential additions. These ideas include collective thriving, connection to residents' roots, and states of freedom and independence.

Scholarly impact also includes the recontextualisation of theoretical approaches to a new setting as well as creating a methodological approach for implementation in camps and other related environments. This research introduces three key theories to be used as tools for conducting future research in protracted camps and other related environments. My analysis of refugees' narratives provides additional layers of definitions to Haight et al.'s (2002) factors – the individual, the people, and the non-human environment – including accelerators and inhibitors to the thriving of individuals in camps. This includes identifying the camp as a technology through which thriving is facilitated, with imposed systems as the major impediment to their thriving. I also added the context of “utilised spaces” to Lefebvre's understanding of perceived, conceived, and lived spaces. Lastly, I specified two additional concepts to Bergson's view on time: generational duration and geographical simultaneity.

Additionally, this research argues that the methodological approach of implementing a qualitative descriptive design, in combination with a content analysis approach (with photography as a tool for eliciting views and documenting practices) and phasing fieldwork activities, is an effective approach for conducting research in camps and other related environments. More specifically, this approach is suitable for bottom-up research studies that focus on the participants' livelihoods while using the outcome as a guide for future

interventions. Plans have been made to implement this methodological approach I created in multiple local and international locations.

When it comes to policy impact, this research will produce a design toolkit based on refugees' thriving views and practices. The aim is to distribute the toolkit to policy and humanitarian actors who can mobilise in camps. Plans are set forth to communicate the results of this research with the UN's planning office. The goal is to make the case for expanding the thriving model in the context of the local camps and explore future strategies for implementation throughout the UN registered camps. The process will give a voice for refugees' practices in camps while providing the empirical path for using their perspectives as an impetus for policy change concerning camp design and operation. By giving voices to refugees and supporting potential policy changes, this research may improve the quality of life for refugees in camps and encourage the building of better encampment environments.

## Illustrative Materials

Image Title	Description
TH1	A camp resident struggling with cancer still wakes up every morning with a smile on her face.
TH2	The camp's buildings represent life and thriving.
TH3	The camp's buildings represent life and thriving.
TH4	A white wall in one of the camp's narrow alleyways, showing brightly painted balloons and inspirational quotes. The quotes translate as "There is a deeper philosophy behind surrender. Surrendering is a quality of a hopeful life."
TH5	Brightly coloured flags decorating one of the main streets, representing happiness during the Eid in the camp.
TH6	A young girl expressing joy in the camp, waving a sparkler while playing on a swing during the Eid.
TH7	A façade of a convenience store that sells life essentials.
TH8	A telecommunication store that sells mobile SIM cards.
TH9	The Sabra market in the camp that sells affordable, high-quality produce.



- TH10 A main street in the camp, representing deep social connections among camp residents.
- TH11 Two camp residents, representing deep friendships in the camp.
- TH12 Camp residents protesting against the new labour law in Lebanon.
- TH13 The camp's skyline, representing a resident's attachment to the camp.
- TH14 A camp resident, who left Palestine as a young man, sitting in front of his house, representing a direct link to his homeland.
- TH15 A bracelet showing black, green, white, and red beads, reflecting the colours of the Palestinian flag.
- TH16 Jars of pickled vegetables, showing how traditional Syrian food is prepared in the camp.
- TH17 Potted plants placed in front of a house, reminding a Syrian refugee of the homeland.
- TH18 A store selling traditional Palestinian products in the camp.
- TH19 A medic helping an elderly man climb the stairs at the entrance of a Doctors Without Borders clinic.
- TH20 A basket of fruits and vegetables sold in the Sabra market, representing personal growth and nurturing.

- TH21 A work computer, reflecting learning and growth.
- TH22 A wall showing art pieces painted by women from the camp, demonstrating their creative side.
- TH23 An exhibition at the camp, reflecting the creative side of camp residents.
- TH24 The camp's skyline, reflecting the beauty of Shatila.
- TH25 Children doing their homework, linking learning to economic stability.
- TH26 An abandoned building that was damaged during wars in the camp, exemplifying overcoming difficulties and moving forward.
- TH27 Green leaves captured by one of the camp residents, reflecting her personal growth.
- TH28 A projected image showing a black box to represent overcoming difficult circumstances.
- EV1 A vibrant street that demonstrates freedom of movement in the camp.
- EV2 The camp's skyline, reflecting the expansion of the constructed environment.
- EV3 A vibrant central street in the camp with taxis, vegetable markets, a water truck, and the movement of camp residents.
- EV4 A tall building, reflecting the environmental growth in Shatila.

- EV5 The camp's skyline, showing the structural expansion in recent years.
- EV6 A newly erected apartment block built to accommodate the influx of Syrian refugees.
- EV7 A stairwell connecting two buildings, reflecting the environmental growth in the camp.
- EV8 A main street in the camp, showing a complex web of electrical wires and water pipes surrounded by dilapidated buildings, which reflects the layers of the refugee tragedy.
- EV9 A bench built by a local resident to adapt to living in a small space and to socialise with her neighbours.
- EV10 A stairwell in one of the buildings where people gather and socialise.
- EV11 Children playing on the rooftop of one of the camp's buildings, reflecting the spatial transformation of rooftops into social hubs.
- EV12 A building rooftop; roofs are one of the few remaining spaces for social bonding.
- EV13 A narrow alleyway that exemplifies the maze-like streets in the camp.
- EV14 A narrow street showing motorcycles, one of the common transportation systems in the camp.

- EV15 A main street in the camp, showing the back of a tuk-tuk, the main transport vehicle in the camp.
- EV16 A silent march commemorating the Sabra and Shatila massacre.
- EV17 One of the camp's narrow streets, showing the multifunctionality of roads in the camp.
- EV18 A group of young men playing cards in the middle of the street, demonstrating the multifunctionality of roads in the camp.
- EV19 Children playing on a dead-end road due to the lack of playing spaces in the camp.
- EV20 The water tower; it was built on top of the camp's last remaining open play area.
- EV21 A restaurant selling street food, demonstrating how businesses in the camp implement ideas they deem to have been successful in the surrounding communities.
- EV22 The Western market in the Shatila camp, showing new businesses created by Syrian refugees.
- EV23 A restaurant owned and operated by an Egyptian entrepreneur, reflecting how the camp is a refuge for everyone trying to make a living.
- EV24 A Bangladeshi migrant worker who collects recyclable items and sells them to processing plants.

- EV25 A local worker who lives in the camp because of its job opportunities.
- EV26 A Bangladeshi business owner selling ethnic produce to meet the various camp resident's needs.
- EV27 Various vendors selling ethnic products to accommodate the needs of the diverse population in the camp.
- EV28 The entrance of the Shatila camp mosque where charitable activities are facilitated.
- EV29 A fundraising event, organized by one of the camp's residents to support recreational activities for the youth.
- EV30 Community members providing support to children who have lost their fathers.
- EV31 A local shop in the camp where Syrian refugees gather and vent about life problems.
- EV32 The front of a local shop where Syrian refugees gather to talk about their problems.
- EV33 A textile piece with the word "Thrive" embroidered on the cover, made by local women to sell in Canada.
- EV34 The camp's embroidery factory, reflecting the manager's professional development.

- EV35 A local camp resident working at a bakery, crossing cultural barriers by working a typically male job.
- EV36 A local camp resident knitting a scarf, reflecting her evolution into an entrepreneur.
- EN1 Employees from the camp sitting and working together, exemplifying the social nature of the workplace.
- EN2 A local business operated by a Syrian refugee, demonstrating the workplace's social nature.
- EN3 A small purse produced by one of the camp residents, demonstrating the flexible productivity-based strategy she implements.
- EN4 An electronics repair shop owner who sleeps in his business during the week and commutes to a different city to see his family on weekends.
- EN5 Water supply shop operated by a local mother implementing creative enterprising approaches.
- EN6 An upcycling store in the camp, demonstrating the owner's creativity in earning a living.
- EN7 A man selling food using his Basta, demonstrating the creative entrepreneurial techniques employed in the camp.

- EN8 A woman selling vegetables; she places her Basta next to the camp's busiest streets to optimise profits.
- EN9 A man selling traditional treats using his Basta, demonstrating how residents can earn a living despite legal restrictions.
- EN10 A woman selling treats on her Basta to support her minor children and ailing husband.
- EN11 Children buying treats, reflecting their parents' loyalty to the Basta owner.
- EN12 An Arabia carrying watermelon, demonstrating the mobility and convenience of the platform.
- EN13 A vegetable Arabia, reflecting its convenience and mobility features.
- EN14 A man selling coffee on his Arabia as a way to earn a living and save for his wedding.
- EN15 A young camp resident selling frozen juice to cover his school expenses.
- EN16 The entrance of a one-stop shop, with clothes hanging on the outside, reflecting consumer access and convenience for camp residents.
- EN17 The entrance of the one-dollar store, showing its yellow banner and reflecting the available services in the camp.

- EN18 The interior of the Museum of Time and Memory inside the Shatila camp.
- EN19 Palestinian artefacts at the Museum of Time and Memory inside the Shatila camp.
- EN20 A soccer field inside of the camp, reflecting creative approaches to addressing conflicts with the surrounding communities.
- EN21 A tailor shop whose owner has provided apprenticeships and training to unemployed residents.
- EN22 Camp residents helping a child find her parents.
- EX1 A young Dabke dancer dressed in traditional clothes.
- EX2 Young camp residents performing using traditional instruments inside and outside of the camp.
- EX3 A dark alleyway with a little crack of light, representing the duality of life in the camp.
- EX4 A group of young students leaving the school moving under electrical wires, reflecting the tragic reality of displaced people.
- EX5 The camp's silhouette, showing the water tower, which is a symbol of the right to return to Palestine.



- EX6 A complex web of electrical wires and water pipes, representing poverty in the camp.
- EX7 An alleyway that features electrical wires mixed with water pipes and densely surrounded by buildings, reflecting the complex layers of the refugee tragedy.
- EX8 Children playing in the streets under electrical wires, reflecting the inequalities faced by children in the camp.
- EX9 A glass of water being filled, reflecting a camp resident's state of being and their growth.
- EX10 A garden in the camp; several plants at different stages of growth reflect the ups and downs of life.
- EX11 Sketches drafted by a young resident that reflect how the process of painting helps her ground her thoughts.
- EX12 A child expressing their feelings through sketching.
- EX13 An art piece by a camp resident that shows how the process of drawing helped her process difficult feelings.
- EX14 Colourful stairs reflecting life's joyful moments and milestones.
- EX15 Traditional artefacts reflecting one camp resident's linkage to their Palestinian heritage.

- EX16 An ornamental ashtray showing a camp resident's deep attachment to Palestine.
- EX17 The interior of the Museum of Time and Memory, showing its traditional Palestinian artefacts and reflecting its preservation of heritage.
- EX18 A Palestinian artefact titled *The Return Boat*, reflecting the hope to return and the movement of the first exiled generation.
- EX19 A coffee grinder that plays music, reflecting hospitality practices in Palestine.
- EX20 A traditional lantern titled *Um Charbel's Lantern*, reflecting concepts of community support and protection.
- EX21 A geometrical textile template showing a stalk of wheat and a cypress branch topped by a star, reflecting different aspects of life in the camp.
- EX22 A textile piece with an embroidery illustrating the story of exile, the influx of refugees, and life in the camp.
- EX23 A textile piece with an embroidery illustrating the story of exile, the influx of refugees, and life in the camp.
- EX24 Camp residents wearing the Palestinian flag, demonstrating patriotism towards Palestine and deep attachment to their roots.

- EX25 A refugee who arrived at the camp as a young man. He represents a direct link to the homeland and a visual reminder of the Palestinian history.
- EX26 A refugee who arrived at the camp as a young woman expressing her connection to the homeland.
- EX27 A plant growing close to a resident's doorstep, reminding her of her culture in Syria.
- EX28 A refugee mother cooking with her daughters, reflecting how she has normalised and adapted to life in the camp.
- EX29 A local artist painting Al Aqsa Mosque to preserve the memory of the holy site.
- EX30 A poster of the former chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization.
- EX31 Posters of the camp's martyrs hanging in the People's Square where children play, reflecting the martyrs' sacrifices for the Palestinian cause.
- EX32 The camp's main street, reflecting happiness during the Eid.
- EX33 A decorative star placed over the camp's main street during Ramadan, showing its environmental transformation during holidays.
- EX34 The People's Square located at the heart of the camp, reflecting spatial adaptation to accommodate diverse social functions.

- EX35 Seasonal patriotic decorations hanging over the People's Square.
- EX36 The annual commemoration gallery showing images of the Sabra and Shatila massacre.
- EX37 The annual march from the People's Square to visit the Sabra and Shatila mass grave on the edge of the camp.
- EX38 The annual march from the People's Square to visit the Sabra and Shatila mass grave on the edge of the camp.
- EX39 The annual march from the People's Square to visit the Sabra and Shatila mass grave on the edge of the camp.
- EX40 The protest against the labour law, representing concepts of unity in the camp.
- EX41 A protest against unjust policies, involving the local community in the process of creating change.
- EX42 An older refugee protesting reflecting how patriotism is not bound by age or gender.
- EX43 A third-generation refugee child protesting, which reflects the totality of the Palestinian plight.

Figure 1 An Illustration of Haight et al, 2002 – Thriving: A Life-Span Theory.

- Model 1      A visual model representing refugees thriving views in the Shatila Camp.
- Model 2      A visual model adapting Rhon's (2002) Enterprising Approach in the Shatila Refugee Camp.
- Model 3      A visual model representing refugees thriving views and practices in the Shatila Camp.
- Model 4      An Illustration of Haight et al, 2002 – Thriving: A Life-Span Model in the Shatila Refugee Camp.

## Terms, Abbreviations, Translations, and Definitions

The following definitions reflect Arabic, scholarly, and cultural terms.

**Abou:** An Arabic term meaning “the father of.” Culturally, many fathers in the Arabic countries refer to themselves as the father of the name of their oldest son or daughter, rather than using their own first name.

**Abou Ammar** (Yasser Arafat): The former President of the Palestinian National Authority from 1994 to 2004 and the Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) from 1969 to 2004. Posters of him and inscriptions of his speeches are displayed throughout the camp’s public sphere.

**Achrafieh:** An Arabic name referencing an affluent residential and business area in Beirut where most of the population is Lebanese Christians.

**Arabiya:** An Arabic term denoting a cart on wheels. It is a popular entrepreneurial instrument that allows for the movement of goods throughout the camp’s streets.

**Basta:** An Arabic term for a mobile cart on a platform. It is a popular entrepreneurial instrument for meeting some immediate financial needs. Its quick assembly, lightweight, and mobile features allow for easy strategic placement within heavy traffic areas to optimise product sales.

**Benit el-moukhayam:** An Arabic term meaning “the daughter of the camp.” The term also reflects shared values, purposes, and backgrounds.

**Biopolitics:** Coined by Rudolf Kjellén (Gunnflo, 2015), the term refers to a field that investigates the intersectionality of human biology and politics. Biopolitics explores the administration of life with a focus on the context of the local population as a subject.

**Contextual Thriving:** In the context of this research, this term denotes the thriving of individuals despite their surrounding circumstances.

**Dabke:** An Arabic term for a traditional dance style. The term means “stamping feet” and refers to a group folk dance that combines circle and line dancing.

**Deuxième Bureau in Lebanon:** The French term, meaning “Second Bureau,” refers to a decentralised intelligence agency. The goal of the organisation was to gather information, maintain security, and grant licenses to carry weapons. The organisation imposed posts and checkpoints in Shatila and was pushed out of the camp by the PLO in 1969.

**Diwan:** An Arabic word referencing a space for gathering in public and hosting guests.

**Ebn el balad:** An Arabic term meaning “the son of the country.” The term also reflects camaraderie and brotherhood among those who share the same cultural roots.

**Eid al-Fitr:** An official Islamic holiday celebrated by Muslims globally to mark the end of a month-long fasting period.

**Hakeka:** An Arabic term that denotes “truth.”

**Homo Sacer:** A term that emblematises the sovereign’s power over life and death. It is based on vague personage of the *homo sacer* (accursed man) in Roman law.

**Intifada:** An Arabic term denoting uprising or rebellion. Specifically, “an armed uprising of Palestinians against Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip” (Merriam-Webster, n.d).

**Jameah:** An Arabic term denoting a “collective.” The term refers to a rapid and rotating communal savings collective used as a substitute for a bank account, with neighbours and friends contributing a fixed amount of money every week or month, taking turns collecting the total sum of the contribution.

**Kafour:** An Arabic name of a village in Palestine.

**Keddabat:** An Arabic food consisting of vegetarian meatballs made from cracked wheat soaked in water, flour, and spices. It is an affordable food reserve food in Arabic culture when food resources are scarce.

**Labneh:** An Arabic strained yogurt dish. It is a popular breakfast and dinner food in the Middle East.

**Mahalbeeh:** A traditional Arabic dessert consisting of rice pudding, rose water, and coconut flakes. It is often sold on bastas in Shatila.

**Makdous:** An Arabic dish of baby eggplants stuffed with walnuts, red peppers, chilli, and garlic. It is an essential food reserve food in Arabic culture.

**Mihbaj:** An Arabic term describing a coffee grinder used as a music instrument, where a large staff pounds the bottom of a wooden pot.

**Mloukhyah:** An Arabic term describing a popular dish in the Middle East where the leaves of *Corchorus Olitorius* are cooked and turned into a soup or a stew.



**Mouhajjareen:** An Arabic term meaning “those who immigrate.” In the context of Shatila, the term refers to refugees newly arriving at the camp, particularly Syrians.

**Mooneh:** “Food reserve” in Arabic.

**Naffadah:** An Arabic ashtray. Traditionally, they are ornamented with seashells and pearls.

**Neoliberalism:** The term is “often characterised in terms of its belief in sustained economic growth as the means to achieve human progress, its confidence in free markets as the most-efficient allocation of resources, its emphasis on minimal state intervention in economic and social affairs, and its commitment to the freedom of trade and capital” (Smith, 2018).

**Sabra Market:** A well-known large fruit and vegetable market in the Shatila refugee camp.

**Original camp resident:** The term references members of the original wave of exiles who travelled from Palestine around 1948.

**Orphan children:** In the context of Middle Eastern culture, an orphan child has either lost both of their parents or only their father.

**Palestinian refugee:** In the context of this research, the term describes refugees of Palestinian origin who reside in the camp. This includes second- and third-generation Palestinians.

**Palestinian-Syrian refugee:** In the context of this research, the term references (1) Palestinian refugees who used to reside in the Yarmouk Camp in Damascus, or who were living in Syria and moved to Shatila because of the Syrian war, and (2) Palestinian refugees who grew up in Syria but moved to Shatila because of social or economic reasons before the Syrian war.

**Political seasons:** In the context of the Shatila camp, the term references the commemoration of historical and current events through reflection, celebration, mourning, or protest.

**Protracted camps:** The UNHCR defines protracted camps as spaces with “25,000 persons or more who have been in exile for five or more years in developing countries” (2005, p.6). The people living in protracted camps may not be in immediate danger, “but their basic rights and essential economic, social, and psychological needs remain unfulfilled after years in exile. A refugee in this situation is often unable to break free from enforced reliance on external assistance” (UNHCR, 2005, p.6).

**Refugee:** A legal term referring to “people who have fled war, violence, conflict, or persecution and have crossed an international border to find safety in another country” (UNHCR, 2021). In the context of this research, the term also describes those who identify as “refugees” but may not be officially registered with the UNHCR.

**Refugee camp:** A temporary space built for refugees or displaced persons.

**Saterna:** An Arabic word denoting something that provides safety, dignity, and livelihood against the embarrassment of needing others.

**Um:** An Arabic term meaning “the mother of.” Culturally, many mothers in the Arabic countries refer to themselves as the mother of the name of their oldest son or daughter, rather than using their own first name.

**United Nations (UN):** The UN is an international organisation founded in 1945. There are 193 member countries. The goal of the UN is to discuss common problems and find shared solutions (UN, n.d.)

**United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR):** The UNHCR falls under the umbrella of the UN and was established as a global organisation “dedicated to saving lives, protecting rights, and building a better future for refugees, forcibly displaced communities, and stateless people” (UNHCR, n.d.).

**United Nation Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA):** A UN agency that supports the relief and human development of Palestinian refugees.

**Tuk-tuks:** A small three-wheeled motorised vehicle typically used as taxi transportation. Tuk-tuks are the main mode of transportation in the Shatila camp.

**Yarmouk Camp:** A prominent Palestinian refugee camp in Damascus, Syria. This camp was a permanent part of the fabric of Damascus, complete with permanent housing, shops, hospitals, and schools. The camp was mostly destroyed during the current Syrian war, which led to a mass displacement of Palestinian refugees, both internally and across borders.

## Table of Contents

<b>Acknowledgment .....</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Abstract .....</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Illustrative Materials .....</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Terms, Abbreviations, Translations, and Definitions .....</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>Chapter 1: Introduction .....</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>1.1 Research Aims and Questions .....</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>1.2 Rationale and Significance of the Study .....</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>1.3 Mapping the Thesis.....</b>	<b>41</b>
<b>Chapter Two: Understanding Camps .....</b>	<b>49</b>
<b>2.1 Camps.....</b>	<b>49</b>
<b>2.1.1 The Multiple Origins of Camps .....</b>	<b>49</b>
2.1.1.1 Mobility and Temporality. ....	50
2.1.1.2 Containment and Control. ....	51
2.1.1.3 Social Reproduction and Resistance. ....	53
2.1.1.4 Building Human Capital. ....	54
2.1.1.5 Summary.....	55
<b>2.2 The Multiple Origins of Refugee Camps.....</b>	<b>59</b>
2.2.1 Humanitarian Systems. ....	60
2.2.2 Camps Post World War II. ....	62
<b>2.3 Protracted Refugee Camps.....</b>	<b>64</b>
2.3.1 Time-Space .....	65
2.3.2 Exclusion .....	70
2.3.3 Control .....	74
<b>2.4 Summary .....</b>	<b>79</b>
<b>2.5 Thriving in Camps .....</b>	<b>82</b>
<b>2.6 Research Questions .....</b>	<b>83</b>

<b>Chapter 3: Conceptual Frameworks .....</b>	<b>86</b>
<b>3.1 Thriving .....</b>	<b>87</b>
3.1.1 Developmental Domains. ....	88
3.1.2 Performance Domains. ....	90
3.1.3 Summary.....	91
3.1.4 Thriving: A Life Span Theory .....	93
<b>3.2 Space .....</b>	<b>97</b>
3.2.1 The Production of Space .....	99
<b>3.3 Time .....</b>	<b>105</b>
3.3.1 Objective Time .....	106
3.3.2. Subjective Time.....	107
3.3.4 Bergson’s Concept of Time. ....	111
<b>3.4 Summary .....</b>	<b>113</b>
<b>Chapter Four - Methodology .....</b>	<b>115</b>
<b>4.1 Approach .....</b>	<b>115</b>
<b>4.2 Design.....</b>	<b>116</b>
4.2.1 Goals. ....	116
4.2.2 Features. ....	118
4.2.3. Deployment. ....	120
<b>4.3 Setting .....</b>	<b>122</b>
<b>4.4 Sample.....</b>	<b>123</b>
<b>4.5 Fieldwork.....</b>	<b>125</b>
<b>4.6 Analysis and Interpretation.....</b>	<b>131</b>
<b>4.7 Rigour, Confirmability, and Trustworthiness .....</b>	<b>133</b>
4.7.1 Credibility – Authenticity. ....	134
4.7.2 Criticality – Integrity.....	136
4.7.3 Outputs. ....	139
4.7.4 Ethical Concerns. ....	139
<b>Chapter 5: The Shatila Refugee Camp.....</b>	<b>142</b>

<b>5.1 Introduction.....</b>	<b>142</b>
5.1.1 Feminist Lens .....	143
5.1.2 Structure. ....	144
<b>5.2 The Original Wave of Exile .....</b>	<b>145</b>
<b>5.3 The Period of Thriving.....</b>	<b>150</b>
<b>5.4 The Era of Wars .....</b>	<b>151</b>
<b>5.5 The Influx of New Dwellers .....</b>	<b>157</b>
<b>5.6 Shatila Today .....</b>	<b>161</b>
5.6.1 The Dark Side of Shatila. ....	161
5.6.2 The Hopeful Side of Shatila.....	165
<b>5.7 Discussion.....</b>	<b>168</b>
<b><i>Chapter Six: Thriving Through the Eyes of Camp Residents .....</i></b>	<b><i>171</i></b>
<b>6.1 Introduction.....</b>	<b>171</b>
6.1.1 Goal.....	171
6.1.2 Significance .....	171
6.1.3 Structure .....	172
<b>6.2 Thriving Through the Eyes of Camp Residents .....</b>	<b>173</b>
<b>6.2.1 A State of Being .....</b>	<b>173</b>
6.2.1.1 Internal Feelings .....	174
6.2.1.2 External Aspirations.....	176
<b>6.2.2 The Act of Connecting .....</b>	<b>179</b>
6.2.2.1 Connecting to Others.....	180
6.2.2.2 Connecting to One’s Roots .....	184
<b>6.2.3 The Process of Progressing.....</b>	<b>187</b>
6.2.3.1 Economic Pursuits.....	187
6.2.3.2 Learning .....	188
6.2.3.3 Transcendence.....	190
<b>6.3 Discussion.....</b>	<b>191</b>
<b><i>Chapter Seven: Evolving .....</i></b>	<b><i>199</i></b>

<b>7.1 Introduction.....</b>	<b>199</b>
7.1.1 Goal.....	199
7.1.2 Significance.....	199
7.1.3 Structure.....	200
<b>7.2 Time-Space Evolution .....</b>	<b>201</b>
7.2.1 Safety and Freedom.....	201
7.2.2 Environmental Evolution.....	202
7.2.3 Social-Spatial Evolution.....	205
7.2.4 Urban Evolution.....	206
7.2.5 Economic Growth.....	207
<b>7.3 Community Evolution .....</b>	<b>210</b>
7.3.1 Collective Evolution.....	211
7.3.2 Financial and Material Support.....	212
7.3.3 Emotional Support.....	214
<b>7.4 Individual Evolution .....</b>	<b>217</b>
7.4.1 Learning.....	217
7.4.2 Personal Development .....	219
<b>7.5 Discussion.....</b>	<b>221</b>
<b><i>Chapter Eight: Enterprising.....</i></b>	<b>229</b>
<b>8.1 Introduction.....</b>	<b>229</b>
8.1.1 Goals .....	229
8.1.2 Significance .....	229
8.1.3 Enterprising.....	230
8.1.4 Structure .....	232
<b>8.2 Enterprising Economic Practices.....</b>	<b>232</b>
8.2.1 Hybrid Work Environments .....	233
8.2.2 Strategic Business Plans.....	235
8.2.3 Entrepreneurial Instruments and Techniques .....	238
8.2.4 Strategic Engagements with Aid .....	240
<b>8.3 Social Enterprising Activities .....</b>	<b>243</b>
8.3.1 Creative Connection Strategies .....	243
8.3.2 Recreational Activities .....	246

8.3.3 Educational Activities.....	247
8.3.4 Social Governance Strategies.....	248
<b>8.4 Discussion.....</b>	<b>250</b>
<b>Chapter Nine: Expressing.....</b>	<b>258</b>
<b>9.1 Introduction.....</b>	<b>258</b>
9.1.1 Goal.....	258
9.1.2 Significance.....	258
9.1.3 Structure.....	259
<b>9.2 Expressions Using Creative Mediums .....</b>	<b>260</b>
9.2.1 Drama .....	260
9.2.2 Dancing .....	262
9.2.3 Photography .....	263
9.2.4 Painting .....	265
9.2.5 Writing .....	266
9.2.6 Symbols and Storytelling.....	267
<b>9.3 Expressions Using the Time-Space of the Camp as a Medium.....</b>	<b>274</b>
9.3.1 Murals and Paintings .....	275
9.3.2 Flags and Posters .....	276
9.3.3 Spatial Adaptation .....	278
9.3.4 Commemorations .....	279
9.3.5 Protesting.....	280
<b>9.4 Discussion.....</b>	<b>283</b>
<b>Chapter Ten – Overall Analysis: Thriving Through the Eyes of Refugees.....</b>	<b>290</b>
<b>10.1 Thriving Definitions and Factors.....</b>	<b>290</b>
<b>10.2 Thriving Practices.....</b>	<b>294</b>
10.2.1 Evolving.....	294
10.2.2 Enterprising.....	295
10.2.3 Expressing .....	298
10.2.5 Discussion of Feminist Approaches .....	301
<b>10.3 Discussion of Conceptual Frameworks .....</b>	<b>303</b>
10.3.1 Thriving .....	304



10.3.2 Space.....	310
10.3.3 Time .....	314
<b>Chapter Eleven – Conclusion.....</b>	<b>317</b>
<b>11.1 Research Summary .....</b>	<b>317</b>
<b>11.2 Potential Impact of the Research .....</b>	<b>319</b>
11.3 Academic Contributions .....	319
<b>12. References.....</b>	<b>328</b>

## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a summary for and outline of the thesis structure. I start with a section presenting the research aims and questions. Next, I illustrate the rationale of this study setting out the background for this research while outlining key points - discussed in depth throughout the chapters covering the current state of the literature - that justify the importance of conducting this research. I conclude the chapter with a section mapping the thesis.

### **1.1 Research Aims and Questions**

This thesis aspires to understand refugee camps by exploring camp-residents' thriving views and practices; then, it creates a new toolkit for camp design and operation. The process will give a voice to refugees' practices in camps while providing the empirical path for using their perspectives as an impetus for policy change around camp design and operation. By giving voices to refugees and supporting potential policy changes, this research aims to improve the quality of life for refugees in camps and to encourage the building of better encampment environments.

With this in mind, the purpose of this study is to investigate concepts of thriving by engaging with refugees' intimate and everyday lives within the time-space of well-established camps. This will reveal how refugees may thrive contextually throughout the encampment process, taking matters into their own hands, achieving their aspirations, and redefining spaces and time spent in camps. To this end, I ask the following overarching research question:

#### **How do refugee camps become time-spaces for Contextual thriving?**

To answer this question, I will answer the following sub-questions:

- (a) How do refugees define thriving in the context of encampment?
- (b) What factors are most important to their thriving?

(c) How do refugees practice thriving in the time-space of camps?

I will answer these questions through an empirical study of long-term encampment in the Shatila refugee camp in Beirut, Lebanon.

## 1.2 Rationale and Significance of the Study

This research recognises that spaces and experiences in refugee camps are constantly being reshaped as their inhabitants try to build futures for themselves rather than remaining in temporary states; these changes are based on the thriving of individuals and communities. Therefore, the research questions explore definitions of thriving and such practices within the time-space of camps. This research also acknowledges the novelty of this approach, as the concepts involved with thriving have minimal to no representation in the context of researching protracted refugee camps.

Exploring thriving concepts in protracted camps is especially important because there are currently 22 million refugees residing in over 300 recognised camps. The current UNHCR and UNRWA model is that the regime in charge of refugees delivers protection to them is ineffective and outdated (Feldman, 2014; Turner, 2015). This model involves the long-term provision of assistance in refugee camps and closed settlements. The design of, and policies towards, camps have not been significantly updated in the last three decades. Camps are systems designed only for the emergency phase, offering an immediate lifeline, yet many end up becoming impromptu cities that provide living conditions over the long term. Although the provision of food, clothing, and shelter is needed for the refugees in the immediate aftermath of escaping war or other disasters, it evolves into an inadequate approach for providing life-fulfilling opportunities, which is why some refugees attempt to change their realities. It is clear that refugees' needs shift during long-term encampment, yet the mode of operating camps continues to focus mainly on day-to-day survival, with a dependency on aid (Betts & Collier, 2017; 2015).

Therefore, this research aims to produce a design toolkit based on dwellers' thriving views and practices. Ultimately, the goal is to distribute the toolkit to policy and humanitarian actors who can mobilise in camps. This approach will create thriving environments based on refugees' needs, views, and practices. The process will give a voice to refugees' practices in camps while providing the path for using their perspectives as an impetus for policy change concerning camp design and operation. By giving voice to refugees and supporting potential

policy changes, this research may improve the quality of life for refugees in camps and encourage the building of better encampment environments.

Extensive searches have uncovered no examples discussing thriving in the context of camps in the literature. Thriving concepts play a significant role in the health sciences, psychology, economy, and urban design disciplines but have minimal to no representation in the context of mass displacement. The current body of literature contextualises the concept of thriving in two types of domains: (1) developmental domains where thriving is understood as a process of growth, and (2) performance domains where thriving is linked to a sense of achievement, prosperity, success, and wealth. My analysis of refugees' narratives introduces novel ideas that are missing in the current conceptualisations of thriving, which I argue should be considered essential additions. These ideas include collective thriving, residents' connections to their roots, states of freedom and independence, and the overlap of collective thriving with progressing. Some of the reasons why thriving in the Shatila camp is different from thriving in other contexts include shared backgrounds, status, difficult circumstances of the refugees, and their experience with exclusionary laws whilst living in a confined space. The diverse definitions of thriving in research and the absence of a commonly accepted characterisation in camps are considered in the context of mass displacement. An entry point is opened to use these novel concepts for benchmarking thriving interventions in the context of protracted encampment.

This is especially important since camps have been predominantly understood through a political and humanitarian lens without considering how – within the context of displacement – they can be viewed as time-spaces of thriving. This study's research impact responds to the literature, challenging scholars to look beyond existing political and humanitarian lenses to investigate camps as places of nurturing. This is especially important since well-established camps evolve "over time, constantly being reshaped," and their "inhabitants try to build a future for themselves rather than staying in a temporary state" (Woroniecka-Krzyzanowska, 2017, p. 2). Katz's (2015) call to study diverse angles in camps aligns with my analysis, with that piece insisting that "we must indeed study the camp, in all of its physical and political aspects, not only as a concept or as a metaphor, but as a real, multifaceted space" (p. 2). Betts and Collier's (2017) analysis of camps calls for the exploration of the concept of "thriving,"

emphasising that future research needs to look at camps as contexts "that nurture rather than debilitate peoples' ability to contribute in exile. This should involve all of the things that allow people to thrive and contribute rather than merely survive" (Betts & Collier, 2017, p. 144). Camp residents create unexpected and unintentional spaces and experiences; they are "emerging as quintessential geographies of the modern, yet their intimate and everyday spatialities remain under-explored" (Sanyal, 2014, p. 4). This provides the potential for new research on the time-space of camps "in which social are recreated and performed" (Ramadan, 2013, p. 74).

This research addresses these scholarly gaps and introduces novel angles that use refugees' thriving practices to understand camps. The current body of literature relies heavily on narratives derived from Agamben's *Homo Sacer* (1998), Augé's idea of "non-place" (1995), and Agier's (2011) "waiting" and "stasis" concepts – frameworks that portray camps as slums, ghettos, and dangerous sanctuaries void of meaning and tradition. In such works, refugees are stripped of their identities, deserted to remain in states of exception, and excluded from the law while existing as perpetual passive victims, reduced to living bare lives. These political, anthropological, and sociological angles do not fully recognise the durable adaptation mechanisms progressively developed by residents in protracted camps. Therefore, the significance of this research is highlighting how refugees' activities counter these concepts. As outlined in Chapters Seven, Eight, and Nine, camp residents' *evolving* practices have turned "waiting" into an evolutionary process for development, "stasis" into a facilitator for securing a livelihood, and "exceptionality" into an opportunity for self-governance, as well as redefining "interruption" as an asset for personal growth. Their *enterprising* approaches continue to defy state control by capitalising on their freedom of movement to recontextualise "bare life" into liveable and qualified life. Their rich *expressing* practices – including cultural preservation and their different forms of artistic expressions – continue to break down the separating walls and challenge the perceptions of camps as slums, ghettos, and non-places void of meaning and traditions.

In addition to addressing gaps in the literature, this research is significant because it includes introducing methodological approaches to new disciplines. The research methods

originate from nursing and anthropological sciences, with the data analysis methods drawing on the strengths of health sciences research. All of these diverse scholarly activities are applied and contribute to engineering and humanitarianism research studies. The results of borrowing and extending scholarly activities from other disciplines mirror what Brown et al. (2010) call an innovative and transformative approach to complex and contemporary research questions. This transdisciplinary approach also transcends the humanitarian field since it draws upon strong scholarly activities from other disciplines; the National Centre for Research Methods (2009) brands this approach as a transformative research practice that delivers a higher probability of impact.

Additionally, this research argues that the methodological approach of implementing a qualitative descriptive design while using a content analysis approach, using photography as a tool to elicit views and to document practices, and phasing fieldwork activities is an effective approach for conducting research in camps and other related environments. More specifically, this approach is suitable for bottom-up research studies that focus on the participants' livelihoods while using the outcome as a guide for future interventions.

Lastly, this research borrows and applies theoretical approaches to a new context. The outcome contextualises these frameworks as useful tools for conducting research in protracted camps. Refugees' narratives provide additional layers to Haight et al.'s (2002) factors for thriving, which include eliminating past factors and focusing on the present context and future aspirations as drivers for the thriving of individuals. Refugees discussed the camp (both the place and people) as an accelerant to thriving, with its imposed systems as the major inhibitor to their thriving. Drawing on their understandings, the thesis adds "utilised spaces" to Lefebvre's understanding of spaces, specifies two additional concepts to Bergson's view on time: generational duration and geographical simultaneity. These additions are helpful tools for conducting future research in protracted camps. For example, scholars may use the recontextualised model of Haight et al. from this research as a lens for researching user-centred interventions that focus on the thriving of individuals. Similarly, researchers may apply the concepts of utilised spaces and generational duration as lenses for exploring social-spatial

approaches in camps. These frameworks underpin the design toolkit for thriving discussed in previous sections.



### 1.3 Mapping the Thesis

The thesis is organised into eleven main chapters and one appendix that culminate in a thriving model to be used as a helpful toolkit for designing and operating protracted camps. In Chapter One, I present the rationale behind this study, outline the research aims and questions, and illustrate the significance of the study. I conclude the chapter with a section mapping the thesis.

In Chapter Two, I discuss the current discourse on refugee camps, which enables me to further expand upon my research questions. I discuss the findings of the systemic literature review I conducted that encompasses the history and genealogy of camps in general, the evolution of refugee camps, the current discourse on protracted camps, and case studies highlighting the activities of refugees in protracted camps. I also examine some of the most applied and (sometimes) misapplied frameworks through which camps are conceptually understood, including Agamben's *Homo Sacer*," Augé's idea of "non-place," and Agier's "waiting" and "stasis" concepts. As part of the analysis, I compare the context of these frameworks with refugee activities through the lenses of time-space, exclusion, and control in protracted camps. In contrast to these theorisations of camps, I conclude that refugees have rebelled against their conditions by redefining the role and power of time and space in their camps and pursuing their aspirations. The gap between refugees' activities and the current contextualisation of camps led me to craft the research questions around exploring refugee camps as places for contextual thriving. I further argue that because refugees themselves are initiating these activities, a bottom-up approach is needed to investigate refugees' views of what constitutes contextual thriving and documenting how they practice these thriving approaches within the time-space of the camp.

In Chapter Three, I unpack key concepts in the literature that underpin the research questions, including the concepts of thriving, time, and space. I start by outlining the current discourse on thriving, followed by discussing the theory on thriving expressed in Haight et al. (2002). The model's variables – the individual, the community, and the environment – align with this research's conceptual foundation. I also discuss Lefebvre's (1991) *The Production of Space* model; Lefebvre's approach to how spaces are conceived, perceived, and lived underpin

the concept of “space” as it is highlighted in the research questions. I conclude the third chapter with a discussion of Bergson’s (1965) philosophy on time. His approach to duration and simultaneity, which highlight the intersection of time and space, is helpful in understanding the context of time in refugee camps.

Chapter Four outlines the methodological approaches. I discuss the reasons behind choosing a qualitative descriptive design with a conventional content analysis approach and their origins in health sciences. This approach has been commonly used to investigate under-researched topics linking patient experiences and voices to policy for improving health outcomes and care delivery models. Integrated into this framework, I outline the process of implementing visual references methods, like photographs captured by refugees, which will provide policymakers with a refugee view of refugees’ experiences. I propose Lebanon as a location and the Shatila refugee camp as a setting for my study. The reason for choosing Lebanon centres on the country’s status as a host to refugees, the protracted nature of the recognised refugee camps, and the deeply involved political system that directly impacts on refugees’ livelihoods. I suggest Shatila as a site because the camp has experienced spatial and social transformations in the past half-century, fitting it into the context of this research. I outline that the sample for this research includes displaced Syrians and Palestinians over the age of 18 who have been residing in camps for over five years and who are fluent in Arabic or English.

Additionally in the fourth chapter, I describe the fieldwork experience and highlight the phases of activities. In the first phase, I explain the process of building relationships with partners on the grounds, obtaining permission to access the camp, and piloting the study. The second phase of the process is collecting data, including individual and focus group interviews, as well as a photo-elicitation interview process. During the third phase, I address the methodological gaps and the need to interview other demographics, including older generations who were born and raised in the camp as well as others who arrived in Shatila with the original wave of exile from Palestine. In the analysis and interpretation section, I describe the conventional analysis approach I followed in interpreting the data and the rationale behind selecting it. I then outline my strategies for improving the trustworthiness of this research,

including my determination to follow a rigorous data collection process, and multiple strategies to verify the conclusions. I conclude Chapter Four with ethical concerns that highlight the approaches meant to minimise any risks refugees may encounter.

Chapter Five unpacks the history and the current state of the Shatila refugee camp, as the camp's background underpins any discussion of its dwellers' thriving activities. After conducting an extensive review of archival sources and secondary research, I combine the analysis of the literature with refugees' oral history of Shatila, distinguishing five periods that shaped and reframed the story of Shatila. The first period – *the original wave of exile* – marked the foundation of Shatila, when it was created as 18 tents in an open field adjacent to the slums of Beirut. During this period, the government prohibited Palestinians from taking part in the Lebanese economy or planting roots in the area. *The period of thriving* followed in the late 1960s, when the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) managed the camp, provided safety and security, and facilitated the building of permanent structures that allowed dwellers to secure their livelihoods. The subsequent period – *the era of wars* – was defined by a series of battles that resulted in re-confinement, disempowerment, and the infliction of violence against Palestinians. This includes the civil war in 1975 and the Sabra and Shatila massacre in 1982 and concludes with the War of the Camps in the mid-1980s. Despite such destruction, the period known as *the influx of new dwellers* focuses on the population and environmental expansion at the end of the century. In early 2010, new structures were erected, and the social fabric of the camp was altered due to the influx of Syrians and Palestinians from Syria. The final period – *Shatila today* – is characterised by two overlapping and contradicting frames of destitution and thriving. Dwellers explain that the camp has a dark side and a hopeful side. The dark side is represented by the debilitating environment, oppression, and conflict, while the hopeful side is rooted in dwellers' thriving activities, which considers the camp to be a time-space of livelihood, protection, and opportunities. I conclude the chapter with a discussion section placing the context of Shatila's story in the current discourse on camps.

Chapters Six to Nine present the results for this research. The analysis of the results is conducted thematically in order to reach a consolidated understanding of the refugees' perception of their situation and from their own perspective. Each of the chapters commences

with an introduction summarizing key concepts discussed in previous chapters followed by a section outlining the goals for the chapter. The discussion moves forward highlighting the significance of each chapter by linking the results with gaps in the literature. Lastly, a description of the chapter's structure concludes the introduction sections. An analysis highlighting key important results will conclude each of the main sub-themes linking the results to the literature review and proposed conceptual frameworks. These key analytical points will be discussed in depth in Chapter Ten. A discussion section concludes each of the results chapter summarising the results, outlining contributions to the scientific domain, while building up the argument for the thriving model.

In Chapter Six – Thriving – I discuss the Shatila refugee camp residents' views on thriving while providing different perspectives for – and sometimes challenging – how camps and refugees are portrayed in the literature. I focus on three ways in which residents understand thriving – a state of being, an act of connecting, and the process of progressing. In the first thriving theme (a state of being), I present dwellers' internal and external perceptions, emotions, and desires as a structure for thriving. The act of connecting narrates diverse approaches to connection as a strategy for helping one another, providing emotional support, and collaborating in solving problems. In the process of progressing section, I discuss developmental milestones – such as economic pursuits, learning, and overcoming difficulties – that can lead to a positive state of being for dwellers. In the discussion section, I present the crosscutting concepts that emerged across the three themes, including choice, collectiveness, and the camp as a technology through which thriving is actualised. Additionally, I argue that the three thriving themes introduce novel ideas that are missing in the current conceptualisations of thriving: collective thriving, connection to residents' roots, and states of freedom and independence. I conclude Chapter Six with an argument highlighting how refugees' discussions on thriving upend the camp's portrait as slums, ghettos, and dangerous sanctuaries.

In Chapter Seven – Evolving – I outline three diverse evolving strategies integral to thriving in the Shatila camp. First, I present examples of camp residents applying evolutionary time-space approaches, including a discussion on safety and freedom infrastructures, environmental evolutions, social-spatial evolution, urban changes, and economic growth.

Second, I discuss case studies illustrating community-based evolutionary processes; this includes a discussion on the collective social fabric in the camp, as well as financial, material, and emotional support. Third, I examine individual evolutionary processes, including learning and personal development approaches. I conclude the chapter with a discussion section building on the chapter detailing thriving definitions and comparing evolutionary practices with the current discourse on protracted camps in the literature. Refugees' thriving activities provide a different perspective for the notions of exceptionality, waiting, stasis, and time interruptions, as discussed in Chapter Two. I argue that residents' practices have turned "waiting" into an evolutionary process for development, "stasis" into a facilitator for securing a livelihood, "exceptionality" into an opportunity for self-governance, and "interruption" into an opportunity for personal growth, transforming the camp into a place of opportunities.

Chapter Eight – Enterprising – outlines case studies showcasing refugees' problem-solving and profit-generating practices. My approach contextualises enterprising as a way of promoting thriving that includes and goes beyond the commonly used economic dimension. Therefore, in this chapter, I first focus on economic practices, studying how camp residents develop and integrate innovative financial and profit-generating practices that have long-lasting impacts. These practices include restructuring the traditional workplace into a hybrid environment that allows for meeting personal needs whilst optimising profits, implementing incremental earning models that facilitate economic stability for individuals and the community, utilising entrepreneurial techniques that mitigate financial crises and optimise earnings, and creatively engaging with aid as capital interments to fund business strategies. Second, I focus on social practices, covering collective strategies that address existing social, cultural, economic, or political challenges by changing imposed systems or inventing processes that alter the structures that gave rise to the issues. These socially based activities include designing approaches that touch on human connections to tackle issues of internal and external conflict, implementing recreational strategies to address integration and social issues, applying educational approaches to confront youth problems, and mobilising governance strategies for managing behavioural challenges. I conclude Chapter Eight with a discussion highlighting how enterprising activities deepen the definition of thriving discussed in Chapter Six while

challenging the concepts of bare lives, control, and aid dependency discussed in Chapter Two. I argue that that dwellers' enterprising activities transform a "bare life" into a liveable and qualified life, "control" into self-government approaches, and aid dependency and passive victimhood into creative strategies for securing a livelihood.

In Chapter Nine – Expressing – I present examples outlining different mediums of expression integral to thriving in the Shatila camp. I divide up the chapter into two main sections; in the first section, I present case studies where camp residents utilised creative mediums such as art, drawing, writing, dance, photography, storytelling and drama to present their inner voices and self-expression processes. Refugees employ heritage stories as lenses through which to interrogate contemporary issues facing the camp and as a strategy for battling invisibility. The creative process of acting is also used to occupy residents' time in a positive way and as a cathartic platform through which children can express and process the traumas they've experienced. Dancing, on the other hand, showcases a regional cultural practice and extends a hand of unity between multiple communities, while photography is used as a facilitator for processing emotions and expressing feelings of hope. The process of painting helps residents clear their thoughts and aids them in healing from traumas, whereas creative writing elevates their voices against injustices in both the past and present. The acts of preserving and reproducing traditional symbols are considered powerful vehicles with which to tell stories of heritage while cementing their identities to the homeland.

In the second section, I discuss dwellers' deep attachment to, and multi-layered identity within, the camp, rendering its time-space as a place of expression. I provide examples showing how refugees create murals and paintings to preserve heritage and as reminders of cultural qualities. They use flags and posters to remind future generations of the refugee causes and the sacrifices of martyrs. Both practices facilitate flexible and adaptable spatial technology that accommodates diverse time-limited interventions – such as marches and protests reflecting on past trials – and to express systemic injustices. I conclude Chapter Nine with a discussion section highlighting how each expression medium adds a deeper layer to the definitions of thriving discussed in Chapter Six while providing different perspectives on the concepts of separation, meaninglessness, non-places, and invisibility discussed in the literature. I argue that

refugees transform the concept of “separation” by building a bridge between camp residents and broader communities, confront the concepts of meaninglessness by documenting lost villages and expressing their identities with murals and graffiti, and cultivate meaning through reproducing symbols and preserving their culture.

In Chapter Ten, I summarise the results and conceptual frameworks for this research and answer the research questions. Building on the analysis of the results, I create a model that visually represents the thriving practices discussed in the thesis, which can be used to guide future research in protracted camps. I follow the model with an analysis of the frameworks utilised in the context of the Shatila refugee camp and discuss the definitions of and changes to models. I propose additional layers to Haight et al.’s (2002) factors for thriving and the addition of “utilised spaces” to Lefebvre’s (1991) understanding of spaces; I also specify two additional concepts to Bergson’s (1965) view on time: generational duration and geographical simultaneity. These additions will pave the way to recontextualise these frameworks into applicable models in future refugee camps’ research.

The last chapter, Chapter Eleven, concludes this Thesis. I start the chapter with a summary outlining the overall research process, culminating in research questions focusing on refugees’ thriving views and practices. The chapter will conclude by outlining the potential for impact of this research in both the academic and practical worlds. This includes mobilising the thriving model in the context of other protracted camps, testing the methodological approach, creating pedagogical models, and partnering with policymakers to develop toolkits for designing and operating refugee camps. Lastly, all of the existing literature cited in this research will be referenced after the conclusion chapter.

All of the images cited in Chapters 6-9 are included in Appendix A. The title of each image corresponds with the first two letters of the chapter’s title and the order of the picture. For example, the first image referenced in Chapter Six, *Thriving*, is labelled TH1, the second image cited in Chapter Seven, *Evolving*, is labelled EV2, the fifth image referenced in Chapter Eight, *Enterprising*, is labelled EN5 and the tenth image cited in Chapter Nine, *Expressing* is labelled EX10. This thesis cites 132 images; the size of the digital files made it impossible to integrate the photos within the text. Therefore, I am including two formats of “Appendix A”

(Word Document and PDF) that group all of the pictures and captions as an alternative method for viewing the photos. The reader can read the results chapters and view Images side by side. Images captured by participants were anonymised by a consultant visual communicator. Faces were replaced with generic and royalty-free stock photos, clothes were recoloured, and identifying objects and/or buildings were altered. Reconfigured images retained the essential features of the original photograph. Due to low pixilation, quality and overexposure in some of the images, the studio was unable to replace faces for a handful of images. Instead, in these cases, faces were blurred and identifying marks were removed.

Throughout the thesis, I cross-reference different chapters and sections. Each reference is hyperlinked to the location of the section where the narrative is outlined. For example, in Chapter Eight – *Enterprising* – I write the following:

*Camp residents' strategic business plans utilise the evolutionary practices mentioned in the previous chapter (Seven), such as freedom of movement, safety, learning, and Jameah (7.2.1 Safety and Freedom. 7.3 Community Evolution).*

Both (7.2.1 Safety and Freedom. 7.3 Community Evolution) are sections documented in Chapter Seven – *Evolving*. The references are hyperlinked; when the reader clicks on the numbers, the text will shift to the location where the concepts are outlined. Additionally, the reader may use the “navigation pane” in Microsoft Word to navigate across multiple chapters and section.



## Chapter Two: Understanding Camps

This chapter discusses the current discourse on refugee camps. A structured literature review was conducted, encompassing the history and genealogy of camps in general, the evolution of refugee camps and their management systems, the current discourse on protracted camps, and case studies highlighting the activities of refugees in protracted camps. More importantly, this literature review explores some of the most applied (and sometimes misapplied) frameworks through which camps are conceptually understood, including Agamben's *Homo Sacer* (1998, 2005), Auge's "non-place" (1995), and Agier's (2011) concepts of "waiting" and "stasis." These frameworks were investigated by studying refugees' thriving activities in protracted camps in Africa and the Middle East since countries in these regions host the most significant volume of protracted refugees and some of the most well-established camps in the world.

The chapter commences with an introduction to the general genealogy of camps, highlighting the associated temporality, mobility, separation, and control. This is followed by an analysis of the evolution of refugee camps' spatiality during the last two centuries, highlighting the parallel development of the humanitarian management system. The analysis then goes on to examine the current state of protracted camps, comparing their contexts with their residents' activities. Such activities were examined through the lenses of time-space, exclusion, and control. Next, the chapter argues the need to explore the concept of thriving in protracted camps. This justification, coupled with differences between theorists' writing on camps and residents' activities, led to the focus on thriving in the thesis's research questions. The chapter concludes with a statement highlighting the significance of the research questions.

### 2.1 Camps

#### 2.1.1 The Multiple Origins of Camps

History teaches us that encampment has been practised long before camps even had proper names. Since the early days of humanity, people on the move have occupied sites, which makes camping the "oldest practice of human settlement" (Feigenbaum et al., 2013, p.

5). Charlie Hailey (2009), one of the first scholars to discuss camp typologies, links camps to the concepts of time and space, defining their context through their spatial practices and combining physical spaces and experiences, as both can be expressed through time. Camps are a spatial technology for accommodating mobility, containing and controlling movement, and hosting human development programs.

Following Hailey's (2009) time-space approach, I draw on different histories analysing camps' genealogies before the era of mass displacement in the 20th century. The analysis links camps' origins to spatial and experiential technologies, highlighting four overlapping contexts based on: (1) mobility and temporality, as evident in nomadic communities' quests for sustainable living and transient lifestyles; (2) containment and control, as shown by the presence of military, detainment, and concentration camps, each with goals of maintaining control and separating camp activities from the outside world; (3) social reproduction and resistance, as portrayed in protests and camp re-creations of everyday life in ways that resist injustices; and (4) building human capital, as exhibited in educational and recovery camps' pursuits to separate individuals from the outside world in a form of holding developmental activities (Feigenbaum et al., 2013; Fischer, 2014; Goyal, 2005; Hailey, 2009; Jelacic, 2014; eet al., 2018; Machiavelli, 2003; McConnachie, 2016). The different contexts represent significantly different experiences along a broad spectrum, ranging from extreme repression to maintenance of the status quo to personal fulfilment and, ultimately, to liberation and revolutionary change.

**2.1.1.1 Mobility and Temporality.** The initial concept of encampment emerged in response to the need for flexible, mobile, and temporary communal spaces to accommodate the lifestyles of Nomadic communities (Feigenbaum et al., 2013). Early documentation of camps indicates their use by the first nomadic pastoral society that developed in the period between 8,500 and 6,500 B.C. in the Southern Levant. Camp usage continues throughout history, with Indigenous, Bedouin, and Romani nomadic communities commonly living in camps (Askarov et al., 1992; Laubin & Laubin, 2012). Nomads initially included families that herded their livestock, seeking food and pasture. They would move from one place to another to stay ahead of the seasonal weather, to exchange goods, or to seek employment. Their lifestyle

required light, movable dwellings that could be easily transported from one location to another. Therefore, they often slept in tents, cooked outdoors, and carried minimal possessions (Amitai & Biran, 2015).

Many nomadic communities travel in groups of families called *bands* or *tribes*, with the families relocating approximately twice a year (Askarov et al., 1992). These two movements would generally occur during the summer and winter seasons but would remain within consistent regions. This helped them maintain a sense of community. Due to their shared familiarity with their community's nomadic patterns, families could still easily locate other members of their extended communities (Goyal, 2005). Tent designs varied based on the region, the era, and primarily by the availability of materials. Early nomads aggregated tents around a focal point to maintain a sense of community and draped animal pelts over tree branches to form shelters. In Central Asia, nomadic communities' tents were usually constructed from yarn spun from hand-rolled yak wool (Bold, 2016). This just shows how the resources of the region could influence tent designs and materials.

**2.1.1.2 Containment and Control.** In addition to implementing the concepts of mobility and resettlement found in nomadic cultures, military, detainment, and concentration camps have developed spatialities based around concepts of replicability, containment, and control. While nomadic camps facilitated a voluntary movement and a sense of community, the primary purpose of military and detainment camps was to secure and separate residents' activities from the outside world while mobilising involuntary movement through control, punishment, torture, and threats to safety and security (Hailey, 2009). Camps in this context are linked to the Roman Empire's military practices; in fact, the term *camp* was first used to contextualise Campus Martius outside the ancient city of Rome in around 300 A.D. (Turner, 2015). The Romans designed camp spaces as templates for protecting and containing military activities that could be replicated at the end of each day's march. The uniform orthogonal camp layout allowed soldiers to locate their leaders and superiors to govern combatants' movements on a daily basis (Jelacic, 2014; Machiavelli, 2003).

Armies in the Roman Republic were not just made up of soldiers; they also contained skilled engineers, with every legionnaire trained in working construction (Gilliver et al., 2005).

The inclusion of engineers was an essential component of their successful approach to siege warfare, as it enabled them to build a comprehensive infrastructure, including networks of communications, supplies, and defences throughout Europe. Frequently replicated and quickly assembled, the military camp was the ultimate expression of this amalgamation of military engineering, organisational systems, and mass labour (Goldsworthy, 2011).

At the beginning of the 18th century in Europe, prisoner of war (POW) camps emerged, continuing to apply the same concepts of replicability, containment, and control; however, these camps remained in place for a very long time, shifting the previously temporary nature to one of semi-permanency. These camps mark the beginning of specialisation being used as a response to conflict, as a technology to forcibly detain people, as a place for suffering, and as a context of a social hierarchy (McConnachie, 2016; Scheipers, 2015). The first known POW camp was created in England as a response to the French Revolutionary Wars in 1796; the use of these camps continued to spread until they became routine features of international conflict, reaching their peak use during World Wars I and II, when captured combatants were held in camps in Russia, Germany, Japan, and throughout the UK, United States, and Canada (Burke & Ritchie, 2014; Scheipers, 2015). One unique feature in these camps is the social hierarchy of prisoners; low-ranking soldiers were imprisoned in the bunks and camps, where food was insufficient and disease flourished, whereas officers were granted a modified form of parole (Feigenbaum et al., 2013). POW camps were used as a tactic of war, exacerbating suffering in an already brutal conflict, killing thousands with starvation and disease.

POW camps were founded on a variety of political typologies, with different focuses such as concentration, re-concentration, quarantine, holding, and other types of camps (Feigenbaum et al., 2013; Scheipers, 2015). Another type of camp – branded *custody* or *internment* – began in the Northern Caribbean region at the end of 19th century with the goals of imposing national security, torture, ethnic relocation, and health quarantines, leading to the rapid international adoption of camp models (Mytum & Carr, 2013). Whereas POW camps reacted to the actions of military forces, custody camps contained individuals according to their identities, health statuses, and other life circumstances (McConnachie, 2016). Ultimately, the full range of camps included labour camps, political camps, and the most infamous camps in

history, concentration camps (Mytum & Carr, 2013; Feigenbaum et al., 2013; McConnachie, 2016).

It is important to note that different forms of resistance emerged as a reaction to such attempts at containment and control. For example, after an extended period of encampment spent enduring extreme living conditions, prisoners started taking matters into their own hands, challenging the rules and regulations enforced by governors. They started resisting imposed conditions, seeking autonomy and improved living conditions (McConnachie, 2016). Resistance could be expressed through a refusal of orders, protests, or escape. Several modified versions of POW camps emerged years later, including re-concentration camps, acting as spaces to forcibly rehabilitate people, and labour camps as a form of punishment through hard work (McConnachie, 2016).

**2.1.1.3 Social Reproduction and Resistance.** Feigenbaum et al. (2013) argue that this concept of resistance, discussed in the previous paragraph, teases another camp origin as a response to the rise of social and activist movements that culminated in different forms of protest. Besides applying the concepts of mobility, containment, and temporality found in previous camp typologies, protest camp spaces were formed around: (1) the suspension of control, (2) the need to activate politics, regulate engagement in direct action, and reveal injustices, and (3) constructing and drawing on specific philosophies, movements, and struggles (Frenzel et al., 2014). Protest camps are sometimes defined by their physical locations. While nomadic camps' locations prioritize the pursuit of livelihood, and military camps' locations prioritise security, the locations of protest camp are chosen to disrupt those who reside outside of the camp's boundaries. Therefore, the camp itself becomes an instrument with which to overtly disrupt normative life and interrupt "people's movement through public spaces" (Feigenbaum et al., 2013, p. 44). Their conceptual foundation can be linked to the quest of the Digger movement for social justice throughout the 17th century in Great Britain. Considered the forerunners of modern anarchism, the Diggers were a group of activists in England founded on the belief of economic parity for all (Guzmán & Woodgate, 2015). They tried to reform the existing social order with an agricultural lifestyle based on their ideas for the creation of rural egalitarian micro-communities.

Frenzel (2014) argues that the Diggers' approach to encampment is a forerunner for the current social movements of the 20th century. Protest camps, in their contemporary form, became a broad and explicit social movement strategy in the late 1960s and 70s concurrent with the development of broader emancipatory movements. A conceptual shift occurred in this period, as protest camps provided not only a foundation for dissent but also a form of social reproduction through the re-creation of everyday life in ways that contest the status quo. Physical spaces are formed around a focal point – for example, tents or mobile infrastructure are erected as environments in which people can sleep, eat, and perform the activities of daily life. While the focal point in nomadic culture was such daily living, the pivotal role of protest camps was to contest and dissect, such as campers protesting the removal of a tree in a Tasmanian forest (Feigenbaum et al., 2013). Their communication, governance, protest actions, and re-creations of everyday life were shaped through their cooperative and community relationships. Spaces accommodated meditation, creative performances, entertainment, education, and cultural practices, with campers building communal kitchens, libraries, community centres, and spiritual hubs (Heltzel, 2012).

**2.1.1.4 Building Human Capital.** Another geological origin is linked to camps for human development, where the space requires separation from modernity and the experience portrays concepts of education, leisure, recovery, and growth (Giri et al., 2015; McClatchey & Wimmer, 2018; Tsai & Lee, 2012). These modalities involve concepts of education, wellness, and personal or community growth, ranging widely in type (e.g., addiction recovery centers, adventure-based therapy camps, leadership training retreats, youth summer activities camps, educational camps, sports camps, training conferences, and many more) (Hailey, 2009). Some of these camps are temporary, while others are more permanent, often nestled in remote areas (Beaven, 2011). The conceptual foundation of these camps centres on the need to build a sense of community while being separated from environmental triggers by escaping to an alternate, separate, and natural space (Gooch & Sheldon, 2019). Similar to protest camps, camps in this strand are defined by their physical locations; while a protest camp's location disrupts normative life, my analysis of camp space in this strand finds that it separates residents from

normative life while nourishing residents (Beaven, 2011). In this context, separation is an asset linked to human fulfilment, unlike prison camps' focus on control.

Even though similar camps' contexts emerged throughout ancient histories (e.g., holiday, wellness, and recovery camps), the birth of youth camps in Europe paved the contemporary foundation for these human development camps. Youth camps were initiated to build a sense of community while focusing on developing new skills, building character, and enhancing educational outcomes – skills for autonomous living. Protest camps drew lines of separation to express autonomy while addressing social issues, and custody camps used separation to mobilise control and torture individuals. Each of these diverse camp experiences provided an alternative environment, building on a framework that sometimes starkly contrasted with life on the outside (McCurdy et al., 2015). The youth camps were created to provide an experience contrasting modernity and offering valuable learning experiences which children could bring back to their lives in the city (Feigenbaum et al., 2013; McCurdy et al., 2015). One of the earliest documented examples of youth camps can be linked to the Wandervoegel movement in 1895. Initiated by Berlin schoolteachers who considered the experience of nature as being central to children's development, the Wandervoegel movement rejected the explicitly negative view of city life (Adriaansen, 2015). The movement believed that individuals had to be made aware of their natural environment through an educational experience that separates them from modern life (Feigenbaum et al., 2013).

**2.1.1.5 Summary.** This genealogical analysis shows that the foundation of camps centres on mobility, temporality and settlement, containment and control, separation, social reproduction, resistance, and the building of human capital.

Camps based on separation and containment choose strategic geographical locations, while the location of nomadic camps is chosen by on the presence of water and pasture, and protest camps are strategically located to disrupt normative life. Nomadic camps are formed around a sense of a community, and protest camps coalesce around injustice and resistance. Although military and prison camps follow concepts of separation to provide security, camps for human development separate individuals from modern influences and activities. Containment in military and prison camps is a strategy to mobilise control via torture, security,

management, and quarantine. Human development camps are effectively the opposite, embracing activities that nourish individuals, such as recovery and education.

With this in mind, agency and community formation are crosscutting themes that emerged out of this analysis; whereas nomadic culture's movement and settlement were voluntary, prison and military camps' separation and control strategies were not. However, extreme control tactics have also inspired different forms of resistance, as evident in POW and custody camps; encamped individuals – predominantly in protest and human development camps – have practiced contextual forms of autonomy, rebelliousness, and freedom while attempting to secure their livelihood. Furthermore, nomadic, youth, and protest camps have integrated senses of community throughout their encampment experiences. It can be argued that extreme tactics of control in detainment and custody camps birthed a sense of community through a form of collective resistance.

Diverse time patterns are evident throughout the contexts behind camp origins. Human development camps occupy time positively, whether their spaces are temporary or permanent. Protest camps are temporary, hosting impermanent interventions, though the social issue at the core of the resistance may last for a long time. For example, Resurrection City, organised in Washington, D.C., in the late 60's, sought to bring together America's poor (of various ethnic groups) on the doorstep of the U.S. Government in the form of a highly organised protest camp (Heltzel, 2012). An initiative of Martin Luther King, Jr., the city had its own urban planners who organised the camp's tents orthogonally around scalable open spaces to contain protest activities and control communication channels between protestors and movement organisers. Though the camp no longer exists, inequality and poverty remain prominent social issues (Heltzel, 2012).

It's not unusual for camps, including military camps and detainment camps, to be built with temporary intentions, only to end up remaining in operation for a very long time. Concepts of temporality, resettlement, and replicability continued to evolve and are still present in military camps today in different shapes and forms. Camp spaces have continued to grow and evolve in variety, now including several other typologies that range widely from small outposts and mid-size boot camps to military cities containing up to 100,000 people (Scott, 2011).



Military camps can exist for decades in different geographical locations and still be considered temporary – a standard practice with U.S. military bases in foreign countries (Allison, 2013).

By the same token, in the late 19th century, Spanish migrants under siege in Cuba wanted to decrease support for the resistance, so they devised a “re-concentration” policy that corralled more than half a million civilians into camps (Stone, 2017). Despite the abysmal human cost of these encampments in Cuba, the model was quickly adopted by other foreign powers, including the U.S. in the Philippines, Germany in German South West Africa, Britain in South Africa, and Italy in Libya at the start of the 20th century (Feigenbaum et al., 2013; McConnachie, 2016).

Even the lifestyles of nomadic cultures have continued to evolve throughout history, and such lifestyles are practised today by Bedouins in Northern Africa and the Middle East, by Indigenous communities throughout Australia, North America, and Europe, and by Romani groups in Europe (Cahir, 2012; Hazan, 2017; Toninato, 2018). Though these communities have followed the same encampment principles that were evident in early nomadic cultures, some communities have introduced semi-permanent concepts of camp spaces as well. In this context, Native Americans and the Aboriginal people of Australia, for example, modified the functions of tents to include living spaces instead of using them strictly as sleeping shelters (Hendry, 2005). Similarly, the Romani people enhanced their interior environments to serve as permanent living spaces in otherwise temporary wheel-mounted structures such as recreational vehicles, trailers, or caravans (Guy, 2001). However, these time-based approaches have also been used as instruments of separation and control, with the voluntary features derived from nomadic camps affected by state policies and the marginalisation from the surrounding communities (Armillei & Maestri, 2018). For example, Italy applied a policy of segregation, after thousands of “Romani asylum seekers” fled the Yugoslavian War, drawing a separation line between Romani camps and surrounding community. With this in mind, the transitory concept of time in these cultures has shifted away from mobility into a state of “permanent temporaneity” (Armillei & Maestri, 2018, p. 261).

There is one summative conclusion I would like to highlight before entering the discussion on refugee camps; the time-space of camps weaves a complex tapestry of

contradictions and overlap. Camps can focus on detention, suffering, and extermination or on autonomy, self-discovery, and healing. They can offer respite, leisure, and positive restructuring of people's lives as well. On a structural level, there are both temporary and permanent camps, and each is surrounded by either visible or invisible boundaries; likewise, campers may either roam freely, or their movement may be controlled. When it comes to governance, some camps are highly controlling and run by repressive forces such as the military, while others are self-empowering and run democratically or even anarchistically. Camps or camp circumstances can change or evolve; there are camps meant for respite that have turned into sites for armies as well as camps created as temporary structures that evolved into permanent hubs. For example, Cunningham's Young Men's Holiday Camp at Douglas on the Isle of Man was used as an intermittent camp by the British government during World War I (Maytum, 2021). During that era, the British Government repurposed most holiday camps to save money hosting refugees, workers, prisoners, and soldiers.

Paradoxes are evident depending on the context: whereas repressive separation from society and incarceration in prison camps have their basis in punishment, security, and control, this separation can be an asset to camps for human development, where people are seeking a break from their mainstream world. Similarly, location can be an important factor in protest camps focused on confronting or disrupting others, while, for nomadic cultures, location decisions are primarily focused on opportunities for fishing, hunting, grazing, or surviving in a harsh climate.

The middle part of the 20th century saw the rapid proliferation of camps, predominantly forming as a response to mass migration around the commencement of World War II. While analysing refugee camps during this era, the conceptual foundations of time and space are present, with the contradictions and alignments found in earlier typologies continuing to evolve in refugee camp environments. In fact, Feldman (2014) contextualises camps as "spaces of deprivation and protection, as temporary and long-term, and as psychologically damaging and nurturing" (p. 250). To this end, the following section discusses the origins and evolution of refugee camps from World War II until the present day.

## 2.2 The Multiple Origins of Refugee Camps

In a genealogical analysis, Herscher et al. (2017) reports that refugee camps were founded on the idea of “relief” and linked to the English Victorian Era creation of workhouses. Designed to address pauperism, workhouses intended to provide work and shelter for poverty-stricken people, yet they devolved into prison systems that detained vulnerable residents. Sanyal (2021) concurs, as her genealogical analysis highlights how these workhouses “metamorphosed into colonial camps in India and later South Africa during the Anglo-Boer war” (p. 177). Feigenbaum et al. (2013) agree with the foundation of “relief” but argue that the refugee camp has its roots in the campsites created for Armenians fleeing genocide in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century or even in the Dust Bowl camps established for workforce migrants in Depression-era California. Although McConnachie’s (2016) genealogical analysis follows Herscher et al.’s (2017) concept of imprisonment, she argues that the origin of the refugee camp is traced to the inception of the French Revolutionary War prison camps in England.

However, Malkki (1995) notes that the consistent, large-scale use of refugee camps is both an answer to forced migration and a standardised vital power device – a notion that is drawn from the German South West African application of prison camps and is traced to the annihilation of the Herero and Nama people in the Shark Island prison camp. This link laid the foundation for Nazi concentration camps during the Holocaust era (Sanyal, 2021). Camps continued to grow after World War II, as displaced persons encamped across Europe, initially doing so as a temporary means of securing housing while fleeing the Nazi regime but, subsequently, also done to accommodate persons who had been freed from concentration camps or who were escaping the Soviet Army (Betts & Collier, 2017; Herscher et al., 2017). Branded as displaced persons camps, these camps created a bureaucratic management system, involving administrators and officials, which transitioned people from concentration camps into camps that were instruments of isolation, quarantine, and control (Malkki, 1995; Sanyal, 2021).

Remarkably, the genealogy of refugee camps overlaps with elements of my analysis on the genealogy of camps in general, including their complex nature and their overlapping and contradicting contexts. Katz et al. (2018) view camps “as a multifaceted spatial formation” and investigate their contexts as “a site of political repression, separation, containment,

abandonment, and custody” and on the contrary time-spaces of “agency, resistance, solidarity, care, [and] identity” (p. 2–3). Nomadic people and refugees are both mobile groups that move in different forms towards a sustainable environment and geographical context. The voluntary nature of seeking a livelihood that is evident in nomadic cultures offers a stark contrast to refugees’ experiences of involuntary departure and confinement; the mobility of refugees is often more aligned with the context of prison and military camp prisoners. However, the contexts behind all of these encampments are considered temporary.

Military and prison camps were designed around control, separation, and management; as they spread after World War II, they hosted diverse industries that built comprehensive infrastructures, including networks of communication, supply, and defence that spanned Europe. Similarly, the creation and management of military refugee camps involved administrators, officials, and labourers working together in organisations specialising in organisational structure and delivering services such as food, shelter, sanitation, and other forms of assistance (Betts & Collier, 2017). It is evident in this analysis that the origin of refugee camps is directly related to the development of the humanitarian systems that manage their spaces and operations. Therefore, the following section outlines the complex origins of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the dominant management authority of refugee camps.

**2.2.1 Humanitarian Systems.** The management systems for camps mirror their complex genealogical linkages and evolutionary processes. The current UNHCR and the contemporary understanding of refugeeism rests on decades-long efforts to manage displaced individuals and can be traced back to efforts of resettling displaced people during the interwar period (Steele, 2019). By the end of the First World War, nations faced unprecedented refugee situations, with governments discovering they were “ill-equipped for an influx of destitute people whose attitudes and dubious legal status made them a political problem” (Holborn et al., 1975, p. 4–5). Therefore, a series of successive international organisations protected by international laws were tasked with creating systems of protection during the interwar period (Orchard, 2015). For example, the League of Nations, founded in 1920, was formed in the shadow of the First World War and marks “the first time a formal regime existed to provide refugees with

protection anchored in international law,” while attempting to prevent further wars (Orchard, 2015, p. 7). The League’s approach relies on the idea of shared responsibility or “multilateralism” for the legal and political protection of refugees. This shared burden approach was economically based, urging states to redistribute refugees in order to relieve the burden on dense areas, particularly in Southern and Central Europe, and to maintain economic stability in these regions (Chikvaidze, 2020).

The Nansen International Office for Refugees attempted to continue the League’s efforts during the 1930s by providing special passports to facilitate their movements and contribute to the host state’s economic stability (Simeon, 2013). These efforts were hindered by the rise of Nazism, which created a deeper refugee crisis as more people started to flee Nazi Germany in 1938. Therefore, the Office of the High Commissioner for All Refugees under League of Nations protection was created, combining the efforts of organisations responsible for German refugees and the Nansen International Office (Simeon, 2013). Orchard (2015) argues that the unpredictable nature of the refugee movement and constraints imposed by affected host countries contributed to the consistent dismantlement of these organisations. These organisations’ decision-making processes were mobilised through a political lens, threatening the domestic interests of involved states. Furthermore, the involvement of a collective regime meant sharing autonomy among other competing governments and therefore impacting the national interest. In the end, many states restricted immigration and fortified their borders, which undermined humanitarian efforts to address the ever-evolving refugee crises.

With this in mind, the International Refugee Organization (IRO) was formed in 1946 to repatriate or resettle the massive refugee demographics displaced by World War II (Sękowski, 2017). The totality of its task – addressing all of the aspects of the refugee crises, including registration, repatriation, resettlement, and legal protection – excluded international and multilateral approaches to resolving refugee crises (Feller, 2001). Therefore, the General Assembly rendered a decision to replace the IRO with the UNHCR, which would be tasked with providing protection for refugees and seeking permanent solutions to their plights by assisting governments with voluntary repatriation as well as assimilation (Feller, 2001). On January 1,

1951, the UNHCR started to mobilise their efforts with modest resources: thirty-three staff members and a budget of \$30,000.

Subsequently, the 1951 Refugee Convention defined the modern concept of what constitutes a refugee and outlined international asylum systems. In principle, a refugee is “someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion” (UNHCR, 2021, p. 1).

**2.2.2 Camps Post World War II.** Sanyal (2021) writes, “As processes of decolonisation, civil conflicts, and other forms of violence have grown and spread, so too has the global humanitarian system that supports those displaced from them and the camp model itself” (p. 178). The period after World War II saw the massive proliferation of camps, beginning with refugees from the Partition of India, then those from Israeli and Palestinian conflicts, and culminating in the present-day situation, where approximately one-third of the overall refugee population is housed in numerous camps across the Global South, with unidentified numbers contained in holding zones and detention centres in the Global North (Betts & Collier, 2017; Feigenbaum et al., 2013).

Camps entered an era of particular expansion during the Second Cold War, when new regional conflicts led to the creation of camps in Southeast Asia, Central America, the Horn of Africa, and Southern Africa (Betts & Collier, 2017). As the Cold War continued, agendas focused on geopolitical containment, which also led to the containment of migration. Locations for international resettlement were contracted, and refugee camps became the de facto durable solution; these temporary yet long-term homes for displaced people led to the 20<sup>th</sup> century being branded the “Age of Camps” (Bauman, 1995, p. 230).

Concurrently, the dramatic expansion of the UNHCR mirrored the complex evolution of refugees and camps. By its fiftieth anniversary, the UNHCR was employing over 5,000 staff members across the globe, managing over twenty-two million refugees and an annual budget of approximately \$1 billion (Feller, 2001). While the 1951 Refugee Convention was the first and only global instrument of binding refugee protection, it was actually an instrument of rather limited intent, particularly addressing issues of displacement in Europe. These limitations

needed to mirror the complex exacerbation of the refugee crises, particularly concerning the African continent as it was experiencing the painful process of decolonialisation (Simeon, 2013). Therefore, the General Assembly extended the UNHCR's mandate to include and protect displaced individuals falling outside the geographical context of the 1951 Refugee Convention (Simeon, 2013). Thus, the UNHCR designed and implemented the 1967 Protocol to expand the notion of refugees "beyond victims of generalized conflict and violence to include every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination, or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality" (Feller, 2001, p. 133). Subsequent conventions shifted the focus away from the "security implications of refugee flows" and to implementation of solutions – dissimilar to the "integration bias of the 1951 Convention" and "its promotion of a burden-sharing approach to refugee assistance and protection" (Feller, 2001, p. 133).

With the continuation of conflict across the world, the UNHCR continued to expand. However, the organisation was reformed in 2006 due to unsustainable administrative costs and exuberant structural spending. The goal was to decrease the share of funding spent on the organisation, reallocating the majority of resources to the "protection, assistance and solutions for people of concern" (UNHCR, 2013, p. 3). The focus of the new UNHCR was centred around protecting refugees and securing long-term solutions to their plights (UNHCR, 2018).

With the growing refugee crises, time became an important factor for the contextualisation of refugee camps. Even though the camps were created as temporary responses to mass migration, many tended to remain in existence for a very long time (Turner, 2015). Many of the camps created in the years immediately following the Second World War remain in operation today, including camps in Kenya, Uganda, and throughout the Middle East (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh et al., 2016). The UNHCR seems to have accepted this reality, as Sanyal's (2022) analysis of the "sub-block on camps" in the UNHCR Handbook for Emergencies denotes an overlapping narrative of "temporariness and permanence," acknowledging the reality of long-term displacement (p. 179).

The fact that the camps were created as temporary spaces but often became functionally permanent provides empirical grounds to examine how they have shifted over time and to explore the impact these temporary spaces have on long-term displacement. Additionally, the core concepts of refugee camps are linked to “relief” and “companionate humanitarianism,” which aligns with the purpose of human development camps mentioned earlier, yet their context also overlaps with imprisonment, quarantine, and control. The fact that refugee camps were created as nurturing spaces only to align with prison and custody camps provides empirical grounds to examine these drastic contradictions. With this in mind, the following section discusses the contexts of well-established refugee camps in the literature.

### **2.3 Protracted Refugee Camps**

Drawing on my analysis of camps and the genealogy of refugee camps, it is evident that the concepts of separation and control are rooted in military and prison camps. Temporality and movements are questioned, as *time* has become a factor impacting the context of camps and the livelihood of refugees. In this context, camps have become spaces of exclusion, where the experience is highly controlled and the refugees’ livelihoods are reduced to the bare minimum necessary for life (Agamben, 1998). Camps are a technology for filtering refugees and identifying the undesirable (Anderson et al., 2009). To this end, Boano et al. (2018) emphasise that “control, population exclusion, and temporary functionality” become the “defining characteristics” of camps (Katz et al., 2018, p. 209).

Despite these circumstances, the analysis of refugees’ activities in long-term encampments draws parallels to several concepts evident in camps for human development as well as camps for social reproduction and resistance. Research on refugees’ activities in well-established refugee camps echoes the same sentiment, yet it also introduces an additional dimension of contextual adaptation and thriving (Alloush et al., 2017; Katz, 2015; Turner, 2015). Refugees’ experiences in these camps shifted as they started to take matters into their own hands, changing their difficult circumstances, achieving their aspirations, and implementing concepts that challenged the “conclusions given by grand theories” throughout long-term encampment (Turner, 2015, p. 8). To this end, the following sections discuss camps through the lenses of time, space, exclusion, and control. Each of the sections outlines relevant discussions



from the literature and compares key concepts with refugees' activities in long-term encampments.

### **2.3.1 Time-Space**

The temporary nature of protracted camps creates a “time-space of dislocation: a space of displacement and exile, and a time of interruption, waiting, stasis,” yielding no real solutions (Ramadan, 2013, p. 72). The dynamics between policies on camps and refugees' activities display a constitutive relationship among law, time, and space, where all processes are interconnected and constantly transforming. The camp, in this context, is “an assemblage of buildings, homes, people, institutions, social relations and practices that have” been built over the course of long-term displacement, despite existing in a permanently impermanent environment (Ramadan, 2013, p. 74).

The protracted nature of the dwellers stems from how humanitarian policies are applied or misapplied. The “refugee promise,” unchanged for over 50 years, is built upon the fundamental idea that people are entitled to seek refuge and to escape harm by fleeing to other regions and that host countries have an obligation to admit them. In principle, a displaced person fleeing danger is entitled to expect any of three outcomes: repatriation, integration, or resettlement (Marjoleine, 2021). However, the implementation of these rights has not always been deemed rationally possible, because economic and geopolitical realities can prevent it (Betts & Collier, 2017; Gatrell, 2017; Malkki, 2002). Due to the extreme and rapid influx of refugees, coupled with inadequate resources and weak infrastructure, most host countries are overwhelmed, unable to provide adequate refuge and protection for refugees (Betts & Collier, 2017). For example, many registered Syrian refugees in Lebanon have settled in several camps across the Bekaa Valley region in the north, which is considered the most impoverished region of Lebanon (Dahi, 2014). Similarly, the economic situation of Jordan was already suffering, and, as a result, the country has limited its financial support for refugees largely out of the fear that, if benefits were overly generous, refugees might refuse to repatriate, remaining in the host country and consuming its already limited economic resources (Dahi, 2014). Therefore, placing refugees in camps in Jordan is a logical response, as the economic demands of hospitality are

transferred to someone else, placing the financial burden on humanitarian agencies while granting refugees temporary residency status and preventing their permanent settlement in host communities (Darling, 2017).

As a result, refugee camps are considered temporary means of maintaining order because they protect refugees and separate them from their host communities (Turner, 2015; Woroniecka-Krzyzanowska, 2017). The camps may or may not become more permanent, as their temporality remains ambiguous, with neither those who establish and govern camps nor the residents able to predict how long the camps will be in operation or how long refugees may reside in them (Turner, 2015). According to the UNHCR (2017), refugee camps are meant to serve as a “temporary measure in response to forced displacement” until another solution is found (p. 6). In reality, the three solutions for displaced individuals established by the UNHCR – repatriation, resettlement, and local integration – don’t account for the most common de facto solution to displacement: camps. This paradoxical contradiction between intent and practice means that millions of displaced persons live in situations that are considered nonviable by those who govern their lives (Burn & Fabos, 2017; Turner, 2015). The UNHCR has labelled this a *protracted refugee crisis*, a term that factors in time spent in camps, hence recognising that crises (which, by definition, are temporary) may have long-term consequences. For instance, the Nakivale settlement in Uganda opened in 1958 and the Shatila refugee camp in Lebanon opened its doors to Palestinian refugees in 1948 (Almoshmosh, 2016; Betts & Collier, 2017). Both camps have only grown since then and, if anything, have established deeper roots.

Ultimately, refugees in camps find themselves in a double bind. First, they cannot settle while they are either on the move, returning home, or settling somewhere else in the future; second, they cannot be on the move, as they are also simultaneously unable to go anywhere in the immediate future (Turner, 2015). The consequences of these contradictions have intensified as many host countries have fortified their territorial borders and limited movement out of the country, labelling refugees “illegals” (Guillaume & Huysmans, 2013; Katz, 2015; Nyers & Rygiel, 2014). To make matters worse, state policies have consistently aimed to prevent the permanent resettlement of refugees (Ramadan, 2013), meaning that protracted camps become “temporary features of a geopolitical landscape that awaits final resolution through the

indefinitely postponed negotiations among state and humanitarian agencies” (Ramadan, 2013, p. 72). In this sense, as time passes, refugees “exist between the temporary and the permanent” and the camp experience “becomes a violent act of permanence and stasis” (Gerrard, 2016, p. 2; Hailey, 2009, p. 4).

Under those circumstances, refugees live in a state of dependency, relying on the legal and humanitarian systems for their continued residence in their host countries. Those who have earned temporary status – like those spending years working through legal asylum bureaucracies – find themselves suspended in time, waiting for a resolution that may not come.

Considering this “suspension of time,” Agier (2011) discusses life in refugee camps through the lens of the enduring present and painful realities. Life is stuck, with “no meaning”; there is no past, so refugee camps are excluded from history, and there can be no prosperous future, as refugees are “waiting only to leave,” and since the present “never ends.” The only meaning found in camps is the experience of “waiting” (p. 77–79). Whether the residents are waiting for a formal status, a return to the homeland, or humanitarian aid, “stand-by” describes everyday life in camps (p. 72). Moreover, there is no point in building a life in this context, since being permanently stuck diminishes refugees’ hopes of returning to the homes they have lost. To this end, Augé (1995) contextualises refugee camps as “non-places; spaces of transience” where people do not actually live, but instead move listlessly through life, similar to the experience of being in shopping malls, train stations, or airports. These non-place camps do not integrate traditions and cannot hold life for an organic society, and, therefore, there is no possibility for dwellers to establish identities of their own (Diken, 2004). The only shared identity is one based around being perpetually on the move. Living in a non-place, Augé argues, transforms inhabitants into lonely and unsocial beings while reducing their identities to simply being lost and anonymous (Laocharoenwong, 2020). Therefore, protracted camps introduce a new quality to the discourse – a “frozen transience” – as everyone residing in such camps has a different notion of how time plays a role in their lives (Bulley, 2014; Diken, 2004, p. 93).

As time passed, the evolving camps were “constantly being reshaped” by inhabitants who were trying “to build a future for themselves rather than staying in a temporary state” (Woroniecka-Krzyzanowska, 2017, p. 2). Rather than viewing camps as frozen in time, they

“must be addressed as a process and not as a frozen materiality.” Life in camps is “never static, but . . . always in constant motion and fluid” (Martin, 2015, p. 14). As their situations in the camps became more protracted, refugees started challenging such conditions by redefining their spaces and the time they spent in camps; for example, satellite images have shown evidence of the evolution of the Zaatari refugee camp in Jordan, visually “narrat[ing] the story of the camp’s transformation from an ad hoc, chaos-ridden site to a permanent, city-like settlement” over the span of four years (Rothe et al., 2020, p. 49). Similarly, refugees in the Dadaab refugee complex in Kenya and the Yarmouk refugee territory in Syria have challenged the standard conceptions of camp spaces and environmental experiences, as they started independently building permanent housing structures and setting up businesses.

Such development exemplifies the potential for developing functional human communities in protracted camps (Feldman, 2014; Woroniecka-Krzyzanowska, 2017). Residents commonly create grassroots businesses and enhance camp spaces to become more permanent structures, generating economies that “knit together humanitarian aid, and local, national, regional and international economies in complex ways” (Sanyal, 2014, p. 3). For example, women in the Zaatari camp refused to participate in Oxfam’s job fair initiative since it didn’t respect their cultural practices, future aspirations, and lifestyle needs as providers for their children; the women instead voiced their need to learn sustainable skills to secure stable employment. Oxfam listened to the demands of the refugees, building them a garment factory and employing female Syrian refugees. Free childcare services were provided in the factories, and workstations were set up in gender-based working zones, allowing women to move freely. With the sewing skills they developed, these women were able to seek employment outside of the camp (Oxfam, 2018).

The Shatila refugee camp in Lebanon also demonstrates the impact that time has had on the spatiality of the camp. Spaces looked completely different in the initial period of exile (1948–1968) before they drastically evolved throughout the era of Palestinian resistance (1968–1982) and after their violent repression and subjugation in the 1980s and 90s. This challenges Ague’s conception of non-places, as “the spatial device of the camp simultaneously engendered transformations in Palestinian community and identity” (Peteet, 2005, p. 29).

Initially, the camp evolved according to the refugees' villages of origin, allowing residents to cultivate "their own sense of spatiality on the camps, crafting a microcosm of Galilee" (Bulley, 2017, p. 56). Decades after displacement, Peteet (2005) still found children identifying themselves as having roots in villages they had never visited. While areas in Palestine served as the first basis for camps' spatial organisation, they were gradually overlaid with other sorts of spaces and experiences, including institutional purposes, informal social rallies, inter-village marriage sites, and souks and restaurants, which, in combination, produced an embryonic notion of time (Bulley, 2016, p. 57).

With this in mind, refugee-led initiatives directly challenge the widely held – although equally contested – assumptions that refugees cannot form an organic society while living in an environment described as being void of meaning and tradition. In fact, Katz, et al., 2018 argue that time facilitates new communities and therefore new identities linked to memorialization. Therefore, cultural storytelling facilitates the preservation of identity and the social reproduction of refugees in a new context rendering camps as "not only sites for memorialization but can become memorials or artifacts in their own right" (p. 129).

These newly formed communities facilitate a new type of encampment that goes beyond the provision of food, safety, and health, as refugees have added a layer that "replicate[s] an entire support system" (Corsellis & Vitale, 2005, p. 115). This layer is demonstrated in the Baddawi camps of Lebanon, where residents provided food, protection, and shelter to newly arriving Syrian refugees (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2016), eventually initiating cultural and social events that produced tiers of meaning through readopting regional traditions that shaped unique communal arts and crafts, cultivating their homeland identities through everyday spatialities (Bulley, 2017; Ramadan, 2013).

In the Zaatari camps in Jordan, Hart et al. (2018) witnessed ingenious spatial reconfiguring that allowed cultural preservation and transfer in the camp; dwellers created semi-public hubs for receiving guests, including refugees and aid workers. Similarly, Liberians at the Buduburam refugee camp in Ghana created a unified identity amalgamating diverse cultural practices despite intense conflicts in their homeland. Since the camp was built in 1990, time "spent in the physical space of the camp resulted in repeated interactions and the bonding of

people in that space." Cultural practices, including dance, became unifiers of conflicting tribes and diverse ethnic groups (Byrne, 2016, p. 764).

### 2.3.2 Exclusion

Placing refugees in camps as a strategy for shifting the financial burden of hosting them transforms the camp into a technology for separating refugees and surrounding communities (Feldman, 2014; Turner, 2015). Mehran (2022) argues that separation approaches “isolate their inhabitants from normal social existence, exacerbate marginalisation, and separate refugees from the local population” (Seethaler-Wari et al., 2022, p. 132). To this end, scholars emphasise how this multi-level focus on separation— spatially, socially, and politically – diminishes dwellers to being “less than humans” and “invisible” (Agamben, 1998; Agier, 2011; Hutchison & Haynes, 2012; Turner 2015, p. 6). Agier (2011) argues that these levels of separation contextualise camps in three overlapping modes: “extraterritorial, exclusion and exception” (p. 280). This tripartite approach is based on the fact that some camps are located within vast, remote, and dangerous regions, near visible or political boundaries but without any demarcation on state maps (Turner, 2015). To this end, this “extraterritorial” nature of the space renders the camps “marginalised” “out-places” (Agier, 2011, p. 180; Bas, 2016, p. 50–51). As mentioned in the *Time-Space* section, the logic of places “outside” of geography is deeply intertwined with the ethical demands of hospitality; responsibility is transferred elsewhere, literally placed outside the nation, which is done, as Perera (2002) argues, to affirm a sense of mastery and control of the home (2.3.1 Time-Space).

Under those circumstances, a refugee is considered a burden or a security threat that contaminates the social fabric of communities within host countries (Agier, 2011). Therefore, camp dwellers are at risk of social “exclusion,” where their existence and identities are reduced to them simply being “undesirables” (Agier, 2011; Hutchison & Haynes, 2012; Turner, 2015). This exclusion feature is also evident in camps that are adjacent to host communities (El Arnaout et al., 2019). Agier argues that the root of the “camp solution” is a socio-spatial technology that separates those “undesirables” from the social fabric of native life. This is especially true for the countries that host the most refugees, such as Turkey, Lebanon, and

Uganda, as domestic pressure has been consistently escalating; locals have grown tired of hosting refugees, overwhelmed by the mass influx of those seeking asylum (Camarena, 2019). As a direct result, camps form firm boundaries with their host communities, drawing a socio-spatial distinction between those who live inside (the citizens) and the local population living outside (Kreichauf, 2018). Agier (2011) identifies this boundary as the “experience of a double exclusion from locality” (p. 180). Firstly, camp dwellers are excluded from living in their home countries, and, secondly, they are excluded from the native communities located where the camp is placed. Therefore, refugees live in “a subaltern position imposed by the double handicap of not being ‘home’ and being almost totally destitute” (p. 181). They exist “hors-lieux, outside of the places and outside of the time of a common, ordinary, predictable world,” in sites of segregation where “life has to redefine itself within wholly unprecedented and unknown contexts” (p. 323).

This concept based on “exclusion” and “outsideness” is not just evident through examination of social-spatial norms; it also occurs through the law, as this life outside the “limits of the normal order of things” constructs a status of “exceptionality” (Agier, 2011, p. 180–81). Agier’s views on refugee camps mirror Agamben’s (1995) political philosophy, defining the “state of exceptionality” as “a temporary suspension of the rule of law on the basis of a factual state of danger” (p. 169). Camps are “now given a permanent spatial arrangement, which, as such, nevertheless remains outside the normal order” (Agamben, 1998, p. 169). Under these circumstances, exceptionality denotes that refugees are not considered political subjects, do not have the power to manage their own livelihoods, and are deprived of protection from the state; thus, camps are governed by different legal and political bodies – political factions and local committees – than their host countries (Abourahme, 2014; Agier, 2011). Agamben (1998) considers “exceptionality” to be the foundation and “structure of sovereignty” (p. 28). Due to the notion that “sovereign is he who decides on the state of exception,” refugees are, therefore, left without a “qualified life,” living what Agamben calls “bare life,” which describes a life that is “included solely through an exclusion,” where refugees are “denied all rights” (Agamben, 1998, pp. 7, 11). The widely used and now contested concept of “bare life” is based on the personage of the *homo sacer* (accursed man) in Roman law.

Agamben correlates each encamped refugee to a person “who has been banned, exiled, or stripped of his citizenship (thus made ‘sacred’ to the gods) and who can be killed by anyone without fear of retribution” (Hanafi & Long, 2010, p. 14). The existence of the *homo sacer* has no significance to host states. Consequently, in the eyes of the sovereign powers, refugees are considered less than human and “must be provided for only in a most rudimentary sense”; thus, the *homo sacer* exists only in a “biological capacity” (p. 14).

While these concepts of exclusion, social isolation, exception, and living a bare life are formative in defining the nature of camps from the perspective of Agier and Agamben’s political philosophies, my analysis of refugees’ activities in protracted camps shows that these views do not include economic, cultural, and social dimensions. While exterritoriality is a reality, refugees are highly visible to not only the surrounding communities but also to the global political community since their survival becomes entangled with visible, proactive, and state-of-the-art humanitarian programs (Feldman, 2014). Furthermore, camps and their residents are at the forefront of the host countries’ economic, political, and environmental agendas. They are also highly visible to media outlets, in humanitarian agencies’ reports, and within surrounding communities (Carrion, 2015; Turner, 2015).

The concept of exclusion is also contextual to specific refugee camp typologies, excluding the dimension of adaptation that is evident in camps hosting refugees in a protracted state. Despite attempts to separate camps from their surrounding communities, the unwavering desirability to foster and live an urban life is clear for many refugees, as “the city can represent a site of independence and safety not necessarily found in camps” (Crisp et al., 2012, p. 24). In all Congolese refugee camp spaces in Rwanda, the government allows for social and economic interaction with the surrounding communities, introducing opportunities and incentives for employment, production, and exchange (Alloush et al., 2017). Furthermore, Turner (2015) and Martin (2015) argue that camps can become places of opportunity, potentiality, and integration for refugees and host communities alike. In Kakuma camps for Somali refugees, Kenyans have infiltrated camp spaces and intermingled with refugees, creating an integrated environmental experience that is a mixture of camp space and the adjacent community, with residents seeking opportunities in the business community (Oka, 2011).



Through countless interactions, solidarities were formed across the Shatila camp boundaries in Lebanon, where it became unclear “where the borders of camps lay” (Bulley, 2016, p. 57). The hazy borders grew even hazier when outcasts from Lebanon moved into the camp (Martin, 2015). Additionally, Sanyal (2014) argues that the spatialities of refugee camps “do not conform to such neat and bounded geographies . . . rather, the transgression between the space of the camp and the space of the host territory is messy, creating political gray spaces” (p. 4). A broader sense of community solidarity is formed beyond the camp’s boundaries, including the Westerners working in the camps, the Lebanese on the outside, and those sending remittances from abroad.

This urban infiltration also builds a case against seeing the camps as exceptional spaces (Martin, 2015). Although Agamben’s and Agier’s approaches based on exceptionality have greatly influenced the way scholars discuss camps, the legal underpinning “does not provide a satisfactory analytical tool neither to grasp the complexity of social relations within the camp, and between the camp and the city, nor to appreciate the strategies and tactics that those inhabiting such spaces adopt in their everyday lives to claim rights and membership” (Sigona, 2014, p. 1). Similarly, Ramadan and Fregonese (2017) argue that “the space of exception as a universal model of camps risks missing out on more complex sovereignty arrangements in refugee camps” (p. 951).

Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon serve as quintessential examples of how refugees have overcome the legal systems and governmental strategies meant to exclude and prevent their livelihood (Martin, 2015; Ramadan & Fregonese, 2017). Abourahme (2014) argues that, for these Palestinian camps, the concept of exceptionality is an abstract and philosophical concept that mainly exists in the world of academia and may differ from the realities of everyday life. The concept fails to include bottom-up innovations that challenge the concept of political abandonment, such as refugees generating new politics through other mediums, such as art, architecture, and urban expansion (Abourahme, 2014; Katz, 2015). The slow and incremental urban growth that accompanied residential building in the Shatila refugee camp, for example, reflects forms of contestation and visible political resistance, with the urban fabric bleeding into the surrounding communities. The infiltration and proliferation of new dwellers

and “other outcasts” (both from host communities and other immigrant groups) makes it impossible to identify any spaces of exceptionality within the camp boundaries (Martin, 2015, p. 10). Palestinians communicated and supported messages of resistance through their art, as demonstrated by Handala – a popular character drawn by the Palestinian cartoonist Naji al-Ali. As a symbol of Palestinian identity and the culture’s defiance, Handala’s audacious narrative has been disseminated through media, textbooks, and exhibits worldwide (Schicocchet, 2014).

In this context, exceptionality does not produce the essentials for a “bare life” and may only reflect specific types of camps, such as detention centres. The *homo sacer* underpinning doesn’t offer “an effective” and accurate “theoretical understanding of political agency on the part of refugees themselves,” as camp spaces are too multi-dimensional to be understood through this lens (Ramadan & Fregonese, 2017, p. 951; Turner, 2015). While the exceptional nature of the camp is reflected in its living conditions and decaying environment, the idea of residents living a bare life is challenged through “a different reality where sociality is re-created, social hierarchies are produced, and politics continues to have significance” (Bulley, 2014; Turner, 2015, p. 5). The examples cited in this section – i.e., informal economies, diversity of dwellers, political demands, and cultural practices – challenge the *homo sacer* philosophy of encamped refugees, as these refugees live meaningful lives beyond merely meeting the described “biological capacity.” Therefore, Agamben’s view is an incomplete lens for discussing protracted camps (Volk, 2017).

### **2.3.3 Control**

Prolonged encampments and exclusionary processes create fertile opportunities for control; host states control the movement of refugees based on the location of camps, and humanitarian regimes determine refugees’ quality of life through aid delivery (Darling, 2017). Malkki (2002) points out that refugees often move in large masses and are, thus, perceived as disruptors and contaminants by host communities, leading to military forces constantly governing and controlling refugee camp spaces. Moreover, when refugees have moved *en masse*, they have been perceived as a drain on local resources and a threat to host countries’ “stability, identity, and social cohesion” (Loescher et al., 2008, p. 5). In this way, a camp’s

exceptionality and extraterritorial features are the ultimate act of “spatial control of mobility,” while contextualising forced migration based on “the productive logic of society by making out of irregular mobility either controllable populations or illegalised people” (Bulley, 2014, p. 14; Papadopoulos & Tsianos, 2013, p. 180).

A growing number of scholars argue that humanitarian agencies are complicit with governmental control tactics (Betts & Collier, 2017). Even though humanitarian organisations are the primary facilitators in assisting refugees and their movements, they control regional, economic, and political stability by asserting geographic boundaries while contorting refugees’ existence (Jansen, 2015; Agier, 2011b); humanitarian establishments act as global socio-political gatekeepers for controlling refugees’ statuses, movements, and available services (Betts & Collier, 2017; Malkki, 2002; Turner, 2015). To do so, they implement a wide range of practices, including classifying residents into categories, mapping their movements, and carrying out censuses and surveillance to transform “anonymous masses of refugees into knowable and thus controllable populations” (Rothe et al., 2020, p. 45). Furthermore, money and politics are almost always a factor, making them additional mechanisms of control (Loescher et al., 2008). For example, Betts and Collier (2017) claim that refugee camps are financial security tools for NGOs and income-generating mechanisms for host countries, allowing them to hold deliberate control over how the refugee narrative is portrayed to the public. Aid agencies and governments manage the circulated refugee narrative, claiming “to work on their behalf without giving refugees the opportunity to speak for themselves” (Silverman, 2008, p. 11).

Refugees are often denied the ability to voice opinions that can be institutionally and politically damaging (Hanafi & Long, 2010). The narrative crafted by the agencies often brands refugees as helpless victims whose survival solely depends on mass donations, and, therefore, this image of victimisation continues to secure funds for governmental and aid agencies. Even though these funds are ostensibly intended to help refugees, agencies’ top-down decision-making don’t involve the input or involvement of dwellers, and, as a result, interventions in camps fall short of meeting the refugees’ needs. Hanafi and Long (2010) argue that interventions are “often not planned, financed, or implemented in efficient, dignified, and collaborative ways” (p. 2). Therefore, there is “a functional solidarity” between the

humanitarian world and the host governments' approach to policing; Agier calls this overlap the "humanitarian government" (Agier, 2011, p. 5; Bachelet, 2012, p. 148).

This duality of control is made evident through the design and management of refugee camps. Prominent design standards for camps focus on the needs of refugees, including their safety, dignity, wellness, recovery, while assuring access to adequate infrastructures (Sphere Association, 2018). However, Bully (2014) argues that these design principles can also be viewed as control tactics. Most camp spaces are highly organised by humanitarian and state actors, with areas for "assembly, registration, health screening, distribution centres, food preparation, latrines, accommodation and departure" (Bulley, 2014, p. 10). Camp infrastructure is intentionally centred around small, one-way roads that direct the influx of refugees through each facility, ensuring both their restrained entry and their guarded departure (Corsellis & Vitale, 2005). The goal is for their quick, effective circulation through the space, allowing for the quick management of the influx of refugees.

Another set of spatially-based practices for governing refugees in camps involves controlling its urban forms and intentionally dividing the camp's space into distinctive "categories of subjectivity," which involves determining spatial distributions on the basis of birth rates, mortality rates, and ethnic backgrounds (Bulley, 2014, p. 12). With a narrow focus on the refugee as an individual autonomous body, each phase of the encampment process provides both care and control; food, supplies, and health services are offered, but refugees are also meticulously counted to control influx rates (Bulley, 2014; Malkki, 1995). When camps' spaces are separated into communities, the communities themselves become a technology for self-governance. Governing bodies employ members of each sub-community to be on the lookout for illegal and irregular activities (Sanyal, 2014). These approaches deprive dwellers of any sense of individuality or cultural identity within the camp environment (Martin, 2015).

It is important to note that, as a technology that controls mobility and governs refugees, the spatiality of the camp extends far beyond geographical location and physical boundaries. Indeed, the encampment process arguably commences long before refugees are admitted to a camp, starting with "the moment and place of displacement" and continuing on to the process of transit (Bulley, 2014, p. 10). A network of support and pre-registration facilities comes into

play to support this process, consisting of “way-stations, transit centres, and reception centres,” each with robust security measures and influx management strategies. While they are moving between these facilities, refugees are entirely controlled before ever arriving at the camp (Bulley, 2014, p. 10).

It is evident that the concept of control in refugee camps focuses on governance, movement control, and the deprivation of autonomous life for refugees. Even though these control tactics can reduce camps to a state of vulnerability, poverty, and marginalisation, they also push refugees to forge strong networks of support that allow them to implement acts of resistance while defying the control of oppressive systems (Darling, 2016; Elordu, 2021; McFarlane, 2012). Fawaz (2016) agrees, arguing that these strong “networks of solidarity” help refugees access “employment opportunities, health care, and other vital necessities [as well as] access to neighbours and friends who may lend you money when in need” (p. 103). In her recent analysis on camps, McConnachie (2018) argues that “[r]efugees themselves play important – but often under-recognized – roles in organising and running camps” (Katz et al., 2018, p. 121; McConnachie, 2018). Accounts reflecting refugees’ activities in protracted camps present examples of defiance against imposed systems through the independent building of permanent housing, the reorganisation of the camps’ structures, and the establishment of businesses.

One such example can be seen in the agency of Palestinians residing in protracted camps, which led to a growth in clandestine building practices throughout the evolution of camps in Lebanon. Despite poor infrastructure and unstable foundations, the vertical expansion of permanent housing became both a symbol of pride and a necessity to not only accommodate population growth but also to serve “as a source of income as they are rented out to migrant workers from other countries” (Sanyal, 2014, p. 37). This is due in part to the Lebanese government’s control tactics and in part to the failure of UNRWA in implementing adequate development plans in the camps. Atallah (2017) outlines these resilient activities, linking them to skills, perseverance, values, and the desire to overcome difficulties. This is especially true for Palestinians, as resilience is a generational concept that is passed down through generations.

The Zaatari refugee camp, which entered a protracted state in 2016, exemplifies this; even when tents were allocated, refugees established freedom on a micro level by rearranging their tents to be close to relatives, markets, infrastructure, and services. More importantly, refugees aggregated in tribal and ethnic communities to provide support throughout the encampment experience (Tomaszewski et al., 2016). Within Zaatari's community spaces, areas of respite started to emerge for children (IMC, 2018). Refugees transformed the main urban artery into a vibrant market, with refugees becoming "active agents . . . challenging the humanitarian and biopolitical perception of refugees as mere victims" (Al Nassir, 2020, p. 88). In fact, refugees manage over 3,000 businesses in the camp, including pizza delivery services, ice-cream shops, and even a bridal rental shop generating over ten million dollars a month in profits; these establishments impact not only refugees but also the surrounding Jordanian communities (Guttman, 2016). Mehran (2022) emphasises that these practices offer "refugees a sense of autonomy for self-care and self-sustainment, which formal spaces of resettlement can never provide by themselves" (p. 147).

Sanyal (2014) links these practices to informality, a concept often discussed in urban settings. Informality is linked to informal economy, labour, and housing practices and is viewed as "an organising logic, a system of norms that governs the process of urban transformation itself" (Roy 2005, p.148). However, Sanyal (2014) draws on previously discussed concepts of exclusion and time-space, arguing that such informality should also be used in understanding refugees' practices in protracted refugee camps. In the specific case of Palestinian camps, the prolonged displacement and the failure of the humanitarian systems in implementing developmental strategies that meet refugees' needs are both culpable in pushing refugees into states of poverty, marginality, and, therefore, mounting informality. As a result, the camp hosts "a complex and ongoing negotiation between the needs of refugees and the geopolitics of donors and nation states." Furthermore, the exceptional nature of the camp, which falls outside of the law, "illustrates the networks of power relations that produce, manage and contest the existence and conditions of refugee spaces" (Sanyal, 2014, p. 32, 33).

Banks et al. (2019) agree with these views and add a "deeper political" layer to analyse urban informality. In this context, informality is also viewed as "a setting in which certain

groups secure livelihoods or commodities; or as an outcome related to legal status” (p. 223). In this context, refugees use the “space of the camp” as a collective resistance strategy to start to formulate political demands and to frustrate the attempts of the sovereign power to control them” (Feigenbaum et al., 2013, p. 12). Their resistance is expressed in diverse ways, including their elected camp collaborative committees, civil societies, religious organisations, and protests inside and outside of the camp; additionally, while the camp walls control and marginalise Palestinian refugees, they also serve as a physical canvas for expressing injustices, identity, and political claims through graffiti, art, and murals (Katz et al., 2018; Lehec, 2016). This is corroborated by Turner’s (2015) description of the lives of refugees in camps, as the residents do not “merely reproduce their assigned roles as passive victims” (p. 6). With this in mind, the concept of informality is present in diverse sectors that include housing, economic informal practices, and beyond (Banks et al., 2019).

As highlighted in this recent example, the three overlapping themes of *time-space*, *exclusion*, and *control* are inseparable, impacting one another. The protracted nature of camps has pushed refugees to defy *control* by starting to secure a livelihood. The exceptional nature of camps has invited refugees to develop their own informal systems where their agency is directly linked to thriving. As for the theme of *time*, refugees started to build permanent structures and businesses, forging and sustaining new identities in the process of meeting the community’s immediate and long-term needs. These activities defy *exclusion* tactics, as people from surrounding communities then began infiltrating camps to capitalise on opportunities available within their walls. With this in mind, the following sections will summarise these concepts and outline how refugees’ activities in protracted camps demonstrate the exploration of thriving.

## **2.4 Summary**

The conceptual foundation of camps is linked to time and spatial transformation throughout the encampment experience. My analysis of camps’ origins contextualises them as a form of spatial technology for accommodating mobility, containing and controlling movement, facilitating autonomous activities, and hosting human development programs.

These varying functions, as well as a conceptual foundation rooted in time and space, are also evident in refugee camps. Although refugee camps are descendants of concentration and prison camps, they were founded as spaces of relief and compassionate humanitarianism, even though refugees still inherently experience suffering (Feigenbaum et al., 2013; Feldman, 2014). In fact, they experience suffering to the extent that theorists consider the camps spaces of desperation, exclusion, and control, where refugees are reduced to living a bare life (Agamben, 1998; Agier, 2011). Even though refugee camps were created as temporary responses to mass migration, many refugee camps remain in existence for a very long time (Betts & Collier, 2017; Feigenbaum et al., 2013). Although camp spaces separate refugees from surrounding communities and control their movements, refugees are still highly visible since their survival is entangled with visible humanitarian programs and the environmental agendas of the host countries' government agencies. Influence (and people) from the surrounding communities inevitably infiltrate camps through social and economic interactions (McConnachie, 2016; Turner, 2015).

The literature discusses well-established camps through the perspective of three overlapping themes: time-space, exclusion, and control. While the involvement of each theme is formative for camp spaces and experiences, examples of refugee activities present contradicting concepts of permanency and temporariness, destitution and functioning economies, control and autonomy, and fragmentation and community cohesion (Feigenbaum et al., 2013; Tomaszewski et al., 2016; Feldman, 2014). In contrast to some theorisations of camps, refugees have rebelled against their conditions, redefining the role and power of time and space in their camps and pursuing their aspirations. Refugees practice various levels of autonomy, as demonstrated by the Sahrawi refugee camp's defiance of rules and movement control. Camp residents often create a sense of community and opportunity, such as in the Kakuma camp, where residents have forged bonds with the surrounding Kenyan population. Refugees in the Dadaab camp made spaces for hobbies and art performances, while respite spaces emerged for children in Zaatari camp spaces (Feldman, 2014; Turner, 2015; Woroniecka-Krzyzanowska, 2017). Similarly, refugees in Palestinian camps resist injustices and oppressive systems in different forms, including artistic expressions and protest. Residents of the



Buduburam refugee camp in Ghana created a unified identity through the amalgamation of diverse cultural practices despite intense conflicts in their homeland. Cultural practices, including dance, were used as unifiers amongst clashing tribes and various ethnic groups (Byrne, 2016).

Remarkably, aspects of these activities align the genealogical links of camps for building human development as well as social reproduction and resistance, as discussed earlier; this includes forming communities, defying control, and seeking a livelihood. Refugees in the Dadaab refugee camp in Kenya and the Yarmouk refugee territory in Syria started securing livelihoods through building adequate housing and establishing new businesses. Similarly, Palestinians reproduced their social structure and established creative forms of resistance through protests. Such development exemplifies the positive utility of time and therefore the potential for developing functional human communities.

The dual utility evident in time, separation, and control found in camps can be confirmed in this research. For example, the section on the genealogy of camps in general discusses these concepts in prison camps from the perspective of security and control, yet separation in human development camps and control in protest camps are both considered assets. Similarly, location is a factor in protest camps that aims to disrupt others, whereas it is a means for securing a livelihood for nomadic cultures. Lastly, time spent in camps for containment and control is reductive and contribute to the human suffering, but it is utilised positively as part of human development in other camp contexts. Refugees' thriving activities portray concepts of protest and building human development; this research may answer how the concepts of separation and control may have facilitated these thriving activities.

The gap between refugees' activities and the current contextualisation of camps, coupled with their overlap in activities with protest and human development camps, provides the empirical grounds for researching such gaps further; in addition, the gap serves as an entry point for questioning why refugee camps do not extend beyond their barebones primary purposes and adopt practices that are demonstrably effective for refugees. It is evident from the aforementioned examples that these practices centre on the thriving of refugees, as activities in protracted camps and experiences found in camps for human development focus

on the development and thriving of residents. Therefore, the gap and the overlap highlight the possibility of exploring refugee camps as places for contextual thriving, where time is focused on human development. The fact that refugees themselves are initiating these activities also demands a bottom-up approach that investigates refugees' views of what constitutes contextual thriving and documents how they are practising these thriving approaches within the time-space of the camp.

## 2.5 Thriving in Camps

Exploring thriving concepts in protracted camps is especially important because a large body of literature relies heavily on abstract theories and approaches to contextualise camps. Often-used concepts, words, and terms such as “bare life,” “control,” “non-places,” “victimhood,” and “waiting” foster “a rather one-sided and flattened conception of migrant subjects.” Things are always “done to them, not by them” (Walters, 2008, p. 188). Sanyal (2018) argues that this “contemporary and critical scholarship on camps” portrays a “reductive, and dehumanizing narratives” (p. 181). Although Agamben’s work may have influenced the entire field of camp studies in social science and humanities, his political angle has become a “prerequisite for speaking about contemporary camps” (Abourahme, 2020, p. 36). Such a lens is predominately prevalent in the academic world and is more applicable to Western asylum detention centres, as refugees’ lives in camps “cannot be reduced to a formulaic reading of spaces of exception filled with silenced, disempowered *homines sacri*” (Ramadan, 2013, p. 68). Policy and humanitarian thinking – as well as the increasing standardisation of humanitarian response – create a pragmatic approach “adding specifically technocratic perspectives to the minimal space devoted to shelters, camps, and settlements in the official UNHCR literature,” which excludes, in many cases, the livelihood of residents (Boano et al., p. 219; Betts & Collier, 2017).

Exploring refugees’ thriving concepts in protracted camps is corroborated by a growing call to “de-exceptionalise the camp and open up analytical spaces for better understanding the experiences of camp residents and the role of the camp in contemporary society” (Sigona, 2014, p. 3). This is especially important since well-established camps evolve “over time,

constantly being reshaped,” and their “inhabitants try to build a future for themselves rather than staying in a temporary state” (Woroniecka-Krzyzanowska, 2017, p. 2). Katz’s (2015) call to study diverse angles in camps is aligned with my analysis, with that piece insisting “we must indeed study the camp, in all of its physical and political aspects, not only as a concept or as a metaphor, but as a real, multifaceted space” (p. 2). Similarly, Blackwell’s (2021) approach to humanizing refugee research invites scholars to be “more responsive to the reality of people’s experiences, and contributing to more humane outcomes,” mirroring the focus on how thriving impacts refugees’ livelihoods (p. 64). Camp residents produce unexpected and unintentional spaces and experiences; they are “emerging as quintessential geographies of the modern, yet their intimate and everyday spatialities remain under-explored” (Sanyal, 2014, p. 4). This provides the potential for new research on the time-space of camps “in which social formations . . . are recreated and performed” (Ramadan, 2013, p. 74). Betts and Collier’s (2017) analysis of camps calls for the exploration of the concept of “thriving,” emphasizing that future research needs to look at camps as contexts “that nurture rather than debilitate peoples’ ability to contribute in exile. This should involve all of the things that allow people to thrive and contribute rather than merely survive” (Betts & Collier, 2017, p. 144). After all, “the simple truth is that refugees would not risk their lives on a journey so dangerous if they could thrive where they are” (UNHCR, 2018, para. 7).

## **2.6 Research Questions**

The purpose of this study is to investigate concepts of thriving by engaging with refugees’ intimate and everyday lives within the time-space of well-established camps, finding how refugees may contextually thrive throughout the encampment process. This research will investigate how refugees take matters into their hands, achieve their aspirations, and redefine spaces and time spent in camps. To this end, I ask the following overarching research question:

*How do refugee camps become time-spaces for contextual thriving?*

To answer this overarching question, I will study my analysis of camps and refugees’ activities to investigate the following sub-questions in the context of long-term encampment:

- a. *How do refugees define thriving in the context of encampment?*
- b. *What factors are most important to their thriving?*
- c. *How do refugees practice thriving in the time-space of camps?*

Since hardships continue to exist in refugee camps, attempting to link thriving to the refugees' spaces and experiences could be reasonably dismissed as quixotic, feeding into an already broken system, and supportive of a repressive regime. Yet, refugees have precisely requested that researchers go beyond exploring their predicament by viewing them as stateless people and political subjects. Instead, they have called researchers to focus on their intellect, practices, and assets and to highlight their talents (Lischer, 2015; Vidal, 2018; Wofford et al., 2016). This research does not sensationalise, nor does it attempt to paint a romantic picture of a challenging refugee system. It will interrogate contextual forms of thriving within camp spaces through refugees' perspectives and practices; doing so will contribute to a more nuanced conceptualisation of refugee camps.

Revisiting how refugee camps are conceptualised is especially important since one-third of the world's overall refugee population is housed in numerous camps across the Global South, with unknown numbers contained in holding zones and detention centres in the Global North (Betts & Collier, 2017; Feigenbaum et al., 2013). The regime's standard method for delivering protection to refugees is ineffective and has been outdated since the 1980s; for too long, the primary model has been the long-term provision of assistance in refugee camps and closed settlements (Betts & Collier, 2017; Woroniecka-Krzyzanowska, 2017). The designs and policies of such camps have not been significantly updated in over three decades. Camps are systems designed only to offer an immediate lifeline during the emergency phase, yet many have transitioned into impromptu cities without also providing adequate long-term living conditions (Betts & Collier, 2017; Lischer, 2015). While the provision of food, clothing, and shelter is needed in the immediate aftermath of escaping war or other disasters, the system must evolve to provide adequate means of accessing life-fulfilling opportunities; this is why some refugees have been attempting to change their realities (Feldman, 2014; Turner, 2015). While it is clear that refugees' needs shift with long-term encampment, the current common mode of living continues to focus on day-to-day survival and dependency on aid (Betts & Collier, 2015; 2017).

With this in mind, this research invites the exploration of novel concepts that focus on refugees' self-empowering practices in camps. Therefore, the following chapter, *Frameworks*, unpacks the concepts of thriving, time, and spaces while proposing frameworks that help explain their contexts in protracted camps.

### Chapter 3: Conceptual Frameworks

This chapter discusses key concepts that underpin the research questions. As explained in Chapter Two, this research recognises that spaces and experiences in refugee camps are constantly being reshaped by inhabitants trying to build futures for themselves rather than staying in a temporary state (**Error! Reference source not found.**). These changes are based on the thriving of individuals. Therefore, the research questions explore definitions of thriving and such practices within the time-space of camps. This research also acknowledges the novelty of its approach, as the concepts involved with thriving have minimal to no representation in the context of protracted refugee camps.

Due to the novelty of this thriving-based approach, this research follows Walker and Avant's (2011) discussion on "concept derivation." The approach explains the significance and process of applying discipline-specific frameworks onto different fields, particularly when transferring concepts among diverse health fields and between health and other disciplines, such as social sciences. Concept derivation is a comparative analysis technique that is necessary when there are few theories available to explain or define a specific phenomenon (Walker & Avant, 2011). This approach has the potential to "transcend preexisting understandings of various phenomena" (Gustafsson et al., p. 15). The goal is to compare two contexts and explore the transferability of a specific concept between domains by clarifying the meaning of the identified concept (Lillekroken, 2014). The technique calls for the exploration of alignments through conceptual comparisons meant to justify concept transferability to another domain (Walker & Avant, 2011). For example, in the case of the thriving concepts explored in this research, I chose a framework that is contextualised in assisted living environments and will apply its factors onto research on refugee camps.

With this in mind, the following sections unpack the concepts of thriving, time, and space in the literature, while identifying specific frameworks that help underpin these terms in the context of a protracted camp. It commences with an overview outlining the current discourse on thriving, followed by a discussion of the theory on thriving expressed in Haight et al. (2002). The model's variables – the individual, the community, and the environment – align with this research's conceptual foundation. Next, the chapter outlines Lefebvre's (1991) *The*

*Production of Space* model; Lefebvre's approach to how spaces are conceived, perceived, and lived will underpin the concept of "space" as it is highlighted in the research questions. The last framework discussion will explore Bergson's concept of time, including his approaches to duration, simultaneity, culture, and waiting.

### **3.1 Thriving**

Thriving is a highly investigated concept with diverse definitions across academic discourses (Gagné, 2015). Etymologically, the term originates from concepts of growth and development as well as the flourishing and prosperity of individuals. In Middle English, the phrase was expanded and linked to the prosperity, wealth, and success of both individuals and communities. In the late 16th century, the term "to thrive" started to refer more specifically to the processes of development and success (Oxford English Dictionary, 1992). With these definitions in mind, my analysis shows that the concept of "thriving" is linked to diverse terms such as "vitality," "vigour," "prosperity," "growth," and "development." These terms denote a broad yet overlapping range of meanings that refer to markers of individual growth, wellbeing in different forms, mental or moral strength, the ability to overcome crises, wealth, and the process of achieving individual aspirations (Gagné, 2015; Joseph & Linley, 2012). Feeney and Collins (2014) argue that these thriving definitions differ based on how disciplines view key terms such as "growth" or "prosperity" and the contexts in which thriving occurs. For example, in health sciences, "growth" refers to the natural progression of the human body while maintaining optimal health, whereas, in business environments, the word denotes skills development and optimal performance.

In recent years, the quest to understand human fulfilment has predominately gathered momentum in the fields of health sciences and psychology as well as in the business world (Feeney & Collins, 2014). The focus on thriving in academic discourse culminated in the American Psychology Association publishing a manifesto that set-in motion a paradigmatic shift from an emphasis on the pathology behind thriving toward the analysis of positive human functioning in specific environments (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). The authors predict that a phenomenon will emerge in the 21<sup>st</sup> century "that achieves a scientific understanding

and effective interventions to build thriving in individuals, families, and communities” across diverse contexts (p. 13). To highlight this shift, Brown et al. (2017) call for research into what thriving means in different contexts, inviting scholars to converge ideas from different disciplines into globally understood definitions. In their view, a global understanding of thriving will pave the way for more scholarly insight that will positively impact quality of life.

With this in mind, my analysis of the current literature on thriving identifies two overlapping contexts: (1) thriving as a process of growth commonly investigated in developmental domains and (2) thriving linked to a sense of achievement, prosperity, success, and wealth as explored in performance domains (Brown et al., 2017; Spreitzer et al., 2005; Feeney & Collins, 2014). These processes and outcomes are facilitated by personal and environmental factors that create individualised experiences of thriving based on individuals’ backgrounds, contexts of living, and social structures (Brown et al., 2017). The following section unpacks these domains, demonstrating the multidimensionality of thriving views in the literature.

**3.1.1 Developmental Domains.** In this context, thriving denotes a progressive enhancement that is either psychologically based (e.g., learning coping strategies when facing difficult circumstances, such as practicing yoga) or socially constructed (e.g., creating a social circle when moving into a new area), both of which impact health and wellness (e.g., the impact of loneliness and stress on blood pressure) (Brown et al., 2017). In many cases, these three thriving processes work individually, but they often overlap to achieve a more complete state of thriving (Feeney & Collins, 2014).

Park (1998), for example, links thriving to overcoming difficulties and growth, as the author’s definition focuses on “the higher level of functioning in some life domain following a stressful encounter” (p. 269). In this context, “growth” refers to the positive choices a person can make following a difficult experience. Thriving is only reflected in the nature of the stressful situation; in other words, those who experience stress report positive changes in which they are thriving. This doesn’t mean that they have not struggled “nor that they are thriving in all domains of their lives” (p. 268).



Similarly, O’Leary and Ickovics (1995) associate thriving with how individuals overcome adverse situations, yet they add a “social” and “economic” dimension to its context (p. 122). In their view, thriving reflects the availability of individual and social resources and the mobilisation of these resources after experiencing a threat. Individual resources rely on the nature of a person’s personality and cognitive abilities. Bahrami et al. (2018) further defines personality resources as internal hardiness and optimism for the future. Hardiness is the cognitive ability to embrace difficult situations, accept one’s reality, and make healthy decisions. Hardiness also acts as a shield and a mobilisation strategy against the rise of stress. Those with high hardiness levels often apply problem-solving coping solutions, while those with low internal hardiness dwell more on emotions than on solutions. Optimism builds on an individual’s hardiness and reflects their positive attitude and a cognitive belief that the person can and will overcome adversities. This cognitive ability to believe that a good result will prevail speeds thriving’s actualisation process.

O’Leary and Ickovics (1995) go on to explain the social resources side of thriving involving a strong network of supporters overlaid with socioeconomic factors. While the process of emoting and receiving support from others facilitates thriving, this process can be affected by socioeconomic status. Kaplan et al. (2008) explains this linkage by outlining how individuals who come from high-income backgrounds and reside in middle- to high-socioeconomic environments arrive at thriving levels faster after facing a threat compared to those who reside in lower socioeconomic environments.

Furthermore, Feeney and Collins (2014) argue that the psychological and social thriving processes directly impact physical health. The presence of stress, the feeling of danger, and the absence of a supportive network all directly and negatively impact the human body. The authors define physical health as the absence of illness while achieving a health status that exceeds minimum baselines and physiological longevity. More specifically, Boehm et al. (2011) measured the outcome of cardiovascular interventions on sick patients that possess O’Leary and Ickovics’ (1995) individual, contextual, and social thriving resources. Their research suggests that physical thriving is more achievable for those patients compared to others who lack one or more of these thriving elements.

It is important to note that thriving, as explored in developmental domains, overlaps with thriving milestones outlined in the subsequent section on performance domains. In many cases, concepts discussed here (e.g., psychological, social, and individual processes) are the antecedents to or consequences of performance and success (Brown et al., 2017).

**3.1.2 Performance Domains.** In this context, thriving is outcome-driven, evidenced through a variety of temporally and contextually relevant milestones that are financially related (e.g., wealth), physiologically based, (e.g., increasing muscular strength), and linked to a sense of achievement (e.g., obtaining high enough scores to enter the medical school). A common outcome in this domain is obtaining success after following a goal-setting process (Sarkar & Fletcher, 2014).

Spreitzer et al. (2005) discuss thriving as a “self-adaptation” process, linking its meaning to the “vitality and a sense of learning” (p. 537; p. 538). In their pursuits of thriving, individuals self-adapt by continuing to set goals over time and across changing circumstances. Goal-setting invites learning, as it leads to individuals focusing on self-observation, self-reward, and self-accountability as a means to regulate their own behaviours. Thriving in this context is a subjective experience that invites individuals to learn whether their goal-setting process is helping them achieve a positive outcome and how to adapt if changes are necessary. Ryan and Deci (2000) argue that this process of setting goals while achieving a successful outcome culminates in the goal-setter attaining a sense of vitality. Feeney and Collins (2014) agree, defining vitality as having purpose while progressing toward a meaningful and successful life.

Spreitzer et al. (2005) links the successful outcome of vitality to the thriving elements discussed in developmental domains. When individuals experience a sense of feeling alive, they are less likely to feel anxiety and depression, which in turn enhances their mental and physical health. Furthermore, those experience a process of learning are more likely to report having positive physical health, including more energy, less stress, and optimal psychological markers (Ettner & Grzywacz, 2001). However, Carver (1998) argues that a successful outcome doesn't have to be the result of “the occurrence of a potentially traumatic event” (p. 47). Feeney and Collins (2014) agree and outline “autonomy” as a component to thriving; without a specific antecedent, a person may choose to set forth specific goals and milestones to reach an optimal

level of thriving. Sarkar and Fletcher (2014) call this approach a “sustained high level of functioning,” where superior performance will most likely result in success and therefore thriving (p. 47). This quality is often evidenced with successful entrepreneurs, as their high level of functioning results in financial gain.

Walker and Grobe (1999) discuss this concept of “high level of functioning” from a physiological perspective. In their view, setting the goal to consume healthy “nutrition” and therefore manage an optimal “weight” has “positive ... consequences for health” (p. 152). However, optimal thriving is achieved as a whole when there is a “dynamic relationship” with positive psychological performance. Lerner et al. (2003) agrees, explaining that this “dynamic relationship” enables “society to be populated” with thriving individuals “oriented to integratively serve self and civil society” (p. 176). This can happen “through context interaction over time,” during which the person and their environment/surroundings are mutually and successfully thriving (Bundick et al., 2010, p. 891).

The concurrent pursuit of thriving between the individual and their environments is commonly explored in the business world. Kleine et al. (2019) performed a meta-analysis on how employees achieve thriving at work, combining all of the forementioned concepts discussed in this domain; according to the researchers, thriving is determined by the level of quality evident in the accomplishment of an action, operation, or task by the employee. Individual thriving at work involves learning new tasks, feeling a sense of vitality and purpose because of the nature of these tasks, and the presence of physical health-related outcomes such as burnout. Holistic thriving for the employee is achieved when concepts discussed in the developmental domains are followed with the optional outcome of financial gain (Arnold & Fletcher, 2021). For some employees, this means establishing a support network and strong relationships at work, overcoming stressful situations, and establishing a positive and optimistic attitude towards the work environment, with or without financial gain. For others, a complete picture of thriving occurs when these variables lead to wealth (Feeney & Collins, 2014).

**3.1.3 Summary.** While many researchers view the definition of thriving through the lenses of the developmental and performance domains, there is overlap between the two contexts.

Brown et al. (2017) argue that discussing such separate views in academic discourse creates more confusion for those applying thriving concepts in their research. In recent years, a call to explore thriving as “being multifaceted in nature” combines both domains as well as additional contextual factors. Indeed, Su et al. (2014) state that “to thrive in life is not only marked by feeling of happiness, or a sense of accomplishment, or having supportive and rewarding relationships, but is a collection of all these aspects” (p. 272). With this in mind, Haight et al.’s (2002) model of thriving combines all of the facets discussed in the developmental and performance domains while calling for a bottom-up approach that accounts for the individual’s experience with the community (the human environment) and the influence of other systems (the nonhuman environment) as factors concurrently facilitating thriving.

Discussions on thriving in both domains play significant roles in the disciplines of health sciences, psychology, and workplace research. Even though a growing amount of literature calls for studying refugees’ camps through a developmental lens and as flourishing environments, the concept of thriving has minimal to no representation in the context of mass displacement (Betts & Collier, 2017). More specifically, the concept has minimal representation concerning refugee camps. Few studies from health and economic sciences apply principles discussed in the aforementioned domains highlighting the impact of trauma, stress, and poor physical health on the prospective flourishing of refugees (Ahmad et al., 2015; Akgündüz et al., 2015; Alghothani et al., 2017).

Although the concept of thriving has minimal representation thus far in the context of camps, a growing number of researchers are exploring overlapping concepts within contexts similar to camps. For example, Moore (2015) links prosperity to the concept of flourishing in deprived societies, an approach that calls for a shift from focusing on “development” to “global prosperity” in order “to rethink how we conceptualize, organize and transform the societies” (Moore, 2015, p. 801). In the context of issues in the Global South, global prosperity recognises “the critical role political and social innovation should have in unleashing individuals’ potential to flourishing in a context of finite resources” (Moore, 2015, p. 801). Although structural constraints are a reality, people can collaborate with diverse systems, co-design their futures, and influence their livelihoods; this includes influencing the health of society, ecological

wellbeing, social belonging, political participation, and the development of human capital (Moore & Mintchev, 2021).

The divergent contextualisation of thriving and the absence of a commonly accepted characterisation – especially in the context of mass displacement – provide an entry point for examining a contextual definition tailored to refugee-specific domains. Among all of the diverse models on thriving, the Haight et al. (2002) model, which combines both developmental and performance domains, mirrors the recent call for holistic approaches to thriving. Additionally, the model calls for bottom-up approaches to thriving that align with the overall approach to this research. Chapter Two’s analysis of the protracted camps discusses their context concerning inhabitants, imposed systems, social relationships, and spaces (**Error! Reference source not found.**). Haight et al. (2002) provide the only comprehensive model in which the individual, social dynamics, and surrounding influences act as drivers for thriving. Therefore, in the following section, I further unpack the Haight et al. (2002) theory and its potential application to refugee camps.

### **3.1.4 Thriving: A Life Span Theory**

I propose applying Haight et al.’s (2002) model – “Thriving: A Life Span” – to develop a conceptual foundation for understanding thriving in camps. Borrowed from the health sciences field, the model conceptualises thriving through a holistic, time-centred perspective that explores assisted living spaces and residents’ environmental experiences (Grossman & Lange, 2006). Assisted living facilities (ALFs) are long-term residential environments for individuals who are unable to or choose not to live independently. Catering primarily to the elderly population, ALFs are considered client-centred environments that offer a wide range of options, including different levels of care and various services (Lockhart, 2009). Based on their research into ALFs, Haight et al. (2002) argue that there are three overlapping factors in a thriving continuum: (1) the person, (2) the human environment, and (3) the nonhuman environment. The model defines these factors as follows:

The person is a complex social, physical, psychological, spiritual being in mutual process with the human and nonhuman environment. The human environment is the internal

and external human surroundings and the person's perceptions of the presence, feelings, values, and beliefs of surrounding humans. Finally, the nonhuman environment is the physical and ecological surroundings of the person, including natural and built surroundings (Haight et al., 2002, p. 2).

The authors provide concrete examples to further contextualise these factors. Haight et al.'s (2002) discussion of the "person" outlines physiological and psychological factors that underpin an individual's thriving while interacting with nonhuman and human environments. The theorists argue that predispositions may influence the probability of individual thriving; for example, growing up in a dysfunctional family while struggling with diabetes may hinder that individual's thriving as an adult. The framework discusses the human environment by focusing on the individuals who have direct contact with and influence the person in question, including family members and caregivers, as well as how these individuals care for the patient. The nonhuman environment, according to Haight et al., is comprised of the surrounding influences, including economic, physical, and social factors. The framework provides an example linking elements of the individual's genetic predisposition from growing up in a low-income family – surrounding influences – as an example of limitations to thriving. As demonstrated by the following diagram, thriving is achieved when there are congruencies among the person, the environment, and their relationships (Figure 1).

## The Person

"The person is a complex social, physical, psychological, spiritual being in mutual process with the human and nonhuman environment."

Past experiences and predispositions may influence the probability of individual thriving; growing up in a dysfunctional family while struggling with diabetes, for example, may hinder that individual's thriving as an adult.

## The Human Environment

"The human environment is the internal and external human surroundings and the person's perceptions of the presence, feelings, values, and beliefs of surrounding humans."

The human environment includes individuals with direct contact and influence with the "person," including family members and caregivers and the way they care for the patient.

## The Nonhuman Environment

"The nonhuman environment is the physical and ecological surroundings of the person, including natural and built surroundings."

The nonhuman is comprised of the surrounding influences, including economic and social factors; growing up in a low-income family maybe considered a limitation to thriving.

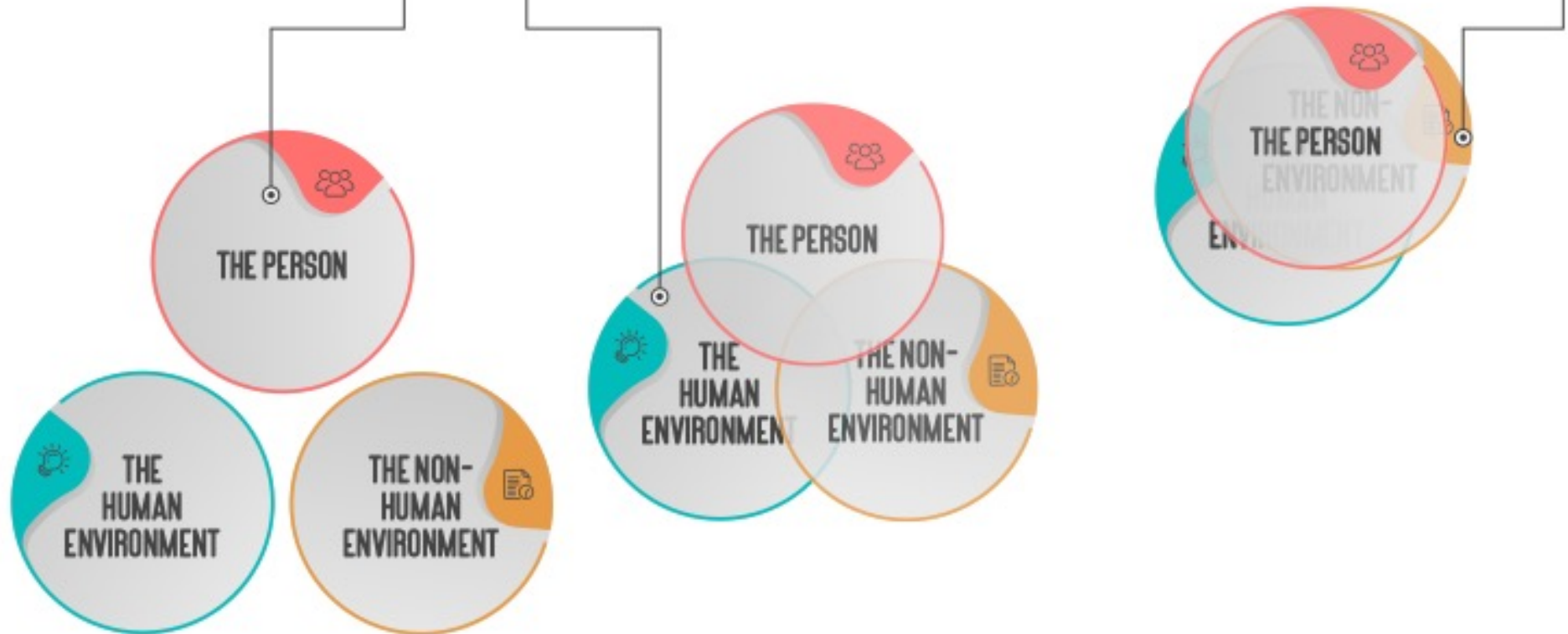


Figure 1: An Illustration of Haight et al.'s Thriving: A Life Span Theory (2002)

My analysis of the literature that applies to this framework shows that scholars use this model to (1) review person-centred research, (2) explore factors that actualise or hinder thriving, and (3) promote a better quality of life, with the ultimate goal of promoting interventions that allow individuals to thrive in their environments (Bergland & Kirkevold 2001; Edvardsson et al., 2017; Grossman & Lange, 2006; Wendt, Tuckey, & Prosser, 2011). In recent years, scholars from disciplines outside of the health sciences have started implementing this model in research on leadership and work environment. Predominantly, researchers have applied this model to define thriving in the context of their research questions and to explore concepts of thriving from the perspective of primary stakeholders; for example, Abid and Ahmed (2016) reference the model to explore and enhance the construct of thriving in the workplace. Their research uses factors laid out by Haight et al. (2002) as a medical lens for exploring facilitators and barriers to thriving in the workplace. *The Oxford Handbook of Work, Engagement, Motivation, and Self-Determination Theory* also uses this theory to unpack thriving as an outcome for human growth and development (Gagné, Spreitzer, & Porath, 2014).

Although this framework is contextualised in ALF environments for patients with mild cognitive impairment (MCI), the “concept derivation” approach suggests contextual alignments between the discussion on protracted refugee camps in Chapter Two and the model’s variables. Assisted living facilities (ALFs) are short- or long-term residential environment for individuals who are unable to or choose not to live independently. Catering primarily to the elderly population, ALF’s are considered client-centred environments that offer a wide range of options, including differing levels of care and a diversity of services (Fields, 2016; Lockhart, 2009). The facilities are residential, with private or shared accommodations; all residents’ accommodations as well as shared semi-public spaces can be monitored to varying degrees, either directly or electronically, from central stations or viewing platforms (Fields, 2016).

The idea of separation and protection is inherent in ALFs, as residents’ interactions with the outside world are limited and controlled for the sake of mutual safety. These facilities typically provide supervision and assistance with day-to-day activities. Staffed by health workers and technicians, ALF staff members monitor residents’ movements and activities to ensure their health, safety, and well-being. Assistance often includes medical check-ups, food



assistance, the scheduling of daily activities, the monitoring of medical conditions, education, or personal care services (Centers for Disease Control (CDC), 2013). These concepts of separation, protection, control, aid, dependence, and time align with the discussion on refugees and protracted camps outlined in Chapter Two. Protracted camps' long-term model provides aid and services for refugees while separating them from host communities. Encamped refugees are dependent on services, and their movements are controlled by humanitarian and state agencies (Feldman, 2014; Turner, 2015).

Lastly, as previously discussed, Haight et al. (2002) is often applied across multiple contexts to examine thriving views and practices both inside and outside healthcare disciplines (Bergland & Kirkevold 2001; Edvardsson et al., 2017; Grossman & Lange, 2006; Wendt, Tuckey, & Prosser, 2011). This research explores thriving views and practices for refugees residing in protracted camps. With this in mind, the three overlapping factors (the individual, the human environment, and the nonhuman environment) can be transferred to and aligned with the context of this research. I consider the refugee person (individual) as a complex social, physical, psychological, and spiritual person who is in mutual relationships with other humans as well as the camp's physical and ecological environment. The human environment includes the refugees' perceptions, feelings, and values, as well as those of other stakeholders around them, including family members, friends, aid workers, and governing individuals; the nonhuman environment is comprised of the camp spaces and humanitarian policies. The mutual congruencies among the person, the human environment, and the nonhuman environment reflects a process of alignment among these factors and therefore the process denotes time. The following two sections discuss this research approach to the nonhuman environment (space) and the congruencies (time).

### **3.2 Space**

The concept of space is a highly contested term, with varying definitions across academic discourse (Dovey, 2010). In general terms, spaces are discussed as products, processes, performances, or even as ways "of thinking about relationality, space, and

movement beyond metrics, mapping, and calculation,” influencing and being influenced by people and imagination (Lucas, 2016; Massey, 2005; Martin & Secor 2014, p. 420). Space is a concept that plays significant roles in the disciplines of design, human geography, engineering, and environmental psychology, and the term is used with a broad range of meanings, able to refer to a geographical location, a social system, a building, an infrastructure, the natural environment, and cultural practices, among other uses (Low, 2016). Dovey (2010) argues that it is the connections between physical elements – such as houses, roads, signs, goods, and people – that define a space. In comparison, Lucas (2016) considers spaces to be the mediators between humans and their environments. Low’s (2016) anthropological perspective considers space an integral part of community formation and local culture.

On the other hand, philosophers and critical theorists, including Henri Lefebvre (1991) and Michel Foucault (1997), examine space by looking beyond just its physical construction, particularly focusing on the ways in which social practices constitute physical spaces and vice versa. Building on this concept, Secor (2013) views topological space beyond the physical context and as the qualitative properties of the environment itself. Harker (2020) further explains that this type of non-physical space is “not defined by the distances between points that characterize it when it is in a fixed state, but rather by the characteristics that it maintains in the process of distortion and transformation” (p. 46).

In addition to space factoring into social foundation, Lefebvre argues that it is also moulded by historical and natural elements through a political process; thus, space is both a social and political product. In his model proposed in *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre (1991) argues that “(social) space is a (social) product.” This means that “every society – and hence every mode of production with all its subvariants . . . produces a space, its own space” (p. 33). Space, in his conception, can be conceived, perceived, and lived, which encompasses the physical, social, and qualitative meanings of space discussed in here. The model also aligns with concepts emerging from the literature on camp spaces; for example, Peteet (2005) explores spatial conception, perception, and experiences within camp environments that touch on the physical and non-geometric aspects of space in camps. As I have found these three concepts to

be useful in understanding the context of space in camps, the following section will unpack Lefebvre's model and presents a contemporary discussion on his spatial variables.

### **3.2.1 The Production of Space**

In the model presented in his book, *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre (1991) argues that understanding the foundation of any space goes beyond just the materials and physical definitions. In Lefebvre's view, the term "production" connotes that humans who live in a space shape the environment that encapsulates their everyday lives. It is a term associated with time, as the "product" never has a finished or fixed outcome, the term references an ongoing process. The product is a moment apprehended in motion that takes on a material form (Boano, 2011; Lefebvre, 1991). The concept of space, in its particular meaning here, is not as much physically determined as it is socially constructed. It relates to the individual person's sensory experience over time, as well as the area between us as members of society, implying that how we relate to one another in the physical aspect of space cannot be separated from its social considerations (Kramsch, 2012). *The Production of Space* model shifts the theoretical focus from a Marxist analysis of how modes of production operate in space to a recognition of how they produce space itself. Lefebvre believes that, in order to critically understand spaces and their meanings, "we must come to terms with the idea that space and time are integral aspects of social practice" (Schmid, 2008, p. 29). In this sense, space is not an independent object, such as a building box into which society is poured; instead, space is "dynamic, produced through social action and interaction over time" (Buser, 2012, p. 3). Additionally, Lefebvre argues that historical conditions and values are directly connected to the mode of production. Just as social factors are historically shaped, they are also spatially shaped; likewise, the spatial is historically and socially configured. The three elements – the social, spatial, and temporal – are shaped by each other.

Lefebvre (1991), therefore, made two main advances in his research. First, he aligned spatiality with the concept of time in social theory while providing social production as a third axis, explaining that spatiality is as essential as temporality and history: "space and time appear and manifest themselves as different yet inseparable" (p. 39). His second advance was his use

of this critical lens to examine the way we understand the modern world, which is achieved through an analysis of the way space is produced and how individuals experience the space. Space is produced in two ways: as a social creation (mode of production) and as a mental construct (conception). Space, therefore, is mentally and materially constructed.

The overlap between mental and material cultivates a third concept worthy of attention in discussions of conception and perception: the notion of how spaces are lived. Lefebvre (1991) explains that human space and human time exist half in nature and half in abstraction. His example of time is instructive: “It is obvious . . . that the human rhythms (biological, psychological and social time-scales – the time-scale of our own organism and that of the clock) determine the way in which we perceive and conceive of the world and even the laws we discover in it” (p. 47).

While analysing the application of Lefebvre’s (1991) model, I found these three concepts to be useful in understanding the concept of space in camps. Following Walker and Avant’s (2011) “concept derivation,” I want to outline how camp spaces are aligned with Lefebvre’s conceived, perceived, and lived spaces.

*Conceived space* is the space that state institutions conceptualise in order to practice and apply political power. It is a top-down approach based on the rationally and theoretically abstracted space of “scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 38). This is the space characterised by verbal descriptions, language, and the written word. Representations of space serve as “organizing schema or a frame of reference for communication, which permits a (spatial) orientation and thus co-determines activity at the same time” (Schmid, 2008, p. 37). In this way, space is conceived by those with the power to do so, which determines the lives of those who inhabit the space. The Azraq refugee camp, for example, was initially designed to improve quality of life for Syrian refugees, with scholars describing it as an ideal urban hub (Dalal et al, 2018). Contrary to the common process where refugee camps are planned rapidly to address emergency situations, the Azraq camp was carefully planned to accommodate the everyday needs of refugees while honouring their cultural backgrounds. The camp was divided into urban zones to host diverse tribes, with members of each village occupying one zone. Additionally, the planners conducted

extensive research on existing camps in the area and implemented what they learned throughout the design process (Dalal et al., 2018). However, Gatter (2020) argues that this top-down approach ended up turning into a control strategy, as it undermines refugees' ability to develop the camp space and exercise freedom of movement. Security buildings tower over the camp, allowing forces to control the movements of inhabitants. The camp, built as a control strategy, prioritised the needs of security forces and humanitarian actors over refugees' quest for a better life (Gatter, 2020).

*Perceived space* is how individuals experience or perceive the environment – including its meaning and the values behind it – as users or consumers of the environment. It is the space “which can be directly seen, heard, smelled, touched and tasted” (Degen, 2008, p. 19). In this way, spatial practices are inevitably tied to materiality and include the routes and networks that make up everyday life (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 37). This space consists of the physical environment as well as “the processes by which materiality is produced” (Leary, 2009, p. 3). This is the space that we know and with which we identify, constructed with meanings and symbols that signify our place in its context. The Shatila refugee camp typifies Lefebvre’s philosophy on perceived spaces. The camp was evolved according to the refugees’ villages of origin, allowing residents to cultivate “their own sense of spatiality on the camps, crafting a microcosm of Galilee” (Bulley, 2017, p. 56). While areas in Palestine served as the first criterion for organising camps’ spatiality, they were gradually overlaid with other sorts of spaces and experiences, including institutional purposes, informal social rallies, inter-village marriage sites, and the souks and restaurants which, in combination, produced an embryonic notion of time.

*Lived space* serves as the location of our everyday social relationships that we dynamically experience in life. This space is time-based, emblematic, subjective, “qualitative, fluid and dynamic,” and it “expresses and evokes social norms, values and experiences” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 42). The lived-in environment is the locus of the person’s lived experiences that form a major part of their present and future perceptions (Merrifield, 2006; Schmid, 2008, p. 37). Moreover, lived spaces are also linked to the “clandestine or underground,” representing “a terrain of struggle where alternative imaginations of space are possible” (Simonsen, 2005, p. 7). Liberians at the Buduburam refugee camp in Ghana created a unified

identity amalgamating diverse cultural practices despite intense conflicts in their homeland. Since the camp was built in 1990, time “spent in the physical space of the camp resulted in repeated interactions and the bonding of people in that space.” Cultural practices, including dance, became unifiers of conflicting tribes and diverse ethnic groups (Byrne, 2016, p. 764). The following diagram presents Lefebvre’s (1991) tripartite approach to contextualising spaces (Figure 2).

## Conceived Space

Conceived space is the space that state institutions conceptualize in order to practice and apply political power.

This is the space of verbal descriptions, language, and the written word. In this way, space is conceived by those with the power to do so, which determines the lives of those who inhabit the space.

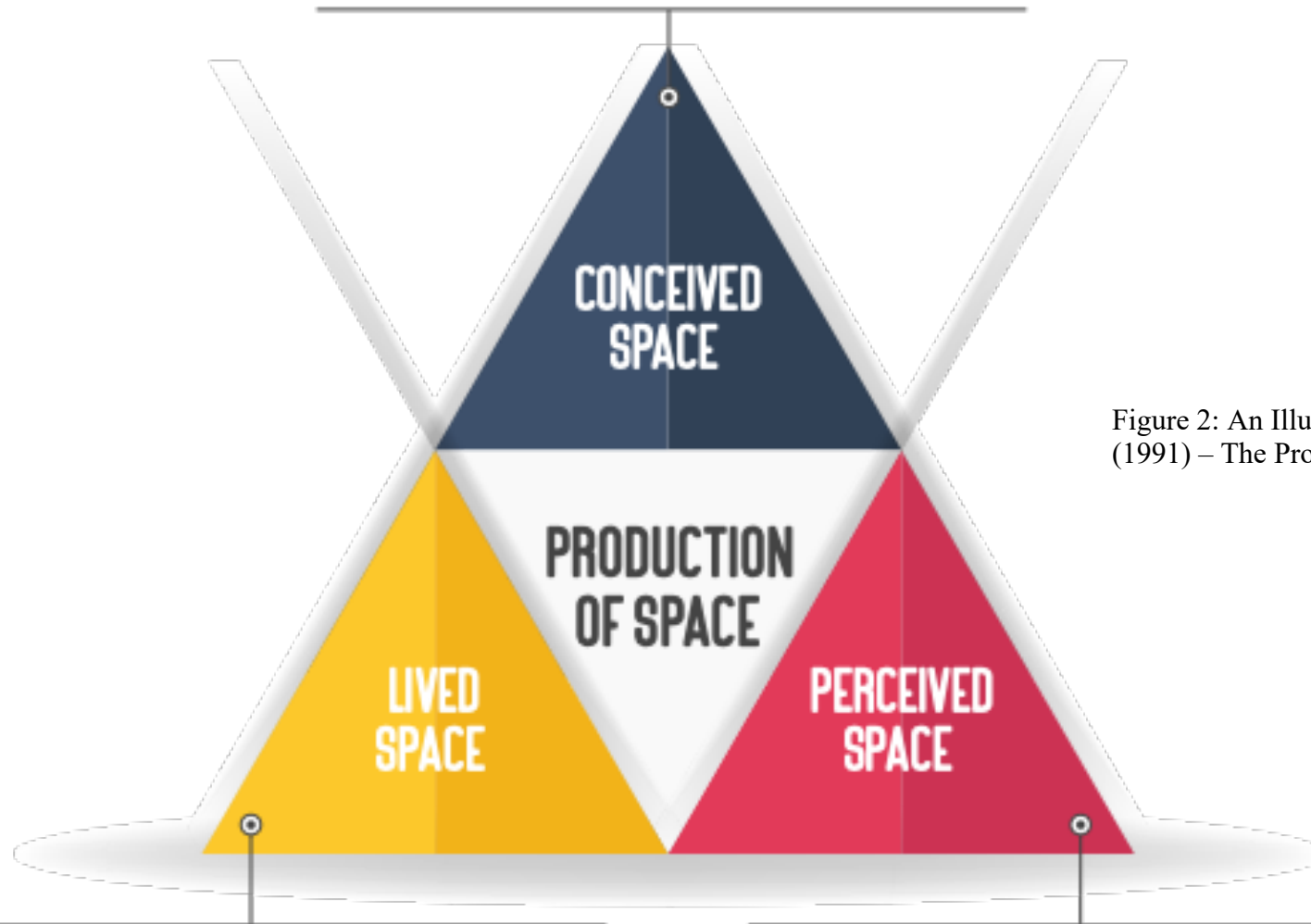


Figure 2: An Illustration of Lefebvre (1991) – The Production of Space Model

## Lived Space

Lived space is where everyday social relationships occur, which people dynamically experience in life.

This space is emblematic, subjective, fluid and dynamic where social norms, values and experiences are evoked.

## Perceived Space

Perceived space is how individuals experience or perceive the environment – including its meaning and the values behind it – as users or consumers of the environment.

This is the space that people know and identify with, constructed with meanings and symbols that signify personal place in its context.

Scholars use this model in diverse contexts, including matters of urban crises, public spaces, and spatial transformation. For example, Buser (2012) used the concept of the lived spaces model to unpack notions of governance and to understand urban changes in New York City's Capital District from the bottom up. On the other hand, Jones and Popke (2010) utilised the model as an urban policy to understand and improve residents' everyday lives for HOPE VI, a public housing demolition and redevelopment program administered by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. Charnock and Ribera-Fumaz (2011) use the model as a conceptual lens to interrogate the spatial transformation of Barcelona's Poblano district as a new space for supporting both knowledge and people.

It is important to note that Lefebvre's work focuses Anglocentric urban research in the 20th century and has been criticised as Eurocentric and capital-centric (Shields, 2009). *The Production of Space* theory predominately references industrialised cities in Western societies, including France, England, Spain, and Holland. Lefebvre (1991) provides examples of spaces that are outside of the realm of camps to contextualise his philosophy on spaces such as airports, banks, and business centres. While I see the value behind using his concepts as a lens, questions regarding the usefulness of Lefebvre's work in the context of camps may emerge, as his work remains focused on the city level – specifically, cities in a European liberal democracy. He presents assumptions about how (liberal) states are sometimes responsible for the production of space in liberal demographic and urban planning perspectives. Some of these assumptions do not hold true in camps due to their differing relationships with the state, citizenry, and forms of governance. Although his work is carried out from the European liberal democratic context at the city level and with associated assumptions, the core tenets still apply in a camp. For example, the concept of a "state" may imply a set of frameworks, as discussed by Ramadan (2013), within which the people inside the camp function on a societal level, concerning, for example, what is permissible or not. Thus, the meaning is not a "state" as such, but the governance of lives as they are lived there. Similarly, citizenry may signify a sense of community solidarity and attachment to the camp, which drives their sense of being (Hart et al., 2018). Forms of governance might not portray the assumed freedom or the formal set of structures of law and political discourse in a liberal city, but they could mirror Peteet's (2005)



discussion, in which the community stratifies its self-management. Lastly, Sanyal (2014) argues that camps are becoming cities themselves. She highlights the need to explore everyday lives within camps and the intimate details of *lived spaces*. Similarly, Betts and Collier (2017) highlight how camps, as *conceived spaces*, are failing refugees, since many camps have turned into large, complex, and chaotic cities where refugees barely survive. The two scholars call for the exploration for improvements in the quality of *perceived spaces*. The question is whether, once Lefebvre's approach is freed from the labels of European liberal democratic contexts, it may apply to the core elements that underlie them.

Lefebvre's conception of space postulates an entry point for investigating the tension and overlap of how camp spaces are (1) conceived by powerful institutions, (2) perceived and experienced by refugees over time, and (3) how social relationships and struggles are actualised in lived spaces. As mentioned, Lefebvre's (1991) view on "production" connotes that humans who live in a space shape the environment that encapsulates their everyday lives. It is a term associated with time, referencing an ongoing process, as the "product" never has a finished or fixed outcome. Therefore, the next section will unpack the time component of Lefebvre's spatial approach.

### 3.3 Time

The concept of time has fascinated thinkers for millennia, as many philosophers – including Plato, Aristotle, Kant, and Bergson as well as scientists such as Newton and Einstein – have conceptualised time in diverse ways; they have outlined different types of time, such as biological time, chronological time, astronomical time, cultural time, social time, disciplinary time, and local time systems (Nowotny, 1994). Time is evaluated and analysed across diverse scales ranging from the microseconds of nanotechnology all the way to universal, where time is measured in millions of years (Griffiths et al., 2013). Leaving these extremes aside, scientists and philosophers discuss time in terms of two main concepts while linking its context to diverse cultures: (1) an objective physical time that "exists outside of the human mind and is a part of the natural world" and (2) psychological time, which is subjective "and has a mind-dependent existence" (Bunnag, 2017, p. 2; Hall, 1983). Hall (1983) emphasises that time and culture are

considered one whole, as it is impossible to understand them separately. Levine (1997) suggests that each culture's "unique temporal fingerprint" is determined by the rhythm of everyday life, which determines the rules and principles through which individuals experience time (p. 17). Early research derived from Hall (1959; 1983) discusses time as "silent language" within cultural contexts, labelling it as monochronic and polychronic (p. 1). The following section discuss time contexts, cultural norms, and applicability to refugee studies.

**3.3.1 Objective Time.** This is the business and calendar time that exists prominently in physical sciences and concerns many practical dealings of everyday life (Szpunar, 2011). Sir Isaac Newton considered time an absolute mathematical entity unrelated to the human experience (Weinert, 2013). In this view, time can be divided, quantified, and reversed; a moment of time can measure any context (Disalle, 2006). This view of time is ruled by "clock time" and, as Marx first pointed out, is possible to commodify (Griffiths et al., 2013). Time has a value: "it is always desirable to have more time when one has not got any; yet having time decreases its value . . . time abundance is accorded a low social value and scarcity a high one" (Adam, 1994, p. 114). Albert Einstein holds views similar to Newton's, and his discovery of the theory of relativity also suggests that physical time occurs only in connection to "the speed of the realm of its existence," which means that "time is slower in relation to its containing object's increasing speed" (Bunnag, 2017, p. 2; Weinert, 2013).

Objective time is often linked to linearity and is imagined as a structured straight line, leading to an as-yet empty future to be populated by events (Zerubavel, 1976). Chowers (2002) agrees with the notion of linearity as he structures time into three temporal languages – one of linear progress forward, another linking the present time to the future, and a third apprehending time in the present. Edensor's (2006) temporal rhythm of cyclical time is often presented as an alternative to linearity. This repetitive structure to time is evident in daily routines and institutionalised schedules (Edensor & Holloway, 2008).

These concepts of structure and linearity align with the understanding of time held by monochronic cultures, such as Northern Europe and North America (Pàmies et al., 2016). Time in these cultures is interpreted as linear, monodirectional, and sectioned into sequential intervals where each interval may host a specific life task (Hall, 1959). It is viewed through the

use of clock time and discussed as a currency – something individuals spend, save, or waste (Brodowsky et al., 2008). Since time is money, monochronic cultures seek to reduce time waste and “eliminate real and perceived waiting times” (Pàmies et al., 2014, p. 433). For example, work environments in the Western World concentrate on one task at a time and emphasise promptness, with interpersonal relations being subordinate to schedules and calendars (Pàmies, et al., 2014).

**3.3.2. Subjective Time.** Aristotle, the first Greek philosopher to support the idea of subjective time, links its context to movement that depends on the experiential changes (Coope, 2011). Similarly, Kant views time and its perception as inseparable, which implies that “time is mind-dependent and subjective” (Bunnag, 2017, p. 2). Subjective time is “our sense of continued existence in the world” and is linked to the continuous perception processing, speed of its passage, and the experience of temporal units as time elapses (Szpunar, 2011, p. 409). Bergson (1965) emphasises that the experience of temporal units has eluded mathematics and quantitative science and cannot be understood without spatial implications.

Clocks and calendars may constrain experiences, as subjective time can be redesigned to accommodate the needs of everyday life (Hauge, 2016). In this context, time can be compacted and extended, rushed or slowed, and influenced by or impacting individual and collective experiences; it is the product of how individuals perceive and interpret their physical and social environments and is directly linked to cultures (Branzei & Fathallah, 2021; Shipp & Jansen, 2021; Adams & Eerde, 2010; Hall, 1983). When we are occupied with fun activities or spending time with friends, time seems to fly; when we are in pain, time seems to slow down (Burnett et al., 2020).

Individual perception accounts for individualised interpretations of the past and the future as well as the perception of the present moment (Shipp & Jansen, 2021). Humans may recognise different “urgency and control over time,” carry various temporal needs, and “vary in their ability to reflect, shift and coordinate multiple temporalities” (Branzei & Fathallah, 2021, p. 3). The social construction of time reflects how the social norms deliver the meaning of time (Cunliffe et al., 2004). Time is “marked by the rhythm of social life deriving from collective activities rather than uniformly flowing” (Griffiths et al., 2013). Bergson (1965) links social

norms to cultures, as the social is experienced in duration. Different societies have collectively designed diverse time practices, including spiritual practices, national holidays, mealtimes, and the duration of education (Burnett et al., 2020). Both factors (individual and social) are influenced by the cultural identity of individuals and the environment (Adams & Van Eerde, 2010).

In fact, in polychronic cultures, time is subjective, seen as more complex and multidimensional, with events happening in parallel. Time in these cultures is concurrent and simultaneous, and, therefore, various tasks can be accomplished within social norms (Brodowsky et al., 2008; Hall, 1976). Polychronic cultures are “oriented to people (...) human relationships, and the family, which is the source of their existence” (Hall, 1983, p. 53). For example, in the Arab world, the social measure of time is contact with others where decision-making is not linked by speed or gains; rather, it is shaped by the involvement of the collective community (Hall, 1983). Individuals can multitask, base punctuality on relationship factors, and consider social priorities when making business decisions (Hall, 1983). Since time is not viewed as something to be wasted, waiting is tolerated as the result of “culture conditioning” and can be filled with other time-based activities (Pàmies et al., 2014, p. 433).

**3.3.3 Time, Refugees, and Camps.** Many scholars, including human geographers and philosophers, have argued against the concept of time as an objective, dividable, and structured measure, as this approach excludes the unpredictable nature of the human experience (Griffiths et al., 2013). More specifically, Chowers’ (2002) model, especially the temporal rhythm of forward-moving trajectory, is challenged by the current complex and unpredicted social trends, such as refugees’ movements (Griffiths et al., 2013). For refugees, life events and decisions are rarely coherent, fixed, and with clear direction; these events are better characterised by aspiration, fluidity, and, in many cases, uncertainty (Johnson-Hanks, 2005). Even though objective time may measure refugees’ movement on a map and tally their travel distance, their journeys “can take hours, years or even generations” in which movement may cease or follow erratic time patterns. Their time experiences denote space, as “they may link two places, or many more” (Griffiths et al., 2013, p. 11). This is evident in how Peteet (2009) discusses refugees’ temporal narratives in the Shatila refugee camps; Palestinians left

their homeland over seven decades ago and their plight landed them in Lebanon. In the modern day, residents still link their identity to villages in Palestine, even though many children were born in the camp. These residents are considered the third generation of exile, and their hope for returning to their motherland is a daily reality and fluctuates based on time spent in the camp.

Griffiths et al. (2013) emphasise that linearity is often related to “questions of temporariness and permanence . . . as it’s typically viewed as a transition from one to the other” (p. 6). In Chapter Two, however, Ramadan (2013) argues the reality of refugees’ existence being stuck between the temporary and the permanent throughout the protracted encampment process. Therefore, the transition component of linearity may not substantiate the meaning of time for encamped refugees, as their experience “involves complex subjective experiences of time (Tefera, 2021, p. 116). Time “unfolds unevenly in different coexisting [and contentious] temporal modalities” (Barber & Lem, 2008, p. 12). This is evident in the complex time processes discussed in Chapter Two; protracted camps are controlled by the state; they break free with self-expression activities while they are separated from host communities, blurring the separation lines through economic endeavors.

The tension between temporality and permanence also produces experiences of waiting, where time is understood in terms of both movement and non-movement. In this context, waiting is forced, resulting from the power imbalance imposed by governing bodies (Jacobsen et al., 2021). It can also be viewed as a duration-filling gap associated with a different notion of time, generating “a temporal aberration” (Schweizer 2004, p. 779) and a realisation of being out of sync with normative time (Burn, 2015; Gasparini 1995). Hage (2018) agrees, outlining multiple dimensions of waiting, such as waiting for aid or state and humanitarian decisions, as well as more open-ended forms of waiting, like being stuck in a camp for decades and facing an uncertain future. Jacobsen et al. (2021) analysed the refugees’ and migration literature on waiting, condensing these diverse forms into two contexts: situational waiting, where refugees react to events, and existential waiting, where waiting becomes a state of being.

Despite these diverse forms of waiting, refugees continue to “live their lives in a present and at a place where they do not want to be” (Burn, 2015, p. 23). This is due to the fact that the protracted experience cannot be separated from the experience of past lives and hopes for the future. Building on the notion of living in the present, Burn (2015) discusses the concept of “agency-in-waiting” to further contextualise an additional layer of time in protracted displacement. Although many refugees are unable to shape or control their displacement in the future, agency-in-waiting refers to “the capacity to act in the present, in everyday time, based on the experience of displacement from the subject’s history and a critical reflection of the future possibilities framed as waiting and hope” (p. 24).

This proactive account of waiting is corroborated by refugees’ activities discussed in Chapter Two; rather than being frozen in time and waiting for aid, they engage in thriving activities that include starting businesses, employing other refugees, learning new skills, and building permanent structures (Feldman, 2014; Woroniecka-Krzyzanowska, 2017). Adding another dimension to Burn’s (2015) views, Bergson (1965) calls “the active” component “experiential waiting,” in which the individual’s free will advances the situational approach and interrupts the stasis layer of existential waiting. Simply, individuals have the ability to shape their futures through action (Bergson, 1965). Jacobsen et al. (2021) highlight that waiting, for refugees, is too complex to be broken down into just two types, as time is linked to personal and contextual experiences as well as how refugees mobilise their needs. Burn (2015) agrees, calling for future research to unpack the fluid nature of waiting in protracted camps.

With this in mind, I propose Bergson’s approach for understanding the concept of time for this research. Henri Bergson, who strongly challenged Newtonian approaches, prompted the redefinition of time; his philosophy merges memory, space, culture, active waiting, and experience into one concept. He is considered a pioneer in linking time to space through his simultaneity approach without confining his work to the dichotomy between the subjective dimension and the pragmatic notion of time (Bunnag, 2017; Haqshenas, 2014). The concept of time-space is aligned with the scholarly foundation for this research. Therefore, in the following section, I further explore Bergson’s (1965) concept of time as a foundation to unpack the research questions.

**3.3.4 Bergson's Concept of Time.** Time, according to Bergson, includes the “inseparable moments in which past, present, and future intersect in pure memory or in other words, time is a duration which is indivisible unlike the clock time” (Haqshenas, 2014, p. 45). Bergson's (1965) metaphysical time, amalgamating all human experience at any juncture, commences in the past and bleeds into the present in such a way that the past, present, and future become one whole. For Bergson, time and consciousness are radically inseparable from one another; any new perception is “phenomenologically annexed to our consciousness and is made significant by the accumulation of all our experiences in the past” (Haqshenas, 2014, p. 46). Since perception and cognition are grounded in past experiences and since each person inevitably experiences the world differently, perception and cognition become fundamentally idiosyncratic.

Bergson introduces the concepts of duration and simultaneity to further contextualise time (Haqshenas, 2014). Duration, or *durée*, is a progression of experiential changes, which “melt into and permeate one another without any specific or predictable pattern” (Haqshenas, 2014, p. 46; Pearson & Mullarkey, 2002). He discusses duration as a continuous multiplicity, in that any new experience in the present time finds its meaning from many previous experiences in the past “and immediately dissolves in them to construct an indivisible, flexible and ever-increasing temporal whole” (Harris, 2004; Haqshenas, 2014, p. 46). In fact, real duration is considered an experience, as “we learn that time unfolds and, moreover, that we are unable to measure it without converting it into space and without assuming all we know of it to be unfolded” (Bergson, 1965, p. 62). For Bergson, the fluctuation of *la durée* is also connected to human agency, which is always influenced by subjective and specific memories of the past and shaped by anticipation of the future. In his philosophy, when human agency is overlaid with waiting, the static layer of waiting transforms into experiential waiting. In this context, waiting can emerge as a goal-orientated opportunity as well as a meaning-making activity (Bergson, 2002; 1889).

The only real sense of time for Bergson is lived time, which invokes a sense of timelessness, since the mind does not work according to the logic of the clock (Tasdelen, 2003). This is what Bergson means by “simultaneity,” which he describes as the intersection of time and space (Pearson & Mullarkey, 2002). More specifically, simultaneity is not so much the

intersection of a moment in time with a point in space, but rather the intersection of a duration with a volume of space. Simultaneity underscores the coexistence of all chronological and spatial divisions of time, viewing time as a unified whole made up of the intersection of all the planes of the past in the present. Therefore, duration is something we feel, and simultaneity is something we experience.

Bergson (1965) links time to the meaning and practices of cultures. He views culture as a “socialised dimension of time,” actualised in and never independent of duration and simultaneity (Linstead & Mullarkey, 2003, p. 5). Since time is viewed through the human experience, culture is a shared experience of time itself. Therefore, the overlap of time and culture denotes the “enactments and re-enactments that take place [which] can be seen to be part of a particular collectivity’s attempts to create and recreate its self-identity” (Chia & King, 1998, p. 476). With this in mind, culture is always moving, creative, shifting, and innovating (Linstead & Mullarkey, 2003).

Even though Bergson’s work has been predominantly applied in social sciences, motion-based sciences (such as engineering), and media, his philosophy has minimal representation in the context of mass displacement. Following Walker and Avant’s (2011) approach to concept derivation, Bergson’s (1965) view of duration and simultaneity as inseparable components of time mirrors the focus of this research, which explores concepts of thriving within the time-space of camps. This is evident with how refugees redefined their spaces and time spent in the Zaatari refugee camp, “narrat[ing] the story of the camp’s transformation from an ad hoc, chaos-ridden site to a permanent, city-like settlement” over the span of four years (Rothe et al., 2020, p. 49). Additionally, Bergson’s definition of time as “inseparable moments in which past, present, and future intersect in pure memory” can be easily transferred to Peteet’s observation of Palestinian refugees in Shatila. Shatila was set up according to the refugees’ villages of origin, allowing residents to remember and cultivate “their own sense of spatiality on the camps, crafting a microcosm of Galilee” (Bulley, 2017, p. 56). Decades after displacement, children’s memories and identities are rooted in villages they had never visited. Over time, camp spaces were gradually overlaid with other sorts of spaces and experiences, including institutional



purposes, informal social rallies, inter-village marriage sites, and the souks and restaurants which, in combination, produced an embryonic notion of time (Bulley, 2016, p. 57).

Bergson's approach of experiential waiting is aligned with how refugees actualised their thriving potential. Rather than succumbing to stasis and viewing waiting as existential, refugees in the Dadaab refugee camp in Kenya have challenged the standard conceptions of camp spaces and time spent in their camp by independently building permanent housing structures, setting up businesses, and employing other refugees. Such development exemplifies the potential for developing functional human communities (Feldman, 2014; Woroniecka-Krzyzanowska, 2017). This collective nature of helping others is also aligned with his view on time and culture as a social, innovative, and collective experience. For example, in the Baddawi camps of Lebanon, residents provided food, protection, and shelter to newly arriving Syrian refugees (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2016); the residents eventually initiated cultural and social events that produced tiers of meaning through the readoption of regional traditions that shaped unique communal arts and crafts, cultivating their homeland identities through everyday spatialities (Bulley, 2017; Ramadan, 2013). Similarly, Liberians at the Buduburam refugee camp in Ghana created a unified identity amalgamating diverse cultural practices despite intense sectarian conflicts.

### 3.4 Summary

While Haight et al. (2002) provide a lens through which thriving will be unpacked in protracted camps, Lefebvre's (1991) and Bergson's (1965) models present a critical groundwork for unpacking the relationship between refugees' everyday lives and camp environments as well as critically exploring the thriving principles proposed by Haight et al. (2002) in camp spatialities. All frameworks outline factors that are social and spatial in nature, where the three thriving factors (i.e., person, human environment, and nonhuman environment) nest well with the conceived, perceived, and lived spaces as well as with time through duration and simultaneity.

Time and space are interweaved in Haight et al.'s (2002) three thriving factors. Thriving is linked to the *person* thriving while interacting with *nonhuman* and *human environments*,

exemplifying *time* with the *spatial* and *social* aspects of thriving. As demonstrated by the model in Haight et al. (2002) (Figure 1), the congruencies among the three factors reflect *duration*, and those specific moments of overlap reflect the intersection of all thriving planes of the past in the present, which denotes *simultaneity*. This generates a feeling (*duration*) and a measurement for thriving (*simultaneity*).

Lefebvre's (1991) view on "production" connotes that humans who live in a space shape the environment that encapsulates their everyday lives. It is a term associated with *time*, referencing an ongoing process, as the "product" never has a finished or fixed outcome. Spaces are *conceived* by those with the power, which impacts the lives of the *person* who inhabit the space. According to Lefebvre (1991), the impact occurs over *time*. The *person* then produces and experiences *perceived spaces*, which also implies *duration*. *Human environments* – where social norms, values, and experiences are formed – occur in *lived spaces*, as the interaction of *experiences* and *lived spaces* during a specific duration denotes *simultaneity*.

With this in mind, the combination of the three conceptual frameworks postulates an argument that thriving, time, and space cannot be sectioned in the context of protracted refugee camps.

## Chapter Four - Methodology

The previous chapter unpacked the frameworks underpinning this research; this chapter outlines the methodological approaches while providing a setting for exploring and applying the discussed frameworks. It commences with a section outlining the research design and the rationale behind selecting the methodological approach. This study employs a qualitative descriptive (QD) design with a conventional content analysis approach. The subsequent section discusses the fieldwork experience, highlighting photo-elicitation interviews (PEI) as the data collection tool. The setting section discusses the Shatila refugee camp and the study's sample: adults who have resided in the camp for over five years. Finally, the end of the chapter discusses interpretation strategies, rigour, outputs, limitations, and ethical concerns.

### 4.1 Approach

Several key conclusions that impact methodological approaches can be derived from the analysis of camps in Chapter Two. This includes the complex historical contexts of refugee camps, the rich and unique cultural practices within camp spaces, the novelty of exploring thriving concepts in protracted camps, and the exclusion of refugees in determining their own futures. More importantly, one of the essential pillars for this research is applying refugees' thriving practices to broader communities, linking their thriving to policy around the camps' designs and operations. Therefore, a literature review was conducted, searching specifically for methodological approaches that: (a) directly link refugees' voices to policy changes and interventions; (b) are flexible in the field to accommodate the complexity and unexpected nature of camp spaces; (c) are suited for under-researched phenomenon; and (d) uncover deeper meanings while investigating novel concepts throughout the discovery phase. With this in mind, I chose a qualitative descriptive (QD) design with a conventional content analysis approach derived from health sciences. Qualitative descriptive studies are different from other research designs, as the process represents the characteristics of qualitative research rather than "investigating culture as does ethnography, the lived experience as in phenomenology or the building of theory as with grounded theory" (Bradshaw et al., 2017, p. 1). As detailed in the

following section, this flexible approach is commonly used to investigate under-researched phenomena with the goal of designing interventions to impact policy around the issue (Kim et al., 2016). I chose to integrate visual reference methods into this framework, like photography captured by refugees, which will provide policymakers with the refugees' perspectives of their own experiences. Photos can also accurately document the residents' rich practices (Harper, 2002). Data collection took place in Lebanon, within the Shatila refugee camp in 2019. The following sections describe the complete methodological structure and the rationale for using these approaches.

## **4.2 Design**

This study has a qualitative descriptive (QD) design with a conventional content analysis approach. The value of this approach lies in how knowledge treats “research methods as living entities that resist simple classification and can result in establishing meaning and solid findings” (Vaismoradi et al., 2013, p. 399). As a methodological approach, QD studies have gained popularity in recent years within health sciences, accounting for more than half of the qualitative studies in several health sub-disciplines. Most of these studies have developed processes impacting policies to improve the quality of life for the patients involved (Polit & Beck, 2014). This approach aligns with the goals of this research and has never been used in either engineering or humanitarian contexts. I adapted the design to fit the context of protracted camps, which involved (1) recontextualising primary stakeholders out of the patient and physical illness domains to include refugees, (2) understanding the environment from the complex perspective of a refugee camp rather than a clinical environment, and (3) recognising the outcome as a design toolkit for camps while sustaining the policy impact approach. The following two sections outline the goals and features of QD design while discussing applicability context in refugee camps.

**4.2.1 Goals.** The five specific pillars underpinning the goals of QD are:

- 1- Investigate an under-researched phenomenon that reflects novel concepts by unpacking the what, the who, the how, and the where of people, events, and related environments.
- 2- Interrogate these novel concepts through the eyes of primary stakeholders who reside in a unique spatiality within their natural environment, and therefore allow for comprehensive description and the robust derivation of deep meaning.
- 3- Since QD design focuses on novel concepts, create a precursor to further research, continue the discussion, and advance the under-researched phenomenon.
- 4- Design and implement interventions, products, and new processes based on the knowledge derived from primary stakeholders' descriptions of the phenomenon.
- 5- Directly link the product to policy change and set forth a long-term and multidimensional impact strategy that improves quality of life, impacting stakeholders' environments and their experiences. (Chafe, 2017; Colorafi & Evans, 2016; Doyle et al., 2019; Kim et al., 2016; Sandelowski, 2010; Seixas et al., 2017; Vaismoradi et al., 2013).

These five pillars mirror the conceptual foundation, process, and outcome for this research. Studying under-researched phenomenon within the participants' natural environment fits in with the novelty of exploring thriving concepts as narrated by refugees in protracted camps. Similarly, refugees' views are underrepresented in the global context of thriving. Additionally, this research investigates *how* refugees *who* reside in protracted camps (*where*) define and practice thriving concepts (*what*). Therefore, this research aims to produce a design toolkit based on dwellers' thriving views and practices. As will be discussed in depth in Chapter Eleven, this toolkit will be tested in several refugee camps in the area and will pave the scholarly path for future research concerning refugee thriving. Ultimately, the goal is to distribute the toolkit to policy and humanitarian actors who can mobilise in camps. This approach will create thriving environments based on refugees' needs, views, and practices. The process will give a voice to refugees in camps while providing making it possible to use their perspectives as an impetus for policy change concerning camp design and operation. By giving

voice to refugees and supporting potential policy changes, this research may improve the quality of life for refugees in camps and encourage the building of better encampment environments.

**4.2.2 Features.** To mobilise QD's unique goals, the process of implementation reflects three unique features: flexibility, adaptability, and reflectivity. QD design studies require a *flexible* plan of inquiry that is responsive to real-world contexts and able to accommodate the novelty and unpredictable nature of an under-researched phenomenon (Doyle et al., 2019; Patterson & Morin, 2012). This inductive and dynamic process is data-driven, as the flexible feature would keep the data close to the investigated phenomenon, with themes generated as the research progresses (Lambert & Lambert, 2012). For researchers, this approach allows for "the use of one or more different types of inquiry, which is essential when acknowledging and exploring different realities and subjective experiences in relation to phenomena" (Doyle et al., 2019, p. 445; Long et al., 2018). Thus, the data collection process employs minimally structured processes, such as open-ended interviews, that offer deeply subjective and strongly subject-led views (Bradshaw et al., 2017; Doyle et al., 2019).

To accommodate this flexible approach, the QD process follows the practice of borrowing frameworks from other disciplines to unpack key concepts and to *adapt* "elements of other qualitative methodologies such as grounded theory, phenomenology and ethnography" to continually follow the nature of the data in the field (Vaismoradi et al., 2013). Therefore, QD studies do not seek to explain or understand (as ethnography does), nor do they describe the experiences (as in phenomenology); and their aim is not discovery (as is customary in grounded theory approaches) (Doody & Bailey, 2016). With this in mind, QD studies are the least theoretical and encumbered by philosophical commitments compared to other qualitative designs. Lambert and Lambert (2012) argue that "phenomenology, grounded theory, and ethnographic are based on specific methodological frameworks that emerged from specific disciplinary traditions... Thus, there is no pre-selection of study variables, no manipulation of variables, and no prior commitment to any one theoretical view of a target phenomenon" (p. 255). This lack of a static commitment to theories allows researcher to quickly pivot and adapt to new discoveries in the field.

To *reflect* a valid depiction of reality, the role of research engaged in a QD design “acts like a composite-sketch artist collecting pieces of information from witnesses” (Seixas et al., 2017, p. 1). In this context, the artist represents reality by “faithfully draw[ing] the picture,” to which participants, who belong to the same natural environment, would agree on the storyline and the depiction of the experience (Seixas et al., 2017, p. 779). This is an important feature for generating policy impact, as this more accurate picture may “reconstruct the actual governmental designs of public policies or organizational management systems” (Sandelowski, 2010; Seixas et al., 2017, p. 779). Therefore, the “artist” provides an account of events, institutional structures, and commonly observable behaviours, while reflecting the meaning of these contexts for the involved participants to assure a “valid drawing of the reality” (Seixas et al., 2017). Thus, the research process requires a purposeful sampling approach that ensures the resulting intervention will serve specific demographics within their environment. The outcome of the research will be presented in a way that directly reflects terminology documented in the research questions (Bradshaw et al., 2017). Even though this design is descriptive, Seixas et al. (2017) argue that the artist is invited to “take account some level of interpretive data, though just as long as it indeed helps the reconstruction of reality” (p. 779).

These design features align with the conceptual foundation of this research and were followed throughout the fieldwork experience. QD’s minimal linkage to theoretical guides matches how this research challenges existing theoretical discussions, arguing that they lack applicability in the context of protracted camps. Additionally, the borrowing of frameworks to unpack specific key concepts in the research question is evident with the concepts of thriving, space, and time, as they are derived from health, motion sciences, and design disciplines. The flexibility and adaptability approaches were also applied in the field. Firstly, the subsequent sections will show that the data collection process followed a flexible structure that accounts for the unpredictable nature of refugee camps and the settings for this research (4.5 Fieldwork). This includes shifting the data collection tools, conducting semi-structured interviews, changing the timelines to respond to the Lebanese revolution, and including community leaders in the fieldwork experience.

Secondly, variation in the methodological approach may be appropriate across varying QD studies if, for example, new discoveries are made during the research process (Sandelowski, 2010). While analysing the data for this research, I included grounded theory overtones and examined the data following a constant comparative analysis method; this research does not follow a grounded theory design, however, because it does not seek to generate a new theory about refugee camps. Similarly, the researcher may decide to adapt techniques from other qualitative traditions – such as ethnography – if they fit the context of the research questions and design (Sandelowski, 2000). As demonstrated in the results chapters, I ended up studying the cooking culture of Syrians as a strategy to examine cultural infusion and adaptation while living in a foreign place (9.2.6 Symbols and Storytelling). This typically ethnographic approach emerged after conducting a series of focus groups with Syrian refugees residing in Shatila.

The last design feature of note is that the accuracy of our depiction of reality was reflected in the application of photo-elicitation interview (PEI) techniques and the strategies this research followed to assure rigour. As will be discussed in depth later in the chapter, the benefit of using PEI as a research tool is that it facilitates a more profound meaning, because it not only draws on feelings and memory but also co-produces knowledge through the images and the conversation, allowing for a complete picture of a phenomenon. Additionally, the analysis process infuses feminist thinkers' approaches to assure that voices are elevated, including those who are marginalised.

**4.2.3. Deployment.** According to QD's goals, fieldwork activities will unpack *what* thriving means for refugees, *how* thriving is actualised, and *where* thriving is practiced in protracted camps. Additionally, the use of photography as an inquiry tool, will help interrogate thriving as a novel concept through the eyes of refugees within their *natural* environment.

The *flexible* feature postulates a plan of inquiry that is responsive to *real-world contexts* and is able to accommodate the novelty and unpredictable nature of lives in the camp. Therefore, this research follows a phased data collection timeline commencing with a grace period to unpack the unique complexities of a protracted camp. Additionally, the initial phase will provide ample time for getting to know the residents and earning their trust. This is especially important as Chapter Two highlights protracted camps' complex political,



environmental, and social structures where refugees are subjected to control, time, and separation tactics. As will be discussed in depth in Chapter Five, refugees developed safety strategies to protect residents from outsiders.

QD features also invite the use of one or more different types of research inquiry. Therefore, I will use photography, focus groups, individual interviews, and Photo-elicitation Interviews, as data collection tools, to explore different realities and subjective experiences related to thriving in the camp. To *reflect* the rich social and cultural practices, I may be borrowing and *adapting* elements of other qualitative methodologies such as grounded theory, phenomenology and ethnography to continually follow the nature of the data in the field. This may include refugees' conscience experience of thriving and its related objects (phenomenology), as well as the scientific description of thriving customs concerning individual peoples and cultural practices (ethnography).

To *reflect* and act like a *composite-sketch artist*, I will follow a four-step strategy. First, I will schedule a preliminary interview to discuss and train refugees on the research process. This includes handing out cameras, conducting photography training sessions, and discussing preliminary thriving concepts. Next, refugees will be capturing details of everyday life reflecting their views and practices of thriving. Therefore, a subsequent interview will be scheduled, where I will review the images with each refugee, reflecting on the details of the image, location, environmental and social details, actors, and reasons behind capturing the photo within a particular context. Throughout the data collection and analysis processes, I will be confirming the stories with refugees to *represent reality* by faithfully *reflecting* their stories in which participants would agree on the storyline and the depiction of the experience. After the conclusion of this research, I plan on co-creating a gallery to exhibit these images; this is a vital feature for generating *policy impact*, as this more accurate picture may reconstruct the actual governmental designs of public policies or organizational management systems. The following three sections will discuss the setting and the population for this research followed by a detailed fieldwork timeline highlighting the data collection process.

### 4.3 Setting

This research has selected Lebanon as a location and the Shatila refugee camp as a setting. The reason for choosing Lebanon centres on the country's status as a host to refugees, the protracted nature of the recognised refugee camps, and the deeply involved political system that negatively impacts refugees' livelihoods. As of 2019, Lebanon is one of the top five refugee-hosting countries globally and the largest host per capita (UNHCR, 2020). Lebanon has no national refugee law, and, although the country has hosted many refugees, they are treated as guests, with no possibility for naturalisation or other legal protections and rights. The conditions of camps in Lebanon are dire, with inhabitants who are deprived of adequate living conditions and rights.

Syrians and Palestinians are considered the largest refugee populations in Lebanon; other refugee groups have Ethiopian, Iraqi, and Sudanese origins, among others (UNHCR, 2020). Of the half-million registered Palestinian refugees, 45% reside in 12 recognised camps, and all of the Palestinian refugee camps have entered a protracted state (UNRWA, 2021). The total number of Syrian refugees exceeds 1.5 million, making up approximately 20% of Lebanon's population (UNHCR, 2020). The Lebanese government has enacted a "no-camp policy," refusing to permit the building of formal camps for Syrian refugees (Sanyal, 2017, p. 1).

As a result, These Syrian refugees reside in over 2,000 informal tent settlements, abandoned buildings, and rented spaces, with thousands securing housing in Palestinian camps (Arena, 2020; Sanyal, 2017). Therefore, thousands of Palestinians who already face overcrowding and poor living conditions are also affected by demographic pressure from population growth and influxes of Syrian refugees and other migrant groups looking for affordable accommodation; this directly impacts the time-spaces of camps (Arena, 2020). These conditions highlight the importance of conducting this research in Lebanon, as documenting the refugees' views and practices related to thriving will provide deeper insight into the interventions needed for improving their quality of life and influencing the policies that control their livelihood.

Among the 12 recognised camps in Lebanon, I chose the Shatila refugee camp as the site for conducting this research because of the outcome of the ethical process, relationships

formed in the field, opportunities to access camps, and its alignment with the conceptual foundation for this research. At the time of applying for ethical review, the Foreign, Commonwealth, and Development Office (FCDO) had classified areas where camps are located outside of Beirut as red zones; therefore, the ethics committee excluded all protracted camps located outside of the capital. I spent months establishing relationships with NGOs and gatekeepers within several camps in Beirut, most of which are very difficult (if not impossible) to access. These included the Bar Elias camp, the Shatila camp, and the Burj El Barajneh camp. I ended up choosing Shatila due to its spatial and social (time-space) transformations over the past half-century, which aligns with the context of this research (Peteet, 2005). This transformation has influenced the quality of life for residents, as the camp is still closely tied to its own bloody history and a complex web of state and faction politics, as discussed in Chapter Five. Additionally, the large number of Syrian refugees – amongst other migrant groups – residing in the camp adds additional pressure to the debilitating environment. Therefore, the outcome of this research may contribute to improving the residents' quality of life. Lastly, as outlined in the section on fieldwork activities, I was able to establish working partnerships with gatekeepers and several NGOs who operate in the Shatila camp.

#### 4.4 Sample

This research calls for the investigation of thriving concepts and practices in protracted camps. As discussed in Chapter Two, the term *protracted* reflects camps that have been in operation for over five years, with refugees who have been displaced for the same period of time (**Error! Reference source not found.**). Due to the additional ethical complexities of working with children, I chose to restrict the sample population to adults over the age of 18, especially considering that not all children have experienced the historical context and the time-space evolution of the camp. The QD process suggests the use of purposeful sampling to design specific interventions that relate specific demographics to their lived environments. Therefore, the sample for this research includes displaced persons over the age of 18 who have been residing in camps for over five years and who are fluent in Arabic or English. The camp demographics include Palestinian and Syrian refugees who predominately speak Arabic. I am

fluent in the Levantine Arabic dialect, so I collected data using the camp residents' native tongues. Eighty-six individuals participated in this research; the sample size was determined when saturation was obtained in the field. Saturation is the most commonly used strategy for attaining rigour in a qualitative study (Guest et al., 2006). It is achieved when no new information or themes emerge from the research process (Court, 2018).

A homogeneous sample strategy was used in initiating the process of recruiting participants, followed by a snowball approach. A homogeneous (meaning "of a similar kind or nature") strategy falls under the "purposeful sampling" guidelines, focusing on one particular subgroup in which all the sample members are similar, while reducing variation and simplifying analysis within a group interview context (Palinkas et al., 2013). Other sampling approaches, such as convenience and randomised sampling, do not fit the context of this research, as they may end up recruiting adults or refugees who are not in a protracted state. Additionally, the political and social nature of the camp does not allow for the random choosing of participants, as the inquiry process might be perceived as a social and political threat. Safeguarding participants' experience is one of the hallmarks of this research's ethical process. The inquiry process in Shatila must be coordinated with gatekeepers and local leaders to ensure access and the conduct of research in a locally-appropriate manner. In this case, the sample included refugees who have resided in Shatila for over five years, including men and women of Syrian and Palestinian origins; they were recruited with the help of partners and gatekeepers in the field. Accessing other refugee groups was very difficult; those who participated in this research, however, interviewed several camp residents from Southeast Asia and North Africa who had been residing in the camp for over five years. After the first few data collection sessions, a snowball approach was implemented. This strategy identifies samples of people who share similar characteristics with other stakeholders taking part in the study (Patton, 2015). Those who participated in this study were able to refer others, including family members, neighbours, co-workers, business owners, non-governmental organisation (NGO) representatives, employees, and several political factions.

## 4.5 Fieldwork

Data collection strategies took the form of individual and/or focus group interviews with minimally structured guides (Neergaard et al., 2009; Sandelowski, 2000). The QD method calls for purposeful sampling techniques and a minimally structured inquiry process, allowing refugees' narratives to drive the analysis process. As this section discusses in more detail later, this project used organisational contacts – including the camp's gatekeeper and local NGOs – to begin a process of snowball sampling. The data is presented in a way that directly reflects participants' diverse experiences and links their contexts to the original research questions (Bradshaw et al., 2017).

Ethics approval (Application ID: 15517/002) was secured from the University College London Research Ethics Committee (REC). The fieldwork experience commenced on April 9<sup>th</sup>, 2019, concluded on December 27<sup>th</sup>, 2019, and was composed of three inquiry phases. The First Phase (April 9<sup>th</sup> – June 21<sup>st</sup>) consisted of building relationships with partners on the grounds while seeking access to the camp. The Second Phase (July 3<sup>rd</sup> – September 23<sup>rd</sup>) commenced with individual and/or focus group interviews, and then moved to photo-elicitation interviews (PEIs). The Third Phase (October 23<sup>rd</sup> – December 27<sup>th</sup>) of this research addressed the gaps that emerged from previous research steps. The following is an in-depth description of fieldwork activities.

The First Phase (April 9<sup>th</sup> – June 21<sup>st</sup>) consisted of building relationships with partners on the ground, obtaining permission to access the camp, and piloting the study. After spending ample time contacting and meeting with several organisations operating in the Shatila refugee camp, a partnership was formed with the NGO Basmeh and Zeitooneh (B&Z). B&Z (which stands for *smile* and *olive* in Arabic) serves approximately 20,000 refugees in Lebanon alone. Their mission centres on “empower[ing] individuals through working amongst the most vulnerable and marginalised groups to fill the gaps in development assistance and respond to the most urgent relief and developmental needs to contribute to the advancement of society” (Basmeh & Zeitooneh: History). Their model involves “operations in community centres, which would provide a single focal point” for service while building holistic delivery programs and intimate relationships with the communities they serve. B&Z's first community centre was

established in 2013 in a rented space in the Shatila camp and has “served as a template” for expansion to six other communities in Lebanon (Basmeh & Zeitooneh: Community Centre Approach). This approach allows the organisation to streamline its resources, optimise the delivery process, reduce operational waste, and serve larger refugee demographics.

An agreement with B&Z was reached, outlining a pathway for the data collection process and volunteering plans; the NGO provided an office for conducting research at their community centre in Shatila in exchange for research training for their staff at the organisation’s headquarters in Beirut. The plan also outlined a three-week volunteering approach with several B&Z projects to earn the trust of the staff, community members, and the camp’s gatekeepers. After those three weeks, I provided research training twice a week and collected data at the camp four days a week. This research training covered qualitative methods, photography approaches, and impact strategies whilst outlining a strategic plan to cultivate a research culture throughout their service delivery process that will ensure impactful long-term outcomes. During the first few weeks of volunteering, I formed two other partnerships with the Bylasan Theatre Group and The Shatila Studio. The Bylasan Theatre Group is a resident-run theatre collective aimed at integrating political and social issues into performance arts. The Shatila Studio is the largest sewing, textile manufacturing, and embroidery social enterprise in the refugee camp. Both groups are run by Syrian refugee women and are for both Syrian and Palestinian refugee women, providing sustainable incomes for 100 artisans. Both organisations helped coordinate additional individual and focus groups interviews. The last three weeks of the First Phase allowed for the piloting of the methodology in the Arabic language, including evaluating the language of the research questions. This led to modifications to the translation; for example, the term *thrive* denotes living a luxurious life in some local dialects. Based on the dialect of each participant, other terms were used, which could be translated into English as *the good life*, *comfort*, or *flourishing*. It was important to ensure coherent understanding of such important terms amongst all participants. In each interview, participants were consulted on the terms and their meanings and were invited to use the synonym that was most applicable to their dialect.

The Second Phase (July 3<sup>rd</sup> – September 23<sup>rd</sup>) commenced with individual and/or focus group interviews, and then moved to photo-elicitation interviews (PEIs). An advertisement featuring a description of the study as well as the time and location for interviews was displayed by the partners' managers and in gatekeepers' shops, inviting refugees to participate in the study. Once participants arrived at the interview space, verbal consent was recorded, followed by the completion of background and qualification questionnaires. The questionnaires confirmed that each participant is a refugee, over the age of 18, and has been residing in the camp for over five years. Interviews and focus groups of between two and ten people were led in open discussions to ensure the groups were large enough to generate rich discussion (Polit & Beck, 2012). Out of the twenty-six focus groups, eleven were made up of refugees of the same gender and nationality. Following Feminist's theorists' approaches, seven focus groups invited women only and four Syrians alone to help balance power dynamics. More details on this approach will be discussed in the following section (4.7 Rigour, Confirmability, and Trustworthiness).

Semi-structured questions were used as guides, starting with general questions about the everyday lives of refugees in camps. The benefit of focus groups is that, through facilitated discussion, participants can build on each other's ideas through elaboration. In this way, focus groups provide a broader range of information and diverse ideas, as well as offering the opportunity to seek clarification. The discussion then focused on refugees' views on thriving, the most important factors for their thriving, and how they may practice these concepts within the time-space of the camp. The questions concluded with a focus on both the facilitators and barriers to being able to thrive in camps.

Throughout the questioning process, special attention was paid to the key concepts highlighted in the time, space, and thriving models discussed in Chapter Three. For example, when a participant discussed concepts that align with Lefebvre's (1991) *lived space* approach, a question would follow inquiring about more details of the social events within the space. Similarly, when refugees linked thriving to the human environment, as discussed by Haight's (2002) model, they were encouraged to provide more details about themselves and the nature of the interaction. Overall, participants were encouraged to build on each other's responses

and provide additional examples to other thriving concepts. After the interviews and focus groups, I distributed digital cameras to the participants and requested that they capture images representing thriving, barriers to thriving, and how they or other residents practice thriving concepts within the time-space of the camp. I also provided a training session on photography methods and using the digital camera. I scheduled times to retrieve cameras and arranged follow-up photo-elicitation interviews to review the images with participants. Lastly, I asked participants about other residents who might be interested in participating in this research, providing my contact information and the description from the study flyer for distribution.

Photo-elicitation interviews (PEIs) were carried out as the second stage of data collection. PEI is a method where photographs are used during interviews to prompt or guide the conversation about a particular topic (Harper, 2002). The benefit of using PEI as a research tool is that it facilitates a more profound meaning, because it not only draws on feelings and memory but also co-produces knowledge through the images and the conversation. It is often used in investigating under-researched topics, which fits the QD approach (**Error! Reference source not found.**). The method is suitable for identifying concepts that are difficult to verbalise, as the photos aid in the discovery and critical processes. More importantly, the value of this approach is based on the fact that “parts of the brain that process visual information are evolutionarily older than the parts that process verbal information. Thus, images evoke deeper elements of human consciousness than do words” (Harper, 2002, p. 1). Therefore, PEI “seems like not simply an interview process that elicits more information, but rather one that evokes a different kind of information” (Harper, 2002, p. 13). Another benefit of PEI is that the polysemic nature of a photograph can challenge the researcher’s assumptions and biases. For example, when one of the participants presented an image showing a wall filled with bullet holes, I initially assumed that the participant would discuss war or conflict-related narratives; instead, the refugee discussed messages of resilience, reflecting on successful thriving approaches despite her family’s tragic past.

There are two strategies for approaching the PEI process: researcher-controlled PEI and respondent-controlled PEI (Harper, 2001; Schwarts, 1992; Padgett et al., 2013; Clark-Ibáñez, 2004). The first application invites the researcher to capture the image and elicit feedback from



participants, whereas the participants lead the process in the second strategy. Researcher-controlled PEI allows for more control throughout the research process and may save time and resources. The researcher may influence the interview narrative, however, missing essential aspects of the research setting, including environments that portray the participants' everyday lives (Clark-Ibáñez, 2012). In some cases, the interviewees may alert researchers to omissions and provide access to relevant environments at a later date. Although the process might be more unpredictable, time-consuming, and difficult to manage, a participant-controlled PEI process invites participants to document their unfiltered views without the influence of the research, which gives power back to the community and generates true change (Clark-Ibáñez, 2012).

This research followed the respondent-controlled PEI approach, as it enhances empowerment and facilitates creativity while providing a direct view of participants' thriving contexts (Padgett, 2013). There are four distinct approaches to respondent-controlled PEI: *auto-driving*, *reflective photography*, *photovoice*, and *photo-novella* (Hurworth, 2003). In the first approach, *auto-driving*, the researcher invites participants to capture photographs reflecting a specific practice, as applied in marketing and consumer behaviour studies. In *reflective photography*, participants document cross-cultural concepts within an institutional context, such as school or work. Unlike the previous two approaches, *photovoice* is more public, with community members capturing specific photographs that reflect challenges facing the community in order to enable personal and collective change. Often, the images are not reviewed by the researcher, and they are frequently displayed publicly in partnership with a community organisation and policy makers (Hurworth, 2003). The fourth approach, *photo-novella*, is a storytelling-based approach to visual materials, which helps ensure that their message is aligned with the cultural practices of the camp.

The first three approaches do not fit the context of this research; the first two are applied in contexts that are not aligned with camps, whereas the public nature of the third approach doesn't follow the ethics requirement for confidentiality. Therefore, I used the *photo-novella* approach, as it is most frequently used when working with marginalised and under-represented groups (Hurworth, 2003). Culturally, it is a common practice for Palestinians and

Syrians to use diverse storytelling methods, including reciting poetry, singing, painting, sculpting, and preserving historical artefacts. This approach aims to aid in their self-documentation of specific aspects of their everyday lives while encouraging “critical thinking and reflection on behalf of the participant” (Burke & Evans, 2011, p. 165). The images transform into stories during the interviews, with participants presenting their photos and conversing about their significance and meanings (Hurworth, 2003). Similar to the First Phase, refugees were invited to capture no more than 25 images that reflect the applied conceptual frameworks discussed in Chapter Three. Refugees discussed experiences – such as silent marches – where time and space intersect, reflecting Bergson’s perspective of simultaneity. Before reviewing the images, consent to participate was reconfirmed and recorded. Next, refugees’ images were uploaded onto an encrypted folder and were reviewed on a laptop screen or a projector. Questions about each image included the location, description of captured events, reasons for capturing the image, and the meanings of the thriving represented by the picture. During focus groups, others reflected on and provided additional thriving narratives.

While partnering with the Bylasan Theatre Group, members of the NGO and other refugees suggested changing the method to include a hybrid strategy that combined researcher-controlled and respondent-controlled PEI. According to them, images captured by individuals only reflect the human scale. Therefore, they suggested the addition of a researcher-controlled element of printing images with a bird’s-eye view and on a large urban scale, reflecting the totality of the camp’s environment and experiences. In their view, these images can elicit holistic experiences and allow for more profound reflections on thriving. They felt that this approach would fit better with the demographics they serve, as many members reside in areas that are controlled by factions and are not permitted to capture images themselves; these individuals were eager to participate in the study. Following the QD approach, the methodology was modified to accommodate this change in the field by including both participant- and researcher-controlled PEI. Therefore, royalty-free images showing the Shatila camp’s urban fabric were printed and distributed during focus groups organised by the Bylasan Theatre Group. The discussion followed the same protocol outlined in this section.

The Third Phase (October 23<sup>rd</sup> – December 27<sup>th</sup>) of the research was initially interrupted due to the uprising in Lebanon, before resuming in the first week of November. A preliminary data analysis was conducted at the end of the Second Phase, highlighting emerging themes and holes in the data collection process. Following QD's requirement of purposeful sampling techniques, the preliminary analysis highlighted a gap in participants' demographics and the need to interview older generations who were born and raised in the camp, as well as others who arrived in Shatila with the original wave of exile from Palestine. A final homogenous round of recruitment was conducted at the beginning of the Third Phase with the help of the camp's gatekeepers. These participants were interviewed, and the same PEI protocol highlighted in the Second Phase was implemented. I continued analysing the data in this phase, adding additional content derived from new participants while confirming some of the preliminary outcomes with those who participated in previous phases; this was done to address confirmability, trustworthiness, and inter-rater reliability requirements, as highlighted in the following sections.

#### **4.6 Analysis and Interpretation**

This study uses conventional content analysis. Content analysis is a multidimensional technique that follows diverse approaches, including directed, summative, and conventional (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). With a directed approach, the analysis process uses a theoretical guide to identify thematic codes. On the other hand, a summative technique requires the researcher to count keywords and concepts to underpin overarching themes. The conventional analysis approach, which fits the context of this research, allows for the emergence of themes and the emotions behind them (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The technique invites researchers to stay close to the data, with minimal interference throughout the analysis process (Kim et al., 2017). Content analysis is an analysis technique for "the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns" (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1278). The analysis process is designed to interpret and code refugees' words and emotions so that "themes and categories emerge from the data through the researcher's careful examination and constant comparison" (Zhang &

Wildemuth, 2009, p. 319). This approach of inductive category development is often applied when research on the studied phenomenon is limited (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Researchers avoid using preconceived categories, instead allowing the categories and names for categories to flow from the data.

Due to the diverse data collection mediums, analysis of the refugees' words was conducted through conventional content analysis – with the assistance of the NVivo software program. NVivo, which was selected to store and analyse transcripts, databases, photos, and coding, is a data management and analysis software used when a research study involves various large data sources. The software supports multiple document formats, including most texts, audio, images, and scanning software. Consequently, the software program can help analyse data directly without necessitating the conversion of documents to a specific format (Munirah, 2010). The software can also automate codes throughout the analysis process. Researchers can highlight keywords for coding purposes, and the software will automatically align overlapping codes while generating quotes that corroborate the code (Munirah, 2010).

Interviews were translated into English and transcribed, with pseudonyms substituted for names and all identifying information removed from the transcripts. Each transcript was open-coded for emerging concepts. The sources of new codes included individual words, parts of sentences, full sentences, and groups of sentences. Each group of codes was then classified into a category following an iterative and a cyclical analytical process in which overlapping categories were combined into a core category. The outcome of the analysis resulted in three core categories that highlight the definition of thriving, as well as three other overarching themes reflecting thriving practices in Shatila. The language of each category was compared to refugees' narratives to ensure true reflection of their views. Additionally, the analysis process involved the participants; I conducted a preliminary data analysis after completing the Second Phase, then I checked my summative conclusions with refugees during the Third Phase. The three frameworks discussed in Chapter Three – thriving, time, and space – were utilised to understand key research questions and concepts and did not influence the analysis process. As discussed in Chapter Ten, the data confirmed their utility in the context of protracted camps while adding several new factors that emerged from refugees' narratives which can be

considered essential additions to these models in the context of protracted camps (**Error! Reference source not found.**).

Images captured by participants were anonymised. Studio 575, a visual communication firm in the UK, was hired to remove identifying features in each image. The consultant in the firm underwent ethics training and signed an image-based non-disclosure agreement. Faces were replaced images from with generic and royalty-free stock photos, clothes were recoloured, and identifying objects and/or buildings were altered. Each reconfigured image retained the essential features of the original photograph. Due to low pixilation, quality, and overexposure in some of the images, the studio was unable to replaces faces for a handful of images. Instead, faces were blurred and identifying marks were removed.

#### **4.7 Rigour, Confirmability, and Trustworthiness**

The descriptive nature for QD designs and their common application in healthcare environments may raise unique methodological concerns regarding rigour and transability issues when applied to the context of protracted camps. My analysis of the research studies applying this design denotes that QD design allows for the accurate depiction of storylines; therefore, the analysis reflects the *reading of lines*, where a participant's positionality is excluded from the analysis process as part of the design of the final product or process (Seixas et al., 2017). I argue that this analysis is incomplete in the context of protracted camps. As highlighted in Chapter Two, the camps host more complex political and social infrastructures compared to clinical environments, which justifies the need for recontextualising the design to fit camps contexts.

With this in mind, several strategies were used to improve the rigour and trustworthiness of this study. These strategies follow the Whitemore et al. (2001) framework for assuring rigour in qualitative descriptive research while infusing feminist methods to assure scholarly transferability to refugee camp environments. Whitemore et al. (2001) highlight five overlapping standards to assure rigour in QD studies: (1) authenticity, or attention to the voices of participants, (2) credibility, which also denotes the veracity of the results, (3) criticality, the critical assessment of decisions made, and (4) integrity, exhibited by the consistent reflection of the researcher. These strategies are "highly interrelated," and are therefore "discussed in

pairs,” particularly for QD studies applied in a novel context (Milne & Oberle, 2005, p. 414). The credibility of a QD design is a strategic feature that fosters authenticity – the ability to stay true to the phenomenon being studied. Subsequently, integrity is a reflection of its criticality, as well as “the attention paid to each and every research-related decision” (p. 414). To further build on this, Kerr et al. (1998) provide a feminist view, arguing that, for any research investigating people’s lives, the analysis must include “an awareness of the social context in which such accounts are expressed and of the social and cultural locations from which they are drawn” (p. 114). Both frameworks call for special attention to the ethical process, particularly in relation to those who experience marginalisation. What follows is a discussion of the overlapping frameworks.

**4.7.1 Credibility – Authenticity.** The *credibility* of the study is linked to the ability of the participants to discuss *authentic* narratives that truly reflect their views and experiences. Credibility and authenticity are elevated when the data is participant-driven, voices are heard, and experiences are authentically represented (Whittemore et al., 2001).

As discussed in previous sections, this research implements a semi-structured interview guide in individual interviews and focus groups because it invites and sometimes probes participants to tell their own stories, using their own languages and storytelling style. Milne and Oberle (2005) argue that this structure is ideal for collecting participant-driven data while ensuring autonomy throughout the discussion process. Riaño (2016) adds a critical feminist lens to this approach that invites the implementation of mutual recognition and dialogic engagement between the participant and the researcher. In this cause, participants get to decide on what is important to discuss while inviting a greater “sense of partnership and trust between researcher and participant” (p. 415). They get to shape the research questions and probe the researcher by asking questions and clarifying related concepts. This approach also helps assure that participants’ voices are heard and that the powerful position of the researcher is balanced with the feedback of multiple voices. Ryan et al. (2014) suggests that this synergistic interaction enriches individuals’ viewpoints, giving them depth and complexity, as well as producing insights that would not be available without the interactive process found in a group.

For example, this research explores thriving views and practices in the Shatila camp. The semi-structured guides begin with general questions about the everyday lives of refugees in camps. Participants were invited to tell their own stories and build on each other's ideas through elaboration. Special attention was paid to those who were less interactive, with probing questions – such as “Does this mirror your life?” and “What about your story?” – encouraging participation. Mutual exchange was evident when participants questioned the need for this project and the utility of the word “thriving.” Therefore, a review of potential outcomes for this research and collaborative approaches with refugees were outlined and co-designed with participants. Additionally, participants helped decide the language choices pertaining to the term *thriving*. As discussed before, the term may imply living an opulent life; other terms such as *flourishing* and *developing* were substituted per participants' requests. As will be discussed in depth in Chapter Eleven, participants expressed their excitement to participate in the research project, as the process highlights their views and talents rather than reducing their livelihood to being aid dependant.

To assure experiences are authentically represented, the use of feminist methods places “the voices of those who have typically been marginalized” as another focal point for the research (Olsen, 2005; Rodriguez, et al., 2011, p. 402). This can be particularly important when discussing sensitive issues, such as the story of a protracted plight. This approach is critical in the context of focus groups, as the setting may initially reflect the involvement of individuals with similar characteristics coming together in a relaxed and permissive environment to share their thoughts, experiences, and insights (Krueger & Casey, 2009). However, feminist thinkers pay special attention to gender voices and those who are experiencing magnetisation throughout the data collection and the analysis processes. Therefore, the researcher carries the ethical responsibility of ensuring detailed description by probing for clarification, paying attention to cues, and observing non-verbal expressions. Additionally, the feminist analytical lens postulates reading in between and beyond the lines to capture the total thriving views and practices in protracted refugee camps.

For example, QD studies place equal weight on all involved participants' feedback because the design is predominantly applied in clinical environments and thus concerns the

voices of patients, where the discussion is focused on equal health needs and interventions. This traditional QD approach may not work in the focus group approach in a camp, as individuals from opposing factions might be present in one group, impeding one or more participants from authentically discussing their views. Chapters Two and Five discuss the power imbalances present in protracted refugee camps, equality issues, internal and external conflicts among diverse stakeholders, and factionalism issues. Many of the focus groups hosted diverse demographics, as this contemporary conflict may alter the discussion. Furthermore, Chapter Five also highlights cultural practices that imply gender roles; therefore, having mixed-gender focus groups may also shift the discussion.

To minimise this impact, a series of gender-specific focus groups were organised in the Second and Third Phases. Additionally, transcripts were re-analysed a second time in an attempt to read in between and beyond the lines. For example, when discussing Syrian refugees' enterprising activities in Chapter Eight, reading between the lines shifted the results outlining how Syrians were able to overcome conflict to achieve their entrepreneurial thriving practices. Similarly, the extraordinary weight women carry while implementing enterprising activities to support their families financially was reflected by and linked to their cultural roles.

**4.7.2 Criticality – Integrity.** This rigour strategy refers to the critical appraisal conducted throughout all of the research-related decisions and is a key aspect of a study's overall integrity. This includes assuring trustworthiness, reflection on bias, verifying conclusions, and decreased inter-rater reliability (IRR) (Whittemore et al., 2001). Riaño (2016) adds a critical feminist lens to this approach, calling for reciprocity and mutual learning throughout the research process as well as personal transformation and access to academic spaces.

As recommended by Lincoln and Guba in Creswell (2018), several modes of documentation and data collection methods were used to improve the trustworthiness of this study. Each focus group interview lasted up to 120 minutes, with individual interviews lasting no longer than 90 minutes. Data collection included making audio recordings of each interview, as well as taking photographs and real-time notes describing the participant, setting, environment, and thoughts of the researcher. In addition to the verbal permission of the interviewee, non-identifiable photos were taken in each location to enhance the detailed and



comprehensive description of the data. Recorded data was stored in a password-protected recorder, and notes were kept in a locked case. Audio files were electronically translated and transcribed, and all audio and written notes were deleted and destroyed as per ethics approval protocol. All photos and digitally typed materials were stored on a digital file with an encrypted password; the file will be destroyed three years after the completion of this PhD.

The first layer for verifying conclusions includes the data-source triangulation of the transcripts with the existing facts derived from the literature. Carter et al. (2014) defines triangulation as the “use of multiple methods or data sources in qualitative research to develop a comprehensive understanding of phenomena” (p. 545). More specifically, data triangulation is a critical strategy to validate important facts through referencing diverse resources. For example, in Chapter Five, several refugees highlight the impact of electrical infrastructure on the lives of refugees, referencing a number of electrocution incidents. These facts were triangulated with a recent survey conducted by Habitat for Humanity during the implementation of a new electrical infrastructure project in Shatila. The second layer of verifying conclusions is derived from the feminist lens of inviting participants to become co-creators of knowledge (Rodriguez et al., 2011). As mentioned before, participants were involved in the analysis process; several confirmation sessions were conducted with marginalised groups. This cyclical process implemented Riaño’s (2016) call for reciprocity.

Lastly, Miles et al. (2014) suggest additional strategies for verifying the conclusions, including clustering, contrasting and comparing, noting relationships between variables, subjecting patterns to scepticism, and stressing theoretical coherence. These strategies were discussed with and sometimes modified by the supervisors of this thesis. For example, I analysed each transcript multiple times, noting key conclusions in each paragraph, including the voices of marginalised participants. I then grouped overlapping findings into core categories. Initially, 34 core categories emerged as the result of the clustering process. I spent seven months synthesising the categories into three overarching themes and several sub-themes.

Every month, I shared my findings with supervisors, who suggested different clustering methods that impacted the final analysis process. Additionally, when confirming the results with participants, refugees provided substantive examples and order for each of the categories.

For example, Chapter Nine (*Expressing*) outlines different mediums of expression that are integral to thriving in the Shatila camp. The process of creating *Expressing* as a core category started with the analysis of twelve diverse artistic and protesting practices, such as the performing arts, protests, gatherings, graffiti, and posters. The analysis showed one common theme; refugees use two overlapping mediums to express their inner voices as acts of thriving. The first highlights accessible and creative mediums – such as art, drawing, writing, dance, photography, drama, and storytelling – as strategies to express their inner voices (9.2 Expressions Using Creative Mediums). The second places the camp itself as a large-scale public canvas for expression. When confirming the results with the participants, they suggested the details of this medium, outlining how the camp’s streets host protests and marches and the walls are covered with graffiti, posters, and murals (9.3 Expressions Using the Time-Space of the Camp as a Medium). These two approaches became two sub-categories, including the initial twelve mediums of expression, while underpinning *Expressing* as one core category. Therefore, Chapter Nine is divided into two sections following the analysis of those two subcategories.

It is necessary to address the decreased inter-rater reliability (IRR) due to the fact that one person coordinated the research process, including data gathering, selecting literature, and individually coding the data (Armstrong et al., 1997). Inter-rater reliability is the level of agreement among independent observers who assess the research, ensuring a rigorous process and a higher quality outcome for the analysis process. Since I was the only researcher conducting data collection, diverse confirmatory strategies were employed, including involving the participants in the decision-making process, continuous reflection, consultation, and debriefing with supervisors and primary stakeholders. I managed biases explicitly by noting my feelings, judgments, and thoughts during data collection in a dedicated space; these notes could then be openly investigated and reflected upon throughout the analysis process. I also shared these experiences with supervisors. More importantly, the concepts emerging from this work were consistently checked with participants for further validity. After analysing the first group of interviews, I went back to the participants to ensure that my analysis truly reflected their views. In some cases, refugees corrected and altered the conclusions of the analysis. Additionally, participants were involved in decision-making regarding the study’s language. As

discussed before, the word *thriving* didn't initially translate well into several Arabic dialects, so participants decided on the appropriate translations.

**4.7.3 Outputs.** Funding commitments and feminist thinkers' approaches shaped the structure of the outputs. This research is funded by the Economic and Social Research Council; the Department of Civil, Environmental, and Geomatics Engineering; the UCL Grand Challenge Funds; the UCL, Bloomsbury, and East London Doctoral Training Partnership; the British Council for Research in the Levant; and the Engineering and Physical Sciences Research Council. In addition to producing the PhD's dissertation, I will be collaborating with CEGE, IGP, and the residents of Shatila to produce a design guidelines toolkit for refugee camps. As part of my commitment to UCL's Grand Challenge office, I will be leading a series of lectures on visual methods as well as exhibiting refugees' images in galleries in London and Lebanon. As discussed before, I conducted a series of training sessions on photography techniques and methods in Shatila. Therefore, refugees will be invited to co-facilitate these lectures. As part of my commitment to the other funders, I will also publish the literature review of this project in the *Journal of Humanitarian Affairs* and present my findings at UNHCR's annual NGO meeting. Residents from Shatila will be invited to co-author, co-design, co-present, and contribute to these outputs. As part of my commitment to the participants, these outputs will be exhibited at the annual commemoration gallery in Shatila. These collaborative approaches follow Riaño's (2016) feminist lens of mutual learning, personal transformation, and access to academic spaces.

**4.7.4 Ethical Concerns.** Life is challenging and stressful for all refugees in host countries and camps, as they are subjected to multiple traumas throughout resettlement processes. This study investigates concepts of thriving in camps and does not require refugees to detail their traumatic experiences. Participants may still experience discomfort and difficult emotions in recalling unpleasant events during their interviews; to address this ethical concern, I directed the interview questions to avoid such issues. I emphasised participant agency regarding participation in the study; consent was confirmed and reconfirmed on multiple occasions, highlighting that participant had the option to end the interview at any time. Considerable attention was given to providing a comfortable space for each participant's interview. Each

participant was asked when and where the interview should take place so that it would be the most comfortable for them. The majority of the interviews were held in a private conference room inside of B&Z's Shatila office. Some participants requested different locations, including their private residences, an empty classroom at the local mosque school, or a private office at the museum inside of the camp. Finally, before data collection, a plan was implemented to refer the refugees to the appropriate services recommended by local NGOs and camp gatekeepers if any emotional discomfort were to arise. B&Z, for instance, operates a social service centre and psychological relief programs. None of the participants expressed any discomfort by the end of the data collection process.

Another ethical concern is privacy issues stemming from the shared accommodations at the camp. Participants may be reluctant to talk due to fear of repercussions and a lack of trust within their community because of conflicts amongst political factions. Therefore, the data collection process provided them with the option to choose between focus groups and/or individual interviews, as well as allowing them flexibility of selecting the interview location. Despite these attempts, privacy issues may have impacted the discussed narrative. Even though refugees agreed to participate in a focus group, they may have limited their discussion due to the presence of a political leader or the arrival of faction members during the interview.

Even though feminist approach addressing power dynamics was implemented, the practice may not have been fully actualised. Due to ethical boundaries, this research's recruitment strategy doesn't require details linked to power dynamics, such as political and faction affiliations. Despite the fact that several strategies were implemented in the focus groups' structure – including attention to cues, non-verbal communication, reading between and beyond the lines, as well as scheduling gender-specific groups – the reality of power imbalances may still exist. For example, several focus groups hosted women only; however, a female political leader may have been present, limiting the narrative of another female of an opposing party. Similarly, while a few focus groups only hosting Syrian refugees were scheduled, many Syrians are of Palestinian descent and the cultural root may have contributed to shifting the power dynamics. The perceived positionality of a Syrian-Palestinian refugee may have influenced the discussion of Syrian refugees. Since the majority of focus groups hosted

mixed gender and nationalities, the power dynamics may have limited the outcome of the discussion.

Lastly, despite following rigorous approaches to assure an accurate analysis process, these power issues may still affect the outcome of this research. Therefore, future studies are required to re-validate the data.

## Chapter 5: The Shatila Refugee Camp

### 5.1 Introduction

As argued in Chapter Two, spaces and experiences in refugee camps are constantly being reshaped due to their inhabitants' efforts to build futures for themselves rather than remaining in a temporary state. Since these changes are based on the thriving of the people within the camps, the research questions explore definitions of "thriving" as well as thriving practices within the time-space of camps (**Error! Reference source not found.**). Lebanon was selected as the primary location, with the Shatila refugee camp serving as the setting for this investigation of refugees' thriving activities. The reason behind choosing Lebanon centres on the country's status as a host to refugees, the protracted nature of its recognised refugee camps, and the deeply involved political system that negatively impacts refugee livelihood. Shatila is an ideal setting for this research because the camp has experienced spatial and social transformations in the past half-century. The residents' quality of life is impacted by these transformations that stem from the camp dealing with its bloody history, the influx of new residents, and a complex web of state and faction politics. In addition, the large number of Syrian refugees (amongst other migrant groups) residing in the camp adds additional pressure to the debilitating environment (**Error! Reference source not found.**). With this in mind, this chapter aims to unpack both the history and current state of the Shatila refugee camp. The camp's background will underpin the discussion of its residents' thriving activities in subsequent chapters.

A comprehensive review of archival sources and secondary literature about the camp shows that the story of Shatila is defined by periodic ruptures in peace and by its ability to persevere after destruction thanks to rapid and fluctuating adaptation, transformation, and renewal processes. Although the story of the Palestinians' plight is well-documented in the literature, existing histories rarely include residents' perspectives and oral testimonies, including discussion of their thriving activities. Many of the references use the original wave of exile as a foundation for discussing critical events, contemporary issues, and political discourse; this includes concepts of identity, right of return, the Sabra and Shatila massacre, the War of

the Camps, the UNRWA's involvement, internal and external conflicts, environmental changes, and the refugees' relationships with the host country. More specifically, certain demographics, such as women's experiences, are often excluded from written history in this context (Sayigh, 2014). The following section outlines the significance of paying attention to women's voices.

**5.1.1 Feminist Lens.** Sayigh (1998) emphasises the importance of integrating oral experiences into historical analysis to better understand the totality of the refugee plight. Incorporating oral testimonies not only ensures the accuracy of accounts but also “registers the experience of marginal social sectors, and it preserves some of the social and cultural qualities of direct speech” (p. 43). Feminist theories suggest that female refugees are considered one of the most marginal demographics and their vulnerable positions are exacerbated throughout displacement, stemming from “pre-existing peacetime social inequalities, which are further reinforced by conflict” (Haeri & Puechguirbal, 2009, p. 108). This vulnerability in camps is linked to several social and economic factors, including social isolation, living in a foreign environment, financial reliance on male kin, and lack of economic and social autonomy (Sunata & Ozsoy, 2021). Therefore, women are not validated as agents capable of impacting the refugee experience by local communities, researchers, political actors, and the gender ideology that prioritises men's accounts (Sayigh, 2007). Their roles are often reduced to auxiliaries and supplementary heroines (Sayigh, 2007, p. 87–89).

In recent years, several feminist thinkers have started to document women's strategies for coping, agency, and resilience throughout the displacement and encampment processes; such strategies are meant to help “escape the trap of viewing refugee women in dichotomous ways, either as traumatized victims or as liberated from traditional patriarchy” (Kanal & Rottmann, 2021, p. 1). Examples from protracted encampments show that women manage factors related to everyday life (e.g., providing food, building schools, and organising camp committees), while men are consumed with political activities (Fiddian-qasmiyeh, 2018; Rosen & Twamley, 2018). First among cultural resilience strategies led by women is rebuilding a sense of belonging in the camp by replicating daily routines focused on home and family. This includes maintaining aspects of home life before displacement, such as doing homework and organising picnics – all while using limited resources. Secondly, women focus on initiating solidarity with

other women. This process occurs through acts of neighbouring, connecting with others, uniting, and building collective agency. Thirdly, women preserve culture through the implementation of spiritual coping mechanisms, such as thankfulness, patience, and gratitude while facing adversity. These resilience strategies are connected to religious values and rely on women's choices to react to everyday adversity with gratitude (Darychuk & Jackson, 2015; Kanal & Rottmann, 2021). Bastian and Sidani (2018) call for special attention to be paid to women's activities in camps, as their resilience strategies can facilitate the "socio-economic prospects of refugees and developing their livelihood in camps in host countries" (p. 10). This is especially important because many cultures hinder women from joining the economic workforce (Atallah, 2017). Therefore, special attention will be paid to women's voices in this and all subsequent results chapters. Female refugees' thriving activities will be linked to the concepts of marginality and vulnerability discussed in this section.

**5.1.2 Structure.** During open-ended interviews with residents, their lived experiences helped describe the history and evolution of Shatila as narrated by those born and raised in the camp as well as by others who were part of the original wave of exile. Both original and newly arrived residents outlined the current state of life in Shatila. These narratives provide additional dimensions and deeper context to the information gathered from the literature. Therefore, the format of this chapter outlines the story of the Shatila camp through the residents' lived experiences while placing historical and contemporary references from the literature alongside the residents' narratives.

The chapter is structured in accordance with five periods that shaped and reframed the story of Shatila. The first period, *the original wave of exile*, marked the foundation of Shatila, marked by an overall positive relationship with the host communities as well as oppressive control tactics by the government. Shatila was founded as 18 tents in an open field within the slums of Beirut. During this time, refugees interacted with Lebanese families socially, and nearby businesses hired camp residents as labourers, though the government prohibited Palestinians from taking part in the Lebanese economy or planting roots in the area. *The period of thriving* followed in the late 1960s, when Shatila hosted the leadership of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). The PLO managed the camp, provided safety and security, and



facilitated the building of permanent structures, allowing residents to secure their livelihoods. The subsequent period, *the era of wars*, was defined by a series of battles that resulted in re-confinement, disempowerment, and the infliction of violence against Palestinians. This period includes the Civil War in 1975 and the Sabra and Shatila massacre in 1982, concluding with the War of the Camps in the mid-1980s. Shatila was destroyed twice, thousands of Palestinians were killed, and other Palestinian refugee camps were utterly demolished, forcing many to move to Shatila, making many new residents refugees twice over. Despite the destruction, *the influx of new dwellers* period was characterised by population and environmental expansion at the end of the century. New structures were erected, and the social fabric of the camp was altered due to the influx of Syrians and Palestinians from Syria in early 2010. The final period, *Shatila today*, centres around the current state of Shatila and its refugees. Currently, Shatila is marked by two overlapping and contradicting contexts – time-spaces of destitution and thriving. Residents explain that the camp has both a dark side and a hopeful side. The dark side originates from the debilitating environment, conflict, drug activities, and oppressive political and humanitarian policies. The hopeful side, on the other hand, is rooted in the thriving activities of the residents, who consider the camp to be a time-space of livelihood, protection, and opportunities. The chapter concludes with a discussion section placing the context of Shatila's story in the current discourse on camps.

## **5.2 The Original Wave of Exile**

The Palestinian plight has a long history of political and geographical instability due to colonists' interest in the region and can be traced back to the seventh century (Morris, 2012). In 1799, Napoleon proclaimed that Palestine was a homeland to the global Jewish population, offering France's protection, with the goal of establishing a strong French presence in the region. Even though these plans were not mobilised, the idea was revived by the British colonial powers that planned a Jewish state in Palestine after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire (Doumani, 2000). Concurrently, Western powers were influenced by Zionist movements inviting the Jewish population to claim the land in Palestine. In 1917, the Balfour Declaration outlined Palestine as a home for the Jewish people. The British government hoped that the Jewish presence would protect access to the Suez Canal in neighbouring Egypt and thus ensure a vital

route to British colonial possessions in India (Doumani, 2000).

Palestinians' resistance forces attempted to revolt and, for the next three decades, continued their efforts against British imperialism and Zionist settler colonialism, only to be met by a series of strong and defiant forces that had them outnumbered and outgunned (Khalidi, 2021). Although the British supported mass Jewish migration, the colonial power started limiting the number of Jews in an attempt to mitigate resistance activities. This new policy pushed the Zionists to coordinate a series of terrorist activities to expel the British Forces. As the conflict between the British, Zionists, and Palestinians escalated, the British decided to hand over responsibility for Palestine to the newly formed United Nations (Massad, 2007).

In November 1947, the UN General Assembly drafted a plan to partition Palestine into a Jewish state and an Arab state. Jews in Palestine – most of whom had arrived from Europe a few years earlier – only constituted one-third of the population and had control of less than 5.5% of historic Palestine. Yet, under the UN proposal, they were allocated 55% of the land (Sayigh, 2007). The vote in favour of the partition ignited a war for Palestine. Subsequently, the Jewish state of Israel was declared on May 14, 1948, resulting in the expulsion of approximately 800,000 Palestinians; the state encompassed the area assigned to the Jews in the Partition Plan and a significant portion that had been allotted to the Palestinians (Morris 2012). The event is branded as the *Nakba* (meaning the Palestinian Catastrophe) – a term commonly used to describe the plight of Palestinians (Khalidi, 2021). During the war in 1948-9, Palestinians sought refuge in neighbouring countries, while approximately 150,000 became Israeli citizens. Lebanon's proximity to Palestine meant that the country was involved with the Palestinian plight from the start (Al-Hout, 2004; Peteet, 2009).

However, Lebanon was unstable at the time due to a complex political structure that reflected its diverse religious minorities. This complex system can be traced over time to the country's tumultuous recent history (Al-Hout, 2004; Khalidi, 2021). After World War I brought an end to over 600 years of the Ottoman Empire's rule, which had included what is now Lebanon and Israel, the newly emancipated territories were then divided by the League of Nations in the 1920s. The British were given the Mandate of Palestine, and the French were given the mainly Christian-populated area that became the French-controlled Lebanese

Republic (Hakim, 2013). As a result of WWII, Lebanon became an independent state by 1943.

Before Lebanon was a recognised state, however, it began as a small area called Mount Lebanon, which was approved as a semi-autonomous governing “mutasarrifate” in 1861. The majority of the population in Mount Lebanon were Christians – predominately Maronite Catholics – who had fled from Muslim persecution during the Ottoman rule in the surrounding areas. With the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the French took control of Mount Lebanon. While Mount Lebanon’s population was 80% Christian, the French added multiple predominantly Muslim districts (both nearby and further away) to the new Lebanese borders (Hakim, 2019). Lebanese nationalism prior to becoming independent from France is described as a “complex and muddled reality, with all its dissonance and contradictions” (Hakim, 2013, p. 261). While the French left Syria with an established Arab government, they left Lebanon in a state of despair and confusion (Hakim, 2019).

After Lebanon’s independence in 1943, prominent Christian and Muslim leaders made an agreement (later called the National Covenant) to establish a foundation for the new state. As part of the agreement, public offices were to be allocated proportionately between recognised religious groups; however, the top three positions of the new government had to be filled by people from specific groups – Maronite Catholic (president), Sunni Muslim (prime minister), and Shia Muslim (speaker of the Chamber of Deputies) (Pike, n.d.).

Moving forward proved to be difficult, as there were many religious minorities in the area, such as Eastern Orthodox, Armenian Catholic and Orthodox, Protestant, Druze, and Alawite. The new country was in a state of economic despair and mutual agreements were difficult to forge between religious groups, leaving the country in a state of distress and limbo (Hakim, 2013). Vatikiotis (1984), referring to the history of Lebanon, pointed out:

“When a country is composed of minorities, these invariably have conflicting interests, fears, and aspirations. If these minorities are not successfully integrated into a national community defined by a law of the land and workable institutions that transcend minority boundaries, they are apt to lead to violent conflict” (p. 86).

In 1948, not long after Lebanon’s independence, a mass exodus of around 110,000 refugees from Jaffa, Haifa, Acre, and Galilee (Northern Palestine) escaped from the newly created Israel,

fleeing to Lebanon (Sayigh, 1979). This created more economic hardship for Lebanon and raised fears about the imbalance of power, as the majority of Palestinians were Sunni Muslim. The immediate reaction to Palestinian refugees in Lebanon was to keep the newcomers out of the political landscape and deny them citizenship. This complex balance of political power and control has shaped the political landscape of Lebanon since then (Hakim, 2019).

To manage the influx of Palestinians, the United Nations' General Assembly Resolution 302 established the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), which would provide humanitarian aid for Palestinian refugees (Sayigh, 1979). In Lebanon, the UNRWA leased land from the Lebanese government to house over a hundred thousand newly arriving Palestinians in fifteen camps. The Shatila Palestinian refugee camp, however, was established in 1949 by "refugees themselves as they decided where to settle by securing the land in an empty spot not far from Beirut" (Martin, 2015, p. 11). Later, the International Committee facilitated the formal recognition of the camp's existence on a one-square-kilometre patch of open land located in the southern part of Beirut (Peteet, 2009). UNRWA provided eighteen singular and communal tents for hosting families and three tents to start a primary school (Al-Hout, 2004). Residents were under "the impression that this [was] a temporary situation, and they [would] be returning to their homes in a couple of weeks," according to Abou Mahmood, one of the original camp residents. He stated:

"My parents didn't have money here, and their crops in Palestine were growing, so they would go at night, collect their crops, and then come back and store the food. In fact, if a construction worker or a farmer needed their own tools in Lebanon; they would go back to their tool-shed in Palestine, grab their tools and then come back to Lebanon. They would also get some of the stored food in the *mooneh* [pantry] because the food was not provided here in the camp. Gradually, people started moving their personal items and ended up permanently moving to Shatila."

Abou Mahmood's story was corroborated by Pasquetti and Sanyal (2021), as the borders between Palestine and Lebanon were fluid, allowing Palestinians to move between countries at night. Although the refugees managed the initial settlement process in 1949, life in Shatila was harsh, as the Lebanese government placed police stations inside the camp to monitor their

every move. They also planted intelligence posts throughout the camp, subjecting refugees to “intimidation, arbitrary abuses and even torture” (Martin, 2015, p. 11). At that time, the government feared that the influx of mostly Muslim Palestinians would destabilise Lebanon’s complex and fragile political and structure, shifting the balance between religious communities (Hudson, 1997). Additionally, since the camps were viewed as security zones, the police established a presence to control political activities (Allen, 2015).

Despite the tragic reality of their expulsion, residents created a microcosm of their lives in Palestine. “They started forming living clusters based on the families and villages of origin. So, the people from Yafa would pitch tents together and stay together,” according to Abou Mahmoud. Yusuf, a Palestinian refugee who arrived at the camp in 1948, narrated the next several years of evolution for Shatila, explaining, “During the early 1950s, the camp’s buildings were constructed using zinc sheets and the ground was pure white sand. There were little water ponds throughout the camp. This is one of the reasons why the water is salty; because seawater reaches the grounds here at the camp.” Um Ghoufran fondly remembered those days, recalling, “My father built a pond. We used to go swimming with the neighbours’ kids. We planted a fig tree and a little farmland behind our house.” Eissa also added, “We used to play with the neighbouring Lebanese kids.” The Shatila camp, according to Peteet (2009) “blended easily with surrounding Lebanese slum areas. Living in close proximity, everyday social interactions between Lebanese and Palestinians were common” (p. 15). In fact, all parts of the Lebanese communities, including Christians, provided compassionate and fraternal responses to the Palestinian plight. When the government imposed new rules forbidding Palestinians from working, businesses in Beirut challenged the imposition of such rules, hiring Palestinian labourers (Al-Hout, 2004).

The UNRWA’s resources fell short of providing services to all refugees, and, even for those receiving benefits, they were not sufficient for sustaining a stable life (Sirhan, 1975). The impact of the resource scarcity exacerbated the hardship of living in the camp, due mainly to the UN’s response to the struggles of Palestinians being focused exclusively on humanitarian aid rather than following developmental strategies that would allow residents to develop secure livelihoods (Stoneham, 2013). Therefore, the prospect of a bright future in Lebanon

became bleak, with many Palestinians inevitably setting off for the Gulf states in search of work during the 1950s and 60s (Al-Hout, 2004). Shatila residents continued to struggle, with the camp becoming a means of controlling refugees and separating them from the Lebanese community (Peteet, 2009).

### **5.3 The Period of Thriving**

During the 1950s and 60s, Palestinians struggled with poverty and oppression at the hands of the Lebanese government. The Lebanese Military Intelligence Service (Deuxième Bureau) ruled the camp with an iron fist, ensuring that Shatila's residents were not allowed to secure any form of permanency and livelihood. Concrete buildings were forbidden, and ceilings could only be made of zinc sheets (Schicchet, 2014). The Lebanese government wanted to preserve the temporary status for Palestinians, and building permanent structures could create a sense of permanency and instil an idea of long-lasting settlements of Palestinians in Lebanon (Sayigh, 1978). In fact, any resident who cast concrete or struck a nail would be arrested and taken away for questioning (Al-Hout, 2004). Additionally, Palestinians were forbidden from gathering outside their homes. Checkpoints were put in place to limit residents' movements, as well as curfews and restrictions blocking Palestinians from visiting other camps (Latif, 2012). The Deuxième Bureau would regularly assault any resident who resisted these strict rules.

Therefore, Shatila residents, along with refugees from other camps, protested the mistreatment, creating "what Palestinians called the intifada of the camps" (Ramadan & Fregonese, 2017, p. 956). Palestinians demanded the departure of the Lebanese forces from the camp. Therefore, during the late 1960s, a strong presence of Palestinian resistance movements developed in Lebanon. Their primary goal was to not only protect Palestinians but to also participate in the 1967 Arab war against Israel from the Lebanese territories, which would render the area susceptible to retaliatory attacks by the Israeli Army. Lebanon became increasingly pressured by the escalating conflict, threats from Israel, and the rapid growth of resistance movements (Ramadan & Fregonese, 2017).

In November 1969, the Lebanese government signed the Cairo Accord, accepting the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as the new governing body and placing the camp

outside the jurisdiction of the Lebanese State. The PLO provided security and safety, facilitated employment, and offered social and aid services to Shatila residents (Sela, 2014). During this period, the PLO entered Palestinians' refugee camps in Lebanon and facilitated the evolution of Shatila. The camp grew from a "marginal and downtrodden community into a hub of revolutionary activity and patronage" (Allan, 2014, p. 219). The Cairo Accord also granted Palestinians the right to secure a livelihood, obtain employment, form self-governance committees in the camps, and engage in armed struggle from bases in Lebanon. Shortly after, the PLO's presence pushed the Deuxième Bureau outside of Shatila, and, as a result, concrete buildings were erected, sewer lines were installed, and the number of schools in the camp doubled (Allan, 2014; Peteet, 2011; Siklawi, 2017).

"Um Salma called this period the "period of thriving" and fondly reflected on the era: I was a child when the PLO took over the camp. We finally started playing in the streets and leaving our homes unlocked at night; we felt completely safe. The leaders implemented educational classes to positively occupy our time and ignite the passion for the Palestinian cause."

Her friend, Samar, one of the local leaders, agreed by explaining that she felt "that we are not refugees anymore during this period. We played, laughed, and lived as if we are in Palestine." According to Eissa, the best contribution of the PLO was "reigniting patriotism in us and facilitating permanent structures in Shatila." Around this time, foreign aid arrived in the form of Norwegian and Danish funds, contributing to the building of public social hubs and nurseries, as well as cultural preservation and career development programs (Al-Hout, 2004). This period transformed Shatila – once a camp based around charity – into a developmental hub.

#### **5.4 The Era of Wars**

The arrival of the PLO and its revolutionary attitude brought prosperity and, at the same time, intense conflicts. Lebanon was host to a complex civil war where local militias and regional groups positioned the PLO as an enemy of the state (Sayigh, 1995). The outcome of the Cairo Accord led to the presence of a heavily armed and well-funded PLO and, thus, a level of control over a substantial part of Lebanon. Concurrently, the organisation launched attacks

against Israel, fighting for the rights of Palestinians to return home (Hanafi & Long, 2010). Such activities threatened the Christian Maronite sect's vision for preserving dominance and their plans to cultivate a pro-Western right-wing Christian identity in Lebanon; the PLO's activities also threatened Israel's sovereignty and Syria's interests in the region. As a result, these groups all decided to unite to destabilise and expel the PLO from the region. Therefore, by the mid-1970s, the Shatila camp was increasingly under fire from the Lebanese Army, Christian and Shia militias, the Syrian Army, and Israeli insurgents (Siklawi, 2017). The camp became embroiled in a murderous fifteen-year civil battle across Lebanon that ended with the expulsion of the PLO in the early 1990s. The years from mid-1970s to the early 90s can be divided by their most critical events: the commencement of the Civil War, the Sabra and Shatila massacre, and the War of the Camps. These conflicts marked the destruction of Shatila's buildings, social structure, and autonomy, while reducing Palestinians back to their early exile status – scattered, poor, and unprotected (Al-Hout, 2004; Sayigh, 1995).

The Lebanese Civil War was rooted in a crisis of insecurity; the Palestinians arrived in an already unstable political and economic environment. As mentioned before, the balance of power among the country's main sects shaped political activities and conflicts, creating geopolitical zones controlled by diverse sects. During the 1950s, the Shias migrated from the southern part of Lebanon and settled in the impoverished Beirut suburbs in which the Palestinians resided. Christians controlled the affluent eastern side of Beirut, while Muslims populated the western side of the city. To balance their powers, the political system in Lebanon included equal representations of all sects. This religious makeup and confessional governance system resulted in an endless political deadlock that prevented the government from solving any pressing political or social issues (Paul et al., 2013).

During the late 1960s, the PLO was located in Jordan along the borders of the West Bank and was engaged in intense armed conflict seeking a joint Jordanian-Palestinian victory against Israel (Khatib, 2010). Consequently, the organisation received more Arab support, which included donations and recruitments, strengthening the political and economic position of the organisation. When the PLO called for the overthrow of the Hashemite monarchy, the



Jordanian Army assaulted its armed groups in an event known as Black September, which led to the PLO's expulsion from Jordan (Khatib, 2010).

The PLO's revolutionary activities sparked further tension among these sects; the organisation used Lebanon as a base to fight for Palestinians rights, and, in return, Israel retaliated by attacking Beirut. Thus, Christian militias demanded the expulsion of the PLO to not only stop Israeli reprisals but to also weaken the Lebanese National Movement (LNM), a Sunni Muslim political party backed by the PLO (Sayigh, 1995).

Civil war commenced, with Christian militias battling the LNM. The war dissolved the power of the Lebanese government, and the country slid into a state of anarchy, forcing Palestinian refugees, who pledged allegiance to the LNM, into the conflict. The conflict resulted in a heavy death toll and significant destruction of Shatila's buildings. At that time, Beirut officially split into a largely Christian eastern side and a predominantly Muslim and Palestinian western side. The eastern side, with parts of the Christian south, was "violently cleansed" of Palestinians, including the destruction of the Nabatieh, Tel al-Zaatar, and Jisr al-Basha refugee camps by the fundamentalist militias (Peteet, 2009, p. 11; Abbas, et al., 2022). Although some refugees participated in the conflict, many were victims of the war, experiencing interruptions in their lives and transferring to multiple camps, especially Shatila. Within a few years during the mid-1970s, hundreds of families moved from the Nabatieh camp to Tel al-Zataar, then from Tel al-Zaatar to Shatila or Damour, (and, ultimately, from Damour back to Shatila) (Peteet, 2009). Um Faris reflected on her "multi-exile" journey, stating:

"When the Christians destroyed our home in Tel al-Zaatar, we moved to the Damour camp. We stayed in semi-demolished homes. There were no doors or windows. We used shoes as pillows to sleep on, and we didn't have blankets to cover ourselves. We used to cook using metallic containers of powdered milk. Then, from Damour, I went and got married in Shatila at my parents' house. Shortly after, we fled to Syria after the massacre in 1982. Seven years ago, we had to flee Syria because of the war and return to Shatila."

It was important for Eissa to preserve his Palestinian heritage during the period of destruction, because, in his view, one of the "strategies behind the bombing was to erase the Palestinian

heritage.” When families moved, they left their personal items behind and most cultural symbols were “destroyed.” He stated, “I made sure that I collected traditional items from the destroyed camps to preserve our history and heritage.”

The Civil War grew more turbulent and reached a tipping point on September 14, 1982, when the Israeli Army – in collaboration with the fundamentalist militias – invaded Lebanon, including Beirut (Al-Hout, 2004). “The militias sieged the camp, allowing the Israelis to enter and murder thousands of Palestinian refugees,” according to Malik, one of the camp’s original residents. In what is infamously known as the Sabra and Shatila massacre, the Israeli Army besieged Shatila, with the Christian Lebanese militias murdering approximately 3,500 residents over a three-day period. Besides cleansing the area of Palestinians, the ultimate goal was to punish and expel the PLO from Lebanon, as the institution was perceived as a threat to national security and the smaller Christian population (Allen, 2014; Peteet, 2011; Al-Hout, 2004). The autonomy of the camp was interrupted, and the prosperity period ended, rendering the refugees vulnerable to further attacks.

Fateh, a physician and one of the original residents, still remembers that moment when the “Israelis started the massacre.” He reflected, “Children came up to me and told me that they are killing our people. They ran to the Israeli soldiers to reason with them; I saw the soldiers, with my own eyes, slaughtering those children.” Samar explained the beginning of his horrific experience:

“We heard people yelling and screaming that they were coming to slaughter us. They were running down the street from our house, wearing blood-soaked clothes. My parents and I quickly gathered our stuff and escaped to Sabra. We fled for about three days, and then we came back, and we saw dead bodies lying in the street, all over the camp. The Lebanese Armed Forces [Katayeb] told us to surrender. We marched in the camp streets while carrying white flags; they took the men and released women and children. They told me that my husband would return home that night; he never did. He is still missing since 1982. All of the men were killed.”

To make matters worse, Shatila and other camps in Beirut experienced deadly attacks by Syrian-backed Shiite militias (Amal Movement) three years after the Sabra and Shatila

massacre. The Syrian president at that time, Hafez Assad, wanted to control the region, including the PLO and Lebanon at large. He was concerned that resistance activities would precipitate another war with Israel and the potential weakening of his clan and the Alawite regime, which, in turn, would allow the majority Sunni Palestinians to control the region (Paul et al., 2013). The Amal-led attack, known as the War of the Camps, was a three-year assault that destroyed Shatila, causing countless deaths (Steflova, 2017). The ultimate goal was to suppress Palestinians by reducing their existence to the status of their original exile, leaving them unprepared, unarmed, and victimised. Ultimately, the plan was accomplished; Syrian-Lebanese intelligence regained power over Shatila, preventing the formation of any united Palestinian organisations and drawing borders of separation and exclusion from the surrounding communities (Hanafi & Long, 2010). The Syrian regime exacerbated the camp's political fabric by sponsoring groups from pro-Syrian political factions, including Hamas, and blocking direct negotiation between the Lebanese government and Palestinian leaders from the camp. The camp's surroundings were marked by military checkpoints limiting the entry of visitors and the movement of residents outside of the camp. Once the war was over, Palestinians were subjected to attacks, harassment, and ethnic discrimination (Hanafi & Long, 2010; Steflova, 2017; Peteet, 2009).

Um Faris still feels the pain of that era; she arrived at the camp as a young woman with her then-fiancé. She lost her “two sons in this war. They were trying to protect the house, and they got shot in the head.” In fact, “every single family in the camp has lost a loved one,” according to Fatima, one of the local community leaders. She continued:

“During the War of the Camps period, people started dying, and many were starved to death. We used to run and hide from death. We suffered a lot; my friends and family members are buried in the Shrine. We lived these times together, and I, thankfully, survived the hardships. The camp represents the memories of my people and my family. That's why the Shrine is my favourite place in the camp; I come here every single day, clean the tombstones, and reflect on the wonderful days of the PLO and their sacrifices for my family and me.”

Um Faris agreed, while also reflecting on how she and others “survived during this period.” She stated:

“I was the food smuggler during this period. They sieged the camp to starve us to death. I needed to feed my family and help bring food to the fighters, who are hiding in the camp and are protecting us. More importantly, I needed to bring food to children and other families. At that time, they didn’t kill women. I pretended that I was a frail woman seeking medical help outside of the camp. Although the soldiers prevented camp residents from leaving, I would go through checkpoints, bumping into the soldiers’ shoulders and smuggling food back into the camp in my purse.”

When asked about why she wasn’t stopped, searched, or killed, she explained, “I felt fear, but projected confidence; that’s why I was able to do it. My prayers and fake confidence saved my life.”

By the end of this period, the PLO’s presence was weakened by Israel’s dissemination of anti-PLO propaganda, the Syrian opposition, and the alienation of supporters. Local Muslim Lebanese communities and political parties, who had initially welcomed the PLO decades earlier, grew tired of the Israeli’s reprisals that destroyed their communities and displaced or killed thousands of Lebanese (Paul et al., 2013). The PLO consequently faced an uphill battle, struggling to re-establish even a modicum of its powers and funding. As a result, it was unable to defend Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon and was subsequently moved to Tunis (Sela, 2014). After it was expelled from Lebanon in 1982, the PLO secretly met directly with Israel in Oslo, Norway, which led to a signed agreement called the Oslo Accords. The Accord’s major outcomes include: PLO’s acknowledgment of the Israeli state and Israel’s acknowledgment of the PLO as the official representative of the Palestinians as well as the creation of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA), which allowed some self-governance in areas of the West Bank and Gaza (Sela, 2014). With this in mind, humanitarian organisations were established at the local, national, and international levels to take over the governance of camps. These NGOs provided most of the essential services in the camp, from education to healthcare, and were one of the few sources of employment available for Palestinian refugees. The conditions in

Shatila, however, were considered to be among the worst in Lebanon due to overcrowding and the camp's inadequate infrastructure (Allen, 2014; Steflova, 2017; Peteet, 2009).

### **5.5 The Influx of New Dwellers**

Following the end of the war era, the time-space of Shatila evolved, becoming simultaneously a space for the confinement and marginalisation of residents “economically, politically and spatially” and a place of refuge for many non-Palestinians (Peteet, 2009, p. 9; UNHCR, 2016). The Cairo Accord, which granted Palestinian autonomy and rights, was repealed, exposing Shatila residents to human rights violations (Halabi, 2004). During the early 1990s, the camp reverted back into a space of separation and control, forcing residents to endure extreme poverty (Peteet, 2009). Palestinians were prohibited from working outside of the camp and forbidden from travelling or owning land. Due to a lack of funding, UNRWA's social services drastically declined. Additionally, after the signing of the Oslo Accords, the PLO more or less abandoned Palestinians in exile, focusing instead on investing in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip (Sela, 2014; Paul et al., 2013).

Despite the dire conditions, the camp started to evolve during the post-war era, merging with the surrounding Lebanese areas and challenging physical borders (Peteet, 1996). A large number of migrant workers, undocumented immigrants, Iraqi refugees, and poor Lebanese families sought refuge in the camp, seeking informal employment and escape from government prosecution; so much so that the population grew by over tenfold by the end of the century (Peteet, 2009; UNHCR, 2016). This marks a significant shift in how camps are conceptualised; they are no longer placed outside the state, legally or politically.

The influx of new residents reached its peak in 2011, when the Syrian Civil War broke out and the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) infiltrated the Syrian suburbs (Puig, 2020). Influenced by the seven-decade presence of Palestinian refugees, Lebanon imposed restrictions on the Syrian refugees, including a no-camp policy and a legal residency (Janmyr, 2016). Consequently, Lebanon fortified the borders in an attempt to reduce the number of Syrians entering the country, rendering most Syrians illegal settlers subject to detention and deportation (Lenner & Schmelter, 2016). Kikano et al. (2021) explains that the situation

deprived Syrians from “(1) accessing most public services, (2) legally owning or renting a dwelling, (3) participating in the formal job market, (4) seeking aid and protection from official institutions, and (5) moving freely within the country” (p. 423).

These restrictions resulted in Syrians and Palestinian-Syrians pouring into informal settlements and existing Palestinian refugee camps, including Shatila, radically reshaping the time-space of the camp and doubling the area’s population (Segal et al., 2020). The “freedom of movement, available work, cheap rent, and protection from the [Lebanese] government” attracted the masses, according to Suleman, one of the local community leaders. Surveys conducted by local committees show that the current population of the camp has grown to approximately 45,000 inhabitants. “If we include the surrounding slums and urban areas that merge into the fabric of Shatila, [however,] I can guarantee you that the total population linked to the camp is over a million; this includes Syrians, Iraqis, Egyptians, and migrant workers from Southeast Asia and Africa. The camp no longer has defined boundaries,” Suleman reflected. Established residents started to capitalise on the soaring rental rates. In fact, “some residents moved out of Shatila [and] rented cheaper homes in surrounding areas, as they would make more money renting their homes in Shatila,” according to Samar, one of the Syrian residents in Shatila. This is corroborated by Cornish (2018), who also pointed out that some Shatila residents rented their homes and moved to rural areas in Lebanon.

New residents started businesses, employing Lebanese residents and migrant workers in Shatila who had been kept in poverty by the restrictive Lebanese laws excluding them from many professions (Bernard, 2014). The “Western Street has evolved into a business hub; Syrians brought their professions into the camp and controlled the inflation of prices,” according to Fatima, an original resident, who went on to say, “The cost of bread in the Western Street is less than the bakery shops just outside of the camp. It was the Syrians’ business-savvy approach that helped reduce the prices.” While original camp residents initially rushed to serve newly arriving residents, a gradual tension started to develop over the years (Sharif, 2018). Original residents realised that the situation was becoming more protracted and that the new influx added a strain on the economic and infrastructural foundations of the camp. Buildings were already cramped, the sewer system was strained, prices were soaring,

and the number of NGOs serving Syrians doubled (Sharif, 2018). According to Amal, a young refugee from Shatila, the shift “altered the way we socialize.” While camp residents continue to welcome new residents, “you can feel a change in the way original camp residents treat Syrians.”

Abou Saleh, one of the camp’s original residents, opened a community centre that caters to the needs of “multiple Syrian refugee demographics.” He stated:

“Syrians and Palestinian-Syrians have sought refuge in Shatila, including those who used to live in the Yarmouk camp, others who identified with the opposition groups (and, therefore, are considered an enemy of the Syrian states), some whose homes were ravished seeking affordable accommodations, and many who are escaping deportation by the Lebanese army and seeking protection in Shatila.”

Saleh, a Syrian refugee, went on to confess, “I moved here because I would be arrested if I lived in Lebanon. I am considered an outlaw because of my political views, even though I did nothing.” Fatima agreed with this sentiment, explaining, “I have a freedom of movement in Shatila; I am working full-time here. I will never find a job as a Palestinian refugee from Syria.” When asked about the reasons for living in Shatila, Fadia answered, “I am Syrian, not Palestinian; I moved here because my family already lived in Shatila. The rent is cheap, and at least I would not have Lebanese people spitting on my face here in Shatila; I feel protected.”

For Palestinians who were born and raised in Syria, the move to Shatila is excruciating. Rami, a new Palestinian resident born and raised in the Yarmouk camp in Damascus, called his journey to Lebanon “the second Nakba,” which mirrors what his “ancestors went through in 1948.” Speaking on the subject, he recalled, “We used to live a normal life. We had no issues living in Syria. We had full rights.” The Yarmouk camp had integrated well with the time-space of its surrounding neighbourhoods. In fact, “when you walk in the streets, you would not even know that you are in a camp. We had a cinema, a gold market, and schools,” according to Jamal, another Shatila dweller from Yarmouk. Except for voting rights, Palestinians receive the same services as Syrians, including free access to education, healthcare, and employment.

Shortly after the commencement of the war in Syria, the Yarmouk camp became a battleground between the opposing Free Syrian Army and the Syrian government forces

(UNRWA, 2019). At that point, the camp was invaded by several factions, limiting the movement of people and supplies and resulting in both famine and high mortality rates. By the end of 2014, 70% of the camp's residents had departed and the camp had been utterly destroyed from ISIS militants clashing with local factions. Consequently, the Syrian Army took control, rendering the camp a ghost town. Many Palestinian-Syrian refugees fled to Europe and other Arabic countries. Due to its close proximity and the existence of many family ties, a large number entered Lebanon (Al-Aswad, 2020).

In their report on Palestinian-Syrian refugees in Lebanon, Anera (2013) produced a needs assessment mirroring these accounts from Rami and Jamal. Palestinians coming from Syria are considered "the most vulnerable sub-population affected by the crisis" (p. 1). The response to their plight and their needs in Lebanon has been slower and "markedly less than for the general Syrian refugee." When the war started in Syria, Palestinians were more economically affected, therefore arriving more economically unstable compared to Syrians. Whereas the Syrians' plight is managed by the UNHCR, Palestinians arriving from Syria fall under the UNRWA's jurisdictions, which is already overwhelmed by serving Palestinians already in Lebanon (Arena, 2013).

However, for Syrians and Palestinian-Syrians alike, Shatila is a time-space of "protection, refuge, [and] livelihood," according to Eissa; for other nationals (e.g., "Egyptians, Lebanese, Pakistanis, [and] Bangladeshis"), the camp is the only pathway for securing a livelihood. Residents' relationships to the camp differ according to their demographics. For Palestinians, "this is the temporary permanent home until we return home," as explained by Eissa. For Syrians, "this is a temporary place, until we either return to Syria, get a passport to Europe, or afford a home in Lebanon," according to Lamia, a Syrian refugee who arrived at the camp in 2012. She reflected on the experiences of her neighbours, pointing out that, for other immigrants, "this is a cheap place to live or work in; there is a minimal emotional attachment to the camp." She concluded by highlighting the "the biggest difference between Palestinians and others; we are managed by the UNRWA, whereas the UNHCR coordinates Syrians' needs. The only hope for us is to return to Palestine; Syrians can travel to Europe or return to Syria. Israel is occupying Palestine; that's why the camp is my home."



## 5.6 Shatila Today

Today, the Shatila camp is both a time-space of “destitution and, at the same time, a place of thriving,” according to Eissa. Shatila is one of the twelve official Palestinian camps in Lebanon, sandwiched between an affluent beachfront Beirut neighbourhood to the northwest and the airport, adjacent to the Shia suburbs in southern Beirut. Allan (2014) argues that Shatila “occupies a liminal space in the city’s imagination – a site of neglect and political violence that has been stencilled out of post-war urban renewal” (p. 17).

These contradicting contexts of deprivation and thriving livelihood are also reflected in the camp’s environment and the residents’ experiences living in Shatila. The visual identity of the environment is marked by infrastructural decay, maze-like streets, and cramped concrete-block buildings connected with a complex web of electrical wires; it is also cemented through strong sensory experiences, as the camp’s walls present powerful visuals in the form of posters and images displaying patriotic quotes that demand the right of return and reconstruct links between identity and place, echoing a voice of rich Palestinian heritage (Ross & Ferrell, 2019).

Ahmad, a Palestinian-Syrian refugee, pointed out “the sun reflecting on the camp’s buildings” in a photo as he discussed the “dark and the hopeful sides of the camp.” The dark side represents “the tragedy we live in,” he said, and “the sunny side represents hope for the future and the beautiful side of the camp.” He continued by adding that, “Despite all the tragic circumstances we live in, the sun reflecting on the buildings represents hope for the future. Half of the buildings are in the shade, and half of the picture shows the light shining on the walls.” The majority of camp residents link the “dark side” of the camp to the debilitating environment, drugs activities, conflict amongst factions, and oppressive humanitarian and state laws. The “bright side” of living in the camp is associated with the opportunities available, renewed memories, and shared experiences of dispossession and survival. The following sections present both the hopeful and dark sides of the camp as indicated by the literature as well as refugees’ perspectives.

**5.6.1 The Dark Side of Shatila.** Mahmoud, one of the original camp residents, reflected on the “dark side” of the camp, which he says is represented by

“the cramped houses in the camp, like sardine boxes, covered with metal sheets. They are held and weighted by heavy car tires and connected with wire mesh. [When] you walk or live in the camp, you cannot tell if it’s day or night because houses are on top of each other. Sometimes, you can be sitting inside your house, and there’s no power; you cannot tell if it’s day or night inside of your living room because it’s very dark. The light cannot reach the houses on the bottom floors.”

Abbas et al. (2022) agrees, as the dire housing situation is “closely connected to the civil and social rights issue,” calling on human right organisations to advocate for revoking “the measures that undermine Palestinian economic and social conditions” (p. 383). Additionally, Ferial, a resident born and raised in the camp, pointed out that “there is no fresh drinking water in the camp, [since] the water comes directly from the sea and is very salty. We all have to pay extra for freshwater.” This has led to infrastructural crises, according to her friend, Farah, who added, “we have to build makeshift and messy freshwater supply systems.” As a result of this, she pointed out that “water pipes are mixed with high-voltage electrical cords. On average, hundreds of camp residents get electrocuted, and about 20 people die per year.” During the implementation of a new electrical infrastructure project in Shatila, Habitat for Humanity (2018) documented oral accounts of electrical shocks and deaths; however, exact mortality statistics were not found in the literature.

In addition to the dilapidated environment, the dark side of life in the camp is also evident in the “state policies,” according to Salam, one of the local community leaders and an original Palestinian resident. He believes that “being a refugee in Shatila means enduring the deprivation of freedom outside of the camp.” Talking about the labour laws that prevent camp residents from entering the mainstream workforce, he continued, “Families are feeling for their children. Kids went to college and studied, though they are not allowed to work. We need to work for our livelihood and stop depending on aid or begging for help because we are Palestinians. We want to work; we don’t want to receive aid in the name of Palestine.”

Sharif (2018) highlights how Lebanese labour laws forbid refugees from working in “36 occupations which include medicine, farming and public transportation” (p. 11). The government continues to marginalise Palestinian refugees while “resisting all forms of

integration and normalization,” with the goal of maintaining the temporary status of Palestinians through prohibitions on “access to the labour markets, on property rights, and on relief, education, and social services” (Ramadan & Fregonese, 2017, p. 953). The Human Rights Watch (n.d.) report on the status of Palestinians in Lebanon notes, “Lebanon provides the clearest example of a host state’s denial of rights, use of refugees as political pawns, and illegal discrimination” (p. 4). Farah reflected on the lack of access to work: “I think the excessive restrictions that the Lebanese government is putting on the Palestinians pushed the youth to go for drug dealing. Young men cannot work; they need to ensure stability for their families. This resulted in a rampant drug problem in the camp.” This issue has affected the safety of residents, so Ramia, a Palestinian-Syrian refugee, doesn’t “allow” her “children to walk in the camp after the sun sets,” fearing for their safety because of the threat of drug dealers.

Although the Lebanese government limits the rights of refugees in Lebanon, they have “limited to no authority inside of Shatila,” according to Fateh, one of the original residents. As mentioned, the Cairo Accord placed the camp outside the jurisdiction of the Lebanese State; however, the memory of the massacres may have filtered Fateh’s perception. He stated “if the government attempts to infiltrate the camp, a new massacre will emerge. We learned our lesson; the camp is heavily armed to prevent another Sabra and Shatila.” Therefore, a crisis of governance exists in the camp, exacerbated by drug activities, its tumultuous political history, and the existing sectarian conflict. Hanafi and Long (2010) detail how Shatila is marked by rampant factionalism. According to Fateh, the camp “is divided into zones that are controlled by diverse political factions fighting for control over their zone and the camp at large.” In reality, he explained, “the camp is riddled with conflict amongst those factions. They shoot at one another; many have died during these shootings.” Samira, one of the newly arrived Syrian refugees, described the impact of these conflicts, stating, “Sometimes, I walk home from work fearing for my life. I have to pass by two faction offices. The other day, a woman died walking back from the vegetable market as two factions’ representatives were shooting at each other’s centres.”

The humanitarian approach to the Palestinian plight reflects another dimension of the camp’s dark side. Young Fadia brands the UNRWA’s services as “an insult to dwellers,” as their

policies “hinder” the livelihood of Palestinians. Reflecting on the lack of access to healthcare from the Lebanese government, she pointed out that the “UNRWA hosts our only free clinic. However, the solution to any chronic illness at the health centre is prescribing Paracetamol.” Due to a lack of funding, the UNRWA “has been forced . . . to apply austerity measures over the last few years. A decline in services has been evident. In fact, UNRWA’s average annual spend[ing] per refugee has dropped from about \$200 in 1975 to around \$110 today” (Sharif, 2018, p. 11). This is due, in part, to the fact that the UN has attempted to transfer the responsibility of Palestinian livelihood to the Lebanese government. Talhami (2003) writes that “UNRWA has been placed in charge of keeping alive the bulk of the dismembered Palestinian nation as if it were a quasi-state, or a state within a state” (p. 147). In reality, the Lebanese government can’t keep up with people’s needs, failing “to develop and implement policies to provide collective goods such as security, order, and welfare to its citizens legitimately and effectively untrammelled by internal or external actors” (Paul, 2010, p. 5). The decline in the UNRWA’s services is supported by the residents’ perception that “UNRWA’s centre looks like a dumpster,” according to Rula, a Palestinian-Syrian refugee who arrived at the camp in 2012. She reflected, “I believe the UNRWA’s staff have become apathetic to the Palestinian plight; there are piles of trash surrounding the centre. Their services are subpar.” In fact, Sahar, one of the original camp residents, believed that “the mere existence of UNRWA represents oppression; they manage a population that has no way out of exile. This is why we have to take the matter into our hands to secure a good life for camp residents.”

To make matters worse, the UNHCR provides optimistic solutions to Syrians, such as resettlement, whereas UNRWA does not offer the same rights to Palestinian refugees, including those who arrived from Syria. Additionally, the resettlement of Palestinians falls outside of their mandate. This means that humanitarian “assistance has been presented to Palestinians as a substitute for their rights” (Weighill, 1997, p. 294). Ahmad believes that “this unfair approach to original camp residents creates a conflict between Palestinians and Syrians.” He went on to say, “Imagine living in this camp for seven decades with no hope in sight. Suddenly, your Syrian neighbours get resettlement documents to France within two years after leaving Syria. How would you feel? I understand why many residents reject the presence of Syrians in the camp.”

His friend Hamad built on his comment by reflecting on the Lebanese government's restriction of work access. These policies deepen the "conflict between Palestinians and Syrians" in Shatila. As Sharif (2018) explains, "both refugee populations are forced to compete in the informal sector" (p. 11). Sameeha, a Syrian refugee, countered this statement, claiming that "the perception that we have it easy is not true; it is a misperception. Very few Syrians in Shatila are registered formally as refugees. Most of us who can't register with the UN face the same legal issues." Her friend, Fareed, reinforced her statement by adding, "Even those who are registered, very few get resettled. The UN decides who goes to Europe based on the severity of the asylum case." The International Organization for Migration (IOM) confirms that 100,000 Syrian refugees are now resettled outside of Lebanon, meaning that approximately 10% of registered Syrian refugees are in Lebanon, a figure which includes encamped and urban Syrian refugees (IOM, 2019; UNHCR, 2021).

**5.6.2 The Hopeful Side of Shatila.** Despite living in a decaying environment filled with intense conflict while being subjected to unjust policies, Sameera, one of the original camp residents, "wouldn't live anywhere else." Her friend Ramia, a Palestinian-Syrian refugee, agreed: "I love it here; even though I hated the camp when I arrived from Syria, I now love my life in Shatila." The narratives of the residents – both original camp residents and newly arriving refugees – show that shared backgrounds, cultural practices, freedom of movement, and available opportunities in the camp all combine to create a "strong attachment to Shatila, and represent the good aspect of life in the camp," according to Ramia. She went on to say, "The camp itself is like an independent city, with its own life that differs from and is, in many cases, better than life outside in Beirut." Residents go as far as to refer to the camp as a parent, a home, and a place of identity.

Sameeha discussed how you could "experience the hopeful side of the camp daily. Simply walk in the camp, and you will feel happiness through the cheers of your neighbour and the sensory experience throughout the streets in Shatila." The spatial experience of Shatila presents a microcosm of the Palestinian culture and its plight as a whole – a sensory explosion of colour, sights, and sounds (Puig, 2020). The roads teem with noisy traffic, including brightly painted tuk-tuks covered with patriotic messages, overloaded with artefacts, and bouncing over

ruts (Peteet, 2009). A gauntlet of ramshackle booths line both sides of the street, architecturally mimicking ancient souks in the holy land, piled high with spices, paintings, and ornamented pots. Refugees and migrant workers make their way through the narrow street, overshadowed by an impenetrable web of electrical wires (Knudsen, 2016). Groups of locals call for guests to join them at the doorsteps of cafés. Herds of residents and members of surrounding communities march to the market at the heart of Shatila to buy affordable fruits and vegetables. The unified memory of dispossession, the shared attachment to their roots, and the collective demand for return are commonly bred in nationalist narratives through different forms of expression, including graffiti, murals, and gatherings in public places, as well as paintings, artefacts, and decorative symbols within private spaces (Ross & Ferrell, 2019). Old homes genuflect to the giant water tower, the symbol of returning home. Children make a game out of heading to school, chanting ancient songs with thick Palestinian dialects. Little girls stand out with their brightly coloured hijab or hair in meticulous braids, their school uniforms carefully cleaned and covered with patriotic Arabic messages (Puig, 2020).

The opportunities that are “available in Shatila” are the reason why “life in the camp is wonderful,” according to Samia, a Syrian refugee who fled the war in 2011. She reflected:

“I initially was excited to come to Lebanon, but then I realised there is no possibility for improving myself here, no work, no education for me to pursue; there are no opportunities for me to evolve. At least in the camp, I’m able to thrive more because there are schools for my kids. There are clinics. New homes are being built. I can find a job here. This is very different compared to Lebanon; life outside of the camp is very oppressive.”

Martin (2015) reports that approximately 30% of new residents moved to Shatila due to the available opportunities in the camp. Samia further added, “People are allowed to live freely, as there are more work opportunities in the camp than in Lebanon . . . The government cannot enter the camp; they would not kick immigrants nor refugees out.” Amna, a Syrian refugee who arrived at the camp eight years ago, reflected on the restrictions outside of the camp: “You can work here without anybody watching you. There is more freedom here – freedom of movement, freedom of work, and freedom to secure livelihood. You can never find this

freedom outside of the camp. If they catch you, the military will kick you out of the country.” When asked about the feeling of “freedom” while confined in a refugee camp, Amal, a Syrian refugee mother who arrived at the camp in 2012, stated, “It is a matter of context for me. Militias or gangs burned Syrian refugees’ tents in the Bekaa Valley. They literally lit the tent on fire right on top of women and children.” She tearfully continued:

When I first arrived at the camp, I would weep every time I walked in the alleyway that led to my house because of the trash. Now, I love it; no one will burn the trash on top of my head. I also have autonomy here at the camp. I can move freely. I have freedom. I am grateful for this camp for providing me with freedom and safety. Relatively speaking, I am grateful to walk through trash and alongside rats and cats. Despite this, I feel safe. I don’t have to rescue my newborn from burning tents.

The relationships and social structure in the camp constitute another layer of the camp’s hopeful side. Rafah, a Syrian refugee, spoke about her relationship with her Palestinian neighbours: “I would never have survived here without the love and the affection of my neighbours. Although many locals initially rejected me, my Palestinian neighbours, who have been living in the camp for decades, adopted me, helped me, played with my children, gave me food, and supported me throughout my hardships.” Rami, a Syrian refugee at the camp since 2011, feels “grateful for Shatila.” He had been “socially rejected” as a Syrian by many locals in Lebanon. Despite all of the reports issues related to integration and rejection, he “was able to establish deep friendships in Shatila.” Rami was able to “find a close-knit circle of friends to vent about life struggles.” He discussed the importance of these friends, explaining that “we share the same culture, traditions, and generosity found in Arabic culture. Even though you may conflict on many levels, the culture mandates that you offer help for your Arabic brothers and sisters.” After all, many Palestinians facilitated and were involved in coordinating the exile journey for many refugees out of Syria (Achilli & Abu Samra, 2021). Allan (2014) concludes that the hallmark of life in Shatila is based on deep friendships, generous culture, positive spirit, and kindness.

## 5.7 Discussion

This chapter outlined five periods that shaped and reframed the story of Shatila, culminating with a comparison of the hopeful and dark sides of life in the camp today. The content of each period is presented through overlapping lenses that combine existing scholarly narratives with residents' lived experiences. More specifically, this literature review follows Sayigh (1998; 2007) feminist approach to include women in shaping transmitting local histories (p. 42). A cross-cutting analysis across the periods that make up Shatila story reflects issues aligned with the themes of *time-space*, *exclusion*, and *control* discussed in Chapter Two (**Error! Reference source not found.**). The research also shows that similar thriving activities mirror case studies in protracted camps.

Remarkably, this chapter highlights the critical role of women in documenting the chronological history of the refugee experience while shaping key resistance accounts through the evolution of the Shatila camp. Um Faris's journey of escaping the Tel al-Zaatar to the Damour camp, absconding from Shatila to Syria, and returning to Shatila a decade later provides what Sayigh (1998) calls substantive and stylistic content. Similarly, Amna's and Rania's lives in Shatila, highlighting their gratitude for the safety and freedom of movement, shape the narrative behind the refugee experience in the camp. Furthermore, Um Faris's experience as a "food smuggler," her willingness to risk her life for others, and her defiance towards the murderous soldiers underscore women's important role in shaping the story of resistance. By supporting tens of fighters and families, her role goes beyond the widely documented "secondary" or "axillary" narrative of refugee women.

Tactics of *control* and *exclusion* can be traced back to before the Palestinians' plight began with the Mandate for Palestine in 1923. From the beginning of the exile, the Lebanese government imposed new rules based around excluding Palestinians from integrating into the country and controlling their movements and livelihoods. Additionally, the lack of a durable solution precipitated a protracted crisis that turned into a seven-decade waiting game. Throughout those years, Palestinians experienced ultimate acts of control and power, as thousands of residents were killed and the camp was destroyed multiple times. Despite the tumultuous history, the population of Shatila exploded at the turn of the century, with many



marginalised groups moving into the camp seeking affordable accommodation beyond the purview of the Lebanese State and its exclusions.

The *time-space* of Shatila has evolved into dense buildings that result in a dilapidated, overcrowded environment and maze-like alleyways that are home to an ethnically diverse community and their diverse social practices. The camp's population continued to expand when thousands of Syrians moved to Shatila after the war began in 2011. The population growth added enormous economic and environmental pressure to the already overburdened camp, forcing refugees to compete for limited resources. Today, both Syrians and Palestinians face the same issues of *control* and *exclusion* – externally from state laws and internally from failed humanitarian approaches, conflicts, and illegal drug trafficking. As a result, refugee families, having already escaped unspeakable atrocities at horrendous costs, now find themselves trapped in limbo, descending into a state of poverty and hopelessness, subjected to systems that fall far short of understanding their circumstances or empowering them to move forward with their lives. There is no pathway for integration, return, or resettlement for Palestinians, and only a handful of Syrians leave Shatila, reducing the dweller's existence to a permanent temporary state.

Similar to refugees' thriving activities discussed in Chapter Two, Shatila residents took the matter into their own hands, contextually securing their own livelihoods (**Error! Reference source not found.**). It can be argued that these thriving activities can be traced to the original wave of exile, as Palestinians settled on their own in an open field outside of Beirut before the Red Cross officially registered the Shatila camp. The thriving activities of refugees during the period of prosperity are exemplified through creating services, building good homes, upgrading the camp's infrastructure, and governing the camp internally, which have all created a safe haven for residents. Different forms of resistance emerged during the Lebanese Civil War, as many young men fought the Israeli Army while mothers smuggled food into the camp, defying the siege. After the war, new residents opened businesses that stimulated the economic structure of the camp. Today, thriving activities are reflected in the camp's hopeful side, centring around cultural practices, freedom of movement, and job opportunities in the camp. In

fact, many people living in surrounding communities have entered to seek these opportunities, blurring the exclusion and bypassing the separating walls.

Shatila's complex background, its drastic transformations in the past seven decades, and its alignments with the literature on protracted camps all identify Shatila as an appropriate site for this research. The current discussions that have emerged about the camp's "hopeful side" – such as strong relationships, pursuits of opportunities and economic stability, and connection to the culture – will be expanded in the next chapter. These discussions will be placed within a thematic analysis outlining refugees' views and factors that are most important to their thriving.

## Chapter Six: Thriving Through the Eyes of Camp Residents

### 6.1 Introduction

Chapter Five argued that Shatila's background is defined by periodic ruptures and its ongoing means of endurance after destruction, overlaid with periods of adaptation, transformation, and renewal (**Error! Reference source not found.**). Today, Shatila is marked by two overlapping and contradicting contexts – time-spaces of destitution and livelihood. Likewise, dwellers have discussed two sides of the camp – what they called “the dark side and the hopeful side.” The dark side is represented by the debilitating environment of the camp, seen in refugees' narratives that reflect oppressive political and humanitarian policies. The hopeful side is nurtured by dwellers' thriving activities, establishing the camp as a time-space of livelihood, protection, and opportunities (**Error! Reference source not found.**). This chapter will illustrate the hopeful side by linking thriving concepts discussed in Chapter Five to the analysis on camps and thriving in Chapter Two's literature review.

**6.1.1 Goal.** The purpose of this chapter is to understand the Shatila refugee camp residents' views on thriving. 86 camp residents were invited to discuss what thriving means to them, to photograph intimate details of their everyday lives, and to document factors most important to their own thriving. As demonstrated in refugees' narratives in this chapter, their views provide different perspectives of, and sometimes challenge how, camps and refugees are portrayed in the literature. Refugees' views on thriving, explained in relation to the images they captured with the cameras, provide novel dimensions to the discussion of thriving in the literature; they can be organised into three overlapping themes: (1) a *state of being*, (2) the *act of connecting*, and (3) the *process of progressing*.

**6.1.2 Significance.** Camps have predominantly been viewed through political and humanitarian lenses without considering how, within the context of displacement, they can become time-spaces of thriving. The current body of literature relies heavily on narratives derived from Agamben's *Homo Sacer* (1998), Auge's idea of “non-place” (1995), and Agier's (2011) concepts of waiting and stasis to contextualise camps. These political, anthropological, and sociological frameworks do not fully recognise the durable adaptation mechanisms progressively developed by residents in protracted camps, instead portraying camps as slums,

ghettos, and dangerous sanctuaries, void of meaning and tradition – spaces of Biopolitics that render refugees into a political problem. In such work, refugees are stripped of their identities, deserted in a state of exception, and excluded from the law, while continuing to exist as perpetual passive victims living a “bare life” (Agamben, 1998; Agier, 2011; Auge, 1995; Lischer, 2015).

Examples of refugee activities in Shatila present contradicting concepts of permanency, integration, rich meaning, active life, and autonomy. As demonstrated in this chapter, these activities centre on the thriving of residents. Refugees, and especially refugees women, have rebelled against their conditions, created a strong informality structure, redefined ideas of time and space in camps, and started securing livelihoods. They independently built permanent housing, created their own definitions of camp social infrastructure and boundaries, and initiated businesses.

Such documentation is especially important since, despite extensive searches, no examples of discussions on thriving in the context of camps has been found in the literature. Thriving concepts play a significant role in the health sciences, psychology, economy, and urban design disciplines but have minimal-to-no representation in the context of mass displacement. Overall, the current body of literature condenses thriving contexts into two domains: human thriving (1) in developmental domains where thriving is contextualised as a process of personal growth and (2) in performance domains where thriving is linked to a sense of achievement, prosperity, success, and wealth (Brown et al., 2017). As demonstrated in the subsequent sections, the three thriving themes in this chapter will highlight several novel concepts missing from current understandings of camps and can be considered essential additions to the current theoretical elaborations of thriving, including concepts of collective thriving, connection to roots, and the overlap of collective thriving with evolving. The diverse contextualisation of thriving in research and the absence of a commonly accepted characterisation of camps are considered – in the context of mass displacement – an entry point for using these novel concepts for benchmarking thriving interventions in the context of protracted encampment.

**6.1.3 Structure.** This chapter commences with a general overview of thriving, as discussed by camp residents. Next, the chapter outlines three overlapping themes that frame

the most critical thriving factors for camp residents: (1) a *state of being*, (2) the *act of connecting*, and (3) the *process of evolving*. Investigation of these three themes will produce a crosscutting analysis that centres on dwellers' choices, the collective thriving of the community, and the camp as a technology through which thriving is actualised. The chapter concludes with a discussion overlaying these themes with the current gaps in the literature.

## 6.2 Thriving Through the Eyes of Camp Residents

According to residents, the broader context of thriving is marked by three overlapping contexts: a *state of being*, an *act of connecting*, and the *process of progressing*. The concept of a *state of being* covers refugees' internal and external perceptions, emotions, and desires as a structure for thriving. The *act of connecting* narrates diverse approaches to connection as strategies to help one another, provide emotional support, and collaborate in solving problems. The *process of progressing* discusses developmental milestones – such as economic pursuits, learning, and overcoming difficulties – that can lead to a positive state of being. Each of the themes discuss choice as a launching point for thriving and establish the camp as a technology through which thriving is actualised.

### 6.2.1 A State of Being

A *state of being* encompasses two aspects that contribute to thriving: internal emotions and external aspirations. As demonstrated in the following narratives, camp residents have deemed happiness to be the ultimate driver for thriving. Happiness in the camp is linked to feeling peace while living in an anxiety-free environment. Happiness is also the outcome of emotional and materials needs being met for family members and the surrounding communities. External aspirations include refugees' perceptions of personal stability, freedom, independence, and hopefulness, which are influenced by opportunities for making choices in their lives and pursuing livelihoods. Those perceptions are mutually reinforced by the feeling of happiness. Both of these concepts – internal feelings and external aspirations – are almost

inseparable from dwellers' views of the camp itself as a technology that nurtures this positive state of being.

**6.2.1.1 Internal Feelings.** "Laughter and happiness" underpin the meaning of thriving for Amal, one of the original camp residents. Similarly, Fairuz, a Syrian refugee mother, believes that thriving is founded on "being happy." For her friend Samar, another Syrian refugee and mother, happiness and peace are mutually inclusive, as thriving, for her, centres on "living in a clean environment free of conflict, negative thoughts, and anxiety." Peace is achieved when "financial and social" needs are met. Ahmad, a Syrian refugee, agreed with Samar, highlighting that peace could result in happiness through "living a balanced life while feeling safe and secure without any worries."

Ola, a Palestinian refugee, linked thriving to her own "happiness," meeting the material and emotional necessary for her family's happiness "comes first." Her friend Farah agreed, explaining, "Thriving is about the happiness of my children." She reflected on how her role in securing happiness has shifted after her husband died thirteen years ago: "My children are my life; everything I do or feel is about them. My kids are without a father, so I must be everything for them. I try to be everything to them. I do not care about anything else. I will do anything that makes them happy." She concluded: "I do the work of the father and the mother in a family, including cooking, working, cleaning, and supporting my kids with their homework."

Rihab extended her definition of thriving beyond the happiness of her family members; for her, thriving is linked to "happiness of the camp's people." She reflected:

"Thriving grows out of living in shared despair and shared difficulties. I go out sometimes to visit people. I see some people are very sad. I feel happy when I take this sadness away and help them feel happy. I do this through chatting with them and asking them about what was making them upset."

This was also true for Billal, one of the original camp residents, who believes that "camp residents have a high level of fortitude to endure difficult living conditions." This high level of endurance must be coupled with "hope to change the bad living conditions" in order for the "community to experience happiness and thriving."

These concepts of “despair and difficulties” were the reasons behind Zainab’s “choice to be happy.” She and many other dwellers introduced “choice” as a prerequisite for happiness. She stated, “Happiness in the camp is different; even though it is a feeling, it must start with a choice.” She referenced the factor of living in a challenging environment, elaborating that, “here in the camp, you have to choose to be happy rather than dwelling on your surroundings.” Zainab was born and raised in Shatila and is known to all her neighbours as the “smiley one” because of the happiness she projects on her face. She continued, “We can choose to be miserable, or we can choose to be happy; I choose happiness.” She discussed her background and life experiences underpinning this philosophy:

“I do not have any other option but to choose happiness. In fact, I was born and raised in the camp, experienced and escaped the massacres in the 1980s, and, to make matters worse, my ex-husband beat me for fifteen years. His last beating sent me into a coma for a week. Something shifted in me after I was discharged from the hospital. I decided to choose happiness. I can choose to self-deprecate and dwell on my past, or I can open my eyes and enjoy the blessings around me. Suddenly, after waking up from the coma, I realised how much I love my life. I started doing things that can help me choose happiness, such as going out with my friends, dancing, dining, and hiking. I realised how much I love the camp, the people, and the fact I was born and raised in such a wonderful place; I am thriving.”

Her friend Raneem agreed, explaining that, even though “everyone is drowning with worries about life pressures, we choose to forget about what we are facing, worries, live the moment, and choose happiness.” She described the uselessness of dwelling on negative feelings: “If we talk about our worries every single day, would things get better? They won’t.” To build on this concept of choice and happiness being inextricably linked, original camp resident Fatima captured an image of a woman undergoing cancer treatment. She reflected, “What I love about this woman is that, even though she’s diagnosed with cancer, she wakes up every morning with a smile on her face. This brings me hope. [...] Despite the difficult circumstances, she is choosing to be happy” (Image TH1).

In addition to choice, several residents, including Amal, discussed the camp itself as a reinforcement of happiness. She captured two images showing the camp's buildings to exemplify her definitions of thriving through what the camp offers. She stated, "This is a picture that represents life at the camp. It also represents how the camp reflects thriving by building up and building more buildings. There are markets that sell everything we need. No matter how much they (oppressive systems) try to isolate us, we will find a way to live our lives" (Images TH2 & TH3). Her second picture shows "bright colours," which she captured "to present a different angle to the camp." She reflected, "These are vibrant colours which represent the core value of the camp. Despite the majority of grey, unfinished spaces, there are brightly coloured walls, representing happiness amid despair" (Image TH4).

Nuha, a young camp dweller, is a Palestinian-Syrian refugee who arrived at the camp as a young child. For her, thriving "means happiness" and is experienced by walking through "the camp streets during the Eid." She captured two images of the camp during the Eid al-Fitr to link her view of happiness to the camp's time-space. The first picture shows "coloured flags and decoration in the camp." (Image TH5). She explained:

"This image was captured during Ramadan, representing the joy of Eid. These brightly coloured decorations make me feel happy and that good things and happy days are coming. It is coming. All the camp's main streets are decorated with lights, music, and coloured flags, cultivating a sensory experience representing happiness. This brings me a lot of joy; I feel that something is changing [...] in the camp."

Her second picture shows "a child with a wide smile during the Eid." The camp's roads have transformed into playful hubs as many dwellers rented out swings to children. She continued, "In addition to the decoration and loud celebratory music, the camp turns into a playpen for children. This picture brings me joy; it is an image of a young girl waving a sparkler, expressing joy in the camp" (Image TH6).

**6.2.1.2 External Aspirations.** Along with emphasising the importance of choosing happiness in defining what it means to thrive, dwellers consistently referenced senses of personal stability, freedom, independence, and hopefulness, going on to credit the camp itself as an instrumental technology in nurturing this positive state of being.



Seba, an original camp resident, believes that “thriving is the camp itself.” Her neighbour Faris, a Palestinian-Syrian refugee, explained, “The camp offers us a life of stability that is not available in Lebanon.” During the interviews, residents linked stability to the available services and opportunities that allow for the securing of a livelihood. Many classed the camp as the only thriving place for refugees in the area.

Rami, a young Syrian refugee who has been residing in the camp for just over five years, stated, “the camp has developed to include goods that are beyond the basic necessities, including various luxury products, such as fancy dresses and furniture.” Discussing an image he captured of a popular convenience store, he commented, “This photo displays life’s essentials. We cannot have a normal life without this store. It is a source of stability and, therefore, [of] thriving. It is a well-developed market, even better than the ones outside of the camp” (Image TH7). He challenged the widespread perception of life in the camp being “bare,” as this unadorned impression is not all-encompassing or all-defining. On one hand, the “camp is cramped; there is salty drinking water and electricity is dangerous.” On the other hand, “having such shops inside the camp means that we are surviving and ... overcoming our difficult circumstances, and in some cases thriving.” To illustrate the existence of thriving in camp, he captured another picture of the “Centrale Shop.” He reported: “The Centrale Shop – this is where people make calls. People buy cell phone SIM cards and resupply their current data plan. This is thriving. This type of shop does not exist unless there are forms of thriving” (Image TH8).

Samia, a young Palestinian refugee born and raised in the camp, agreed. She captured pictures of the Sabra Souk to discuss the diverse layers of her conception of thriving: “This is where all the residents buy their daily needs. This market is very cheap; they sell cheaper and higher-quality produce. This market allows for stability in the camp” (Image TH9). Her friend Bahia, a Syrian refugee, built on her statement: “The value is so good, even people from surrounding communities come to this market to buy fruits and vegetables because it is cheaper than buying items in Beirut.”

Stability is achieved through the freedom made possible by the camp, according to Eissa, one of the original camp residents. He posited that “freedom of work, movement, and secur[ing] livelihood are the reasons the camp continues to attract new dwellers.” “Being free”

is essential to Ahmad, a Palestinian-Syrian refugee, who observed: “At least you can move in the camp without anybody stopping to review your documents.” His friend Sana, another Palestinian-Syrian refugee, asserted: “If the government catches a Syrian refugee working in the surrounding community, they will kick them out of the country.” Conversely, she highlighted that camp residents are “thriving because they experience freedom,” going on to say, “You can work here without anybody watching you. There is more freedom here in the camp – freedom of movement, freedom to work free, and freedom of living – than outside of the camp.” Samia agreed, explaining, “Being free is thriving for me. The camp is a place of freedom; that is why I live here.”

Zainab added another dimension to the concept: “Being free is the freedom of expression available in the camp.” She stated, “Thriving, for me, means the ability to express my feelings, pains, and hopes for the future. Since the government cannot oppress us here in the camp, we have the freedom to express whatever we need. [...] Even though we are muffled in Lebanon, thriving for us in Shatila is reflected with protesting, marching, and fighting injustices.” Her friend Ramia agreed: “Everybody comes together to protest against unfair treatment of refugees. We all feel better for loudly expressing injustices.” Samar also highlighted that:

“the freedom of expression shows up everywhere, at work, through the camp decoration, and protesting. [...] We desperately need to vent and express our feelings; you see our venting all over the camp – in social settings and on the camp’s walls. You will see patriotic inscriptions, Palestinian flags and art pieces demanding the right to return. [...] We vent every time we get together with our neighbours. I feel better every time I express my feelings to my friends.”

The freedoms of movement and securing financial livelihood often result in the most desired status, “independence from help and humanitarian aid,” according to Fateh, one of the camp’s entrepreneurs. In several focus groups, camp residents challenged the host community’s belief that refugees sit at home, do nothing, and receive aid. Ramiz, a Syrian refugee, after residing in the camp for eight years, argued: “For me, thriving means financial independence. Everyone works. We are not a burden on anyone; we are part of the production

system within and outside the camp. The camp is the only place that allows us to work.” In fact, “living life without needing the help of anyone” is the “ultimate” definition of thriving for Um Mahmoud, one of the older, original camp residents. In her view, thriving means that she can work “and get rewarded from [her] own efforts without the need to beg for money to secure [her] livelihood.” Independence from aid is especially crucial for Souad, a Syrian refugee and mother who arrived at the camp in 2012. The ability to financially support her “family and kids” is the most critical aspect of thriving. She stated: “Even in times of desperation, I will never ask anybody for money, food, or any form of aid.”

In summary, the dwellers linked thriving definitions to compatible states of being. These states incorporate senses of personal stability, freedom, independence, and hopefulness, coupling them with opportunities for refugees to make choices in their lives and pursue livelihoods; these conceptions also consider concurrent emotional states, emphasizing happiness and, with equal weight, a recognition of the camp itself as an integral technology – almost inseparable from its residents – and as a root source of happiness and empowerment that nurtures this positive state of being. These concepts start to build answers for this project’s first research question and provide the context to design a thriving model as narrated by refugees. The first element of the model will illustrate refugees’ internal feelings and external aspirations. As will be discussed in the following section, a strong linkage between individual thriving and the relationship with others – such as family members and the camp’s community – is evident too.

### **6.2.2 The Act of Connecting**

There is broad agreement among refugees that thriving relies on their deep connection with other camp residents and attachment to their ethnic roots. In this context, connection with other residents is representative of deep friendships, emotional and social support, helping others, and collaborating in addressing personal and social issues. This connection, coupled with shared problems, history, background, and aspirations, led to the concept of collective thriving, which is when the thriving of the individual is directly linked to the community’s thriving and to the camp itself. Connection to ethnic roots encompasses

relationships with older camp residents (direct migrants from Palestine), the preservation of cultural practices, patriotism towards the land, and loyalty to political causes. Discussions of the camp dwellers and the physical camp itself were almost inseparable in dwellers' commentaries, framing the camp not just as a place, but as a nurturing entity – akin to a friend, mother, or father. The camp itself, with its walls serving as canvases, has become the new cultural root. The camp as a place is distinguished by its thriving when compared to other areas in Lebanon. What follows is a discussion of refugees' thriving definitions in the context of connecting to others and their roots.

**6.2.2.1 Connecting to Others.** Saeed, one of the camp's business owners, highlighted how the backgrounds of camp residents could be instrumental in establishing deep relationships. The Arabic culture mandates "taking care of neighbours and establishing deep and meaningful friendships." His friend Fareed, a young Syrian refugee, agreed, outlining that "there is a thread that connects all people at the camp," which overlays cultural practices with the "dwellers' shared history." Salwa, a Syrian mother, elaborated on this statement, arguing that "difficult circumstances" are often the catalyst for people to "collaborate and unite and pull each other out of economic deprivation."

Rania, a Palestinian-Syrian mother, summarised these statements by reflecting on an image captured of the main street at the centre of the camp to describe her view of thriving: "Thriving, for me, means walking in the streets, connecting with people, and making friends. Meeting and greeting camp residents mean something sweet and beautiful" (Image TH10). Samer, a young Syrian refugee, echoed this sentiment and outlined a deeper thriving dimension that he has experienced in the camp: "Thriving, for me, [occurs] when we treat each other with love and compassion and connect with one another. Thriving is humanity and connection amongst people."

Radwan has a similar conception, describing the deep friendships made possible by the camp. He showed an image he captured of his best friend, with whom he grew up in the camp, and stated: "This picture represents thriving; these are two male friends from the camp, and we call each other brothers. Thriving, for me, is loving one another in the context of life in the camp. He is my best friend; he's my brother, and this picture means a lot to me as I love him so

much” (Image TH11). Ramia endorsed the concept of friendship as a pathway for thriving while introducing thriving as an action. She linked her definition to “individual actions that help support the people you love.” For her, thriving is actualised, “when [she sees] people greeting one another and when neighbours are serving one another by picking up a garbage bag and putting it in the garbage bin.”

Sameh, another original camp resident, added an additional geographical layer to Eissa’s earlier statement on camp freedoms; his interpretation of thriving extends to the host community and centres on “everybody working together, including the Lebanese community and the government.” He captured an image showing hundreds of camp residents protesting the new labour law in Lebanon, identifying several individuals who are Lebanese and reside in surrounding communities (Image TH12). For him, thriving is actualised through collaboration, especially when the Lebanese people join in the “fight against injustices” within the host country.

In fact, dwellers view connecting as a pathway to achieve thriving, as it is the “key to solve conflict and misperception issues with the surrounding Lebanese communities,” according to Sawsan, one of the young camp dwellers. She stated:

“For all Lebanese people who think that refugees are bad and a contamination to the country, I would like to build friendships with them. I would show them that I am a resident of this country (*Ebn el Balad*). I am not an enemy. In order to change their perceptions of other refugees living in Shatila and me, I would show them the real image of love, generosity and commitment to helping one another.”

Her friend Souha, another original camp dweller, stressed the importance of replicating this deep connection among camp resident with the larger Lebanese community. She wanted to “show the locals that Shatila’s residents are smart and very productive.” She proposed “a collaborative and unified front to build a prosperous Lebanon together.” She continued, “I would like to show our brothers and sisters in Lebanon that we are talented; if we are provided with the appropriate platform, we can achieve wonders.” Sawsan agreed, concluding, “The definition of the concept of thriving is collective production. We cannot do this alone, but, when in a group of people, we can build a better Lebanon and Shatila.”

Radwan supported the previous points and introduced the concept of “collective thriving.” In his view, “no one here at the camp can pursue individual thriving.” Moreover, his experience as an entrepreneur bolstered his understanding of how “collective community success and accountability” can lead to the “collective thriving” of the camp. Owing to the unprecedented “strong social structure” and “strong bond” among camp residents, refugees become an integral part of the livelihood systems based on support and accountability. His definition for “collective thriving” rests on the fact that “there is a sense of uniformity here, everybody knows everybody, and problems are communal. There is a togetherness here; people search for happiness together. The camp society feels joy together and mourns together. This creates a strong bond amongst families in the camp.”

Lamia, another Palestinian-Syrian refugee, introduced a novel perspective that links misery to happiness. While happiness is a positive feeling, “misery pushes you to establish deep relationships with other people; misery unites us and pushes us to form unprecedented deep friendships where we all support each other here in the camp.” For her, this unity leads to happiness and the ability to “tolerate life in the camp.”

The “collective thriving” approach helped Ferial, a Syrian refugee woman, overcome the difficulty of integrating into the camp. She stated,

“For me, when I arrived at the camp, I felt my life was tragic. In 2012, the original camp residents appeared to view Syrian refugees negatively. When we lived together, we discovered positive aspects of each other. We discovered that people are generous and kind; people stand by each other. I developed a different perception of the camp after that.”

Her neighbour Um Ali, a Lebanese camp resident, attributed her decision to reside in the camp to its “collective thriving” environment, even though she was not a refugee and could have legally lived anywhere in Beirut. The camp was her only refuge, as she has “orphan children” and no form of social and financial support outside of the camp, so “living in the camp provides a livelihood for” her family. Neighbours not only help take care of her children, but they also assist with “financial difficulties.”

Kinda, one of the original camp residents and a political faction leader, built on this concept: “If someone needs money, if somebody falls, everybody goes and helps them.” Rasha, another Syrian refugee, continued the concept in a similar vein with a simple example: “Today is my turn to clean the stairs, but, since my neighbour knew I am busy, she said she would do it. So, there is still good out there.” “Collective thriving” is very important to Faris, a young Palestinian refugee who plans to pursue an education in the not-for-profit field to “provide job security for me and help refugees and the sick people in the camp.”

This deep connection to others has rendered the camp into “a parent that cares and nurtures the residents,” according to Tarek, one of the young residents. He introduced the title *Ibin and Binet El Moukhyam* (“the son and the daughter of the camp”) to discuss his definition of thriving. He explained that this title “is thriving for me; it brings me comfort” and denotes that “it is our duty to provide safety for camp residents, whether we are in conflict with them or not.” The deeper meaning behind the term “denotes that he or she is one of us; they understand us. We share the same feelings, pains, hopes, and aspirations.” Farah, another original camp resident agreed; she only socialises with *awlaad el moukhyam* (“the camp’s children”). For her, being around the children of the camp creates a sense of “safety and protection and, therefore, thriving.” Her friend Fadi built on her statement: “If *awlaad el moukhyam* are in need or someone is bothering them, we rush to protect them immediately.” In fact, if a stranger enters the camp accompanied with one of the *awlaad el moukhyam*, the residents “would trust this individual,” according to Fadi.

With all of this in mind, residents’ “collective thriving” definitions have drawn a spatial-social boundary, physically defined by the camp and excluding the surrounding communities. While discussing communal thriving definitions, dwellers contextualised the camp as “inside” and Beirut as “outside.” Thriving is achieved inside Shatila and impeded outside. Referencing the importance of shared backgrounds, Fadia, one of the original camp residents, stated, “Inside of the camp, we are all alike; outside is different.” Her friend Suaad, a Palestinian-Syrian refugee, elaborated on this statement: “I have been living in the camp for five years. We were living outside of the camp before we moved to Shatila. Outside, nobody would want to be your

friend, nobody said ‘hello’ to us, no neighbour would ever talk to us, with no bystanders smiling at us or greeting us.”

Just as Suaad identified a comprehensive and “tight-knit community in the camp that doesn’t exist outside in Lebanon,” Eissa, agreed, branding the camp as “one big family” that is separate from the “surrounding communities.” This is true to the extent that, Rabee, a young resident who was born and raised in the camp, would feel like a “fish out of water” when he leaves the camp’s boundaries. His friend Nuha, another young dweller, captured an image of the camp to outline how she would feel “pressure” on her “chest [suffocation] when leaving the camp” to run errands in Beirut. This pressure would be relieved the moment she enters “the camp’s threshold” (Image TH13). Her neighbour Um Mahmoud agreed: “[I feel] alive again when I exit Beirut and enter Shatila.”

**6.2.2.2 Connecting to One’s Roots.** It is evident that dwellers view “connection” as a multi-layered concept; this togetherness found in the camp is moulded by shared backgrounds, values, and deep-rooted connections to the homeland. Besides the friendships available in the camp, Radwan introduced another dimension of connection to discuss his view of thriving: *connection to one’s roots*. He presented a picture of “the older people, who are still living as [they were when] they came directly from Palestine” and branded the image as “the ultimate thriving.” He continued, “Original camp residents mean a lot to me, as they are the direct link to my homeland. They remind me of Palestinian history” (Image TH14). His neighbour Hamda, a young Syrian refugee, agreed, as thriving for her is “to be back to our country and our home.”

Farah, a young woman who has never been to Palestine, associates thriving with patriotism: “If I am willing to obtain Israeli citizenship, they will allow me to go to back Palestine, and that’s not an option for me.” Her friend Maha, another Palestinian refugee, agreed and defined thriving as her will to “never abandon my roots and my identity. I will never seek Israeli citizenship; I will never become a citizen of the country that kicked me out of my homeland.” She presented a picture of a bracelet that she “always wears” and that reflects the Palestinian flag’s shape and colours. The bracelet is a constant reminder of her “connection to Palestinian roots” (Image TH15).



Ferial, who arrived from Syria in 2012, articulated how her views on thriving depend on incorporating traditions preserved from her home village into her camp life. Using a picture she captured of her pantry, she explained: “We pay much attention to the *mouneh* [preserved food in the kitchen pantry], a tradition that we carry from Syria. This includes cheese, *labneh*, *makdous*, *zaytoun* [traditional Syrian preserves]; I still follow the same tradition here in Shatila to prepare Syrian dishes in the camp” (Image TH16). Similarly, her neighbour Farah explained, “[I] plant the same herbs that grew in my village in Syria in pots at the entrance of my house in Shatila.” She captured an image of her potted plant and reflected: “We used to live in an open field next to our farm on top of the hill. I used to plant herbs and use them for cooking; these pots remind me of my life back home. Sometimes, in the morning, I would wake up, open my front door, close my eyes, and mentally transplant myself back in Syria [by] smelling the aroma of fresh plants” (Image TH17).

Amir, one of the original camp residents who fled Palestine with his family as an infant, reflected on how the concept of thriving is interwoven with his Palestinian heritage. He captured an image of “traditional Palestinian products” and described the textiles as “symbols.” He states, “[Such symbols remind refugees of] our country, how our grandparents were living, our origin, and the Palestinian cause. For us as Palestinians, even though we live in Lebanon or Syria, we will never forget that Palestine is our original country” (Image TH18). Fareed, a local journalist born and raised in the camp, echoed the same sentiment: “I became attached to Palestine from all the stories told by my mother. She used to tell us that she visited the Church of the Resurrection, the church where the prophet Isa was born.” His understanding of thriving manifests from a deep connection to his cultural roots, “even in the absence of visiting his homeland.”

Similar to the previous discussions rendering the camp as a technology through which feelings are defined, Amir and other dwellers have elaborated on their connections to their homeland by identifying the camp as the “new root.” Amir lived in Europe for a decade to complete medical school. Even though he was offered a job at a hospital and could have become a successful physician in Europe, he “chose to return to Shatila.” He reflected on his reasons behind returning to the camp:

“The camp is my new root. I returned because I have a profound attachment to the land. I always said to myself, ‘I have to return to my land.’ Therefore, I had to return to the camp because it is my land. I am deeply rooted here. I am rooted in Shatila because the camp is the closest I can live to my land in Palestine. I see this camp as my definition of thriving.”

For his neighbour Mohammad, the camp is also his context of thriving, acting as the child of Lebanon and Palestinian and symbolically describing his life as a “Palestinian refugee inside of Lebanon.” He reflected, “From an emotional perspective, I feel like Lebanon is like my mother and Palestine is my father. A kid needs both parents. The camp is the child. Shatila is the place where I was raised, where I have my social connections, so I feel a bond with the place here.”

Rafiq, one of the younger dwellers, supported this concept and introduced an additional layer to his definition of thriving. While his roots and allegiance to Palestine remain in his heart, “time spent in the camp created a multi-layered approach to connecting with roots amongst the youth.” The unification resulting from their shared upbringing

“brought a new spirit to the young women and men in Shatila; our names or roots are not only tied to geographical locations in Palestine, but we are also tied to the camp. We are the children of the camp. We are not the children of Lebanon. We are not the children of Palestine alone. We are not the children of Mensheeah or Safoonehwe [erased villages in Palestine]. We are the children of the camp.”

He concluded, “Do not get me wrong, the Palestinian cause remains inside of us; however, the camp adds an additional layer to our identities.”

These varied experiences show that residents of Shatila have used the shared backgrounds of displacement, life in a confined place, and current difficulties as strategies that underpin a strong connection to one another and cultural roots. While thriving in regard to *state of being* is contextualised through the person’s internal feelings and external aspirations, as an act of connecting, it is linked to others and culture, thus rendering the camp as the new root. The concept of the “new root” found among the youth is time-dependent, as several dwellers portrayed how their views, beliefs, or states of being progressed with time. The next

section will unpack progress as a time-dependent concept that facilitated the development and advancement of dwellers' livelihoods.

### **6.2.3 The Process of Progressing**

The majority of participants used concepts such as evolving, progressing, moving forward, developing, advancing, improving, and growing as being synonymous with their views of thriving. Their examples framed progressing as an ongoing and dynamic process. Progressing in this context is a product of being nurtured through extensive connections to self, friends, family, community, and the camp itself – both as a structure and as a people. Participants' observations regarding progressing can be understood within the context of three overlapping themes: economic pursuits, learning, and transcendence.

**6.2.3.1 Economic Pursuits.** Rami, a Syrian refugee, proffered tenacity and resolve as drivers for progressing, linking thriving to the “fact that [he] made a choice to and was able to overcome the difficulties [he was] facing.” He further reflected on his views on thriving: “Even though there are not many job opportunities, I was able to search and find a job. This is thriving for me. I did not give up. I moved forward.” For his friend Nabila, “thriving means progressing – doing whatever it takes to find a job,” as the process of working helped her “overcome financial difficulties.”

The process of finding work as a pathway for thriving must also follow the “person's passion,” according to Rana, a Syrian-Palestinian entrepreneur. For her, following her passion helped her “adapt to the difficult circumstances in the camp.” She is a trained artist and was able to put this talent to use in her new job as an embroidery designer. Similarly, Jinnan, another Syrian refugee mother, described finding suitable work and the resulting positive outcome: “The work platform here helped me resurrect the talent in me. The work here helped me realise what a talent I am and what a powerful person I am for overcoming adversities.”

Fateh, a young original camp resident, overlaid his approach to progressing with the pre-discussed collective thriving approach. Thriving, in his view, rests on “the ability to produce work” for himself, so that he can “become proactive” in addressing the community's needs and helping “others to overcome difficulties.” He continued, “It is apparent that Shatila's residents

are struggling financially. I am in the process of opening my own business so I can provide for my family and employ other refugees. I am currently writing a business proposal to pitch for one of the NGO's executives; I plan on using the funds to build the business." Nabila, a young Palestinian-Syrian refugee, agreed: "Thriving is investing in people, helping them evolve so they can become useful members of society."

This is also true for Shiraz, one of the original camp residents, who defined thriving as "what we strive for" and linked thriving to the process of "helping others." She shared a picture of a medic helping an elderly man climb the stairs to the emergency room at the Doctors Without Borders clinic to illustrate her definition. She stated, "I love this picture because it typifies how helping others can lead to improving someone's livelihood" (Image TH19). This philosophy was expounded upon by Amjad, a young Palestinian-Syrian refugee, who argued that individual thriving could only be achieved through "benefitting the collective as a whole in the camp" due to the residents' shared backgrounds, values, and aspirations.

To demonstrate the overlap between progressing and collective thriving, Samaha, a young Palestinian-Syrian refugee, captured a picture of a fruit and vegetable basket from the Sabra Market, a large, well-known fruit and vegetable market in the camp. She stated: "These fruits and vegetables mean thriving for me. They did not just pop from the earth on their own; someone had to care for and nurture them to become lush fruits and vegetables. Caring for and nurturing others leads to thriving" (Image TH20). Her friend Souha, one of the original camp residents, agreed and added the economic significance of her view that thriving is inextricably linked with providing opportunities for other camp residents: "Thriving is creating projects that employ the young people of the camp. Thriving, for me, is creating these opportunities to occupy people's time, so they do not end up dealing with drugs and getting into unhealthy activities."

**6.2.3.2 Learning.** As a concept of progress, economic pursuits must involve learning, according to Fardous, a Syrian refugee who arrived at the camp in 2011. She captured an image of a computer to demonstrate that "thriving has an economic angle and self-developmental meaning, too." She reflected on her evolving journey: "I knew nothing when I arrived at the camp. Although I started with crochet and embroidery, I am learning many things, like

computers and marketing, to improve my skills and find a better job. So, this photo means to me that I am developing myself and I can become financially independent. This means thriving” (Image TH21).

Suha, a young Palestinian-Syrian refugee agreed and provided an example that built on Fardous’s definition. She had recently completed a journalism course at one of the local NGO offices. Thriving, for her, is linked to wanting to “show the people from the surrounding communities that the camp is not a bad place.” Her educational pursuits would allow her to create a visual campaign that presents the “beauty in the camp.” She captured a series of images representing the camp’s beauty; this includes art projects, aerial photos, and cultural events (Images TH22, TH23, & TH24). She hopes to become proactive in debunking the oppressive and discriminatory views of the camp and its refugees.

Learning as a pathway for thriving crosses generations for Rihab, a Palestinian-Syrian refugee, who added, “For me, it means that I try to give my kids the things in life that my husband and I did not have, like education.” She presented a picture of her children’s homework while emphasising that learning is the only pathway for “economic stability” (Image TH25). Her friend Sameeha, another original camp resident, agreed that “education is crucial,” identifying it as the only pathway to thriving for her children. It is essential for her that the children “develop critical thinking skills” to secure their own livelihoods as adults. Raneem, a Syrian refugee and NGO employee, found it difficult to narrate what thriving means for her, explaining, “Thriving for me is for my children to grow up and receive a good education,” adding that she hopes that they would never experience the hardships she encountered in the camp.

To this end, several participants equated progress and thriving, seeing the camp as a facilitator through which progress can be achieved. The camp as a “progress instrument” is actualised because of the available “freedom of movement that allows for securing a livelihood,” according to Abdullah, a Palestinian-Syrian refugee who grew up in the camp. Sameeha agreed that the ability to “pursue education and, therefore, secure a good job” is the reason for viewing the camp as a facilitator for progression. The camp allowed her to become dependent on her “income rather than humanitarian aid.” Similarly, Zainab’s freedom to

“express” her feelings helped her with the process of “overcoming difficulties and feeling better after the divorce.”

Remarkably, Fouad’s son couldn’t “pursue any forms of education outside of the camp; all Lebanese schools rejected” his application because of his status as a Syrian refugee. He reflected, “Even though it’s not perfect, at least my child can attend the UNRWA school and continue his education.” Sarab, another Syrian refugee, built on the link between education, progress, and thriving, stating, “I had to interrupt my education after the war started in Syria. I am grateful for the skills development workshops that several NGOs provide.” She concluded, “Because of the camp, I am able to progress in life; the camp is the definition of thriving for me.”

**6.2.3.3 Transcendence.** Transcendence refers broadly to overcoming difficulties and thriving despite life obstacles and challenges in the camp, as has been described throughout the aforementioned examples in this chapter. Eissa, a local entrepreneur, views thriving as a moving continuum that is connected to the individual and to society as a whole: “Thriving is evolution, modernity, and moving forward, and [it] updates [based on] the existing conditions of the society we live in.” His friend Adel agreed, as his definition of thriving is linked to “personal development; thriving means that life is not stale and that life is moving forward.” For their neighbour Wadeah, thriving means “renewal and progress; it means overcoming difficulties.” She shared an image of a building “shattered with bullets from conflict” to illustrate her definition. She reflected, “Even after it was almost torn down because of the bullet holes, they fixed it and people moved back into the building; a perfect example of overcoming difficulties and moving forward” (Image TH26).

Majda, a young Syrian refugee mother who has survived domestic hardships, built on this statement by linking the previously discussed concept of choice to Wadeah’s concept of overcoming difficulties. Consistent with Zainab’s observations about “choosing happiness,” she specified that the process of thriving commences “when a person decides to overcome the hardships they face [...] and decides not to let them stop him.” Zainab agreed that, for her, “there is no other option but to progress and win over difficult circumstances. There is no time

to dwell over past heartaches and difficult circumstances. We all have to make a choice to pull ourselves out of despair and evolve.”

Indeed, Rouba, a Syrian refugee, considers choosing to progress as a “beautiful process” that has led to reshaping her future. She stated: “There is pain and there is beauty in my past. Even the difficult circumstances are beautiful because they created the person I am now, and they created a strong woman in me.” She described an image of a growing plant as an analogy of her own growth: “This plant is getting bigger, taller, and stronger with time. This plant represents my growth journey. I arrived with nothing; I was able to study, work, and secure livelihood for my family” (Image TH27).

As a roadmap for her thriving, Sarab, a Palestinian refugee, combined the aforementioned concepts of overcoming difficulties and choice: “Thriving is not succumbing to circumstances and not succumbing to the pressure of the oppressive powers here in Lebanon. I was forced to abandon everything I learned and start at zero. So, I decided to believe in myself. I believe I can do something huge in my life, even though I am starting over at an older age.” Likewise, Rana discussed how it was essential for her not to allow difficult circumstances to win; she shared an image of a black box to represent how thriving for her is making a choice to consign bad experiences to a box and transform them into a “tool to thrive” (Image TH28).

In summary, for Shatila dwellers, a *state of being* – reinforced through various manifestations of connections with individuals, as well as through the camp itself – can lay the groundwork for evolving into an enhanced and even transcendent experience of thriving that commonly includes economic pursuits and learning. This section presents dynamism and time as underpinning the concept of thriving in Shatila. The following section will provide a critical perspective on thriving definitions, comparing them to the current discourses on camps and refugees.

### **6.3 Discussion**

This chapter outlined refugees’ views on thriving while providing a different understanding of the Shatila refugee camp. According to dwellers, the broader context of

thriving for camp residents is marked by three overlapping contexts: a *state of being*, *acts of connecting*, and the *process of progressing*.

The first theme covers dwellers' internal feelings and their conscious choosing of happiness. This positive *state of being* is reinforced by circumstances that contribute to stability, financial independence, and the freedom to secure livelihood. The second theme, the *act of connecting*, addresses diverse approaches to connection as strategies for helping one another, providing emotional support, and connecting to cultural roots. The third theme, *progressing*, is a time-dependent concept where necessity leads to making the choice to overcome difficulties, and is followed by a series of collective developmental milestones that can lead to evolving, tangible outcomes, including learning, rewarding livelihoods, and, ultimately, transcendence – overcoming obstacles and difficulties in order to lead more fulfilling lives.

In addition to informing definitions of thriving, several concepts emerged across the three themes, including choice, collectiveness, and the view of camp as a technology through which thriving is actualised. Dwellers discussed choice as a prerequisite for reaching a positive state of being and as launching pad for progressing. It is important to note that choice in the camp is linked to need, as residents choose to determine what is considered necessary. The most common choice articulated by dwellers was the choice to be happy. While happiness is generally a positive feeling, residents, in some cases, also linked happiness to negative feelings. Misery pushed camp residents to unite, which, in turn, facilitates reaching a state of happiness. The *process of progressing* must begin with a choice to overcome difficulties and not to allow difficult circumstances to win. Choice can be seen in the collective thriving approaches; for example, camp residents chose to start businesses that benefited the collective community.

Collective thriving, where the thriving of the individual is directly linked to the thriving of others, is another crosscutting concept evident in all of the thriving themes. Examples from the first section show that the happiness of family members and the community comes before the happiness of the individual, such as the freedom of expression uniting camp dwellers with community partners in utilising diverse forms of expression, including protests. A mindset and desire for independence allowed dwellers to secure funds to initiate businesses employing



other refugees. Refugees also pursued learning and teaching opportunities to change the camp's negative image.

The last crosscutting concept highlighted Shatila itself as a technology through which thriving is actualised. The social-spatial transformation of the camp during Eid generated a sense of happiness for dwellers. Similarly, the freedom and resources available in the camp has allowed dwellers to progress. Just spending time in the camp generated a new sense of identity, with Shatila becoming the new cultural root for young dwellers. Notably, the camp itself was frequently presented and referenced as not simply a place, but as a multi-dimensional force – a source of nurturance and empowerment with, perhaps, greater consequence than a conventional urban environment.

The three themes and crosscutting concepts present the individual, community, culture, and time as essential components for thriving in Shatila. These thriving concepts appear to overlap and provide additional context to the thriving domains outlined in Chapter Three (**Error! Reference source not found.**). For example, the states of independence and freedom mirror the context of performance domains, as they reflect the high level of functioning cited by Sarkar and Fletcher (2014). Similarly, participants in the *progressing* theme highlight extensive developmental and performance factors that are aligned with how O'Leary and Ichovics (1995), Park (1998), Joseph and Linley (2012), and Gagné (2015) have defined thriving. For several camp residents and scholars, thriving entails overcoming difficulties, achieving aspirations, learning new skills, and developing mental and moral strength.

My analysis of the interviews and the images, however, invites a broader conceptualisation of thriving. For example, Gagné (2015) discusses “wealth” and “individual success” as general thriving factors. Camp residents didn't consider wealth to be an important goal or measure for thriving. Instead, they set forth goals based on values including stability, independence, and happiness as measurements of successful thriving. For them, individual success is a *state of being* that provides stability to the immediate community, such as family members or friends.

Camp residents introduced novel ideas that are missing in the current conceptualisations of thriving, which I argue should be considered essential additions. This

includes collective thriving and connection to their roots, states of freedom and independence, and the overlap of collective thriving with progressing. Residents share backgrounds, statuses, difficult circumstances, and experiences with exclusionary laws while living in a confined space, which are some of the reasons why thriving in the Shatila camp is different from thriving in other contexts. The diverse contextualisation of thriving in the research and the absence of a commonly accepted characterisation in camps are both considered in the context of mass displacement. It is then possible to use these novel concepts for benchmarking thriving interventions in the context of protracted encampment. This is especially important since camps have predominantly been understood through a political and humanitarian lens without considering how, within the context of displacement, they can be viewed as time-spaces of thriving.

Another compelling argument emerged linking refugees' thriving activities to feminist thinkers' approaches discussed in Chapters Four and Five (5.1 Introduction, 4.7 Rigour, Confirmability, and Trustworthiness). The chapters discuss the need to focus on women's voices, as they have been excluded from accounts and histories of the displacement experience, in which they are portrayed as marginal, vulnerable, and dependant on others, with their livelihoods linked to the autonomy of male family members (Haeri & Puechguirbal, 2009; Sayigh, 2007). Remarkably, thriving views derived from this chapter present concepts of resistance as well as individual and collective independence, where the crosscutting theme of choice, as discussed earlier, reflects layers of resistance and revolt. This is exemplified by Farah's refusal to obtain Israeli citizenship, even if it means returning to her homeland. Additionally, I argue that Majda's choices to face adversity, heal the trauma of domestic violence, and find happiness make up an additional critical layer of resistance. Lastly, Ola's choice to be happy has a ripple effect that directly influences the happiness of her children.

My analysis shows that resistance and independence are mutually inclusive. Fardous resisted the lack of opportunities by registering for computer courses so that she could become financially independent. Farah's life didn't stop after the death of her husband, and her resulting dual role as father and mother reflects her independence despite the adversities she has faced. Suha's pursuit of learning stands in opposition to the negative image of the camp; in

her journalism career, she aims to demonstrate the rich cultural practices of the good-natured camp residents. After all, Souad believes that the ability to financially support her family and kids is the most critical aspect of thriving.

Women's thriving contexts align with and provide depth to the coping and resilience strategies discussed in Chapter Five, including spiritual practices and solidarity (Kanal & Rottmann, 2021; Sunata & Ozsoy, 2021). While solidarity is evident with other women, thriving accounts in this chapter provide degrees of solidarity linked to the camp environment and cultural roots. These experiences reflect the multi-dimensionality of solidarity, whether in the form of Rania's connection with others walking in the camp's streets, Shiraz's accounts of camp residents helping an elderly man, Kinda's example of her neighbours' help, and Saad's view of the camp as a one big family. In this context, solidarity is inextricably tied to deep connections with others, including greeting, connecting, and extending a helping hand to others. Additionally, women's accounts of happiness and thriving add another layer of definition to the documented spiritual practices outlined in Chapter Five (5.1 Introduction). While Kanal and Rottmann (2021) discuss choices of gratitude, thankfulness, and patience as effective coping practices led by women, I argue that the choice of happiness adds another dimension to the research on refugee camps. Women's accounts of thriving that link to happiness are underpinned by the similar variables discussed in Chapter Five. This includes resiliency, overcoming difficulties, and the aspect of choice.

This chapter continues Chapter Five's approach of highlighting the critical role of women in documenting displacement history and the refugee experience. More importantly, the story of resistance is more nuanced; whereas the previous chapter highlights stories of defiance against soldiers, resistance here is informed by facing traumatic events, pursuing education, learning, and taking on multiple parental roles. One critical story that can be elucidated from this chapter is that women are active agents in securing livelihood for themselves, their families, and the wider community.

There is one last important and critical notion I would like to highlight that emerged in this chapter: vulnerability and marginality precipitate thriving. The thriving discussions underpinning the three themes and crosscutting concepts present resilient approaches that

reflect refugees' collective engagements in different acts of resistance and, therefore, thriving. This is corroborated by Rihab's observation of thriving in the camp and her conclusion that thriving grows out of living in shared desperation and difficulties. Similarly, Lamia outlined how misery pushes camp residents to unite and form unprecedented deep friendships as they collectively experience thriving. Farred's experience of thriving in Shatila connects shared history and culture with collectiveness, which, in return, tackles poverty and oppression, according to his friend Salwa.

Rather than succumbing to difficulties imposed by oppressive systems, Rihab visits other camp residents to bring them happiness, reflecting a collective act of resistance. Similarly, Amal's reflection of building tall housing units and businesses that meet the residents' needs is the ultimate act of revolt against confinement and control. This is corroborated by Rami's discussion of the available amenities in the camp; rather than being isolated from the outside world, the camp creates services to meet the refugees' needs. Zainab's approach linking thriving to freedom highlights different forms of resistance that occur in the camp. While Rihab, Amal, and Rami's views of resistance and thriving rely on the available environmental resources, Zainab's view includes freedom of expression, as demonstrated by protests and marches. She further links the environment to resistance through the visual representation of patriotic inscriptions, Palestinian flags, and art pieces that demand the right to return. These concepts also underpin the discussion on informality outlined in Chapter Two and will be discussed in further detail throughout the subsequent results chapters (2.3.3 Control).

To conclude, this chapter answers the thesis' first research question by presenting narratives that outlined the "hopeful side" of Shatila. The three themes and crosscutting concepts provide narratives defining what thriving means for refugees while adding novel concepts to the two thriving domains addressed in the literature. Their narratives also offer a view of activities that show how thriving is actualised and practised in Shatila, beginning to answer the second research question, which will be explored further in subsequent chapters.

While defining what thriving meant to them, Shatila residents cited several examples representing how thriving is practised and actualised in the camp. The first series of examples touch on the camp's evolution, the community, and dwellers' growth journeys. The camp

implemented strategies that assured safety for dwellers and freedom of movement; the presence of such freedom in the camp facilitated environmental and economic growth. Refugees outlined how the camp's environment evolved to accommodate the influx of new dwellers, perhaps most visibly illustrated by the erection of new, taller buildings in Shatila. During religious holidays, the camp streets evolved into a playground. During Eid, for example, this resulted in cultivating an environment of happiness. The camp's economy evolved to include luxury products exemplifying stability beyond just living a bare life. The camp's basic functions evolved beyond bare survival into a network of activities that provide emotional, financial, and material support for others.

The second group of examples found in this chapter discussed economic and social problem-solving approaches. The freedom of movement allowed for independence from ongoing aid and created opportunities for dwellers to find work or establish businesses that secured economic livelihoods for their families and other camp dwellers. Residents proposed problem-solving strategies that addressed external conflicts with Lebanese communities. Lastly, residents pursued educational opportunities and, at least in the short term, capitalised on aid funds to open businesses that employed other refugees.

The last collection of thriving practices cited in this chapter touched on dwellers' means of expression using diverse mediums. Refugees expressed happiness by transforming the camp's environment with coloured flags and decorations during Eid. Oppressive political practices pushed residents to use protesting as a means for expressing their feelings related to injustices. They expressed their connections to their roots through storytelling and the preservation of cultural practices, using symbology and photography to express their growth and happiness and to address misperceptions about the camp's core values. Lastly, dwellers used patriotic objects and traditional products to express their homeland allegiances.

These practices contrast with the way that camps and refugees are discussed in the literature. Camps are often portrayed as slums, ghettos, and dangerous sanctuaries where refugees are stripped of their identities and reduced to existing in perpetual passive states (Agamben, 1998; Agier, 2011; Auge, 1995; Lischer, 2015). While these concepts are formative for political perspectives of camps, refugees' discussions on thriving upend this portrait. In fact,

the crosscutting themes render the camp into a technology where happiness is actualised, tradition is preserved, new identities are formed, life progress is achieved, and obstacles are overcome. Refugees are proactive and creative, persevering through difficult circumstances and attempting to secure livelihoods.

The next three results chapters will continue the conversation on evolving, social and economic problem-solving, and expressing practices highlighted in this discussion. The discussion in each chapter will provide additional dimensions to the three thriving themes discussed in this chapter, challenge existing narratives of camps and refugees and build a broader conceptual framework to understand refugees' thriving practices.

Chapter Seven: Evolving will outline diverse strategies integral to thriving in the Shatila camp, including the camp's time-space and the development of both the community and individuals. Camp dwellers' evolutionary activities will provide a different perspective on the concepts of time, interruption, stasis, and exceptionality discussed in Chapter Two.

Chapter Eight will brand refugees' thriving activities as enterprising. While highlighting case studies that showcase refugees' problem-solving and profit-generating practices, the chapter will provide different perspectives on, and sometimes challenge, the concepts of control, bare life, aid dependency, and victimhood discussed in Chapter Two.

Chapter Nine: Expressing will discuss different mediums of expression integral to thriving in the Shatila camp. Refugees' activities will be revealed through two overlapping mediums: (1) expressions via creative mediums, such as art, drawing, writing, dance, photography, drama, and the exhibition of artefacts and (2) expressions using the camp as a large-scale and public time-space medium, including protests, gatherings, graffiti, posters, and flags. The case studies challenge the overarching generalisation that camps are slums, ghettos, or non-places that are invisible and void of meaning and traditions, acting as a technology that separates refugees from host communities.

## Chapter Seven: Evolving

### 7.1 Introduction

Whereas Chapter Six discussed camp residents' views on thriving, this chapter will outline the first of the three thematic analyses of residents' thriving practices. Refugees have implemented diverse thriving strategies that underpin the evolution of the Shatila camp as a technology through which thriving is actualised.

**7.1.1 Goal.** The purpose of this chapter is to outline diverse evolving strategies integral to thriving in the Shatila camp. These practices will add a deeper dimension to the three thriving themes summarised in Chapter Six provide additional layers of definitions to the conceptual frameworks discussed in Chapter Three, as well as challenge the concepts of exceptionality, interruption, waiting, and stasis discussed in Chapter Two (**Error! Reference source not found. & Error! Reference source not found.**). Shatila residents have recontextualised these issues into assets that underpin the camp's continuous time-space evolution. Through their thriving practices, residents invent creative approaches that facilitate rapid environmental and economic growth. Their shared past and experiences have contributed to new forms of solidarity, with the camp's social fabric evolving into a self-sufficient network of thriving activities that helped transform the community financially, materially, and emotionally. Concurrently, dwellers have pursued individual growth processes – for example, learning a new skill or earning a degree – as a means of achieving their potential and securing a livelihood. As thriving practices, these evolutionary processes are revealed in three overlapping ways: (a) time-space evolution, (b) community-based developments, and (c) individual evolution.

**7.1.2 Significance.** Refugees' thriving practices have turned "waiting" into an evolutionary development process, "stasis" into a facilitator for securing a livelihood, and "exceptionality" into an opportunity for self-governance, as well as redefining "interruption" as an asset for personal growth. The thriving practices discussed in this chapter reflect a movement with no perceivable end other than more evolution, rendering evolutionary practices as a continuum.

Over time, the Shatila camp has been continually reshaped as residents try to build a future for themselves. Rather than waiting for solutions, refugees began taking matters into their own hands, challenging existing conditions by implementing creative approaches that facilitate rapid time-space evolution. Dwellers recontextualised exceptionality into an asset by creating a comprehensive and collective protection infrastructure that transformed the camp into a safe haven of freedom and autonomy. This freedom to secure a livelihood attracted an influx of new dwellers and entrepreneurs, which, in return, precipitated a rapid environmental and economic evolution, opening up opportunities for dwellers and the surrounding community members. Due to this, the camp's extra-territorial status evolved into an asset, with dwellers finding life in the camp more favourable than residing in Lebanon. Refugees who were once united in their shared displacement instead became united by the new opportunities available to them.

The evolution of the camp's time-space along with shared experiences of dispossession have kindled other forms of solidarity amongst residents; the camp's communities have evolved into an interdependent network engaged in thriving activities that helped meet the dwellers' financial, material, and emotional needs. Smaller communities in the camp redefined "stasis" and led to the development of communal, rotating savings accounts to tackle poverty issues. Such communities created a system for material support to furnish the houses of newly arriving refugees. During crises, time stops in the camp, with families dedicating their time to supporting those experiencing emotionally difficult times, such as the death of a family member. These practices have allowed newly arriving refugees to restart their lives and assimilate into the camp's communities.

These environmental and community-based developments facilitated dwellers' individual evolutions. Rather than falling victim to "time interruption," residents have restarted their lives, pursued formal education, learned new skills, and developed novel talents. The rapidly paced learning process allowed refugees to provide economic stability to their families and other community members.

**7.1.3 Structure.** This chapter will begin by presenting examples where camp residents



have utilised approaches that evolve conceptions of time-space. These approaches include a discussion on safety and freedom infrastructures, environmental evolution, social-spatial evolution, urban changes, and economic growth. Next, the chapter discusses case studies that illustrate community-based evolutionary processes. This includes a discussion about the collective social fabric of the camp, including forms of financial, material, and emotional support. In the third section, the chapter examines individual evolutionary processes, including approaches centred around learning and personal development. Each of these three sections will conclude with a summary outlining key analytical concepts that inform the discussion section at the end of the chapter, introducing important concepts that will be discussed in Chapter Ten. Building on the results and the conceptual frameworks discussed in Chapter Three, this chapter will forge important links between such frameworks, starting on the macro-level before narrowing in on the individual. This chapter will conclude with a discussion section that builds on the definitions of thriving and compares evolutionary practices with the current discourse on protracted camps in the literature.

## **7.2 Time-Space Evolution**

Residents have invented creative strategies that facilitate rapid environmental, social, and economic growth, implementing a comprehensive and socially-based protection infrastructure that transformed the camp into a safe haven of freedom and autonomy. This freedom to secure a livelihood has attracted an influx of new dwellers and entrepreneurs, precipitating rapid environmental and economic evolution and rendering the camp a place of opportunities. To manage this growth, dwellers have designed several self-governing strategies to organise developmental projects, including a real-estate building committee and time-share economic policies. This growth also has impacted how time is spent in the camp, with dwellers reinventing the ways they interact, merging the camp's time and space into a diverse social hub.

**7.2.1 Safety and Freedom.** Dwellers identified “freedom of movement” as a factor underpinning their thriving. In fact, their thriving practices have allowed the camp to evolve into “a safe haven and a place of freedom,” according to Safa, a newly arrived Syrian refugee.

Ahmad, a Palestinian refugee who experienced “the evolution of the camp” over the years, discussed how “the wars on the camps taught us a lesson to self-govern and create a protective fortress for residents.” Therefore, factions and community leaders implemented a “complex surveillance network” to assure complete protection “against outside intruders,” allowing residents “the freedom to secure a living inside of the camp.”

As a result, the community developed a comprehensive, collective safety strategy: when a person needs to enter the camp and conduct business, they have to connect with “one of the political factions first,” according to Ramia, a local community leader. When the faction’s representative feels that the “outsider” is safe, they will sponsor the person and then “introduce them to the rest of the factions to secure entry and movement inside of the camp.” Additionally, the tragedies faced by dwellers have pushed residents to “create a socially-based governance strategy.” In this system, community members themselves become “safety navigators.” Ramia further explained, “We know who lives in the camp, and we alert others when we see strangers.” The camp's social structure allows for residents to protect one another; therefore, “dwellers are responsible for the safety of their neighbours.”

Amna, a Syrian refugee who arrived at the camp eight years ago, cited this “freedom of movement in the camp” as her reason for living in Shatila. She reflected on an image she captured of one of the camp’s main streets: “There is more freedom here – freedom of movement, freedom of work, and freedom to secure livelihood. You can never find this freedom outside of the camp” (Image EV1). Her friend Sahar agreed, feeling “a great sense of safety” knowing that her neighbours will question “outsiders” if they enter her neighbourhood. She concluded that “protection and safety is a collective approach here at the camp. Without this approach, we would never have been able to make it as Palestinians here in Lebanon. More massacres would have happened.”

**7.2.2 Environmental Evolution.** The safety and freedom afforded by the camp created a fertile place for environmental evolution over the past decade. Camp residents have established an “environmental development strategy and a self-governing land ownership policy” to facilitate the camp's continuous evolution, according to Lama, one of the political faction leaders. Legally, refugees are not allowed to own properties, whether they reside inside

or outside of the camp. In fact, no camp structures are lawfully owned by residents, as the UNRWA rents the land from the public and private sectors. According to Samer, a Palestinian refugee who grew up in the camp, “the Lebanese government is intentionally preventing refugees' permanent settlement. We were not allowed to build permanent structures or even a bathroom until the 1990s.” Therefore, dwellers established “a self-governed real-estate committee to organise all of the [internal] rental and purchasing activities and protect residents from property disputes,” according to Fareed, another political faction leader. This strategy allowed many original camp residents to contextually transform the camp’s “stateless status” and provide a sense “of home inside the camp.”

Within the same system, “the camp was divided into smaller governance zones” to not only establish sub-autonomous zones but also to “navigate the development and construction projects happening in the camp.” Yasser, a Palestinian-Syrian refugee who grew up in the camp, captured an image showing the silhouettes of buildings in Shatila to reflect on the development process (Image EV2). He explained, “If there is available or empty land, the developer would have to negotiate with the political faction that controls the zone before developing any construction project.” These strategies underpin the evolution of the camp “into an economic hub for real-estate activities.” This evolution created opportunities for “other refugees and migrant workers to gain access to affordable rent options inside of the camps.”

Hamad, a Syrian refugee who arrived at the camp in 2011, captured an image that encapsulates the concepts of “environmental evolution, freedom, and safety.” Despite the dwellers being confined to a camp, “there is the water truck that supplies water to stores, tuk-tuk taxis transporting people, vegetable markets, people walking and laughing, and there is even a place to buy decorations for protests” (Image EV3).

Lamia, a Syrian refugee, captured a photo showing the rising “structures inside of Shatila,” building on the concept of environmental growth. She reflected that “the camp’s urban structure is going to surpass the buildings of Dubai. Developers are literally building skyscrapers here in Shatila because there is no available land left. The only way to accommodate the influx of dwellers is to go up” (Image EV4). However, these vertical buildings have caused danger, “as the foundation of these buildings is unstable” as many structure have

shifted and sunk.

Fatima, an original camp resident, captured a “bird’s-eye view” of the camp to discuss its “spatial evolution” and the current “construction projects” happening throughout the camp. She pointed out that “there are buildings as high as nine stories” (Image EV5). The structural expansion is due – in part – to the growth of local families, such as when one of the original camp residents “added an additional floor” to her house to accommodate her growing family. Another reason for the expansion is to accommodate refugees and migrant workers entering the camp, according to Samar, who arrived at the camp as a child from Syria. She captured a picture of a “new residential hub explicitly built to accommodate the influx of Syrian families into the camp” (Image EV6).

Rami, one of the local NGO leaders, introduced a different perspective on thriving practices by examining the relationship between the influx of new residents and environmental growth. He stated that “the influx of refugees into the camp” precipitated “a large volume of humanitarian activities.” In capturing an image of a stairwell, Rami reflected on the “camp developers [who] capitalised on the increased movements of humanitarian agencies and their needs for office and service spaces. The building owner added four more floors; we rented all of the additional spaces from him. In fact, the landlord owns another property a block away. Even though another building is located between the two properties, he built a bridge over the adjacent building to connect both of his properties. Spatially, he accommodated the growth of our NGO” (Image EV7).

One of the original camp residents, Um Ahmad, is keenly aware of the camp's rapid environmental evolution, stating, “I have memories with every street, shop, and building. I always reflect on how the camp changes every time I visit. It brings me a lot of joy sometimes. I get lost, even though I’m one of the original residents of the camp, because of how the camp has evolved and grown.”

For Safa, a Palestinian-Syrian refugee who arrived at the camp in 2012, this rapid evolution “represents the evolution of the tragedy refugees live in,” with “the size and the density of the camp represent[ing] the size of the tragedy.” Reflecting on a picture showing the dilapidated camp environment, she stated, “This image represents the complex layers of the

refugee tragedy, wires, buildings, water pipes; everything is on top of each other. Things are so cramped, you can step from building to building through the roof” (Image EV8). Faris, another Syrian-Palestinian refugee, agreed. He described living in the camp as “living in a sardine box” (an Arabic euphemism for a cramped space). He elaborated: “There is a lack of green space, play areas for children, and social spaces.”

**7.2.3 Social-Spatial Evolution.** Living in dilapidated buildings and in “cramped places” pushed dwellers to adapt their environment to contextually live “a normal life,” according to Manal, one of the local community leaders. “My house is tiny, and I can’t even host any guests.” She captured an image of a bench she built next to her building’s stairwell to discuss how she adapted to living in a cramped environment while attempting to establish a social life (Image EV9). Manal continued, “I can’t host gatherings. Therefore, this bench means a lot to me. This is where I would meet with all of my friends. My neighbour would come and style my hair here; we used to sit and socialise, talking about our lives, hopes, and dreams.”

Building on Manal’s idea, Sahar, a young dweller who was born and raised in the camp, highlighted how transitional spaces are “adapted into social hubs” by capturing an image of a stairwell to discuss how “stairwells are very significant here at the camp, unlike stairwells in buildings in Beirut. Outside of the camp, stairwells are a means for people to get to their homes. Stairwells here are hubs for social activities; this is perhaps, in some areas, the only space where people can gather and socialise. Homemakers sit down and drink a cup of coffee. Sometimes kids do their homework and play with other kids” (Image EV10).

In addition to stairwells, the roofs of buildings have become mixed-use places, acting at once as social hubs, safe play areas, and communal spaces. During the summer season, “celebrations, weddings, and parties are held on rooftops,” according to Lamya, one of the original camp residents. Fadia, a Syrian refugee, reported, “I cook, dry clothes, and socialise” on the roof of her house. She captured an image of her children playing on the roof to discuss the lack of “play space in the camp.” She reflected on the image, stating, “When the weather is nice, I spend the day with my kids; I prepare the food while watching them play on the roof” (Image EV11). Roofs have a special meaning for Najla, a Palestinian-Syrian refugee who grew up in Shatila. She captured an image of her building’s roof to reflect on the day she “played with

her brother on the roof to avoid crowded areas.” Since most roofs are privately owned, her mother “socialise[d] on the roof” with her sisters and sometimes invited the neighbours to join. Along with stairwells, the roof is one of the few spaces “for social bonding” away from the hustle of busy streets (Image EV12).

**7.2.4 Urban Evolution.** Environmental and social transformations have affected the urban fabric of the camp. “The camp’s roads have become so narrow; you would feel you are living in a maze,” according to Um Mahmoud, one of the original camp residents. She captured a picture to highlight the irony of the ever-narrowing roads. “Even though I was born and raised here, I can get lost in the streets” (Image EV13).

Building on this idea, Neven captured another picture of a narrow alleyway to discuss how the environmental evolution has impacted “the transportation system in the camp.” She reflected that “taxis are not allowed to enter the camp. If you tell them to take me to the entrance of Shatila, they will not be able to enter” (Image EV14). Therefore, dwellers rely on small-sized, communal transportation systems such as “motorcycle taxis and tuk-tuks.” Neven also captured a picture of the largest transportation company to outline “the communal transportation system in the camp.” She explained the photo, stating “This is Nakabiat al Asmar [the name of the company]. It is a tuk-tuk transportation company – the main transportation system in the camp. It’s a communal motorcycle with an open trunk where people sit to be transported. Tuk-tuks could also work to transport items such as water and heavy furniture” (Image EV15).

Besides allowing transportation, the camp roads have also transformed into social hubs. During the Eid, “the edges of Shatila's main streets are blocked, [and] the camp's arteries evolve into a large dining room. Camp residents prepare thousands of meals to feed their neighbours and the poor,” according to Um Hamdi, an original camp resident. The roads have also transformed into “social hubs of expression during protests, marches, or political gatherings.” One of the community leaders captured an image of a Sabra and Shatila silent march, reflecting that “the march starts at the People’s Square and the masses move through the main streets. All of the roads are blocked during protests and political seasons” (Image EV16).

Ramia, a Syrian refugee, captured a picture of one of the camp's roads to build on the concept of spatial evolution and explained its meaning. "In main streets, people place furniture – tables and chairs – and sit down to socialise. Even though cars and motorcycles may pass by, drivers just move around the furniture. If a large car passes, people will remove the chair and table quickly and then replace them where they had been" (Image EV17). Supporting this idea, Samar captured a photo showing a group of "boys playing cards on a table in the middle of the street" (Image EV18). Simply put, "they will move the table if a large car needs to drive through the road."

Ali, a Palestinian-Syrian refugee captured an image of "children playing in the streets" to further display the versatility of the camp's roads. He reflected that it was common for "children [to] find dead-end roads to play" (Image EV19). Neven also captured an image of "the key right to return tower" to make a statement about the lack of play areas. She stated that "this tower was built on the last available play space in the camp, [which is] why children now play in the roads and on roofs" (Image EV20).

**7.2.5 Economic Growth.** According to Faris, a Syrian-Palestinian journalist who arrived at the camp as a child, the environmental evolution precipitated an "economic growth" that rendered the camp "a place of opportunities." Dwellers were able to develop the camp into an economic microcosm of the host country's market, where "you would find new businesses and services such as medical clinics." To demonstrate this concept, Tarek, a Syrian refugee, captured a picture of a "shop in the camp" that sells "traditional Arabic street food." He surmised that "implementing a business idea" is the ultimate proof of thriving inside the camp, showing that the camp's dwellers are "similar to communities outside of the camp" (Image EV21).

This economic evolution is also exemplified by the "influx of Syrian refugees," according to Samia, a Syrian refugee who arrived at the camp shortly after the war in 2011. She captured a picture of "the Western Street" as a link between demographic shifts and economic growth, visually representing how "the camp has drastically changed" after the influx of Syrian refugees. They created "new businesses," which led to financing "a lot of new construction" of residential buildings and additional businesses (Image EV22). Fareeda, one of the original camp residents

discussed how newly arrived Syrian refugees have been “benefitting the camp greatly.” They have created businesses that make profits for themselves while also benefitting camp residents. She explained, “We used to buy our daily needs from outside the camp for 10,000 LL and 15,000 LL; now, we can buy the same products inside the camp for much less because of the Syrians’ savvy business acumen.”

To manage the booming economic market, the land development committees, political faction leaders, and informal landowners have elevated the concepts of freedom discussed in this chapter by creating “a hassle-free approach to economic growth,” according to Eissa, one of the camp’s entrepreneurs. Most regulatory processes are bypassed to allow “businesses from outside of the camp” to operate freely inside Shatila. He continued, “If someone wanted to open a restaurant outside the camp, it would be costly to do so. Every year, this person would have to pay three-to-four thousand dollars to the government in taxes. This payment excludes expenses for high rent, water, and electricity.” Since the camp is excluded from Lebanese law, “this person would have more freedom inside of Shatila,” as expenses would be much lower, with non-existent taxes. A Syrian-Palestinian refugee who managed a “sewing factory in the camp” agreed, emphasising that “the factory will never survive outside of the camp due to expensive rent, taxes, and the legal limitations of employing refugees. Here in the camp, anybody and everybody can work.”

Ahmad, a Syrian refugee who has struggled to secure employment outside of the camp, affirmed the freedom to secure a livelihood, branding the camp as a space marked by its “opportunities.” He stated, “Even though we cannot legally work in the country or secure a job outside of the camp, the freedom here allows people to find work in the camp.” This is true to such a degree that this freedom has attracted others, with the camp becoming “a space of opportunities for those who reside in the surrounding communities.” Entrepreneurs who are not refugees have capitalised on “the freedom of movement, affordable rent, minimal overhead, and infrastructural cost,” coming to view the camp as a space for profitable businesses. Salem, a Syrian refugee, captured an image of “one of the restaurants whose owner is Egyptian,” confirming the camp’s role as “not only a refuge for the refugees [but] also a refuge for everyone trying to make a living” (Image EV23). His view of how the camp has



evolved into a “space of opportunities” is based on the self-governance strategies where rules and regulations “allow everyone going through a difficult financial circumstance to open a business and challenge the laws outside the camp.”

This concept of movement and economic livelihood being afforded to outsiders is corroborated by one of the Syrian refugees’ pictures; she captured an image of a “Southern Asian woman” who “does not even live in the camp.” The woman instead uses “the camp to secure a livelihood. Through the camp streets and alleyways, she meanders, collects recyclable items, and sells them to processing companies. She even sends money to her children in Bangladesh” (Image EV24). A Syrian refugee described how, for the past “fifteen years” and even before the war in Syria, her husband “lived in Shatila” because of the available construction work in the camp. Another Syrian refugee captured an image of a local worker who “has been living in the camp for five years,” working in the camp and “transfer[ring] money to his family in Syria” (Image EV25).

The combination of economic and demographic growth has surpassed the available land and infrastructure in the camp. Drawn to the hassle-free approach, dwellers have transformed available lots of land through “a time-sharing strategy to streamline external economic activities,” according to Salem, an original camp resident who owns several businesses in Shatila. Despite land limitations, this strategy has elevated economic activities and “allow[ed] vendors from outside of the camp, who don’t own shops, to conduct business in the camp.” Sellers pay “a time-share fee to enter and reserve a space to sell products that are not available within the existing camp market.”

According to Ahmad, a Syrian refugee, such markets became so popular that “ethnic groups, such as Bangladeshis and Pakistanis, from outside of the camp come to the camp for shopping.” To provide visual accompaniment for this discussion, he captured an image of the Saturday morning ethnic food market, where various camp and community people would “shop for exotic fruits and vegetables” (Image EV26). The picture “also shows Bangladeshi business owners selling ethnic produce” to meet the various camp residents’ demands. Hayat, a Palestinian refugee, captured an image of the same market to cement this discussion. She stated, “What’s creative about the businesses is that vendors looked at the camp as an

opportunity to make money. They investigated what is not available in the camp and then brought the product to accommodate the needs of the diverse population, especially people who share the same background and live in the camp” (Image EV27).

In summary, strategies originating from safety and freedom concerns have facilitated evolutionary practices that have rendered Shatila a place of opportunities and a diverse social and economic hub for dwellers and members of the surrounding community. The key factor at the heart of each of these transformations – a factor worthy of consideration in moving on to the discussion section – is the repurposing of deficits into assets. Although the exceptional situation of the camp is a reality, refugees have used this reality as a resource for thriving. They have developed their own governance systems that allowed for multi-layered evolutions in the camp to meet their environmental and social needs. The camp's extra-territorial aspect evolved into a beneficial characteristic; dwellers favour life in the camp over residing in Lebanon.

The environmental, social-spatial, urban, and economic developments have demonstrated the ways in which the camp is a form of technology through which thriving is actualised. As will be discussed in depth in Chapter Ten, this concept adds a spatial layer to understanding thriving in protracted camps while providing a linkage to the frameworks outlined in Chapter Three. According to Haight et al. (2002), thriving includes the influence of the non-human environment – in this case, the camp as a physical entity. Additionally, the results discussed here provide additional context to Lefebvre’s (1991) discussion of *conceived spaced*. Although the camp was conceived by state and humanitarian systems, dwellers have added a layer of conception by facilitating environmental and urban evolutions to actualise their thriving potential. Furthermore, Bergson’s (1965) approach to simultaneity is demonstrated by the social-spatial evolution; time and space intersect in repurposed places like stairwells and roof tops are and the bench that was built to accommodate the lack of social spaces.

### **7.3 Community Evolution**

The shared experience of dispossession, the unified pain of struggling against imposed and unjust systems, and the separation from host communities have kindled new forms of

solidarity in Shatila. Residents have become bound to the camp, thinking of it as a one cohesive community where the thriving of individuals is directly linked to the thriving of the community. This bond has allowed dwellers to implement an evolutionary process of social improvisation and innovation which, in turn, has enabled them to secure elements of a normal life. Over time the camp's social fabric has evolved into an independent network of thriving activities that help meet the community's financial, material, and emotional needs, allowing new dwellers to integrate cohesively. These activities underpin the concept of "collective thriving" discussed in the previous chapter, laying the ground work to outline how the collective evolution found in Shatila facilitate strategies for financial and emotional support.

**7.3.1 Collective Evolution.** Hassan, a resident who left Palestine as an infant, outlined how "long-term confinement and attacks from external forces" pushed "oppressed individuals" in the camp to evolve into "a cohesive society." Segregated families "joined forces and started to work together" to collectively "secure a livelihood." Hassan experienced first-hand how the camp's community evolved through the years "into one big family" because, "when a place experiences wars, societies isolate and the community is confined into one space, creating a social fortress. Interpersonal relationships among different groups deepen. In the time of war, human relationships, interaction among people becomes richer. When danger faces a society, the relationships are deeper compared to those communities who live in peace."

According to Ra'ed, a dweller who was born and raised in the camp, "there is a sense of uniformity here. Everybody knows everybody, and, consequently, problems are communal. There is a togetherness here; people seek livelihood together. The camp society feels joy together and mourns together. This closeness creates a strong bond amongst families in the camp. When happiness and sadness are communal and plural, this creates a strong social foundation." Despite conflicts amongst "political factions, everybody comes together in times of need. Also, the society here shares collective oppression, which also contributes to a strong bond."

Ra'ed's friend Ahmad built on this discussion, adding that "the shared misery pushes people to form a united community." He moved from the Yarmouk Camp in Damascus seven years ago, attributing the deep friendships he formed to assimilating into the camp. The culture

of our ancestors' mandates "taking care of neighbours and establishing deep and meaningful friendships." Rafaat, a young Syrian refugee agreed with this notion, outlining that "there is a thread that connects all people at the camp." Finally, Ramia, a Syrian mother summarised these overlapping concepts, explaining that "difficult circumstances" are often the catalyst for people to "collaborate and unite."

**7.3.2 Financial and Material Support.** This strong bond amongst dwellers has facilitated a coordinated approach to addressing economic needs. Lama, a local community leader who was born and raised in the camp cited "financial challenges" as one of "the most pressing issues in the camp." Lama acknowledged that "the magnitude of issues we face make it difficult for us to have a stable life." She introduced the concept of *Jameah* to outline how the camp community often evolves into "a communal savings account." When someone in the camp faces financial difficulties, "we all rally together to form a *Jameah* to make sure their needs are met." According to several dwellers, *Jameah* refers to a rapid and rotating communal savings collective used as a substitute for a bank account, with neighbours and friends contributing a fixed amount of money every week or month, taking turns collecting the total sum of the contribution. Members often negotiate the order in which they would receive the lump sum; most of the contributors, however, nominate those in need as the primary recipients.

While *Jameyat* (plural of *Jameah*) can help manage and control personal expenditures, they are often used to manage urgent community needs in Shatila. This approach is critical since dwellers are not permitted to access the existing banking, social, or financial systems in Lebanon. Nimir, a Syrian refugee, highlighted the "impossible rules" that forbid "refugees from opening a bank account." He stated that "a refugee has to have a legal residency, a sponsor, and a work permit to open a bank account. However, refugees are not allowed to obtain a legal residency nor a work permit." Community leader Lama concluded, "We, as a community, [must] create our own banking system to support the community's needs."

Samra, another local community leader, reflected on the values of the *Jameah*. "It is a financial and crises resolution strategy to help those with an immediate need in the camp." She discussed the time she initiated a *Jameah* for "a neighbour who needed surgery," recalling that it had been "impossible to fund the cost of the surgery. So, I gathered twelve of our friends and

neighbours, created a *Jameah*, and elected their family as the first recipient of the funds.”

Um Jameel, a Syrian refugee who arrived at the camp after the war commenced in Syria, reflected on how “the kindness of camp residents and the *Jameyat*” prevented them from “sleeping hungry” and sliding into a state of “intense poverty.” Um Jameel recalled: “We left everything behind and arrived with nothing. Our friends formed a *Jameah*, and we were first in line.” Samar, another Syrian refugee, was grateful for the support of her community. She asked the members to “alter her pay-out turn” because she faced a financial crisis. “I think I was seventh in line, and I desperately needed to pay schooling expenses. I called the *Jameah* members, and they collectively agreed to jump to my turn.”

Lama also introduced another community-based structure for economic thriving, known as “the one-day money collection.” She explained that, “if someone faces an emergency, one of us would literally knock on all of the neighbours’ doors to gather any amount of cash they have in their pockets. [The other day,] one of our neighbours needed surgery to repair his leg. We all contributed, and he was able to restore his health.” Yasser affirmed the effectiveness of this approach; he captured an image of the mosque (Image EV28) and explained, “When someone is in an immediate financial need, we go to the mosque and ask the Sheik to use the call to prayer speaker to elicit funds from the surrounding neighbourhoods.”

In addition to communal financial support, several camp residents narrated stories of collective thriving practices in the form of material support, especially for newly arriving Syrian refugees. When Suhair escaped the war in Syria with her family, she moved to Lebanon and “rented an empty house in Shatila.” She “arrived with absolutely nothing, and the house was empty.” When she complained to her husband that she didn’t have a chair to sit on, her next door neighbour suddenly “knocked on my window and handed me a chair from her living room.” Suhair highlighted the irony that comes with living in a cramped camp, explaining that, “even though people live on top of each other, the cramped homes allow neighbours to become aware of other problems and provide support.”

Ammal, another Syrian refugee, agreed with Suhair, reflecting on the differences between communities in the camp and Beirut. She stated, “For me, the camp means a lot. If you fall, you will find a thousand people standing by you and helping you. When my husband

died, my house was never empty; people came in, prepared food, and stood by my side. If I was living outside the camp, no one would have stood by me. Those are the people of the camp. Those are good and kind people.”

Ahmed, a Palestinian-Syrian refugee who grew up in the camp, captured an image of a restaurant close to the Raouché Rock (a tourist attraction alongside the Beirut shore) to discuss a larger-scale community support initiative. He elaborated on the photo: “This is an organised fundraising dinner to support recreational activities for the youth in the camp.” The event was organised by “a former resident who became wealthy and invited his rich friends to bring money to the camp” (Image EV29). Similarly, Fadi, one of the young community leaders, captured a photo showing “community members distributing school supplies for orphan children.” According to him, there is a coordinated effort in the camp to help children who lost their fathers. “In our culture, an orphan child means that they lost their father [...] This means thriving to me because the community in the camp is providing support to children and making orphans happy and providing a livelihood for them” (Image EV30). Farah, a Lebanese widow, prefers “living in the camp rather than Beirut.” Even though she is not a refugee and holds Lebanese citizenship, she would rather live in Shatila. In explaining this decision, she reflected: “My husband was Palestinian; his extended family lives in the camp. There is more support for my orphan children here in the camp. Community members check up on us daily.”

**7.3.3 Emotional Support.** In addition to the more tangible forms of material and financial support, the camp community provide emotional support to one another. Yasmen explained that, when the daughter of her best friends suddenly died, “we all took days off from our jobs. We stayed with her for four days so that she wouldn’t feel lonely.” Commenting on the same group effort, her friend Samar added, “We cooked, cleaned, and opened our houses to host people who were offering condolences. We wanted to make sure that we never left her alone and she felt completely supported.”

The devastation that accompanied those escaping the war in Syria was evident for Fouad, one of the original camp residents. He noted, “I can see how Syrian refugees are isolated, feeling lonely, and depressed. You can see the depression on their faces.” Therefore, he repurposed an abandoned space and opened a communal and social hub in the camp to

“offer emotional support; a place for Syrians to gather, emote, cry, or laugh.” His friend Rami, one of those refugees who often used the “social space,” highlighted the importance of Fouad's efforts by capturing an image of “Syrian refugees socialising” to illustrate how such gatherings saved his life. He reflected on how he had felt before he had the chance to socialise, explaining “I was living in a deep state of depression; I am eternally grateful for Fouad for coordinating this place for us to come and share our pain” (Image EV31). Showing how, once again, refugees in a seemingly unfavourable position can find benefits in their unique situation, Rami concluded, “My time at this communal space provided me with a sense of hope and human interaction. This place allowed me to see the humanity in the camp, as I used to see them as being dangerous and full of terrorists. It provided a place for social interaction where I can simply talk to people. More importantly, I started feeling safe and a sense of peace in the camp.”

Hamad, a local resident who owns a shop in the camp, followed the same process in building community through sources of emotional support. He used his shop to “show community support, and help Syrians integrate into the social fabric of the camp.” His friend, Fadi, a Syrian refugee who arrived at the camp seven years ago, captured an image of the shop to highlight the importance of Ahmad's efforts. He reflected, “This is where we meet the Syrian refugees (*mouhajjareen*). We meet at Ahmad's shop. We make coffee and talk about our problems, our situation as refugees, the siege we are under, the limitations we have concerning our work, and that we cannot travel... We vent about everything; we feel peace” (Image EV32).

Similarly, Rama, another Syrian-Palestinian refugee, explained how the same goes for women refugees, stating that “the social life here is never individual and is very much plural. When a woman wakes up, she never drinks a cup of coffee alone; you suddenly find ten women gathered to sit down and drink coffee and chat about life.”

These community-based aspects of the camp have facilitated an evolutionary assimilation process for new dwellers. According to Reihab, a Syrian refugee who escaped Damascus shortly after the war started in 2011, life in the camp was “initially devastating.” Another Syrian agreed, expressing that “admiration and confusion” was common for those born and raised in the camp. She stated, “I really don't understand. I've been here for seven years, and life is too overwhelming and depressing. I can't imagine how the people who have been

living here for over seventy years feel.” After spending several years in the camp, however, her feelings toward the camp and her experiences there have “completely evolved.” When her friend Lamia initially arrived, she “wanted to head back to Syria,” feeling that “life in a war zone is better than living in this camp.” However, “with time,” her aversion transformed into an “attachment to the camp,” since the camp provided safety and livelihood that outweighed the embarrassment of needing others. “We initially struggled, but we got used to life in the camp. In fact, the relationships we developed, the freedom to work, and the safety from the Lebanese military’s actions made us love the camp.”

Fairus, another Syrian, agreed that community efforts make the camp an ideal setting for many. Even though she has experienced “discrimination” for being Syrian, it was the “shared values and love and affection of her neighbours” that made her camp experience evolve. “This place is my life, my soul, my home. There are renewed memories here. Many of us gave birth, worked, and lived life here, creating new memories.” Even though she doesn’t have the same childhood experiences other Palestinians do, she feels “spiritually reborn” in the camp. “[It was] as if we arrived dead, were reborn the moment we arrived at the camp, and grew up together here. The war took years out of our lives; we arrived here depressed, helpless, and hopeless, with no future direction. We escaped the war physically, but spiritually, [...] we were murdered during the war in Syria; we all lost someone in the Syrian war – a friend, a brother, a sister, a relative. We arrived at the camp physically alive but spiritually dead.” She attributed the “freedom, safety, community support, and work opportunities” as drivers for her rebirthing experience. Another Syrian-Palestinian refugee agreed that moving to the camp was a new beginning rather than ending, pointing out that, even though Palestinians had more rights living in Syria, moving to Shatila “reinvigorated the attachment to the land and the passion to the Palestinian cause.”

Similar to the previous discussion on the evolution of time-space, the community-based evolutions continue framing the camp as a technology through which thriving is actualised by adding unique layers of financial, material, and emotional support activities. As will be discussed in depth in Chapter Ten, the camp, in this context, is framed not just as a place, but as a nurturing entity highlighting a deeper meaning worthy of analysis; the people of the camp



and the physical camp itself both play key roles and are almost inseparable. This overlap builds on Haight's (2002) concept of the human environment and the need for congruences with other thriving factors.

Community-based thriving practices begin to highlight the interconnectedness of the three thriving themes, such as how the act of connecting with others facilitates overcoming adversities. The physical location and the community of residents are, thus, inextricable and indispensable elements in any form of thriving playing out in the camp. Additionally, examples from this section illustrate diverse mechanisms for the "collective thriving" that includes meeting financial and materials needs.

#### **7.4 Individual Evolution**

Although environmental and community evolutions are crucial for camp residents' thriving, the dwellers also require individual evolution. This is the "only pathway for stability," according to Zeid, a Palestinian-Syrian refugee. Ahmad, an entrepreneur in the camp, linked evolution to learning, believing education is the only pathway out of poverty and oppression. He reflected, "I am convinced that our people have to evolve; educating camp residents will create opportunities for development out of difficult circumstances." Individual evolution, in this context, involves pursuing formal education, learning by doing, developing new talents, or learning a new skill or discipline. It is a proactive and adaptive response to life's pressures of grasping any and all opportunities. These pressures have turned into assets, as they push camp residents to evolve and learn new skills. The newly discovered talents challenge traditional roles, with many female refugees becoming entrepreneurs or business leaders.

**7.4.1 Learning.** Safa, a Syrian refugee who arrived at the camp in 2013, discussed how the pressures of living in the camp can be re-envisioned as "an asset." She was employed at a sewing factory in the camp and explained how her workplace resurrected the talent in her. "The work here helps me realise what a talent I am and what a powerful person I am for overcoming adversities." She discussed a link between evolving, learning, and time as a response to "life pressures in the camp." She stated, "You do need to evolve rapidly to secure a livelihood, or you will fall on your face. So, I had to succeed quickly, and I did." She further

emphasised, “What normally takes years to achieve must be accomplished within only a few months in the camp. It took me six years in Syria to learn a new industry, while I had to do it in a few months here in the camp so I can mobilise the new skills and start earning money.”

Um Ahmad, one of the local factory leaders, outlined her process of evolving as a means of securing a livelihood. She started as a “volunteer” at a local NGO before registering in childhood development courses and getting hired as a “part-time nursery teacher.” Even though she had never sewed before, she applied for an entry-level position at one of the local sewing shops. When asked about how she developed the skill, she stated: “My friend taught me in two days.” Similarly, Um Fouad was able to thrive in ways unique to the camp, embracing the same rapid learning and evolving as Um Ahmad; she “knew nothing” when she “arrived at the camp,” describing the process of her transformation – “learning crochet and embroidery,” then progressed to discovering “computers and marketing.”

This focus on learning as a drive for evolving resulted in financial security for Lamia, one of the original camp residents. Throughout her quest to thrive, she felt that something was missing in her life. “I needed to learn something new to secure economic stability; that’s why I quickly learned how to crochet in three months.” She proudly presented the result – a textile piece with the word “Thrive” embroidered on it. She and other refugees had produced these bags to fulfil an order shipped to Canada (Image EV33). This is also a very obvious example of the connections residents are making beyond the boundaries of the camp, discussed further in chapters eight and nine.

Rula, a Syrian refugee mother, discussed “leadership” as an outcome of rapidly pursuing learning. She had to completely transform the way she lived to secure a sustainable economic life. She started working at a sewing factory as an “entry-level embroiderer,” a role which evolved into becoming one of the “executives in the factory.” She captured an image of the factory she manages to reflect on her journey of evolution, stating,

“When my sisters would call me from Syria, they would find me busy. They would ask me, ‘Why are you always busy?’ I would tell them I was in the computer workshop or the sewing workshop. [...] My big sister would make fun of me because I was so busy learning all these things at an old age. I would tell her that life in the camp taught me a

lot of things. When I came here, I was thirty and I knew nothing; I learned a lot in these years. [Surviving a] hard life was a motive, but I discovered that we have a lot to offer, too. It meant a lot for me that, in three years, I was able to manage a workshop by myself. In Syria, I would have never pursued a leadership position” (Image EV34).

Souad, a Syrian refugee, further elaborated on the overlap of leadership, evolving, and learning. She wanted to pursue a promotion at her job but realised that her “skills needed to evolve before [she] could apply for the manager position at work.” She applied for a degree in business at the American University in Beirut to earn the appropriate skills for the job. “It was a challenging time for me because I had to study and take care of my toddler son. I ended up studying business administration at the American University in Beirut.” She concluded, “What was exciting for me was the fact that I had a platform for applying it. I would study and then apply what I studied here at work. In the end, my son has watched my growth, can learn from it, and hopefully grows up to be a leader like me.”

**7.4.2 Personal Development.** These rapid learning approaches have precipitated cultural evolutions that allow dwellers to secure their livelihoods. Ruba, a Syrian refugee, added a deeper dimension to this newly examined leadership role by introducing a linkage between evolving, thriving, and traditional cultural practices. She described elements of conventional roles within some of the Arabic families: “The man goes out to work, and the wife manages the household and the children’s needs.” Life in the camp invites a change, however, as women play a significant leadership role in the “family’s economic livelihood” in this unique setting. She introduced her neighbour, a mother who works at one of the camp bakeries, as “a wonderful mother. She cannot and will not stop working to provide for her family.” She emphasised that women rarely “do this job.” She considers her a “pioneer” in “crossing cultural barriers for working a man’s job. It is a tough job; she has to fill large bottles and carry a heavy load, which is normally a man’s job here” (Image EV35). For Ruba’s neighbour, the pathway to thriving in the camp breaks “gender and traditional roles.” Nariman, one of the camp’s business executives, discussed how the role of women in the camp has evolved; they are “homemakers, tutors to their children, entrepreneurs, and they might be working full time.”

Abeer, a Syrian refugee, quickly learned how to become an entrepreneur, which is

typically viewed as a “man’s job,” because she wanted to create a financially profitable business for camp residents. She captured an image of “knitting” scarfs as a roadmap for discussing her evolutionary process of becoming an entrepreneur (Image EV36). She reached out to retail shops in North America and secured a “70-piece” order. She was then able to employ more than ten women while earning a small “commission” from their work. She explained: “All the ladies need work here at the camp. [...] I was thrilled to give work to my friends and neighbours. The ladies who are coming to work do not have any income.”

Another Syrian refugee worked closely with her neighbours in recruiting and training women from the camp to collaborate with a Canadian NGO. The NGO purchased “hand-sewn products” and sold them in the Global North market to help these women achieve economic livelihood in the camp. Even though she was not a trained sewer, she had to “evolve quickly” and underwent extensive training when she arrived in Lebanon. She “registered for a crochet session in one of the trade schools in the camp.” When the friends and neighbours experienced a “tough financial situation,” they collectively helped one another secure a large textile order with the NGO to financially support their husbands. For Afaf, her role as a financial co-contributor was “a new experience.” She “used to be a housewife, cook, take care of the kids, and teach them.” She reflected on the evolution of her roles. “Now, there is something more. Now, I can help with work. I can get stuff for my kids. When my husband used to work alone, we couldn’t get things every time we needed them. We had to prioritise. Now, I have more freedom to buy the things I need. Now, I am more independent.”

To summarise, one important key point can be elucidated, mirroring the concept of “turning deficits into assets” that has been present in the evolving discussions since the time-space section. Whereas exceptionality and extra-territoriality became assets for the residents, the concept of stasis is challenged and resisted. The time available to the residents was acknowledged and utilised effectively, becoming an asset for growth rather than a constraint beyond their control; refugees followed rapid learning processes that allowed them to grow and secure a livelihood. In an approach that pervades discussions on thriving, refugees turned “pressure” into an asset – an incentive to evolve. What takes years to achieve outside is accomplished within a few months in the camp. These learning and personal development

approaches illustrate additional mechanisms for the crosscutting theme of choice discussed in Chapter Six (**Error! Reference source not found.**) and provide additional context of speed to Bergson's (1965) approach to Duration (**Error! Reference source not found.**). With this in mind and in this context, the term "choice" denotes the willingness to set the bad experiences aside, move forward, evolve, and secure a livelihood.

While the thriving practices centred around time-space began to provide context to Haight's (2002) discussion of the non-human environment, examples from individual evolutionary practices begin to recolour the context of individual thriving, as discussed in Chapter Three. Refugees' evolutionary practices show that past experiences are not prerequisites to thriving in camps.

## 7.5 Discussion

This chapter discussed diverse evolving strategies integral to thriving in the Shatila camp. These practices add a deeper dimension to the three thriving themes while underpinning the crosscutting concepts summarised in the previous chapter (**Error! Reference source not found.**). They also provide different perspectives for considering the notions of exceptionality, waiting, stasis, and time interruptions discussed in Chapter Two (**Error! Reference source not found.**). As thriving practices, these evolutionary processes fit within three overlapping categories: time-space evolution, community-based developments, and individual evolution. These three evolutionary practices begin to demonstrate how the camp is a technology through which thriving is actualised. Each evolutionary process provides an example of how thriving is actualised. More importantly, these activities cement the idea that thriving in protracted camps is a multi-tiered concept related to time, the individual, culture, the community and the camp as a nurturing entity.

The practices discussed in this chapter add additional depth to Chapter Six's discussion of the act of connecting to others (**Error! Reference source not found.**). Refugees implement creative strategies, such as material support and the one-day fundraising initiative, that support those facing financial difficulties. Residents' pursuits of learning, developmental systems, and repurposing environments typify the concept of "choice" and contribute to the "evolving" theme. Refugees learned a new discipline and explored new talents to help them overcome

financial challenges and secure livelihoods. Rather than succumbing to oppressive laws, they chose to circumvent such restrictions by implementing developmental and economic approaches, such as hassle-free land ownership policies, that helped address issues of employment and financial insecurities. Dwellers positively redefined confinement and overcrowding by capitalising on stairwells, rooftops, and dead-end streets for recreational activities.

Refugees' narratives discussed in this chapter reveal that both the process of overcoming difficulties and acts of connecting may lead to a specific state of being. An act of connecting with others can facilitate overcoming adversities. For example, the communal bank accounts called *Jameah* assembled by the community is an act of connecting that seeks to overcome specific difficulties. Another example is Shatila's emphasis on and success with emotional and material support. During crises, time stops in the camp; families come together and dedicate their time to supporting those experiencing emotional difficulties, such as family members' deaths. When newly arriving refugees move into empty houses, established dwellers connect with one another and help furnish Syrians homes.

Examples from this chapter reveal another overlap between the act of connecting and a state of being. Dwellers created a socially based governance strategy to provide safety and freedom of movement inside the camp, with community members developing into "safety navigators" who would alert others in emergencies. This strategy allows residents to protect one another; several dwellers explained that they felt safe and free thanks to community support. Similarly, women business leaders collaborated to create businesses and hire other unemployed refugees, allowing them to achieve a sense of independence. Original dwellers repurposed their businesses and available spaces into communal supportive hubs for newly arriving refugees, offering emotional support by inviting them to emote, discuss their trials, and reach a state of peace. These linkages enable us to view thriving in camps as a defined act and as a dynamic process where one aspect affects and facilitates the emergence of another facet of thriving.

Dwellers' evolutionary activities brought different perspectives to the concepts of time, interruption, stasis, and exceptionality discussed in Chapter Two by repurposing of deficits into

assets (**Error! Reference source not found.**). The spatially and legally exceptional situation of camps is a reality, but it does not necessarily mean political abandonment. In fact, refugees have repurposed it into a resource for thriving, developing their own governance systems that render the camp a place of safety, freedom, and opportunities. They have developed their own governance systems that allowed for multi-layered evolutions in the camp to meet their environmental and social needs. It was this freedom to secure livelihood that attracted an influx of new dwellers and entrepreneurs. In return, the influx precipitated further environmental and economic evolution of the camp as a place of opportunities for dwellers *and* the surrounding community members. While refugees acknowledged the “extra-territorial” context of the camp, they consider it an asset, as life in the camp is better than life in greater Beirut. Refugees felt protected from the state and were able to secure livelihoods.

The concept of being frozen in time has been resisted and challenged by the residents’ thriving practices. Residents designed a hassle-free business model to encourage entrepreneurial activities, including tax-free transactions, reduced rent, and reduced infrastructural costs for prospective shop owners. Such a hassle-free approach encouraged more economic growth. Along the same lines, residents implemented a time-share real estate system to bring more outside businesses into Shatila. Prospective sellers rented lots and time-slots to sell products that were not available in the camp. These markets became so popular that buyers from outside of Shatila started shopping in the camp. These strategies attracted more residents and, therefore, facilitated further transformation, including constructing new buildings – up to nine stories high – to accommodate the influx of new dwellers. These environmental activities were managed by a self-governed real-estate committee which organised all rental and purchasing activities and protected residents from property disputes. As the economy and opportunities boomed, it became clear that the residents were anything but “frozen in place.”

Both changes in the social fabric along with shared experiences of dispossession have kindled new forms of solidarity that positively support the individual and community; the camp’s communities evolved into an interdependent network that helped address the dwellers’ financial, material, and emotional needs. The community’s evolutionary process further

challenges the concept of “interruption,” inviting newly arriving refugees to re-start their lives. Accounts of Syrians arriving at the camp have found them describing themselves as “spiritually dead” and without any resources, only to find communal savings accounts, material support in the form of furniture, and fundraising initiatives. In addition, with the community’s material and financial support, the camp evolved into a network of thriving activities that provide emotional support to its residents, especially during crises. These community-based approaches facilitated an evolutionary assimilation process for new dwellers.

On an individual basis, camp residents’ thriving activities challenged the concept of stasis, celebrating and strengthening individualism in an unlikely setting. Instead of being stuck, residents have turned pressure into an asset and started to pursue formal education, learn new skills, or develop novel talents. The rapid learning process allowed refugees to secure livelihoods and provide economic stability for their families and other community members. The learned skills challenged traditional norms, as many female refugees have become entrepreneurs and business leaders. Female refugees followed a comprehensive learning process to pursue executive positions and start businesses that employ other refugees.

The camp in this chapter is not only referred to in terms of physical space, but also as an embodiment of the residents’ relationships. Both physical spaces and relationships are facilitators to thriving, which builds on Haight’s (2002) concept of human and non-human environments and their need to overlap with other thriving factors. Similarly, the results discussed here provide additional aspects to Lefebvre’s (1991) discussion of conceived spaces. Although the camp was conceived by state and humanitarian systems, dwellers also took part in its conception by facilitating the evolution of the camp’s environmental and urban dimensions. As this is an ongoing process, the camp continues to be conceived by refugees.

With this in mind, refugees’ thriving practices give a deeper significance to the scholarly approach to the concepts of “waiting, stasis, and [being] frozen in time.” They also add to the discussion on time and waiting that commenced in Chapter Three, while providing additional dimensions to Bergson’s (1965) approach to duration. In the literature, these time-based concepts denote being stuck and not moving forward, including the action of remaining in place or delaying action until a particular time or until intervention occurs. The thriving practices



discussed in this chapter reflect a movement with no perceivable outcome other than more evolution, rendering evolutionary practices as a continuum. Therefore, the Shatila residents' approach to waiting aligned with Burn's (2015) proactivity and Bergson's (1965) experiential lens. They made the most of their time spent waiting to secure a livelihood through building more housing, starting businesses, and forming committees to govern essential camp's processes.

Bergson's (1965) linkage of time and experiential changes without any predictable patterns is evident in this chapter, as is his challenge to objective time approaches. The rapid influx of refugees drastically impacted the building process in Shatila, which created a dense environment and affected the social structure as a result. Refugees started utilising the streets, stairwells, and rooftops to sustain their cultural practices of connecting with other camp dwellers. Constructing buildings takes time, but individual evolution strategies develop extremely fast, as exemplified by the learning and development processes many refugees have undertaken in securing a livelihood. In this context, duration inside of the camp differs compared to the outer world; learning a new skill, such as sewing, may take months, while it only took days for refugees. The overlap between cultural evolutionary practices and simultaneity is more nuanced in this chapter. Time and transportation both stop during Eid, as the streets are blocked and transformed into a large dining room to feed camp residents and the poor. Similarly, rooftops are reserved for wedding celebrations, social activities, and cultural practices.

One critical analytical point to be drawn from this section that links time to thriving practices is the social, spatial, and temporal ripple effect of refugees' evolutionary practices; I argue that this effect can be considered a foundation for refugees' thriving activities discussed in the two subsequent results chapters (Chapter Eight: *Enterprising* and Chapter Nine: *Expressing*). In many cases, small-scale individual evolutionary approaches generate massive higher-level changes that impact the camp and the community, as well as, in some cases, positively influencing other generations. For example, one refugee's evolutionary process allowed her to learn a new skill, sell products to Canada, and hire a dozen women from the camp, therefore influencing the livelihood of several families. Another refugee's leadership

training helped provide for her toddler son while also making her a positive role model for his future aspirations. Another mother's pursuit of work allowed her to lessen the financial pressure on her husband, support her children, and provide economic freedom for the whole family. One original dweller repurposed a communal space and – as an individual – helped alleviate the difficulties of displacement in the larger Syrian community. Collective evolutionary processes have similar ripple effects. One refugee's approach to helping a friend in need friend found them recruiting a small group of residents to contribute to her *Jameah*, therefore helping alleviate the family's financial difficulties. Local committees' approaches to governance facilitated rapid environmental and economic growth, impacting the camp at large from a smaller, localised perspective. This collective approach to safety – embodied in community navigators – provided freedom of movement to each individual Shatila resident.

Another analytical point I would like to highlight is the connection between this concept of ripple effects and the discussion on informality cited in Chapter Two. The safety and freedom available in the camp facilitated practices of informality, resiliency, and perseverance. The exclusionary tactics discussed in Chapter Two pushed refugees to develop their own governing systems and, in return, the safety and freedom that allowed for refugees' informal practices. Additionally, this chapter begins to provide additional layers of definitions to the concept of informality. The “organising logic and system of norms” discussed by Roy (2005) is evident in refugees' collective efforts to address financial and social needs. This is exemplified by the *Jameah* example, in which refugees designed a financial system to help those in need and to serve as a resistance response to the lack of access to banking and financial resources cited in Chapter Five. Similarly, Shatila residents formed committees as a management system for addressing the lack of available spaces in the market and housing projects. This approach also aligns with Sanyal's (2014) discussion of informality and the networks of power relations that manage refugee conditions in protracted camps.

This rippling, multi-scaled effect will be evident throughout the next two chapters. Because of these evolutionary practices – governance, safety, freedom of movement, and communal support initiatives – refugees implemented comprehensive informal practices in the form of access to creative problem-solving and economic means of securing livelihoods, as

discussed in the *Enterprising* chapter. Similarly, refugees are able to use diverse mediums of expression such as performing arts, protests, gatherings, graffiti, and posters to reveal their inner voices and transform the time-space of the camp, as outlined in the *Expressing* chapter.

When it comes to the feminist views discussed in Chapters Five and Six, refugees' evolutionary activities continue the conversation on the important role of refugee women in forging the story of displacement and the refugee experience. Women arrive at the camp with an unequal standing, and their vulnerability is exacerbated throughout the encampment experience. Among multiple factors, vulnerability is linked to social isolation while living in a foreign environment.

Narratives derived from this chapter show that women taking on proactive roles that facilitate the thriving of others – in fact, the majority of the financial, material, and emotional support of thriving activities occurring in Shatila – are led by women impacting the wider community. *Jameahs* coordinated by Samra and Um Jameel helped fund medical costs and pull another refugee out of poverty. Lama initiated and led several one-day money collections, including one funding an emergency surgery. Yasmin dropped everything when her friend experienced a tragedy, taking care of her friend's house and managing the funeral logistics. Lastly, several individual examples of evolution show that women turned pressure into an asset and accelerated the process of learning so they could immediately apply for jobs and support their families financially.

These examples also provide a more nuanced view regarding the resiliency and cultural practices discussed in Chapter Five. While the extension of home life is reflected by the learning approaches, the example of the *Jameah* provides an economic layer to the practice of solidarity. In this context, women united to help fund their neighbour and pull the family out of financial disparity. Additionally, rather than succumbing to difficult circumstances, many refugee women have approached life pressures with gratitude, speeding up the process of individual evolution. This can be seen in women's accounts of quickly learning new skills to earn money and support their families.

With this in mind, these evolutionary approaches provide a view of how female resiliency practices countered social isolation and life in a foreign environment. Additionally,

these examples render refugee women as proactive leaders that play a major role in the thriving of the wider camp community.

## Chapter Eight: Enterprising

### 8.1 Introduction

The previous chapter outlined the diverse evolving strategies integral to thriving in the Shatila camp. This chapter will build on the understanding of these evolutionary practices by specifically discussing refugees enterprising practices.

**8.1.1 Goals.** The purpose of this chapter is to present case studies that showcase problem-solving and profit-generating enterprising practices. Discussion of such practices will further nuance our understanding of the three thriving themes discussed in Chapter Six, as well as challenging the concepts of control, bare life, aid dependency, and victimhood discussed in Chapter Two (**Error! Reference source not found. & Error! Reference source not found.**).

Through economic practices, camp residents develop and integrate innovative financial and profit-generating practices that have enduring impact. Such practices are generally designed with a specific economic goal in mind. Social practices are collective strategies that address existing social, cultural, economic, and political challenges by changing imposed systems or inventing processes that alter the structures that gave rise to the issues.

**8.1.2 Significance.** Enterprising thriving practices highlight the limits of the political, legal, social, and scholarly discourses on camps and refugees discussed in Chapter Two (**Error! Reference source not found.**). Although the narratives surrounding control, bare life, aid dependency, and passive victims may appear to apply to Shatila and its dwellers, they are not, in fact, all-encompassing, all-limiting, or all-defining. This chapter includes examples of Shatila residents taking matters into their own hands by redefining their existences and pursuing prosperous lives. Defying state control by capitalising on their freedom of movement allows them to recontextualise a “bare life” into a liveable and qualified life. Residents created different notions of thriving that represent the innovative practices that birthed creative forms of problem-solving and securing livelihoods. They developed businesses that employ other refugees, address complex social and political problems, and build vibrant community and economic structures. Problem-solving strategies cited in this chapter have challenged the imposed systems and addressed issues related to integration, conflict, and mental health for camp residents and surrounding communities. In this context, refugees are simultaneously

agents of change, economic instruments, and proactive contributors to the thriving of the camp and the Lebanese community at large.

The narratives of aid dependency and passive victimhood are predominantly evident in humanitarian policies that paint Palestinian and Syrian refugees in Shatila as victims of war and violence; this depiction reduces their livelihood into a status of being dependent on aid. The case studies discussed later in this chapter will dispute this generalisation, as dwellers have engaged with aid creatively and strategically. They have utilised aid programs as capital investment to commence and advance profit-generating schemes. This includes starting businesses and profit-based strategies that tackle unemployment issues and infrastructural deficits as well as promoting creative business ideas. Instead of being helpless victims of difficult circumstances – violent conflicts, addiction, discrimination – Shatila's residents implemented self-governing, educational, and recreational strategies that tackle complex social issues. Residents' thriving practices turned what was considered “control” into contextual freedom, “bare life” into a proactive process for development, “aid dependency” into a facilitator for securing a livelihood, and “victimhood” into a strategy for problem-solving.

**8.1.3 Enterprising.** My approach to the concept of enterprising in this research denotes a way of promoting thriving that goes beyond just the economic dimension. This definition was derived directly from my analysis of refugees' thriving practices.

Indeed, the *Oxford English Dictionary* defines enterprising as “having or showing the ability to think of new projects or new ways of doing things and make them successful” (1992). Jim Rohn, one of the early systems thinkers, argues that enterprising rests on two foundations: creativity and courage. Creativity denotes taking “a different approach, to be different,” whereas Rohn defines courage as the ability to go “against the crowd” and “to choose activity over inactivity.” To be enterprising “is to keep your eyes open and your mind active. It's to be skilled enough, confident enough, creative enough, and disciplined enough to seize opportunities that present themselves [...] regardless of the economy” (Rohn, 2002, p.116).

Although Rohn's (2002) framework applies to individual processes and encompasses elements of enterprising activities in Shatila, it lacks the collective nature evident in this chapter's case studies. Dwellers provide a comprehensive support structure, which is a pathway

for problem solving and a strategy for securing livelihood. Refugees used creativity and courage as communal resources for pulling themselves and others out of desperate situations. I, therefore, add the concept of collectiveness as an additional factor, joining creativity and courage to contextualise Rohn's (2002) "enterprising" framework in Shatila.

It is important to note that the concept of enterprising, as I define it, has never been explored in protracted refugee camps. Instead, a handful of studies have explored concepts of enterprises as business initiatives and entrepreneurial processes. For example, Tavakoli's 2020 study discusses enterprising as an entry point to analyse income-generating activities in the Sahrawi refugee camp. Residents link their culture with entrepreneurial activities by crafting traditional artefacts to sell to camp visitors, thus transforming the camp's market to a cultural tourism hub. Other case studies have analysed the impact of state or humanitarian policies on informal entrepreneurial activities. For example, Chaux (2020) outlines the role of formal institutions in impeding entrepreneurial activities in the Dadaab refugee camp. She identifies the misalignment between humanitarian services, refugees' needs, and domestic regulations with the state as the reasons for the impediments. Several additional studies have called for the exploration of entrepreneurship as a form of economic stability and a developmental strategy that combats aid-dependency issues in well-established camps. Betts and Collier's (2017) analysis of the broken refugee system links Jordan's labour needs with available workforce in the Zataari camp, calling for the involvement of Syrian refugees in Jordan's business district. The majority, however, call for capitalising on refugees' talents to build profit-generating systems (Betts, 2017; Betts & Collier, 2017; Bradley et al., 2019; Turner, 2020).

Even though this chapter discusses many entrepreneurial approaches implemented by the people in Shatila that align with the literature, several examples from the camp don't conform to the entrepreneurial context as defined in research. These approaches consider enterprises and entrepreneurialism as means of generating money. As stated before, my approach contextualises enterprising as a way of promoting thriving that includes but goes beyond the economic dimension. For example, the following case studies outline several thriving approaches that help solve complex issues that are not financially bound and do not

involve setting up businesses. This includes solving internal and external conflicts, addressing integration concerns, and exploring solutions for racism and behavioural issues.

**8.1.4 Structure.** This chapter will begin by presenting examples highlighting refugees' economic practice. Camp residents develop and integrate innovative, economic, and profit-generating practices that make a difference in the long run. These practices include reconfiguring the traditional workplace into a hybrid environment that allows for meeting personal needs whilst optimizing profits, implementing incremental earning models that facilitate economic stability for individuals and the community, utilising entrepreneurial techniques that mitigate financial crises and optimise earnings, and creatively engaging with aid as capital for funding business strategies. Next, the chapter discusses case studies that illustrate enterprising social practices; camp residents design collaborative strategies that address existing, social, cultural, economic, or political challenges by changing imposed systems or inventing processes that alter the structures that gave rise to the issues. These socially-based activities include designing approaches that touch on human connections to tackle internal and external conflicts, implementing recreational strategies to address integration and social issues, applying educational approaches to confront problems amongst the youth, and mobilising governance strategies for managing behavioural challenges.

Both sections will conclude with a summary outlining key analytical concepts that inform the discussion section at the end of the chapter as well as introducing important concepts that will be developed in more depth in Chapter Ten. This chapter will conclude with a discussion section that builds on the definitions of thriving and compares enterprising practices with the current discourse on protracted camps in the literature.

## **8.2 Enterprising Economic Practices**

In Shatila, enterprising activities challenge cultural norms and traditional business structures. They are designed with specific individuals, communities, crises, or causes in mind. Camp residents have cultivated a hybrid work environment that helps meet the community's emotional and social needs while optimising profits. The business environment depends on communities' strong social support, solving personal problems while implementing flexible



working hours and harbouring earnings through productivity-based structures. This hybrid structure facilitates a creative and strategic planning approach as well as innovative entrepreneurial initiatives. Camp residents' strategic business plans utilise the evolutionary practices mentioned in the previous chapter (Seven), such as freedom of movement, safety, learning, and *Jameah* (7.2.1 Safety and Freedom. 7.3 Community Evolution). Such approaches capitalise on the camp's social assets and infrastructural deficits while building on cultural practices. These business plans enable the utility of innovative entrepreneurial instruments and techniques, such as the *Basta*, the *Arabiya*, and one-stop shops. Lastly, dwellers creatively engage with aid as capital for funding entrepreneurial initiatives that generate incomes and address the camp's social issues. What follows is the discussion of several case studies that outline these economic and profit-generating practices.

**8.2.1 Hybrid Work Environments.** Camp businesses create hybrid work environments that meet the camp residents' personal and professional needs whilst optimising profits. "Hybrid" in this context means a work environment that supports camp residents' needs and involves the support of the community. The business environment relies on communities' strong social support, solving personal problems, flexible working hours and generating earnings through productivity-based systems.

Sahar, a Syrian refugee and one of the camp's factory's managers, captured an image that demonstrates the workplace's social nature. The picture shows a group of ladies "sitting and matching buttons". The sewing factory is not only a "working environment but also a social environment" (Image EN1). This hybrid working environment gave Rama, a Syrian refugee mother, a "comprehensive social circle" that helped her "integrate into the camp" after fleeing Syria. Her co-worker, Fatin, another Syrian refugee, outlined the significance of this approach. According to her, the factory is a trusted social circle "where ladies [go] to vent." If a woman is "having trouble with her children or her husband, she comes here to vent and talk about her troubles and feels a sense of peace." The work environment becomes a place where workers provide "each other advice" and is considered to be a "second home." This is so true that Farah, a Palestinian-Syrian refugee, feels that "something is missing" during her days off. Jouhaina, a Syrian refugee who struggled to integrate into Shatila's societies in the past, considers her co-

workers to be “siblings,” as the process of working together helps her “release the negative aspects of life in the camp through concurrently working and socialising with other women.” This hybrid work environment is a double bonus for Lamia, another Syrian refugee, as she can “produce and provide for her family alongside being able to socialise with her friends.”

Building on the hybrid working environments approach, Mouhammad, a Syrian refugee, captured an image showing his close friend’s shop. He branded the business as “a place of good memories and discussions” for Syrian refugees who arrived at the camp after 2011. He explained that, every day, five or six Syrian refugees “meet at this guy's shop; we make coffee and talk about our problems, our situation as Palestinians, the siege we are under, and the limitations we have concerning our work and movement.” He explained how this provides a double benefit: “social circles bring foot traffic to the shop, which, in return, increases the profits.” The workplace is a source of strength and deep connections since the group of friends “vent about everything” and create a roadmap for solving their problems (Image EN2).

Suraya, a Syrian refugee and manager at an embroidery studio in the camp, discussed the flexible strategy she implements, which meets both business goals and employees' personal needs, especially since most studio employees are “working mothers who take care of their families’ needs” while also working full time. She captured an image of one of the products to reflect on the work environment (Image EN3).

“Workers would come to the factory and stay for two hours to learn how to embroider products. I spend about an hour explaining the work and then they practise embroidering several items. If she gets it right, she takes the work to continue at home. During the month, she would make a certain number of items for which she would get paid. So, she gets paid per item. This approach would lead to more commitment and more production while providing flexibility.”

Suraya emphasised that the mother has the option to choose the workload every month “based on her family's needs and financial goals.” If she needs more money, “she can make time to work more and produce more.” If the mother needs a break, “she can elect to rest for a month or two.” Rula, another Syrian refugee, supported this approach, as this structure not only allows her to earn an income, it also provides ample time to “continue working at home”

after she “finishes the housework.” Her friend Lena, a Palestinian refugee, alternates between working from home and at the factory. She stated, “I come here every other day. The day that I do not come here, I work at home. The day we have work, we come here at 11 in the morning, take the items that need sewing and all the supplies we need, and go home. We then hand in the finished items at a later date and take new orders home.” This structure allows Lena to find “a good balance” between meeting her kids’ needs and achieving her financial goals.

Ahmad, a Palestinian-Syrian refugee, captured an image of his friend's shop to introduce a different perspective of the hybrid workplace approach; the business is both a home and a place to secure an economic livelihood. He observed that many owners of businesses sleep, eat, live, and socialise in their shops. His friend, who works in repairing electronics, also sleeps in the shop to save money and to provide for his family. Even though the friend is a Palestinian-Syrian refugee, he “doesn't live in the camp.” His family lives about one hundred miles north of Beirut in one of the refugee camps in Tripoli. Ahmad added that “his work is in the camp; therefore, he sleeps in the shop, leaves every Saturday [to Tripoli], and comes back on Monday for work.” He highlighted how the camp provides better economic opportunities for camp dwellers and others “who live in different cities, [as] there are no work opportunities available in Tripoli” for refugees (Image EN4).

**8.2.2 Strategic Business Plans.** The success of these businesses and economic initiatives rests on the innovative and strategic business plans implemented by dwellers. Camp residents have created businesses that rely on the community’s support while addressing the camp’s infrastructural deficits. They design innovative income-generating strategies that tackle contemporary issues of unemployment and trash disposal. By implementing strategic financial approaches, dwellers are able to secure a sustainable income.

Zahra, one of the original camp residents and an entrepreneur, captured an image of her shop and discussed the thought process behind her business model. Years ago, she “desperately” needed to fund the cost of her children attending school. She capitalised on “the camp residents’ needs” - specifically the camp's infrastructural deficits - by building a clean water supply shop (Image EN5). The Shatila camp does not have adequate infrastructure, with “no drinking water available in homes.” She ended up building a water filtration system as well

as a clean water supply shop. Farooq, one of the original camp residents, described how “her job is essential for the camp.” Her business model relies on the residents’ loyalty and social support; many families are familiar with her financial needs. Therefore, “people would say ‘we might as well buy water from the *Benit el-moukhayam* [the daughter of the camp] rather than buying water from strangers.’”

Ahmad, one of the original camp residents, struggled with finding work both inside and outside of the camp. He created a strategic plan for securing an income and addressing youth unemployment problems, as well as tackling one of the most pressing issues in the camp and the surrounding communities. In 2015, Lebanon faced a crisis, with piles of garbage building up on Beirut's streets due to infrastructural mismanagement and waste management issues (Azar & Azar, 2016). The camp’s streets “were piled high with trash bags; people became desensitised to the fact that the camp [was] full of trash and their health [was] being affected by the toxic environment.” The camp's problem was exacerbated by the arrival of a new wave of refugees, which, in return, worsened the unemployment issues. Seeing that “UNRWA's cleaning employees were unable to handle the pressure and unable to catch up with the workload,” so Ahmad created a trash sorting and “recycling program in Shatila and the surrounding neighbourhoods.” He saved up capital from several *Jameah* to purchase sorting equipment, as well as employing dozens of “camp residents to collect and sort recyclable items such as glass, plastic, and paper,” ultimately selling the sorted piles to recycling plants. The goal was to earn a commission from the sales while allocating most of the profits to pay salaries. He concluded, “I am a Palestinian refugee who is not dependent on aid. I bring a positive light to the Palestinian refugee’s identity. Being proactive proves that Palestinian refugees can contribute to the thriving of their society.”

Dania, another Palestinian refugee, linked the concepts of community support, the trash issue, cleaning the camp, and income limitations. She discussed ideas of thriving with her friend Um Mahmoud, a widow, and captured an image of her shop to discuss her creative approach to generating an income and tackling the camp’s trash issues. “Her children are not around and she refuses to depend on aid to secure a livelihood,” Dania explained. Therefore, she collects trash, knocks on doors asking neighbours to donate unused supplies and

appliances, and then “upcycles camp trash and sells it as construction supplies and second-hand products in her little shop” (Image EN6). Dania concluded, “Um Mahmoud is lonely, has no one to support her, contributes to the betterment of the camp by reducing waste, and, therefore, community members feel a sense of responsibility to purchase items from her to make sure she has food to eat and a place to sleep.”

Zainab, an original camp resident, is another dweller who faced difficulties and had no support. After fifteen years of marriage, she separated from her husband, becoming the sole provider for her two children. She explained, “[At the time of the divorce,] I was left alone, with no home, no community, nor support, because I chose to leave my abusive husband. I had two young children I needed to support. I needed to be courageous, overcome the pain of my divorce, and quickly generate an income.” She created a multi-phase business plan to provide for her children and to “accommodate the family’s fluctuating financial needs.” She reflected, “I needed to rebuild my life; I needed to earn money. I wanted to make sure that whatever I do will help me secure livelihood now and in the future.” She started by “washing and cleaning stairwells.” That specific job helped her not only meet her children’s needs but also ensured she had disposable income for religious holidays: “I used to calculate the number of building stairwells I needed to clean in order to buy food, pay rent, buy new clothes for my boys for Eid, and save some money for unexpected expenses in the future.” This financial strategy even allowed her to pay the expenses for their extracurricular activities, including visits to “the museum and park during the Eid.”

Cleaning stairs, along with a *Jameah* with her neighbours, also helped her accumulate enough capital to build a *basta* (a mobile cart on a platform) and purchase supplies to cook “desserts (*mahalbeeh*), fava beans, hummus, and sell to the children to cover the increased cost of living.” The *basta* became another flexible instrument for financial relief throughout the year; if she needed money, she could quickly cook traditional Palestinian food to sell to children in the camp. She followed the same strategy when her adult son became suddenly unemployed. He has two children to support and could not earn a living at the moment “because it [was] becoming more challenging to secure work in the camp.” She lent him her *basta* to start selling traditional snacks. She explained, “I used to boil corncobs for him to sell in

the morning and bake *mahalbeeh* to sell in the afternoon. He stood outside of the house selling them on the *basta*." This interim work strategy helped him "earn enough to cover personal expenses and cover the family's expenses" until he found a permanent job.

**8.2.3 Entrepreneurial Instruments and Techniques.** According to several camp residents, the *basta* have become a popular entrepreneurial instrument for meeting immediate financial needs. Their quick assembly, light weight, and mobile features allow for easy strategic placement within heavy traffic areas to optimise product sales (Image EN7). Rayan, a young camp resident, was "desperate to earn money" to pay off personal bills. She ended up building up and managing a *basta* to sell a traditional treat: "chopped carrots with lemons." She kept selling the treats until she "was able to earn [the] money" she needed. Her friend Faris, one of the local NGO managers, captured an image of a woman selling vegetables in an area with heavy foot traffic. The woman in the picture "place[d] her multi-level *basta* in front of the religious Shrine," as it is one of the busiest areas in the camp. Faris concluded, "the *basta* is unique; sellers can place their products around the camp" based on the foot traffic (Image EN8). Faris also captured a similar picture of a man selling traditional treats, again linking the *basta* to the current systems imposed upon the camp and refugees. He stated:

"Despite us being under siege by the Lebanese government, there are still people who can work selling *moulkhiah*, which is a traditional food. Even though the *basta* owner does not have a proper shop, he sells food right on the street. Despite the restricting laws, he is challenging all those restrictions by wanting to be productive" (Image EN9).

Suha, a young refugee who grew up in the camp, linked the concept of community support to the *basta* by capturing an image of a "Palestinian woman who works in a very dark alleyway. She sells sweets and vegetables on the *basta* right in front of her house." She discussed the hardships she was facing, explaining how "her husband [was] physically challenged because he had leg surgery, so she [was] working to provide for her family. All her children are minors, with the eldest being 15 years old" (Image EN10). She continued to discuss the social value of the *basta*: "Here at the camp, we are incentivised to buy vegetables from her" as a means to help alleviate her difficulties. She discussed how helping one another is a common practice in the camp, stating that "there is a different sense of economy where

compassion may drive economic transactions. Outside of the camp, people would think she is a beggar. For us, we understand that she is working to make a living and provide for her family.” She corroborated this concept via another picture showing kids buying from her to highlight the cultural tradition for the *basta*, as it is common for “adults to sell treats at *bastas*.” She concluded with: “Sometimes, she sells vegetables, other times, pickles and candy. She pickles cabbage and adds lemons to sell as a snack” (Image EN11).

The mobility aspect of the *basta* is an essential enterprising feature for successful businesses in the camp. The camp is landlocked, with minimal capacity for expansion. Therefore, many dwellers use another similar portable instrument, carts on wheels known as *arabiya*. The mobile nature addresses the land and spatial ownership issues, while simultaneously avoiding having to pay rent and infrastructural costs. Farah, one of the original camp residents and an aspiring journalist, branded the *arabiyas* meandering in the central streets of the camp on daily bases as “movable entrepreneurship.” Camp residents have been “adapting to the lack of spaces” by using *bastas* and *arabiyas* as instruments for economic livelihood.

Suha discussed a picture of a “guy selling watermelon on an *arabiya*,” as he cannot afford paying for a vegetable shop. He alternates between selling “watermelon on a particular day and sell[ing] other vegetables on another day.” Another benefit to an *arabiya* is convenience; the seller can bring unavailable items from the outside and conveniently sell them inside the camp (Image EN12). Rayan captured a picture of another vegetable *arabiya* to further support the concepts of convenience and mobility. She explained, “The Sabra souk is about a 15-minute walk from the centre of the Shatila camp. [In the past,] you had to walk to the Sabra souk to buy vegetables, but now vegetables are mobile and they can come to the camp” (Image EN13).

Fourat, an original resident, wanted to get married, so he built a mobile coffee and Nescafé *arabiya* as a “way of earning a living, to save for the wedding, and to support his future family.” He captured an image of his “coffee *arabiya*” to express his “gratitude” for having the ability to “earn an income in the camp.” He reflected, “I am grateful for this camp. I can’t find a job anywhere outside. The freedom available here is allowing me to get married and fund the

cost of my wedding” (Image EN14).

To further build on the idea of seasonal earnings, Rayan captured an image of a young man selling frozen treats. She introduced him as a student who was “unable to complete his education” because of the rising cost of school supplies. He placed an ice-cream maker on an *arabiya* to sell frozen juice in order to cover his school expenses (Image EN15).

The lack of space inspired other unique business strategies, as well. Shop owners have “maximize[d] their profits” by building one-stop shops. This is a strategy based around selling products that meet all of a family's essential needs in one store, according to Suha, who captured an image of one such store “with clothes hanging on the outside” to demonstrate this concept. “The shop has everything in it,” Suha explained, “including vegetables, appliances, clothes for adults and children, glassware, plasticware, and ceramics” (Image EN16). This strategy has not only addressed space issues but has also provided “convenience for families,” as residents would only need to visit one shop to purchase everything they need.

There are several “one-dollar stores” throughout the camp, according to Suha’s friend Fadia. She captured an image showing a yellow banner stating, “Any item costs one dollar,” building on this idea of a one-stop shop. She concluded, “This dollar store has everything for 1500 Lebanese liras (equivalent to one dollar). [This shop] provides families with everything they need; you literally don't need to leave the camp to buy anything” (Image EN17).

**8.2.4 Strategic Engagements with Aid.** These strategic business plans highlight the limits of the aid-dependency narratives. Contrary to popular belief, several camp dwellers have utilised aid programs as capital investment for commencing and advancing profit-generating strategies. Aid plays many roles in Shatila; it is used to tackle both unemployment issues and infrastructural deficits, as well as to advance creative business ideas.

Pressure mounted when bills piled up for a group of Syrian refugee mothers, with many “sinking into debt,” according to Lamia. Economic stress was exacerbated when funds from the UN started to diminish. The UNRWA was facing funding challenges, which led to a decrease in financial aid. Facing the reality of their mounting bills, the mothers decided as a team to turn the nominally available aid into a business generating an income and tackling one of the most pressing issues in the camp: “garbage piles in the streets.” Lamia had to be “courageous, take a



risk, and find a solution,” as she has never worked before and had been a homemaker since she got married. Lamia and her friends were able to pitch the idea and secure funds from one of the camp's local NGOs. She reflected, "We had an idea, and we needed some aid to launch a camp-wide cleaning project that streamlined the trash collection process.” They sectioned off the camp households and allocated “specific time windows for the disposal of trash.” They also proposed a schedule for continuous trash collection throughout the day “to avoid piles of garbage in the streets.” They were able to secure enough funds for each of them work two days a week and earn \$100 per month. When the project ended, the team members were resourceful enough to quickly learn how to crochet at one of the NGO's apprenticeships centres. They joined another entrepreneurial initiative, where women crocheted scarfs and sold them to stores in Canada. Lamia concluded, “I was going through a tough financial period” until these opportunities helped her overcome the financial crises and “secure stable income.”

To address the challenges inherent to the imposed systems, Radwan, a Palestinian entrepreneur, wanted to “capitalise on available and nominal financial aid provided by several NGOs [to] create opportunities for Palestinians who are well-educated but cannot find jobs.” Many refugees are highly educated, he explained, but are not legally permitted to work outside of the camp. He surveyed current issues facing the camp and discovered that “students in the UNRWA's school [were] failing standardised exams.” The school's quality of education started to deteriorate due to a decrease in funding and “the influx of Syrian refugees,” as classes “doubled in size.” Therefore, he created a business plan that can “turn a small aid grant into a sustainable business” while “helping both UNRWA's school students and the Palestinian university graduates.” The business strategy relied on a diverse funding portfolio; he planned to charge families a nominal fee, request accessible accommodations to host classes, and subsidise the remaining cost from humanitarian aid programs. Radwan was still missing “the capital lump sum to initiate the project,” as funds from the assistance program were too small to begin the school program. Therefore, he used the aid money to build a small bakery. He “worked as a baker” for a few years and was able to create all of the capital he needed to commence the school project. He realised the school funds and profits might fluctuate; therefore, he completed several apprenticeships programs to secure more part-time work.

These programs qualified him to work as a freelance journalist and photographer, which allowed him to save money to fill the business's financial gaps. Radwan built the afterschool program where university graduate tutors helped Palestinian students to pass national exams. When the school's rent increased due to the influx of new dwellers, he convinced "the religious centre at the camp to donate their upstairs office spaces" to hold after-hours classes. The school became exceedingly successful, "as the failure rate went down from 66% to less than 10%." This success allowed him to "expand the educational program to include summer sessions." The goal is to prepare students for the upcoming school year and further minimise failure rates. Radwan concluded, "I was able to turn a nominal aid grant into a small bakery business, and the profits from this business built a comprehensive school program."

In covering the dwellers' enterprising activities, three key points can be elucidated here to support important conclusions to keep in mind for the discussion section. The first point disputes the widely held assumptions that refugees are predominately dependent on aid. Examples from this section show how Shatila residents don't want to be aid dependent. Rather, they seek to capitalise on aid to initiate businesses and help other refugees. The second point highlights the consideration that meeting social and emotional needs are part of the enterprise and that is it not just about generating an income for the entrepreneur. The third point views the camp as an accelerant to thriving. While this section continues the conversation of the camp being a technology through which thriving is actualised – as introduced in Chapter Seven – the *basta* and *arabiya* examples highlight an additional analytical angle: the rapid process for achieving thriving. In fact, one refugee was able to secure the required funds in one day. As will be discussed in depth in Chapter Ten, these accelerants add additional dimension to Haight et al.'s (2002) thriving model.

Similar to refugees' individual evolutionary activities outlined in Chapter Seven, the Haight et al. (2002) discussion of "individual" and "non-human" thriving factors appears to be incomplete in the context of refugees residing in Shatila; past experiences and circumstances are not considered as prerequisites for thriving. After separating from her husband and experiencing the pain of divorce, one refugee created a business plan and immediately started earning an income. Additionally, the unique social norms of intentionally purchasing products

from those in need adds another economic layer to Lefebvre's 1991 contextualisation of *lived spaces*. The everyday social interaction of children with *basta* owners is economically based. Lastly, this analytical view of the camp as an accelerant to thriving adds another layer of definition to Bergson's (1965) approach to *Duration*. The experiential changes and continuous multiplicity fluctuate; it took one refugee several years to build the afterschool program, whereas the resident who needed money could earn the needed income in one day.

While the primary purpose of the enterprising economic practice is profit-generating, they are also mobilised to address personal crises, social issues, and camp-wide problems. The second theme in this chapter – enterprising social activities – discusses problem-solving strategies that are not linked to economic practices.

### **8.3 Social Enterprising Activities**

Refugee-led initiatives have led to the design of creative approaches that rely on human connections to help in two ways – first, to mitigate the internal conflicts among political factions and, second, to help diminish external conflicts with surrounding communities. Refugees have used the instruments of education and recreational activities to tackle racism and specific integration issues that often emerge because of such conflicts. They have created a social governance strategy to address behavioural, infrastructural, and social disparities. What follows is the discussion of several case studies outlining these enterprising activities.

**8.3.1 Creative Connection Strategies.** Amir, one of the original camp residents, created a multi-dimensional strategy addressing (1) internal conflict among “diverse political factions” and (2) the “integration of Syrian refugees” into the social fabric in the camp, as well as (3) debunking “racism issues” affecting Palestinian refugees. The foundation of Amir's strategy centred on creating initiatives that allow for human connection amongst “conflicting groups.” He, therefore, strategized for a neutral “environment that would allow for communal dialogue” where visitors could “read books about these issues [and] share stories of Syrian and Palestinian heritage.” He reflected, “The idea behind the space is to allow people to connect in a non-threatening way and on a deeper level.” To ensure the success of his strategy, he “needed a cheap place to rent” and “found an abandoned leftover space under a building. It did

not have walls. There were only columns. It was like a rubbish container addicts would use to consume drugs.” He renovated the place, “cleaned it up, built walls around it, implemented a drainage system and an electrical network,” and established the Museum of Time and Memory inside the Shatila camp (Images EN18 & EN19).

Filled with rare artefacts, the museum's mission is to “positively occupy peoples' time” by holding “intellectual, social, and educational seminars that address conflict and unite people through connection and knowledge-seeking.” The museum's foundation is based around ideas of “history, culture, positive time, camaraderie, deep connection, social structure, loving people, and hobbies.” Amir identified several intellectual topics with “shared values” among diverse camp residents, including “trauma in children, the role of the woman in the Arabic household, and the camp's environment improvement.” He held a series of seminars that addressed these topics so that “several political factions' leaders would come and participate in the dialogue.” He reflected on his creative strategy: “Whether they be friends or enemies, all of the opposing factions show that they do care about personal issues, such as the mental health of their children. It was unknown amongst the attendees of the seminars who of the opposing political factions were sitting across from them in discussing some of these issues.”

Conflicts with surrounding communities is another pressing issue faced by camp residents. Ilham, a Syrian-Palestinian refugee who grew up in the camp, believes that conflicts with the Lebanese community can be solved through “deep human connection.” For her, “the Lebanese people are goodhearted by nature. When they learn that we, as refugees, have the same hopes and aspirations, they will connect with us on a deep level. After all, we are all brothers and sisters.” Rafik, a physician who is one of the original camp residents, shared the same values. He capitalised on this “human nature” and designed a strategy to debunk myths about the camp. Like Ilham, he believes that “change can happen through human connection,” advocating for the UNRWA's health centre to hire “a doctor from the posh Eastern side of Lebanon” to work at the centre in the camp with his medical team.

As discussed in Chapter Five, Beirut was divided into two separate parts during the civil war; the division is still reflected in today's Christian eastern side and the western Muslim communities (**Error! Reference source not found. & Error! Reference source not found.**).

Rafik's goal was to encourage some level of integration with the surrounding community because "Christians who live on the eastern side of Beirut, in Achrafieh [an affluent area in Beirut], have never been to the camp. This is due to the "residual effects" of the Civil War as the separation between "Muslims and Christians" is still evident until today. Residents of Achrafieh don't know where the camp is, and they think that all Palestinians who live in the camp are drug dealers or terrorists." Even though this plan of integration was "risky and require[d] courage," Rafik stated, "I had to do it, [even if] the long history of conflict may backfire when we put two groups, who fear each other, in a work environment." During the newly hired doctor's month-long work rotation, he and his team showered her with love and affection, so much so that she "completely changed her views" on the camp and refugees. She "used to be completely against Palestinian's existence in Lebanon," but now, she told him, "I discovered that camp residents are the most amazing people, and you all touched my heart."

As a result of this initiative, both doctors teamed up and designed a collaborative strategy that encouraged further integration with the "Christian posh area of Beirut." They developed a medical rotation program that invited eight health providers at a time to live in several refugee homes and work at the camp's health centre. The goal was to debunk myths about refugees in Lebanon gradually, building a bridge of "human connection" between the camp and surrounding communities. The first group of health providers "initially rejected the idea, as they could not imagine living among 'terrorists.'" The Lebanese doctor was able to convince them and promised not to "leave them alone." He continued, "Each one of them ended up living with a Palestinian family during the month of Ramadan; during the month, families showered the doctors with love and generosity. By the end of the first month, the health provider teams expressed intense emotion in the form of physical tears, as they felt ashamed of themselves for judging camp residents. They had a fantastic experience." He reflected on the story by stating, "Change happens when people touch one another's hearts through human connections."

Similar to Rafik, Radwan started to coordinate tours that "bring Lebanese people to the camp to build personal connections with camp dwellers," even though they would initially object. Through kindness and affection, he wanted to show that he was "a resident of this

country (*Ebn el balad*); [he was] not an enemy.” His goal was to “build friendships with” the Lebanese people by showing them the camp's social fabric; he aimed to “change the perception they have of the camp and the refugees,” since people often “fear what they do not know.” His strategy was to show that the camp is “normal” and similar to other areas in Lebanon. More specifically, he wanted to share “stories of human connection and beauty in the camp.” He stated:

“I would show them we have a museum within the camp. I would show them the clinics we have. I would show them the engineer working as a car mechanic; I would show them a person who studied business administration but who is working cleaning the streets. This way, one visitor after another would start feeling empathetic towards the refugees. As the perception changes, compassion may generate a certain bond to the camp.”

**8.3.2 Recreational Activities.** These approaches based on human connection are extended to organised recreational activities. According to Amir, the success of initiatives hosted at the Museum of Time and Memory birthed the idea of the “social chess tournament” in Shatila. After completing several educational workshops, he noticed that “neutral topics that create a human connection and common grounds did contribute to the unity of conflicting factions in the camp.” He used this outcome as a foundation to tackle issues “of integration of Syrian refugees into well-established camp communities.” He continued, “I noticed that Syrians were struggling to integrate into well-established communities. Some of the well-established families rejected their presence, fearing competition for scarce resources in an already-crammed camp.” Therefore, he invited original camp residents and newly arriving Syrian refugees to participate in a daily social chess tournament as “fun activities help integrate newly arriving refugees” into the camp societies.

Jamil, one of the Syrian refugees, reflected on the museum's activities: “When I first arrived at the camp, I experienced severe depression. I was isolated and lonely. The activities at the museum gave me sanity; they helped me establish a social circle and positively occupy my time.” Fatima echoed Jamil's sentiment: “These activities helped create kinship between Palestinians and Syrians while creating a social hub for newly arriving Syrians.” So much so, that

Faris, a Syrian refugee, stated, “I come to the museum every day after work; this place makes me feel alive in the camp.”

Coordinating recreational activities with members of the Lebanese community is another strategy for tackling conflict and separation issues. Faris captured an image of the “soccer or playfield inside” the camp in Image EN20, captioning it: “Youth from multiple Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon play a soccer tournament against the Lebanese national soccer team.” He considers these tournaments as the ultimate act of “thriving, [as] these activities keep children healthy while addressing conflict issues with surrounding communities.” He continued, “Because, from the depth of despair and the tragic environment we live in, we can still have recreational activities with the Lebanese community. Especially with the Lebanese national team.” He believes that “we can unify communities through sports” to address the rising “tension between Palestinian and Lebanese.”

Sports play another vital role in addressing social issues, including equity and children's mental health. In a collaboration among several international NGOs and aid organisation offices, Nafis, one of the original camp residents, a physical education teacher, co-coordinated a cricket program and sports tournaments for children in the camp. This inclusive approach allows for “positively occupying children's time outside of the school while addressing mental health issues they face because of their lives in the camp.” Sports help “young dwellers avoid unhealthy behaviours, such as smoking or being involved in drug activities.” When asked about the reasons behind choosing cricket, a sport that is not part of the cultural practices like soccer is, he reflected on an image he captured of the children playing and responded:

“Soccer is culturally a boys sport. We needed to choose a novel activity that allows the full participation of girls alongside boys. Sports are readily available for boys in this area, but girls are often excluded. We were advised by a U.K.-based organization to explore cricket. We tried it, and the kids fell in love with the sport. So much so, that the cricket team captain inside of Shatila is a 13-year-old girl” (Image EN20).

**8.3.3 Educational Activities.** Jihad, one of the original residents, discussed the rising problem of drug addiction in the camp: “Many young residents are unemployed, depressed, and unable to find any forms of livelihood. Young men resort to drugs to address life

pressures.” He campaigned for a judgment-free approach, compelling “religious centres inside the camp” to create educational programs to tackle what he referred to as a “youth epidemic.” He reflected, “These men are sick and require a compassionate approach.” Eissa, one of the young Syrian-Palestinian refugees, wanted to play a positive role in tackling addiction issues. A former user himself, he redefined the use of social media to help other youths live a clean life, creating a Facebook group to invite others to live a purposeful life. He consistently posts educational videos discussing his “past mistakes and challenging experiences as a motivation for young men.” He stated, “I am doing my best based on my experience to benefit people who are living through a similar situation. So, I can show them the right way.” His strategy has gone beyond just supporting men in the camp, evidenced by youth from “Sudan, Tunis, Libya, [and] Egypt consistently commenting on how inspired they are” by his posts.

Rami, a Syrian refugee, reflected on the lack of available job opportunities in the camp and how unemployment contributes to drug issues. To speak on addiction, along with the rising influx of refugees and unemployment issues, he captured an image of a tailor shop whose owner tackled these issues through “apprenticeships training” (Image EN21). The tailor shop owner announced that they could teach anyone who wanted to learn how to sew. The goal was to train individuals so they would positively “occupy their time” through work. One of the most prominent NGOs in the camp followed the same approach. Samira, one of the employees, an original camp resident, discussed how the comprehensive “mental health, educational, and social support” programs are positively impacting camp families, explaining, “when a family member is struggling, we have a counselling and social work office on the first floor that provides mental health services as well as following up with check-ups.”

**8.3.4 Social Governance Strategies.** Similar to the collective governance strategies discussed in Chapter Seven, camp residents formed committees to tackle small-scale community problems. Along with her neighbours, Fadia, a Syrian refugee mother, formed a small governance team that monitored littering behaviours on the streets around their homes. The goal was to cultivate a self-governance structure where “the people themselves hold each other accountable” for littering and garbage disposal. They created a neighbourhood watch where “they would tell anyone who litters that it is forbidden here to throw garbage and make



the streets dirty.” With time, they were able to recruit those who litter to join their governance team.

Rouha, one of the original camp residents, extended these governance strategies to the digital realm. She created a series of WhatsApp groups to address issues and govern the streets of Shatila. She captured an image of “a lost toddler on a busy street” and texted the picture to the WhatsApp group dedicated to lost children. She stated, “Five minutes after I texted this picture, the child's parents were found.” She concluded, “We use WhatsApp to fundraise, warn others of issues in the camp, and as a collaborative work tool” (Image EN22).

Kasem, an original camp resident, formed an education committee to address “the issue of random shootings inside the camp.” Shooting bullets into the air is often done during “celebrations, protests, and funerals.” This practice comes with a high risk, as “bullets may harm camp residents due to building and population density.” When a random shooting occurs, “the educational committee brings elders from the camp and visit the shooter's family. They utilise cultural practices of respecting elders to educate the young person and prevent further shootings.”

Another example of a governance structure is demonstrated by a group of Syrian refugees “forming a committee” that monitors and governs issues facing newly arriving Syrians in the camp, according to Abdullah, a Syrian refugee who arrived at the camp shortly after the commencement of the war. The group of Syrians teamed up with one of the leaders of the political factions, an original camp resident, to address issues of “aid equity, discrimination, employment inequalities, and harassments against young Syrian youth.” The leader then assigns a strategy that involves multiple local NGOs, organisations, and political factions to solve these issues.

In summary, the cases presented in this chapter show the interplay between refugees’ enterprising and evolutionary practices discussed in Chapter Seven. *Jameah*, freedom of movement, and collective governance approaches have allowed refugees to open businesses and solve social problems. Similarly, newly arriving refugees created new ventures, which led to the financing of new residential buildings and additional businesses, while providing more affordable consumer opportunities in Shatila. While the economic practices discussed in this

chapter add a financial layer to our understanding of thriving, the social enterprising section outlines problem-solving as another pathway for thriving.

Two key points can be elucidated from this section. The practices of camp residents contest the concept of passive victimhood discussed in Chapter Two (**Error! Reference source not found.**) . Shatila residents implement self-governing, educational, and recreational strategies that have addressed internal and external conflicts, addiction issues, and health crises. Second, the cases begin to introduce specific factors that inhibit thriving: internal and external conflicts, addiction issues, and racism experiences. These issues are grounded in systemic injustices as refugees are not allowed to work outside of the camp, own property, or open a bank account. As will be discussed in depth in Chapter Ten, these inhibitors add additional dimension to Haight et al.'s (2002) thriving model.

#### **8.4 Discussion**

This chapter outlined refugees' problem-solving and profit-generating practices that facilitated the thriving of the community. First, camp residents have developed and integrated innovative, economic, and profit-generating practices that make a long-lasting impact. Second, camp residents have designed collective strategies that address existing, social, cultural, economic, or political challenges by defying imposed systems or inventing processes that alter the structures that gave rise to the issues. These practices built on the evolving thriving practices discussed in Chapter Seven and were contextualised under Rhon's (2002) framework on enterprising. My approach contextualises enterprising as a way of promoting thriving that includes but goes beyond the economic dimension. In addition to “courage and creativity” as principles that contextualise enterprising activities, this research added another value: collectiveness.

Creativity is exemplified by Radwan, who used aid as a capital investment to build a small bakery that in turned allowed him to create an afterschool program. The school employed other educated refugees and addressed educational disparities. Similarly creative was Um Mahmoud's approach for economic independence relying on upcycling collected unused appliances and trash. Amir and Faris used recreational activities, such as soccer and chess

tournaments, to tackle complex social issues.

Courage is exemplified by Lamia's and Rafik's enterprising practices. When several camp families faced financial difficulties, Lamia and her friends, who had never worked before, applied for capital funds, created a trash collection business, and were able to pay their bills. When the project ended, they quickly learned a new industry to accommodate their families' financial needs. Rafik took a significant risk by uniting two conflicting groups. He invited several Christian health providers from the Eastern side of Lebanon to work and live in the camp, effectively debunking fears and uniting the two opposing groups through human connection.

Collectiveness is perhaps the most prevalent concept in both economic and social enterprising practices. Zahra relied on the dwellers' support and loyalty in creating a water filtration store to generate an income. Suha's friend, who sold treats on her *basta* to support her ailing husband, was fully supported by the community; neighbours sent their children to buy candy to increase her an income. Ahmad's primary purpose for his recycling business was to address unemployment issues facing the youth. Similarly, Radwan's afterschool program aimed to employ university graduates who could not find jobs outside of the camp.

Economic and problem-solving practices strongly overlap and are key aspects of thriving in Shatila. Refugees' economic practices show that meeting social and emotional needs are part of the enterprise, meaning it is not just about making money for the entrepreneur. Among the many previously discussed examples, the social outcome of economic practices is reflected in the water shop that benefits the resident's needs, the embroidery factory that helps meet the emotional needs of its workers, and the garbage collection system addressing environmental crises in the camp and Lebanon. These examples present a crucial shift from the mere economic context to the social economic context where the financial aspect is subjugated to the social need. Therefore, this shift highlights a difference from the views of enterprise and entrepreneurship discussed in the literature, which is primarily about making money (8.1 Introduction). This conclusion links entrepreneurial activities found in Shatila more strongly to thriving, which also involves so much more than generating an income, while justifying my approach to enterprising as highlighted previously (8.1.3 Enterprising).

With this in mind, refugees' thriving activities have demonstrated how the camp is a

technology through which thriving is actualised by means of economic and social practices. Dwellers cultivated a hybrid work environment that relies on *acts of connecting* (**Error! Reference source not found.**). Employees support one another with their work, use the working environment as a platform to express, advise, and solve personal and collective issues. This environment allows participants to reach a state of inner peace, a *state of being* understood as a form of thriving (**Error! Reference source not found.**). Residents also designed strategic business plans to secure employment for their friends and neighbours. While using entrepreneurial instruments, neighbours intentionally purchased items from sellers experiencing hardships to assure their financial stability. These coordinated approaches allowed refugees to overcome both emotional and financial difficulties, enabling a *process of progressing*. Examples of creative engagements with aid portray another means of *overcoming difficulties* (**Error! Reference source not found.**). Rather than using aid funds passively, dwellers have applied humanitarian grants as capital to start businesses and employ other refugees. These activities allowed dwellers to reach a state of independence and stability.

This chapter shows a critical overlap between the three thriving themes. For example, the medical rotation strategy is the perfect example of how the *act of connecting* leads to *overcoming difficulties*. Dwellers relied on deep human connection, structuring a collaborative medical rotation and inviting providers to live with refugees. The strategy was a success, and dwellers were able to address serious conflicts and issues with different communities in Lebanon. Similarly, the approaches of several businesses – including the water filtration store and the *basta* examples – relied on the loyalty and collectiveness of the camp's community to overcome financial hardships and secure economic livelihood. The pathway for overcoming environmental pollution in the camp relied on designing collective businesses approaches. The overlap between *overcoming difficulties* and *state of being* is evident in recreational activities. Physical education teachers created soccer and cricket training programs to address conflicts internally and externally and to help children reach a state of health and wellness. For one camp dweller, the physical process of cleaning stairs helped her achieve a sense of stability and peace.

Dwellers' enterprising activities offer a different perspective on several concepts

discussed in Chapter Two (**Error! Reference source not found.**). Concepts of control and bare life are evident in the state and humanitarian policies in Lebanon, which have consistently aimed to prevent permanent resettlement, integration into the existing economic structures, or assimilation into the Lebanese social fabric. An example of such obstacles is the new labour law that demands a substantial tax, to be paid by refugees, in order to enter the Lebanese workforce legally. In many cases, the tax exceeds the total annual income for that refugee and the job prospect. Additionally, factors of the refugee's burden include not being able to move freely outside of the camp, legally own property or a business elsewhere, or open a legitimate bank account. However, this chapter shows that Shatila's residents transform what can be seen as a "bare life" into liveable and qualified life. For example, when college graduates were forbidden from working in Beirut, an afterschool program was created as an income-generating business employing college graduates and improving educational outcomes. It was so successful that the failure rates plummeted from 66% to 10%. To defy the new labour law, several camp dwellers used the *basta* as an income-generating strategy inside of the camp. When dwellers faced difficulties, they created an incremental business plan that met their financial needs and funded future income-generating strategies. Additionally, the hybrid work environment creates a robust social support system that meets the refugees' financial and emotional needs, as exemplified by the sewing factory's business model.

This chapter's examples dispute the generalisations of aid dependency and passive victimhood by showing how dwellers have engaged with aid creatively and strategically. They utilised aid programs as capital investment to commence and advance profit-generating schemes. This includes starting businesses and profit-based strategies that tackle unemployment issues and infrastructural deficits, as well as promoting creative new business ideas. In fact, of the eighty-six Photo-Elicitation Interview sessions, none of the participants relied on aid to secure their livelihood. Many dwellers have redefined the function and utility of aid and used its capital to create businesses, such as the afterschool program and the trash collection business. Both businesses were able to use aid funds as a capital investment to generate more income and employ other refugees.

Instead of being victims to difficult circumstances, such as violent conflicts, addiction,

health crises, and discrimination, Shatila's residents have implemented self-governing, educational, entrepreneurial, and recreational strategies for tackling complex social issues. The approach to addressing long-standing conflicts with surrounding communities relied on human connection, unifying camp dwellers with several Christian doctors from Eastern Beirut. Rather than succumbing to the nation-wide garbage issue, a governing committee was created to tackle the problem of littering and a recycling business was initiated to clean the camp's main streets. Dwellers refused to beg for money when facing a crisis; several residents built a *basta* as a rapid profit-generating strategy. Lastly, mental health, conflict, equity, and integration issues were successfully addressed through educational and recreational approaches.

Enterprising activities give a more nuanced and complete view of the concept of "ripple effects" discussed in Chapter Seven (7.5 Discussion). The examples of successful *basta* and *arabiya* ventures highlight the speed through which these rippled effects enable thriving. One refugee was able to secure the necessary funds in one day. Similarly, when funding expired with a group of refugee women, they quickly re-strategized their trash collection business, learned how to sew, and were able to secure another income stream.

As will be discussed in depth in Chapter Ten, many examples from this chapter show that Haight et al.'s (2002) discussion of the "individual" and "non-human" thriving factors appear to be lacking in the context of Shatila; past experiences and circumstances are not considered prerequisites for thriving (**Error! Reference source not found.**). After separating from her husband and experiencing the pain of divorce, one refugee created a business plan and immediately started earning an income. Even though many women entrepreneurs never worked before moving to Shatila, they were able to quickly learn a new skill, start businesses, secure a livelihood while challenging traditional gender roles.

Lefebvre's (1991) contextualisation of *lived space* is deepened in this chapter, as refugees' thriving activities introduce social economic and problem-solving layers to the discussions of everyday social interaction (**Error! Reference source not found.**). The economic context is exemplified with the unique social norms of intentionally purchasing products from those in need, as evident in the photographed interaction of children with one *basta* owner. Similarly, the unique approach of involving a camp elder to address antisocial behaviour by

visiting the homes of the offenders and discussing camp etiquette illustrates the problem-solving context. Bergson's (1965) approach to *duration* is also being defined in the context of protracted camps. The experience of time changes and there is little sense of what is "long" or "short" when it comes to duration; it took one refugee several years to build the afterschool program, which contrasts the resident who needed money and got it in one day (**Error! Reference source not found.**).

One summative conclusion I would like to highlight is the connection between all of the thriving activities cited in this chapter and the concept of informality as discussed in Chapter Two (2.3.3 Control). As discussed in Chapter Seven, refugees' practices mirror Sanyal's (2014) linkage between informality and housing and economic practices. Additionally, this chapter provides additional layers of discussion to Bank's et al. (2019) multi-sector view on urban informality.

In this chapter, refugees' thriving activities outline a clear and concise process for informal activities – a need stemming from difficult circumstances, such as poverty, and postulating a clear strategic plan. A series of actions are followed, culminating in a re-strategisation approach and ending with the end goal being met. These actions, composed of five steps, are possible due to residents' safety approaches and the available freedom in the camp, as discussed in Chapter Seven. These steps are exemplified by Amal's resilient efforts to clean the stairs and build a *basta* to recover from the aftermath of her divorce. Amal's *basta* aided with her son's financial difficulties, and both were able to meet their immediate and long-term needs. Radwan's approach to building a school started with the need to support other unemployed camps residents and improve the increasing number of failing students in the UNRWA school. When the capital funding fell short, he started a bakery before revising his strategies and pursuing another job to raise the funds. In the end, he was able to not only employ other camp residents but also positively impact students' success rates.

With this in mind, thriving activities provide diverse layers of definitions and dimensions to the concept of informality. In this context, informality is linked to culture, recreational activities, and social structure, resting on collective thriving activities. This is reflected in Suha's example, in which the community intentionally purchased treats from one of the female

refugees since she was the primary financial supporter of her family. Amir's multi-dimensional strategy addressing conflict, integration, and racism issues culminated in the creation of a museum that preserves cultural practices. Similarly, recreational activities helped tackle issues of separation and conflict with the Lebanese community. Lastly, the social structure of the camp helped address antisocial behaviour, as demonstrated by the governance committees.

Thus, I argue that the practices related to informality are critical components and driving factors in making the camps facilitators for thriving. As discussed earlier, Shatila sits outside of the law derived from governing bodies, and, therefore, refugees had no other choice but to resist and manage their lives, mirroring the complexity of negotiation Sanyal (2014) highlights through the geopolitics and exclusionary forces affecting protracted camps. In this context, informal thriving activities can be seen in the hybrid work environment, the securing of employment opportunities for other refugees, the design of a strategic financial plane, and strategic engagement with aid.

When it comes to the feminist views discussed in previous chapters, refugees' thriving activities continue the conversation on the important role of refugee women in forging the story of displacement and the refugee experience. Based on the enterprising activities in this chapter, I argue that women's thriving practices carry more weight compared to male refugees' accounts. While Chapter Seven addressed vulnerability narratives from the perspective of social isolation and living in a foreign environment, this chapter focuses on financial reliance on male family members and the lack of economic and social autonomy aspects discussed in Chapter Five. In fact, Atallah (2017) states that it's a taboo for a Palestinian woman to obtain a job beyond her duties for her family.

However, female entrepreneurs' activities shed a bright light on their roles in impacting the livelihood of their families and the wider communities. This is exemplified by Amal's *basta* approach that not only helped secure economic livelihood but also assisted in the needs of her son's family. Nevertheless, she had to endure years of domestic violence that affected her physical and mental health. Her approach demonstrates the additional resiliency efforts women must undertake. The impact of these efforts is reflected in Zahara's water filtration shop that serves the whole camp's needs and tackles infrastructural inequality, as well as Lamia's



enterprising approaches of sewing scarfs and employing other female refugees. In fact, none of the examples from the data present any form of dependence on male family members. Rather, women are often shown to support the partners of other men in the camp. In some cases, such as Rayan's example, the male partner is dependent on his wife to secure economic livelihood due to his medical condition. With this in mind, thriving practices present leadership roles for women, which counter their commonly portrayed auxiliary role. Lastly, these examples follow Kanal and Rottmann's (2021) call to avoid the trap of viewing refugee women in dichotomous ways, either as traumatised victims or as liberated from traditional patriarchy. In this context, women are enterprisers, successful entrepreneurs, and strategic planners contributing to the conclusion that the camp is a technology through which thriving is actualised.

## Chapter Nine: Expressing

### 9.1 Introduction

This chapter will conclude the results section for this research by discussing thriving activities that reveal refugees' inner voices and transform the time-space of the camp. These activities capitalise on the available freedom-related strategies discussed in Chapter Seven and offer a different approach to problem solving, addressing some of the social issues outlined in the previous chapter (Eight).

**9.1.1 Goal.** The purpose of this chapter is to present case studies showcasing creative mediums of expressions in the Shatila camp. These case studies will expand upon the three thriving themes summarised in Chapter Six, providing different perspectives and sometimes challenging the concepts of separation, meaninglessness, non-places, and invisibility discussed in Chapter Two (**Error! Reference source not found. & Error! Reference source not found.**). Through self-expression practices, camp residents have “shared their inner voices. These have transformed the camp’s time-space, expressed resistance to injustices, honoured residents’ heritages, and cemented their identity to the homeland. Refugees also showcased symbols and traditions that reproduced cultural practices within the time-space of Shatila. As thriving practices, these examples were brought to life through two overlapping mediums: (1) expression via creative mediums, such as art, drawing, writing, dance, photography, drama, and the exhibition of artefacts; and (2) expression that uses the camp as a large-scale public time-space medium, including protests, gatherings, graffiti, posters, and flags.

**9.1.2 Significance.** These two overlapping mediums present a narrative that disputes commonly held beliefs related to camps. Protracted camps are often portrayed as spaces that control refugees’ movements, effectively rendering the camps invisible and segregated from host communities. Expression, as a thriving practice, blurs the walls of separation and establishes a bridge between camp residents and broader communities, offering a glimmer of intra- and intercultural visibility. Performances, including dances and plays, were scheduled not only inside the camp but also throughout Lebanon – televised and broadcast globally. Protesters invited individuals from other countries to join marches and demonstrate unity amongst refugees. Such activities have influenced some of the unjust systems imposed on

camp residents, pressuring local authorities to decrease oppressive practices.

The visual arts have also served as avenues for self-expression and visibility while challenging the notion of refugee cultures being void of meaning and traditions. Camp residents have pioneered creative forms of resistance, reconstructing links between identity and place to represent their heritage. They have documented lost villages, expressed their identities with murals and graffiti, and preserved cultural heritage by exhibiting traditional symbols. Additionally, refugees have won international photography competitions with images that reflected their personal feelings. They have created visual campaigns addressing social injustices and fundraised for projects focused on children's well-being. Writers from the camp have tackled the topic of invisibility, collaborating with Western publishing houses to circulate books that narrate stories of exile, providing a window into everyday life in the camp. Lastly, Shatila's refugees have embraced creative practices that cultivate meaning in the camp's time-space; for instance, they have reproduced symbols that reflect and preserve their rich Palestinian heritage. This is exemplified by their Museum of Time and Memory, a collection focused on preserving culturally meaningful artefacts. These symbolic artefacts have become integral in the design of textile objects and jewellery now sold across the globe.

**9.1.3 Structure.** This chapter will outline these expression activities, first by presenting case studies in which camp residents utilised creative mediums to express concepts of heritage, healing, hope, inequalities, and personal growth. Secondly, the chapter presents case studies illustrating time-space transformation achieved through expressive reflections on cultural practices, traditions, unity, identity, and resistance. Each of these facets will conclude with a summary outlining key analytical concepts that inform the synthesis in the discussion section at the end of the chapter, introducing and explicating important concepts that will be expanded upon in Chapter Ten. Building on the results and the conceptual frameworks discussed in Chapter Three, this chapter will forge important links between such frameworks, starting on the macro-level, then narrowing to the individual. This chapter's concluding discussion section will examine thriving (introduced in Chapter Six) and comparing relation to expressive practices with the current discourse surrounding protracted camps in the literature.

## 9.2 Expressions Using Creative Mediums

Camp residents have used accessible mediums as creative platforms for sharing their inner voices; this includes drama, dancing, photography, writing, storytelling, and the exhibition of artefacts. By staging creative drama, they narrate heritage stories as a vehicle through which they can interrogate contemporary issues facing the camp and as a strategy for battling invisibility. The creative process of acting is often utilised to occupy residents' time in a positive way and as a cathartic platform through which children can express and process the traumas they've experienced. Dancing showcases regional cultural practices and serves as an offer of unity between multiple communities. Photography is used as a facilitator for processing emotions and expressing feelings of hope. The process of painting helps residents clear their minds and aids them in healing from traumas, while creative writing allows them to voice their opposition to the injustices of the past and present, including feelings of invisibility and separation from surrounding communities. The acts of preserving, exhibiting, and reproducing traditional symbols allows refugees to tell stories of heritage powerfully while cementing the homeland in their identities.

**9.2.1 Drama.** Rafik, an original Palestinian camp resident, implemented “artistic activities” to capitalise on the available time of the unemployed. For him, “thriving in this context centres on the ability to voice the multi-layered life in the camp.” Therefore, he facilitated collaborative efforts among several community members, faction leaders in the camp, and a collective of professional artists to create a theatre group with the goal of narrating heritage stories while “interrogating current problems facing families in the camp.” He described one of their recent projects as “a play, titled *Kafour* [the name of a village in Palestine], that covered a collection of stories taking place in a lost village in Palestine.” He described the plot as “a microcosm of life in the camp, where political factions' conflicts have sunk the social fabric of the village's small community.” The play's ultimate goal was “capitalising on stories of heritage to unite conflicting groups in the camp.”

Another play, *Hakeka* (a term denoting an expression of truth), was described as the “meeting of souls amongst the artists, camp residents, and members of the surrounding communities,” according to Rehab, the play's director. Actors from inside and outside the camp

performed the “daily spiritual death of children, youth, men, and women because of the camp’s debilitating environment and infrastructure.” The play endeavoured to provide a window into everyday life in the camp, serving as a platform for camp residents to “express the environmental inequalities in Shatila.” She concluded: “Unlike outside, we are lucky to experience freedom in the camp – freedom of expression. This process allowed us to come together; we all felt a sense of peace and joy after our performances. We feel we are thriving.” Other plays have addressed justice, inequalities, thriving, and the right to return to the homeland.

Another objective of the theatre group is to create a drama school for youth and children. Souad, one of the teachers, highlighted the importance of these classes: “We have to positively occupy youths’ time to make sure that they don't veer off the right path. Drug lords target vulnerable young men and lure them into a life of darkness by offering money in exchange for distributing drugs.” According to Souad, “the goal of the theatre classes is to use time productively and creativity while capitalising on talents towards meaningful ends.”

Farah, another drama teacher, highlighted the importance of including children in the “artistic process, as they have experienced a lot of trauma growing up in the camp.” The artistic activities are used as a “coping and healing mechanism,” helping the children in the camp express “their feelings and transform their suffering.” Feryal, a Syrian refugee mother built on this conversation; for her, performing arts not only helped children work through traumas in their lives, but they also helped her “heal the trauma of displacement” and “the loss of [her] husband.” She continued, “The storytelling aspect of the performing arts helped me vent my struggles and feel a sense of peace.” In collaboration with the arts centre at one of the local NGOs in the camp, she co-produced a movie “that expresses everyday life in the camp – the trials and the triumphs of living in Shatila.” She further explained: “One particular scene both affected me and helped me heal; [it was] a scene reflecting the true story of a young man getting electrocuted while walking in the street. Watching the actor performing a death scene helped me process and release the pain I have been experiencing; the pain of losing my husband.”

**9.2.2 Dancing.** Like drama, traditional dancing is used to express cultural practices while addressing issues facing the camp. As a thriving practice, it is prevalent during joyous times in the camp. It allows residents to “share love and laughter amongst each other” and address “some of the issues prevalent in the camp,” while preserving some of the “original heritage practices of Palestine,” according to Ferdous, one of the young camp residents. She joined a *Dabke* dance group because the performances cultivate “an environment of happiness.” Indigenous to the Levantine region, *Dabke* means “stamping feet” in Arabic and refers to a folk group dance that combines circle and line dancing. It is often performed at occasions like weddings and religious holidays. It is also an “expression platform for regional cultural practices,” according to Feryal, one of the dance group leaders. It is sometimes performed during protests, gatherings, and marches in the camp.

One of the performers, Zainab, shared her experience in the group, finding that the dance’s collective nature allows for expressions of unity among residents from diverse demographics. She reflected, “People from all walks of life travel together on trips and perform all over the country.” As dancers lock hands and synchronise their movement to the music, “you can see and feel the unity during the performances. No one in the dance group discriminates against people. We don't even ask about backgrounds; the collective nature of the dance allows us to provide equality for the whole group.”

Radwan, a young journalist who grew up in the camp, presented an image of a *Dabke* dancer before they performed at a public event. According to him, “the *Dabke* dance is an expression of the Palestinian heritage. [Dancers] wear traditional Palestinian attire and present a positive and visible image to outsiders. They demonstrate the rich cultural practices inside of the camp through music, dance, and clothes” (Image EX1). He believes that *Dabke* dance plays a significant role in debunking “myths about the camp and its residents within the Lebanese community. Therefore, the *Dabke* dance is another form of building bridges with the Lebanese people.”

His friend, Amal, captured a video of *Dabke* to demonstrate the richness “of the Palestinian heritage.” She reflected:

“For us, in Palestine, every area has its different form of *Dabke*. This video shows the Palestinian *Dabke* for a specific region. A teacher comes and trains the children of the camp. We formed a team, and we train all the time. We even perform inside and outside of the camp in parties and celebrations.”

Faris, another original camp resident, captured an image of the *Dabke* musicians playing “traditional musical instruments,” while other dancers were performing amongst the audience at a “community centre outside of the camp.” He continued, “This picture also means thriving for me. These are children who learn how to play music inside the camp but start performing in venues outside of the camp. These kids know how to play music and dance the *Dabke*” (Image EX2).

**9.2.3 Photography.** Radwan's and Faris's habit of capturing images as a means of expression is another common practice in Shatila. Hanna, one of the Syrian refugees, has been residing in the camp for several years and struggled with transitioning from a life of stability in Syria to what she referred to as a “stuck” life in the camp. She had waited for her resettlement papers from the French government for several years. She emotionally reflected, “My family lives in Europe, and I can't wait to reunite with them.” She used photography as a medium to express her feelings and her everyday life in the camp. She continued, “The circumstances I experienced, especially displacement and life in the camp, forced me to explore new talent. I knew I liked photography, but I didn't know I was talented at capturing images.”

Hanna “entered an international photography competition” and won the Grand Prize of \$5000. She captured an image of a “dark alleyway with a little crack of light” to reflect on “life in the camp” (Image EX3). She recalled, “There is darkness and there is light here in the camp. There is a good side and a bad side to the camp; at the end, there is hope as represented by the crack of light.” Expressing hope is vital for her. She captured another image showing a group of young students, including children, leaving the school. She reflected:

“I went to the roof and captured a picture of the kids as they exited the school. Their movement is filtered through the complex web of electrical wires. The dirty environment and the electrical cords represent the tragic reality of displaced people; however, children's laughter and education represent hope. For me, my kids represent

the hopeful future (Image EX4).”

Nuha, one of the original camp residents, captured an image “of the camp silhouette,” which she felt represented her hope of returning to Palestine. She reflected, “If you capture a picture from one of the tall buildings in the camp, you can see the mountains of Lebanon. This picture symbolically captures the right of return tower. For me, the sight of the mountains gives me hope because right behind the mountains is Palestine. The tower anchors my right to return to my homeland” (Image EX5).

To examine a different view with the same medium, Rami, a Palestinian-Syrian refugee, captured a “picture representing the tragic reality of life in the camp.” The image shows the current conditions of the camp, expressing how people need electricity and water. It represents poverty and misfortune, as well as how people are asking for the improvement of the environment, the social environment, and the physical environment (Image EX6). The magnitude of the tragedy is reflected in the “dense web of high voltage electrical wires mixed with water pipes” captured by Ammar, a Syrian refugee, who clarifies that

“the density of the camp’s wires mixed with dilapidated buildings represent the magnitude of the misfortune. The camp’s multiple dimensions represent the complex layers of the refugee tragedy – wires, buildings, water pipes – everything is on top of each other. Things are so crammed; you can step from building to building through the roof. The camp itself is a tragedy” (Image EX7).

Radwan used photography as a medium for activism to better amplify Shatila's social issues and disparities. He initiated a campaign titled “The Right to Play” to highlight inequalities between children of the camp and those who reside in surrounding communities. He presented an image showing “children playing in one of the camp streets under high voltage electrical wires mixed with water pipes” to discuss “issues of mental health” facing minors. He was “determined to bridge the inequality gaps, between children from the camp and others in Lebanon” with this campaign, which has the goal to “survey several abandoned spaces, basements, or construction sites in the camp, then to fundraise and turn them into play spaces for children.” He concluded, “It is unfair that this child is born here with no chances in life because he is a refugee. A mile away, a child in Lebanon is born to a privileged family with



access to all services that secure their livelihood” (Image EX8).

Samia, a Palestinian-Syrian refugee, used photography to document her state of being and growth as an individual. She captured an image of a half-full glass of water, representing her, “sitting on a white piece of paper.” She reflected, “This glass of water represents my brain, the way I was filling it with information and the way it was empty as a white paper before. Like water represents the information and the glass was getting filled” (Image EX9). Her friend Rihab loved photographing plants, considering them to be representative of her “growth in life.” She captured an image of a garden in the camp showing “several plants growing at different stages” to reflect on “the ups and downs of growth in life.” She concluded, “Taking pictures helps me process my feelings and allow me to express my thoughts. Sometimes, it is difficult for words express the ups and downs of life” (Image EX10).

**9.2.4 Painting.** Similar to Samia’s process of using photography as a means of internal expression, Nuha uses the process of artmaking as a medium of “expressing feelings, hopes, and aspirations.” She shared her sketches to facilitate discussion on how “the process of painting” has helped her ground her thoughts and reach a state of “inner peace” (Image EX11). For Somayeh, a Palestinian mother, art is a creative outlet that enhances her children’s communication styles. She “gives them pencils to invite them to express feelings that words may not convey” (Image EX12).

For her friend Munira, a Syrian refugee, the painting process played a different role in her thriving. It was “a way to help heal traumatic experiences,” as her former husband had severely abused her. She joined a workshop where a professional painter “taught how to draw” as a way to express “difficult emotions” that are “difficult to verbalise.” She captured an image that spoke to “what [she] was feeling inside.” She reflected, “One of the things that I will never be able to forgive my former husband for is the fact that he took my newborn baby away from me shortly after I gave birth; I couldn’t breastfeed him.” While painting, she reflected her emotions by drawing “half of my face in red to represent anger and the other half in blue to represent my hope to unite with my son.” She concluded, “I was experiencing a lot of anger inside of my heart; the drawing process was very healing for me” (Image EX13).

Tahira, one of the original camp residents, followed a similar process. The process of

drawing helped her “escape difficult realities.” She captured images in which “the vibrant colours” helped her “express hope for the future.” She reflected, “The stairs represent climbing up in life and the colours reflects joyful moments and milestones in life. The meaning of the photo gives me hope for the future” (Image EX14).

**9.2.5 Writing.** Whereas Nuha, Somaye, Tahira, and Munira used painting as a tool to process complex feelings, other dwellers turned to crafting written narratives to fight the continuous battle against invisibility and separation from the outside world. The process of creative writing in this section echoes camp dwellers’ voices and provides healing towards and visibility for refugees’ issues. In collaboration with one of the local NGOs and a Western publishing house, a group of Syrian, Palestinian-Syrian, and Palestinian refugees wanted to publish a book of stories to express their inner feelings and to capture everyday life in the camp. According to the project leader, Maya, the book’s goal was to use “the power of collaborative imagination to open up new ways of remembering and pave a vision for the future.” The twelve co-authors wrote stories of love, loss, injustices, pain, trials, and triumphs, opening a window for people across the world to see everyday life in the camp. For example, Hassan, one of the original camp residents, described the reality of living in the camp while calling on the world to join the fight against injustices. Below is an excerpt of his essay:

“We force ourselves to live here – forced, not free. The concrete buildings huddle in mismatched rows, and, between them, an alley snakes its way through. We are stuck inside this maze. Above our heads, the electric cables tangle with themselves. Beneath our feet, the rain turns streets to mud. The boy sits by the door, too bored to play. His mother cries for a life she can’t describe. We have no home – no home but Shatila. Spare us your good intention, your quiet pity. Instead, look up and raise your fist at the sky.”

The reality of living in the camp hit Fatima, a Syrian refugee, while walking through the narrow alleyways for the first time. In her essay, she wrote, “Suddenly, I am overwhelmed by a feeling that we are now like seeds buried deep in the dark earth. We have arrived in a prison which we have entered of our own free will, or so it appears. Sentenced without any charge.” Her co-author, Sajda, a young camp resident, described the tension between the devastating

lifestyle and her strong attachment to the camp. The camp environment is salt on an open wound, partially healed by the cultural riches of the residents. She wrote:

“I feel deeply conflicted when it comes to the camp. That I both love and despise it, that it bores me yet I long for it, how I reject it and desire it. Despite its crumbling homes, streets, and pavements, it oozes a substance capable of alleviating pain. It warms my heart when I see one of our members so innocently picking up a dropped morsel of food from the ground. How they give this wasted blessing to a small kid as they place it by the edge of the street so that no one steps on it, begging Allah for forgiveness. Or the small child coming home from school. The flags that decorate every inch of the camp and flutter in the breeze. No matter how many disagreements there are between the camp’s various residents, we are all united in our love for Palestine. I glance at the camp once again, as if I am seeing it for the first time. I still discover something new about it each time I look. And it seems different depending on where you are looking at it from. The camp is a treasure of secrets. For the first time ever, nothing troubles me as I walk down the unusual streets.”

All the authors involved agreed that the process of writing helped them process the complex emotions they were experiencing.

**9.2.6 Symbols and Storytelling.** While the written narratives of the previous section dealt with the battle against separation and invisibility, for other dwellers, it was more naturally implemented through the preservation of objects linked to the Palestinian heritage and the stories surrounding them. As a thriving practice, camp residents proudly displayed and reproduced traditional artefacts as visual aids in narrating stories of hope of return and a persistent claim to Palestine. Ahmad, one of the original camp residents, noted that this practice is not about the object itself; thriving in this context centres on “telling the story behind the symbol.” The goal is “to educate future generations and the community on the riches of Palestinian heritage.” He stated, “[telling stories of heritage] allows us to connect to not only our heritage, but also communities across the world, and brings us a sense of happiness from remembering the amazing experiences and accomplishments of our ancestors.” Stories of rich memories, generosity, protection, resiliency, and exile were produced in diverse

art forms, such as embroidery projects and art replicas.

Rakeeb, one of the original camp residents, captured an image of several “traditional products” to discuss his linkage to his Palestinian heritage. He reflected, “These products symbolise a direct link to the Palestinian people. They remind us of our country, how our grandparents lived, our origin, and the Palestinian cause. For us as Palestinians, even though we live in Lebanon or Syria, we should never forget that Palestine is our original country” (Image EX15). He still wears a shawl the same way his “grandparents wore it in the old times.” Another Palestinian-Syrian refugee agreed, showing a picture of an ornamented *naffadah* (ashtray) to outline her deep attachment to Palestine. Her house is full of traditional items. In fact, she wishes she “has an extra room to keep such items” in the camp (Image EX16).

Amir, one of the original camp residents who arrived as an infant in 1948, built on the discussion above of “multi-layered identity.” He reflected on the history of the camp, explaining, “When people moved to the camp, they carried the identity of the place they came from rather than their identity.” Many thought this was a temporary situation; the realisation that this would be “a long-term situation” reframed it as “the transfer and the preservation” of everyday objects with longer-term implications. This is why one would “find many residents wearing an old-fashioned key around their necks.” He reflected, “Weeks after people moved to Lebanon, Palestinians would go to their homes at night and grab their items, some of their personal belongings, and return to the camp. In fact, if a construction worker or a farmer needed their tools, they would go back to their tool shed in Palestine, grab what they needed, and then come back to Lebanon. They would also get some of the stored food from the *mooneh* (pantry) because the food was not provided here in the camp.” He concluded, “You can still find these items, over seven decades later, all over the camp.” This is one reason why he created the Museum of Time and Memory, discussed in Chapter Seven, which helped facilitate the preservation of these artefacts and narrate stories about the lost cultural practices of “Palestinians for [the education of] future generations and foreigners.” He reflected on an image captured of the museum. “I want to tell the full story of the Palestinians, starting from the rich culture, the magnitude of political machinations, stories of displacements, and what has transpired in camps over the past seven decades.” For the last twenty years, he has been

campaigning for original camp residents, “especially the first-generation refugees who arrived at the camp in 1948, to donate their family’s artefacts to the museum” (Image EX17).

Amir also captured an image of “the return boat” to demonstrate the hopes of returning and the movement of the first generation of exile (Image EX18). The son of the boat’s owner narrated the story of his father’s life in the camp in relation to the boat: “My father was a sailor. He used it to travel back and forth between Beirut and Yafa regularly to transport people and to bring personal items from their homes.” As life in the camp became more protracted, “the boat became the symbol of returning to Yafa.” Another original camp resident donated an ornamental staff to describe stories of generosity. While living in Palestine, he hosted many guests in his *Diwan*. The *Diwan* is a space for public gathering and hosting guests. One of the museum’s coordinators described the story behind the owner of the *Diwan* and the staff as follows:

“The story behind this staff is very deep as it was used for specific purposes. For example, if I owned a *Diwan* in the old days and a guest comes, even though I may not know the guest, I am obligated to host the guest and feed them in my house for three days without even asking who they are. In the Arabic world, we call this *El Jeereh*. It means that it is my duty to protect you no matter what, even though I don’t know who you are. When the guest stays at my house for a few days, it is my obligation to ask them where they are headed. For example, the guest would say “I’m going to a village somewhere in Palestine.” All the locals know who I am in the area, so I am obligated to give the guest this exceptional staff to use while walking in the area, as everybody would know that the guest is a trusted individual because they recognise the design of the staff as belonging to me. They see that the guest has stayed at my house as a guest. So, they wouldn’t stop the guest from asking who they are, and the people of the town would feel safe around them. The guest will walk all over the town, and no one will ask them any questions or bother them. They know they are my guest; if they harass them, it means they harassed me.”

He continued, adding deeper layers to these ideas of generosity and trust:

“This happened with our Prophet Muhammad; peace be upon him. There was

someone who committed illegal activities against the Prophet, then was bad-mouthing him. He escaped the area, and he fled to Yemen. So, his wife came to the Prophet and used the word *El Jeereh*. Since this is a secret term, the Prophet gave her his cape to wear. So, she travelled to Yemen and gave the cape to her husband to wear. He then came back to Mecca, and he was wearing the cape. Everybody knew that the cape belongs to the Prophet, so no one arrested him.”

To build on this generosity concept, Shehab, another coordinator, captured an image of a *mihbaj* to demonstrate a more profound concept of hospitality practices in Palestine. He introduced the *mihbaj* as a “coffee grinder that plays music” (Image EX19). He reflected, “It is a sign of hospitality. It was used in the villages for travellers to follow the music to a place to stay.” He continued narrating the story of the tradition he learned from the *mihbaj*’s original owner, stating “The tradition is that, as a traveller, you can stay in the village for three days and three nights, where people would feed you and take care of you without even asking your name or knowing anything about you.” At that time, “there were no hotels nor cars. Travellers used camels and horses, so it was a tiring journey. Travellers needed to stop and rest. So, when they heard the sound of the *mihbaj*, they used to follow the music and find the guest home.”

The practice of storytelling through exhibiting objects continued in the camp and included events and traditions that occurred after the exile. Ali, another coordinator of the museum, captured an image of “Um Charbel’s lantern” to tell a story of suffering and massacres endured during the civil war period (Image EX20). The story also outlined concepts of community support and protection. Even though St. Charbel is a Maronite Christian saint, “Um Charbel is a Muslim Palestinian from the Shatila camp.” The museum coordinator reflected on the story of the lantern as follows:

“Her husband used to work in the eastern region of Beirut during the civil war. At some point, he was stuck there and wasn’t able to go back to his house in the western region. His Christian boss was concerned that he would be killed because he is a Muslim Palestinian. The boss told him, “As long as you are here, your name is not Abou Mahmoud; we will only call you Abou Charbel. If the militias knew your real name, they would kill you.” Abou Charbel agreed; he was stuck in the eastern side of Beirut for

more than a year. Then, he was able to escape. He arrived at his house in the Shatila camp to find that his wife got rid of all of their possessions out of fear, except a lantern they brought with them from Palestine. To honour the Christian boss who saved his life, he continued calling himself Abou Charbel. Later on, his wife gave birth to a child and then named him Charbel.”

My analysis of residents’ images shows that these symbols and artefacts are often reproduced and exhibited to overlay heritage stories with contemporary experiences at the camp. As a thriving practice, Souha, an artist at an embroidery factory, expressed her feelings towards everyday life in the camp while cultivating heritage symbols in her art. She designed a geometrical template with a spike of wheat and a cypress branch topped by a star and planned on embroidering the template on several textile products (Image EX21). Traditionally, the “spike of wheat symbolises the good/abundance (*el kheir*), the cypress symbolises thriving, and the star is the light.” According to her design, “the spikes also represent the prison where we live. I sometimes consider the camp as a prison, although there is good inside of it,” which is represented by the traditional meaning. The vertical lines in the spike allude to prison bars, though, for her, these bars represent “a level of safety as well.” She continued by outlining that “every line here has a deeper meaning. Even if there is a prison, there is still thriving, as symbolised by the cypress.” The length of the cypress represents “standing up/standing tall (*shoumoukh*) in the face of adversity.” The lines almost reach the star, which “represents hope as well.” She concluded, “This art piece means a lot to me because it overlays how I feel with traditional Palestinian embroidery. I always have hope that the Palestinian cause will always stand and will never come to an end.”

Fahima, one of the original camp residents and an artist working at a sewing factory, embedded the story of exile, life in the camp, and injustices into a painting and has plans to embroider the details on clothes. Several Western companies placed orders for hundreds of items to sell. She captured two pictures of one of the products to help illustrate the story. She stated, “The car represents the original story of exile and the recent influx of refugees. The wires and buildings represent the camp’s evolution and the urban inequalities in a cramped environment. The birds on the wires represent hope and a symbol of the wonderful people who

live in the camp” (Images EX22 & EX23).

Sawsan, another original camp resident, captured a picture of a man wearing the Palestinian flag to discuss the widespread thriving practice of reproducing the “colours of Palestine” into wearable items. She explained, “This picture represents our flag, the Palestinian flag. These are the colours of our flag. You will always find Palestinians wearing or carrying items that represent our identity and the colours of the Palestinian flag, including clothes, bracelets, and other objects.” The flag colours reflect the hearts and the desires of camp residents and show “patriotism towards Palestine, as well as the deep attachment to our roots.” The deep meaning “behind the flag’s colours are white for peace, red for the blood of those who sacrificed, green for life, and black to represent the sacrifice of the martyrs” (Image EX24).

Several participants discussed how the interaction with the original generation of exile is considered a creative symbol of expression. They often narrate “stories of the original land and exile” that bring a sense of “happiness and pride” and transcend “the imagination of subsequent generations,” according to Fouad, one of the original camp residents. His friend Ameen, a Syrian-Palestinian refugee, captured an image of one of the camp residents who “arrived at the camp as a young man” to discuss how such dwellers represent “a direct link to the homeland and a visual reminder of the Palestinian history.” He continued, “They are invited to lead cultural practices in weddings and celebrations” while narrating heritage stories (Image EX25). When the man in the picture was interviewed, he stated that he was often “invited to participate in important events” to perform “extinct cultural practices.” He explained, “When a man wants to marry one of the camp’s young women, they would ask me to accompany him to visit the family to ask for her hand in marriage.” In times of conflicts, he “would be invited to mediate among conflicting families.” During protests, he would begin “the march with an old Arabic poem to incite passion among protestors.” Another original camp resident, Farah, agreed with this important distinction; she captured an image of “one of the elderly original camp residents” to express linkage to the homeland. She stated, “She is alive; when we see someone from Palestine, we feel that Shatila is still a prosperous place.” They are the only physical link to the roots (Image EX26).



Syrians who moved to Shatila are new transplants and do not share similar memories of time spent in the camp as original residents. Thriving through symbology practices centres on reproducing and transferring reminders or replications of Syrian culture, imagery, and lifestyle onto the camp. Fareeda, a Syrian refugee reflected on an image she captured of a plant growing close to her doorstep: “If the world ends and the situation goes back the way it was, I will be more than happy to go back to Syria. If there are safety, stability and work, I will be more than happy to go back to Syria. I am from Joubar, close to Damascus. This area is very peaceful, with vast open fields. This is why I presented the picture of flowers I planted here, because it reminds me of the way we used to live in Syria.” (Image EX27).

Another refugee painted her house “the same colours of her home in Syria to adjust to life in the camp.” A refugee mother captured a photo of her cooking with her daughters to discuss how she “normalised life in the camp.” She reflected, “We used to live a comfortable life in a large house. We now rent a tiny house in Shatila. My children initially struggled, so I started practising the same habits I used to follow in Syria, here in Shatila. This includes cooking the same food, wearing the same clothes, and following the same schedule” (Image EX28). Samia, another Syrian refugee, discussed the significance of preparing for *mooneh* (food preserves) as a practice of cultural transfer. She stated, “Food doesn’t taste as good as it did in my village back in Syria. So, I ask those who travel to bring me essentials. I then cook and preserve ethnic foods, such as *makdous*, *keddabat*, and *labneh*.” Another Syrian dries *mloukhyah* leaves brought from Syria. The smell of the leaves reminds her of home. Damascene *mloukhyah* tastes way better than the manufactured ones in Lebanon.

Refugees’ thriving practices expressed through drama, dance, photography, and storytelling continue to build upon the argument that Shatila is a technology and an accelerant for the actualisation of thriving; in this context, it fleshes out the argument by adding unique layers of creativity and expression. These artistic expressions have played a pivotal role in addressing social issues in the camp. While refugees’ *evolving* and *enterprising* approaches to conflict and assimilation included organising educational committees, interactive programs, and communal spaces, they also pursued similar (and dissimilar) fulfilment through performing arts and artistic expressions (7.2 Time-Space Evolution & 8.3.4 Social Governance Strategies). This

angle speaks to and enhances the understanding of Lefebvre's (1991) approach to lived spaces: everyday social norms include creative interactions with others. As will be discussed in depth in the Results Summary Chapter (Chapter Ten), these creative activities add additional dimension to Haight et al.'s (2002) nonhuman environment factor.

One key factor at the heart of these activities – a factor worthy of consideration in moving on to the discussion section – is the multiple geographical scales in which refugees' artistic expressions exist. Creative mediums have reached camp neighbourhoods and surrounding communities and have even been communicated to audiences much farther afield. In addition to deepening the definition of thriving, these multi-scale approaches blur and redefine the separation and exclusion concepts discussed in Chapter Two (**Error! Reference source not found.**). Dance and drama recitals establish a bridge to the outside world, offering a glimmer of intercultural visibility. These examples project a visible positive image, rendering the camp a place of meaning based on tradition and creativity. In the following section, refugees capitalise on this image of the camp and elevate their expression using the time-space of the camp as a canvas.

### **9.3 Expressions Using the Time-Space of the Camp as a Medium**

The camp's time-space has provided a more extensive and complex canvas for expression. As discussed in Chapter Six, residents of Shatila developed a deep attachment to and multi-layered identity based around the camp, rendering its time-space a place of expression (**Error! Reference source not found.**). The Palestinian population of Shatila, the protracted status of residents' plights, political conflicts, the influx of other refugee populations, and the resettlement of Palestinians into the Global North have all contributed to a layered, intricate identity rooted in the place of origin, but still encompassing their history and, ultimately, their reconfigured lives in camps. Therefore, the camp's time-space is used as a canvas from which diverse expressions emerge, built partially from a shared memory of dispossession, collective cultural practices, and the pain of injustice.

Camp residents have invented creative outlets for self-expression, reconstructing links between identity, time, and place that serve as rich voices for their heritage. This includes

graffiti, murals in public areas, paintings, artefacts, and decorative symbols within private spaces. Posters of martyrs and the Palestinian flag are widely inscribed on the main street walls, sometimes complemented by other national symbols, such as a mural of Abou Ammar, the former chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) or the al-Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem. Other visuals include flags and maps of Palestine, images of Jerusalem and extinct Palestinian villages, keys used as symbols of the Palestinian right-of-return, and Handala – a popular character drawn by the Palestinian cartoonist Naji al-Ali, who symbolises Palestinian identity and defiance. These visuals complement and represent protests, marches, and gatherings just as the loud sound of drums and patriotic chants complement the graphic symbols creating a unified time-space medium of expression.

**9.3.1 Murals and Paintings.** Fateh, one of the original camp residents, linked thriving to the act of connecting to and preserving “the Palestinian heritage.” He believes that visual arts are the best tool of documentation for standing up “against intentional erasure by several Arabic and Western systems.” The need to preserve memory and transfer stories of heritage to other generations is highlighted by Mohammad, an original camp resident and a mural artist. His work centres on “documenting villages that were destroyed during the Nakba as well as significant and holy sites [so] the younger generations in the camp will always connect to their roots” (Image EX29). In fact, several camp artists have reproduced elements of the villages from which their grandparents came, including villages that don't exist anymore. Many expressed that thriving in this context is not only exemplified by the visual representation but is also found in the process of documentation. Even if dwellers were born and raised in the camp, the details of the buildings and the landscape are “seared in our memories from the ample stories of heritage narrated by our relatives,” according to Sami, one of the original camp residents.

In addition to murals, displaying paintings inside homes is another strategy that links spatial transformation to time, memory, and attachment to one's roots. Fathey, a dweller born and raised in Shatila, proudly displays an original oil painting of the al-Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem. He reflected on his “rare painting” to express his deep attachment to the homeland. Even though he has never been to Palestine, the painting “keeps the memory of the homeland alive” for his three daughters. The artwork plays another, more active role; it is a “conversation

starter for visitors from outside the camp” that expresses stories of “heritage, loss, pride, and a vehicle to educate others about the Palestinian cause.” He concluded, “This art piece means the whole world. It is a daily visual representation of thriving for me; it enhances the quality of time spent in my house. Whether I sit down for dinner with the family, host a guest, or read a book, the presence of the painting cultivates my roots in my everyday experience.”

Similarly, one of the political faction’s leaders mirrored the same thriving practice by hanging a painting of **Error! Reference source not found.** on her living room wall (Image EX30). For her, “Abou Ammar carries the qualities and the honours of the Palestinian people; he was compassionate, humble, and loving.” The picture brings her a lot of joy because it is a visual reminder of the “goodness of our people.” He is loved because his actions kept “the longing to the homeland alive and the Palestinian cause” in the hearts of Palestinian refugees. She concluded, “If a soldier has an injury on his leg, he will humble himself, kneel down and kiss his legs.” Her sense of happiness deepened when her “son used to play right under the image of Abou Ammar.” In fact, through this exposure, her son even “became aware of the world; he saw pictures of Abou Ammar all over the house.” He asked her, “How come there are no pictures of your biological father?” She responded, “This is your spiritual grandfather; he is my leader; he is my symbol in life.” Another original camp resident agreed; for her, “it is important to maintain the memory of Abou Ammar’s good work throughout our future generations. Future generations must understand the experiences of the camp residents.” These art pieces help “keep the memory alive.”

**9.3.2 Flags and Posters.** In addition to creating murals and displaying paintings, decorating the camp with banners and posters is another common expression practice. They act as a visual representation of Palestinian heritage and a vehicle to “keep the cause alive” while cultivating an environment of “joy, hope, and resistance against injustices,” according to Eissa, one of the original camp residents. For Rouha, a Syrian-Palestinian refugee who grew up in the camp, hanging the Palestinian flag on walls “is the ultimate practice of thriving.” The Palestinian flag “represents hope for me; it represents a hope that I will be visiting Palestine one day. This hope is essential because Israel's goal is to make sure that the younger generation forgets Palestine. I want to show them that's not true, the visual of the flag makes me yearn for

Palestine, even more even though I've never been there." In fact, for Nuha, another original camp resident, the flag, as a unifying symbol of the cause, represents the foundation of "collective thriving." It is an incentive for unity "among conflicting political factions in the camp" to such an extent that the colours of the flag are "painted all over the camp's walls" as a unifying representation of "identity and the right of returning to the homeland."

Posters of martyrs are often pinned next to the flags, which overlay the "attachment to the homeland" on top of "their sacrifice for the Palestinian cause," according to Jihad, one of the original camp residents. For him, thriving is contextualised historically, in relation to the specific struggles of the Palestinian people in general, but also the camp residents in particular. He continued, "We must educate future generations about the struggles of the Palestinian people." As an illustration of this sentiment, his friend Ahmad, one of the Syrian-Palestinian refugees, captured an image showing "posters of the camp martyrs pinned on top of the area where children play and right next to the Youth Palestinian Centre." He linked children's thriving to the "sacrifice of the martyrs during the massacres." He reflected, "They died protecting the people of the camp. Without their efforts, these kids may not even exist nor could freely play in the streets of the camp" (Image EX31). For Rehab, another original camp resident, posters of freedom fighters represent a microcosm of the "character of the Palestinian people and the Palestinian cause at large." She reflected, "Freedom fighters have protected camp residents and paved the way for their livelihoods. They made me fall in love with Palestine, even though I've never been there. They taught me how to fight for my rights and how to keep the Palestinian cause alive."

Coloured flags and posters add an additional layer of expression linked to time, celebrations, and happiness. During religious holidays, the camp abounds with brightly coloured banners and posters to express "the joy and happiness of the Eid." These flags are a joyful sensory experience located where "kids are laughing, playing in the streets, wearing new clothes, people celebrating in alleyways," according to Fatehmah, one of the Syrian refugees who captured an image of the "camp's main street during the Adha Eid" (Image EX32). She reflected, "I love the Eid here in the camp. I always take my kids to the camp streets during the Eid because it's fully decorated and brings me a lot of joy. You know that everybody is

celebrating because of the colours, the smells, the laughter, the joy, the business and the joyful crowdedness of the camp.” She continued, pointing out that this expression of joy and the resounding “sense of happiness does not exist outside of the camp,” as she doesn't see such happiness expressed in the streets of Beirut. She believes that the joyful environment is a collective expression of the “tightknit community where everybody knows each other. The social fabric allows for united celebration.”

According to her friend Mai, another Syrian refugee, who captured a picture of a decorative star placed over the camp's main street during Ramadan,

“the decoration and the celebration make me feel that good things and happy days are coming. It's coming. All the streets are decorated with lights, music, and colours cultivating a sensory experience that represents happiness. This brings me a lot of joy as I feel that something is changing, and something has transformed in the camp” (Image EX33).

This joy is also expressed during the Muslim pilgrimage by pinning religious symbols throughout the camp's streets or “by painting images of the Kaaba and the Great Mosque of Mecca on the exterior walls of pilgrims' homes.”

**9.3.3 Spatial Adaptation.** Densely populated with murals, flags, and patriotic inscriptions, the People's Square is the most comprehensive canvas that amalgamates all of the previous expression practices while linking flexible spatial changes with diverse time interventions. Located at the heart of the camp, “this is the only shared open space among diverse political factions,” according to Rouba, the daughter of one of the political faction's leaders. She reflected on an image she captured of the square to link the concept of unity to space, explaining that “the square used to be way bigger. However, political factions started building their offices around the open square. Each political faction owns a section of the outer edges; however, the open area is a shared space among all” (Image EX34).

The spatial technology of the people's square changes with different times. At various times of the day, “you can see children playing” as the square transforms into a football field. During the summer season, “this square becomes a celebration space; all wedding parties in the camp are held here.” Decorations, including brightly coloured flags, fill the walls of the

balconies around the open space. She concluded, "This is not only a celebration space, but also a space for expression, unity, and support" (Image EX35).

Her friend Zaida further explained the transformation concept: "When someone dies, the square becomes a mourning space decorated with black flags. The people of the camp offer condolences in this square. It's a multifunctional space, a platform to emote and express." More importantly, it is a space to amplify the inner and shared voices, as "all protests and demonstrations in the camp either occur here or commence in the People's Square." Thus, the function of the same space changes based on time and context.

To further build on the concept of time and spatial transformation, Amina, one of the original camp residents, discussed another layer of thriving: the square's spatial transformation into seasonal exhibits to commemorate the "events that happened in the camp that built a pathway for livelihood for future generations." Referencing the Sabra and Shatila massacre, she stated "We must keep the memory of the martyrs alive." She captured an image of the annual commemoration gallery to express her "gratitude towards their sacrifice" (Image EX36). Held in the People's Square, the gallery exhibits rare archival photos of the massacre, "so the young generation would know what their parents endured" and to "celebrate life because of their sacrifice." Even though the gallery's images "represent the horrific loss," one of the young original camp residents feels "moved and inspired" by these men and women. The photos in the gallery help her "transcend" into a state of "inner peace." It reminds her of the fact that "because of their sacrifice, I am alive now."

**9.3.4 Commemorations.** The gallery commemorating the Sabra and Shatila massacre begins the conversation on one of Shatila's most critical annual events: the silent march on the night of September 14th commemorating "lost lives," according to Rouba. The march condenses all of the layers of expression, unity, and memory, and is thus considered the "ultimate representation of collective thriving," according to Jouhaina, one of the camp's political leaders. She explained that, every year, camp residents, "along with dozens of community members from Lebanon, Europe, and the wider world, review the images at the exhibit and then march from the People's Square to visit the Sabra and Shatila mass grave on the edge of the camp." While marching, she captured a series of images to reflect on "the pain,

recovery, resiliency, and hope for the future” (Images EX37, EX38 & EX39). She recalled,

“This is the most important event in the camp. This time of the year, we all unite with our friends from all over the world to keep the memory of martyrs alive. This march allows us to feel the love among one another and the love of the world. This march is televised and will continue to educate the world about what has transpired and will tell the truth about the resiliency of the Palestinian people.”

She concluded, “You can see how we all mourn together, celebrate together, and collectively express a sense of gratitude towards those who helped save our lives. We thrive together.”

**9.3.5 Protesting.** In addition to silent marches, the square is the starting point for all camp protests. In fact, surrounded by patriotic posters, flags, and inscriptions, this area and the camp in general become platforms of expression that provide loud and visible voices for refugee issues. Hundreds of camp residents and members of other communities “unite and march to protest against oppressive systems,” according to Faris, one of the original camp residents. He has participated in many protests and reflected on his experience: “The right of return is interwoven into the social fabric here in the camp. Children hear about the war, hear about Palestine, and hear about how Israel took their rights. So, for the duration of our lives, we have been nursed and fed the truth about our roots and history.”

His friend Eissa reflected, “One may think that Palestinians may forget their land due to depression, oppression, persecution, unfairness, and recession, but that's not the case. These circumstances become a cementing factor for the Palestinian identity.” These “tyrannical practices” feed and help to sustain “a powerful and united Palestinian bubble, as tyranny breeds revolution.” Therefore, and in addition to hanging posters and flags, creating graffiti, and pursuing other artistic expressions, “gatherings, commemorations, marches, and protesting” have become essential thriving practices and are interwoven into the social fabric of the camp.

Mahmoud, one of the original camp residents, described the structure of protest as an expression of “collective deprivation.” In his view, “collective deprivation precipitates collective unity, and, therefore, the collective pursuit of thriving is followed.” The experience of people in refugee camps generates a sense of unified community. Mahmoud owns his own business and



can support his family financially. The new labour law that restricts refugees from accessing the workforce in Lebanon doesn't affect him personally. He joined hundreds of camp residents in a mass protest to express their suffering due to these oppressive rules. For him, protesting is a platform to show his solidarity with camp residents.

Rafiq, a Palestinian-Syrian resident, explained: “Unity, fighting for a worthy cause, and collective expression are the foundation for protesting.” His neighbour Farah, another Palestinian-Syrian resident, agreed; she feels a sense of collective “love and understanding” during a protest. She captured a picture during the protest to solidify the concept of unity (Image EX40). She concluded, “When I participate in the protest, I like everyone to come together. Previously, they used to protest in separate groups with different flags. Now there was a decision to unify the protests and only hold the Palestinian flag.” Protesting has become a platform for “bringing conflicting people together.” Lastly, her friend, Rayan, believes that “the unity of conflicting political factions under the Palestinian flag” drives the hope for the right of return to Palestine.

The linkage between protesting and the sense of unity it reinforces has a wider impact that extends to surrounding communities and people in countries worldwide. Eissa captured an image showing “a protest against unjust policies” to discuss the need to involve the local community in creating change (Image EX41). In collaboration with several community members from Lebanon, a group of Palestinian refugees “gathered to discuss issues related to injustices facing refugees.” He went on to say that, when the Lebanese support refugee protests, “they show understanding and solidarity with the Palestinian cause.”

Fareed, another original camp resident, reflected on his experience of “foreigners from Europe” coming to the camp to join the protest. He believes that “thriving is validated and amplified by others joining our cause. So, when foreigners, who don't even live in the camp and don't share our background come and join us in protest activities regarding the Palestinian cause, I feel honoured, and this is a wonderful expression and image of the camp to the outside world.” Their participation demonstrates “a global unity towards seeking justice for the Palestinian cause.”

It is evident that protesting, as a thriving practice, is multifaceted. Radwan captured an

image showing an older lady protesting to highlight how the expression of protest goes beyond the limits of age and physical capability. He reflected, “This picture is significant to me because expressing patriotism and protest are not bound by age or gender. This elderly lady is participating in the protest even though she's sitting in a wheelchair. She wants to express her voice despite her physical limitations; this picture represents the ultimate thriving for me” (Image EX42). His friend Rayan captured a picture of a child during a protest to discuss the totality of the Palestinian plight. She reflected, “This child is a third-generation refugee and is standing on the sacrifice of his family. His grandparents experienced the whole Palestinian journey. They left when they were young, endured all of the wars and massacres, and now the child is protesting for his rights” (Image EX43).

When asked about the desired outcomes, residents’ responses varied between advocating for policy changes and challenging oppressive governance approaches. In addition to providing an avenue for self-expression, protests do “actually work,” according to Rayan. She co-organised a massive “strike to protest the Lebanese naturalisation law so Lebanese mothers can grant their children citizenship.” Her father is a Palestinian refugee and her mother is Lebanese. None of the children are allowed to hold a Lebanese citizenship; only native males can provide any form of residency to their children. She, alongside NGOs and compassionate Lebanese politicians, have organised “mass protests in the streets.” They were able to pressure the government to change the rules “slightly.” Now, Lebanese mothers who are married to foreign men “are allowed to grant citizenships to their minor children.” This is not the ideal outcome, as she only has one brother who is under 18, so the rest will still carry refugee status. Fareed asserted that, even though these protests rarely affect refugee policies, they help reduce the government's “top-down governance and control.” He concluded that the government sometimes “backs down on some of the restrictions temporarily.”

There are two key factors at the heart of refugees’ thriving activities to bear in mind before entering the discussion section below and subsequent Results Summary Chapter (Ten). Whereas the previous section, *Expressions Using Creative Mediums*, introduced the concept of multi-scale geography to refugees’ artistic expressions, the thriving practices that use the time-space of the camp outline a two-way extroverted nature. Members of the surrounding and

global communities have entered the camp and participated in artistic activities and protest marches, adding a global dimension to the concepts of exclusion and blurring the walls of separation discussed in the previous section.

When overlaying thriving practices from the previous results chapters – Chapters Seven and Eight – onto the practices analysed in this chapter, the second analytical key factor from this section provides three novel contexts for the conceptual frameworks discussed in Chapter Three: utilised spaces, cross-geographical simultaneity, and generational duration (**Error! Reference source not found.** & **Error! Reference source not found.**). As will be outlined in depth in Chapter Ten, refugees have utilised the camp's space as a form of resistance with protests, patriotic inscriptions, and marches. The concept of it being *utilised* complements Lefebvre's (1991) approach to *conceived, perceived, and lived* spaces.

Additionally, refugees' narratives show that one person's duration and simultaneity – begun in a foreign place based on someone else's experience – bleed into other generations' knowledge of time. This is demonstrated by their interactions with the older generations and by painting destroyed villages, for example. Furthermore, it is becoming increasingly clear through the results chapters – especially in this one – that time in Shatila is fluid, changeable and changing, an active shaper of perception that functions in different dimensions and paces at any one moment in any one or more spaces. As will be discussed in depth in Chapter Ten, these novel concepts complement Bergson's approach to time in camps.

#### 9.4 Discussion

This chapter outlined two different but overlapping mediums of expression integral to thriving in the Shatila camp: (1) creative mediums (art, drawing, writing, dance, photography, drama, and the exhibition of artefacts, and (2) the time-space of the camp as a large-scale public medium (protests, gatherings, graffiti, posters, and flags). Whether through participation in creative mediums or by transforming the camp's time-space, each expressive practice provides an example of how thriving is actualised. Practices discussed in this chapter demonstrate a geography spanning across multiple levels, reaching the local, national, and international communities, broadening our understanding of *acts of connecting* (**Error!**

**Reference source not found.).**

According to residents' expressive activities, thriving in this context is a two-way process; creative mediums have reached camp neighbourhoods and surrounding communities, and have even spread messages to audiences much farther afield, nationally and internationally. Concurrently, members of those communities have entered the camp and participated in artistic activities and protest marches. The theatre group's plays were performed throughout surrounding communities, and artists from Lebanon have participated in performances held at the camp. Similarly, protest activities have fostered connection among the camp's diverse groups and have been broadcast across global media platforms. Volunteers from Europe have demonstrated solidarity with the refugee causes, participating in commemorative marches and protests against the newly imposed labour law. Additionally, the creative writing process allowed for an out-going connection across the world. Camp residents partnered with an international publishing house, writing essays that narrated intimate details of everyday life in the camp to readers in the U.K. and Europe (Ahmad et al., 2018). They called upon the global community to unite with the refugees in their struggles. Telling stories through the preservation and reproduction of traditional symbols allowed camp residents to connect with their roots and connect with the larger global community. As demonstrated in the Museum of Time and Memory's artefacts, the objects featured enable future generations to learn about the traditional practices and educate external visitors on the rich cultural heritage of Palestine. Connection to the roots is also evident in transforming the time-space of the camp. Artists are painting murals to document lost villages so that the younger generation will never forget their ancestors' stories.

Expression practices deepened our understanding of a *state of being* as a form of thriving (**Error! Reference source not found.**). The act of connecting through the *Dabke* dance, for example, invited a sense of unity while cultivating an environment of happiness and laughter. The nature of the dance promotes a literal connection, as dancers lock hands and form a one-dance line. Residents stated that the synchronised line dancing symbolises unity and encourages equality among dancers. Similarly, photography and painting were used as strategies to express feelings and reach states of grounding and inner peace. For the award-

winning photographer, the creative process of capturing images helped keep hope alive, as demonstrated by the photo that showed a crack of light within a dark alleyway. Making art helped a survivor of the domestic violence process and expressed her emotions; painting a symbolic self-portrait allowed her to reach a state of inner peace.

Although the definition of thriving discussed in Chapter Six highlights the refugees' *state of being* as one of the essential factors, examples in this chapter feature the *process of expressing feelings* as an added layer of defining and understanding what it means to thrive. Photographers, painters, and dancers linked their senses of inner peace and happiness to the process of venting and achieving expression through creative mediums. Additionally, symbology practices outlined pride as an additional state of being. For example, transforming the camp's time-space during religious holidays cultivated a combined form of happiness and pride. Bright colours facilitated the feeling of happiness; the colours of the flag elevated a sense of pride. Similarly, reproducing patriotic colours into wearable items and exhibiting posters of martyrs promoted a sense of pride among camp residents.

The case studies discussed in this chapter challenge the narratives of separation from surrounding communities and demonstrate visibility, rich cultural meaning, and a strong identity. Although the concepts of separation and invisibility are formative for refugee camps from a geopolitical perspective, camp residents' dance and drama recitals have blurred the walls of separation and established a bridge between camp residents and the broader communities, offering a glimmer of intra- and intercultural visibility. Performances were scheduled not only inside the camp but also throughout Lebanon, as well as being televised and broadcast globally.

Visibility was escalated when refugees entered and won international photography competitions, with the photographs visually providing deeper insights into their inner feelings. Writers from the camp challenged multiple layers of separation by collaborating with Western publishing houses and published essays that provide intimate details of – and windows into – everyday life in the camp. Camp business owners have documented exile stories through products sold in Western countries, as demonstrated by the tote bag embroidery project. Lastly, the commonly perpetuated separation narrative was also challenged when members of

global communities entered the camp and participated in cultural and protest events.

The concepts of slums, ghettos, and non-places void of meaning and traditions may capture the environmental decay, urban inequalities, and the overcrowded conditions of camps. They do not reflect refugees' practices of transforming the time-space of the camp. Residents have pioneered creative means of resistance and reconstructed links between time, identity, and place representing their heritage. They documented lost villages through art, expressed their identity with murals and graffiti, and preserved cultural heritage by exhibiting traditional symbols. They have maintained their heritage through dance and drama performances, presenting cultural practices to camp residents and the surrounding communities.

Shatila refugees' creative approaches provide meaning to the camp's time-space, reproducing or preserving symbols that reflect their rich Palestinian heritage. This is exemplified by the Museum of Time and Memory, which helped preserve artefacts and narrate stories of generosity, community support, and resiliency in overcoming difficulties. These symbols were integrated into textile objects and jewellery sold across the globe.

It is important to note that examples from this chapter apply much more to Palestinian refugees than Syrians. Palestinians' expression practices focused on preserving cultural practices and challenging unjust systems. Whereas Syrians' practices focused on reproducing and transferring reminders or replications of Syrian culture, imagery, and lifestyle onto the camp, Syrians who moved to Shatila are new transplants and do not share similar memories of time spent in the camp with the original residents. Additionally, for Palestinians coming from Syria, their status in Syria and the conditions of Palestinian camps are considered better than Palestinians living in Lebanon, providing different experiences of exile and expression practices. Palestinian and Syrian approaches provide more nuanced understanding of how different understandings and practices of thriving coexist in the camp.

Concepts discussed in this chapter, when viewed together, add layers of context to the conceptual frameworks initially proposed in Chapter Three. Similar to refugees' evolving practices, the results and responses explored here provide additional context to Lefebvre's (1991) discussion of *conceived* spaces. Although the camp was *conceived* by State and

humanitarian systems, dwellers have taken over and continued the conception process by facilitating expressions based around time-space alterations, including hanging flags and posters, painting murals, as well as facilitating communal marches and protests. Additionally, a new context has emerged from this changing of authorship of the camp's narrative, displaying how refugees have *utilised* the camp's space as a form of resistance with protests, patriotic inscriptions, and marches. I argue that it can be an essential addition to one's understanding of Lefebvre's (1991) model in the context of refugee camps, as it links other spatial practices discussed in previous chapters – for example, the sections covering environmental evolutions and economic enterprising (**Error! Reference source not found.**).

Similarly, two novel contexts, *generation duration* and *cross-geographical simultaneity*, emerged, completing Bergson's approach to time and linking other time-based practices discussed in Chapters Seven and Eight. Refugees' narratives show that one person's duration and simultaneity – in this case, their lives in a foreign place originating from someone else's experience – bleed into other generations' knowledge of time. This is demonstrated with their interactions with the older generations and by painting destroyed villages examples. Examples from previous chapters include preserving artefacts and narrating stories of heritage in order to transfer past cultural practices, places, and experiences into the present time (**Error! Reference source not found.**).

One important analytical lens to bear in mind before entering Chapter Ten and before designing the thriving model for this research is the powerful multi-dimensionality and overlap among refugees' thriving definitions and practices. The three thriving practices – *Evolving*, *Enterprising*, and *Expressing* – provide additional factors and a mobilisation strategy for the thriving definitions and cross-cutting themes discussed in Chapter Six (**Error! Reference source not found.**). They also directly impact one another, creating a holistic model for thriving view and practices.

The previous chapter cemented informal practices that link housing and economic practices, providing a clear process for actualising informal activities in Shatila. While Chapter Eight incorporated cultural, social, and recreational activities, this chapter outlines creativity as an additional layer of definition to further contextualise informality in camps. The exclusionary

tactics discussed in Chapter Two underpin internal and external conflicts in Shatila; Rafik's example outlines how conflicts were addressed through theatre and artistic activities. Additionally, Amir's attempts to preserve the lost Palestinian heritage through telling stories speaks to the cultural layer discussed in Chapter Eight with creative informal activities outlined in this chapter. This is exemplified by the *mihbaj* example; the coffee grinder is also an artistic instrument that plays traditional music, reflecting hospitality.

This chapter also echoes Banks et al. (2019) view linking a "deeper political" layer to practices of informality. Expressing practices show that refugees used space of the camp as a collective resistance strategy to start to formulate political demands. Their resistance is expressed in diverse ways, including their elected camp collaborative committees and protests inside and outside of the camp; additionally, while the camp walls control and marginalise Palestinian refugees, they also serve as a physical canvas for expressing injustices, identity, and political claims through graffiti, art, and murals. With this in mind, the concept of informality is present in diverse sectors that include housing, economic informal practices, and beyond.

Feminist thinkers' accounts of vulnerability are more pronounced in this chapter, especially when it comes to living in a foreign environment and experiencing unequal gender roles. This is perhaps due to the fact that female refugees expressed difficult circumstances while outlining their thriving activities in this chapter. This is exemplified by Munira's heart-breaking experience of domestic violence and how her former husband deprived her from seeing her infant son, as well as Feryal's trauma of losing her husband and having to take care of her children, Hanna's chronic loneliness when her family left for France, and Fatima's traumatic experience of feeling trapped in the camp. Therefore, these accounts confirm the analytical angle discussed in Chapter Eight that explored how female voices carry additional weight compared to male refugees' thriving accounts. Not only do women have to overcome systemic injustices, they also face gender-based inequalities add additional pressures when it comes to thriving practices.

While thriving activities derived the previous results chapters – Chapters Seven and Eight – reflected women's coping and resistance mechanisms, this chapter continues the reflection while considering a fourth resistance factor: creativity. Their efforts to rebuild a sense



of belonging take the forms of cooking the same food, wearing the same clothes, painting the walls familiar colours, and following the same schedules. I argue that these informal creative practices are essential resistance factors, as seen in Hana's efforts to overcome difficulties through photography, Feryal's art performances meant to heal traumas, and Munira's efforts to heal from domestic violence through painting.

There is one last important analytical feminist lens to bear in mind before entering Chapter Ten; the camp is a technology through which vulnerability is resisted. This summative conclusion builds on the aforementioned concept of the camp being a facilitator to thriving. The resources available in the camp, strong relationships, and the thriving practices afforded to women all aid women in addressing multiple layers of vulnerabilities. The camp provides safety and freedom of movement, opportunities for women to evolve and learn a new skill, the freedom to start businesses, and a platform to express, heal, and overcome difficulties.

## Chapter Ten – Overall Analysis: Thriving Through the Eyes of Refugees

This chapter aims to summarise the results chapters in order to arrive at an overall outcome and answer the research questions, culminating in visual models highlighting refugees' thriving views and practices as an output. Additionally, the analysis of the results will link to the conceptual frameworks discussed in Chapter Three, visually demonstrate their application in Shatila, and allow for methodological reflection.

The first part of this chapter will answer the first research question by discussing definitions of the state of being, the act of connecting, and the progress of progressing as they relate to refugees' thriving. Refugees' definitions will culminate in a visual model highlighting the factors that are most important to their thriving, which will then answer the second research question. Answers for the third research question will follow, outlining evolving, enterprising, and expressing as thriving practices. Each domain includes several themes portraying the multidimensionality of refugees' activities in Shatila. Building on the visual model of refugees' thriving views, a second model that visually represents these domains and sub-themes will be proposed as a guide for conducting future research in protracted camps. Next, thriving activities will be discussed through the lens of feminist's thinkers writing paving the scholarly foundation for research impacting women refugees' research. Afterwards, the frameworks will be discussed in relation to Haight et al.'s (2002) "Thriving: A Life-Span Theory," Lefebvre's (1991) *The Production of Space*, and Henri Bergson's (1965) approach to time while linking their factors to refugees' narratives. This linkage will pave the way for the recontextualisation of these frameworks into applicable models for future refugee camp research. This chapter will conclude with a reflection highlighting how the methodological approach led to the analysis that uncovered the overall outcome as well as a discussion of its applicability in other contexts.

### 10.1 Thriving Definitions and Factors

Thriving, according to Shatila's residents, is a multi-dimensional and time-centric concept. In a broad sense, thriving for camp residents is characterised in three ways: as a *state of being*, *acts of connecting*, and the *process of progressing* (**Error! Reference source not found.**).

Viewing it as a *state of being* encompasses two overarching aspects that contribute to the thriving of refugees: internal emotions and external aspirations (**Error! Reference source not found.**). Happiness is placed at the core of their inner feelings, considered the result of being able to meet the emotional and material needs of family members and the surrounding communities. On the other hand, external aspirations involve dwellers' perceptions of personal stability and freedom, as well as opportunities for making life choices and pursuing livelihoods. Such perceptions are mutually reinforced by the feeling of happiness.

The second thriving theme (the *act of connecting*) is based on residents' deep connections with other refugees and attachment to their ethnic roots (**Error! Reference source not found.**). Connection with other camp residents is represented by deep friendships, the provision of emotional and social support, the helping of others, and collaboration in addressing personal and social issues. Residents' connections to their ethnic roots are exemplified by their relationships with older camp residents (direct migrants from Palestine), the preservation of cultural practices, patriotism towards the land, and loyalty to political causes. The people of the camp and the physical camp itself were almost inseparable in dwellers' commentaries, which framed the camp not just as a place, but as a nurturing entity akin to a friend or parent. The camp itself, with its walls serving as canvases, becomes the new cultural root.

The *process of progressing* is an ongoing and dynamic process nurtured through rich connections to oneself, friends, family, community, and the overall camp (**Error! Reference source not found.**). Observations regarding progress can be further categorized into three overlapping areas: economic pursuits, learning, and transcendence. Economic pursuits involve a series of collective developmental milestones that allow refugees to secure livelihoods; such milestones cannot be achieved without investment in learning and education. The combination

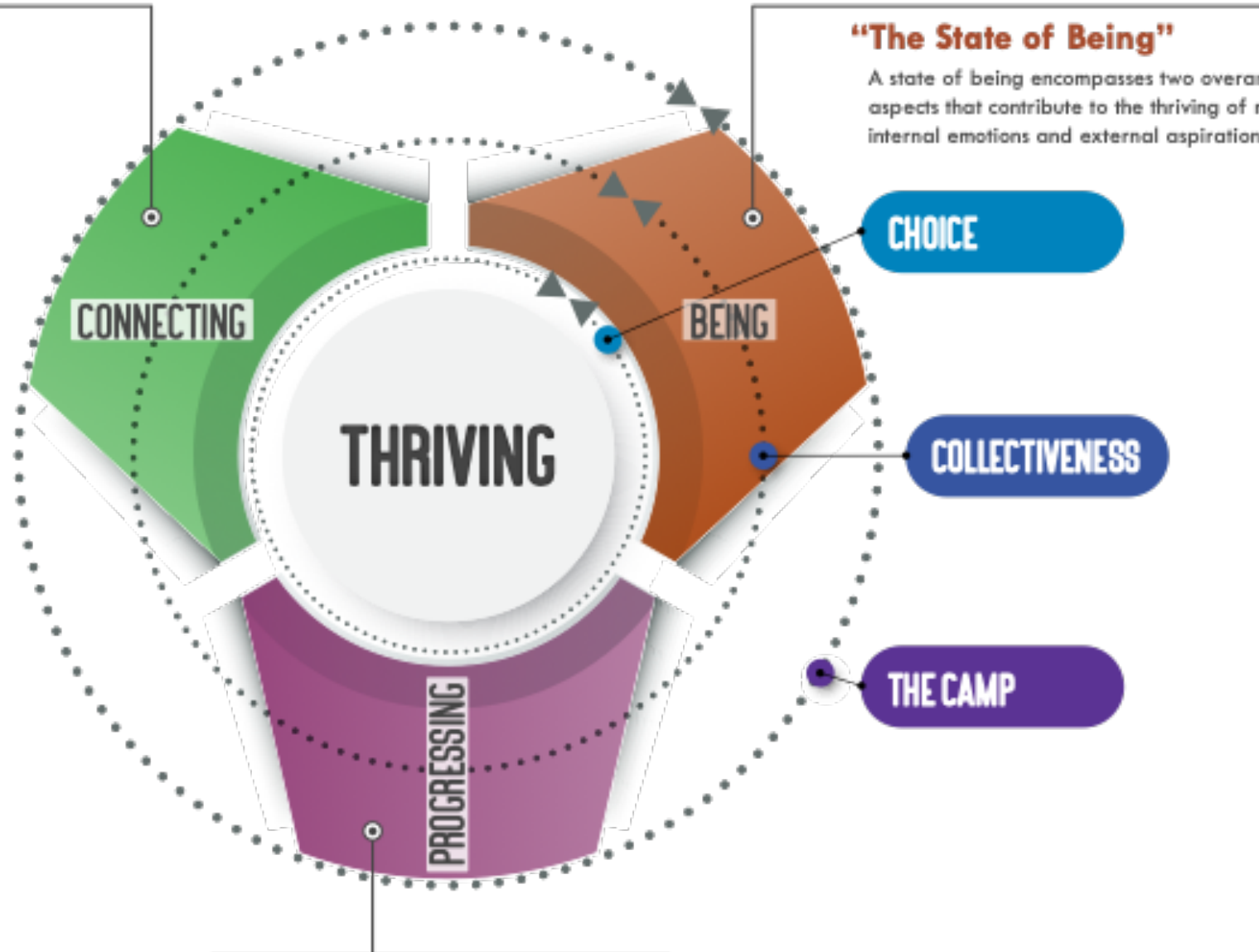
of learning and economic pursuits facilitates transcendence as a process of overcoming difficulties and thriving despite life obstacles and challenges in the camp.

Three crosscutting concepts emerged from investigation of the aforementioned thriving themes: choice, collectiveness, and the view of the camp as a technology through which thriving is actualised (**Error! Reference source not found.**). Dwellers discussed choice as a prerequisite for reaching a positive state of being, and the most common choice articulated by dwellers was the choice to be happy. The *process of progressing* commences with refugees' choosing to overcome difficulties without allowing such circumstances to defeat them. Choice is involved in connecting to others, and camp residents have chosen to start businesses that benefit the collective community. This is an example of *collective thriving*, where the thriving of the individual is directly linked to the thriving of others. The happiness of family members and the community comes before the happiness of the individual, and freedom of expression unites camp dwellers and community partners in diverse forms of making their voices heard, including protests. A mindset and desire for independence has allowed dwellers to secure funds for starting businesses that employ other refugees. Refugees have also pursued learning and teaching opportunities to change the camp's negative image.

The third crosscutting concept highlights Shatila as a technology through which thriving is actualised, meaning that the thriving of individuals and the community is facilitated by the camp in the form of people, opportunities, and strategies. For example, the social-spatial transformation of the camp during Eid generated a sense of happiness for dwellers. Similarly, the freedom and resources available in the camp have allowed refugees to progress in their lives. Time spent in the camp has led to the development of a new sense of identity, with Shatila becoming the new cultural root for young dwellers. Notably, the camp itself was frequently presented or referenced not as simply a place, but as a multi-dimensional force, as well as a source of nurturance and empowerment. The following model will illustrate refugees' thriving views (Visual Model 1).

## “The Act of Connecting”

The act of connecting is based on residents’ deep connections with other refugees and attachment to their ethnic roots.



## “The State of Being”

A state of being encompasses two overall aspects that contribute to the thriving of internal emotions and external aspirations.

## “The Process of Progressing”

The process of progressing is an ongoing and dynamic process involving economic pursuits, learning, and transcendence.

Visual Model 1: A visual model representing refugees thriving views in the Shatila camp.

The chapters on thriving practices (*Evolving, Enterprising, and Expressing*) unpack the powerful multidimensionality and overlap among refugees' thriving definitions and practices. These practices directly impact one another, creating a holistic model for viewing thriving. As discussed in Chapter Seven, there are multiple levels of thriving due to factors related to time, the individual, the culture, the community, and space, rendering thriving as a two-way extroverted process (7.5 Discussion). As demonstrated in Chapter Nine, refugees' thriving activities have reached surrounding communities, as well as audiences much farther afield – both nationally and internationally – while encouraging allies from the global community to enter Shatila and demonstrate solidarity (9.4 Discussion). Whereas the economic practices, such as strategic engagement with aid, discussed in the first part of Chapter Eight added an economic layer to our understanding of thriving, the social enterprising section outlined problem-solving as another factor (8.4 Discussion). This is demonstrated by the conflict resolution committees and sports programmes. This layer overlaps with refugees' expression activities; their artistic endeavours provide a layer of creativity and expression to the definitions of thriving while playing pivotal role in addressing social issues in the camp. The Dabke dance is the quintessential example of this overlap; the nature of the activity allows for expressing traditions and provides unity among residents' diverse demographics.

## 10.2 Thriving Practices

Three domains have emerged that highlight dwellers' pursuits of thriving: evolving, enterprising, and expressing. Each domain is comprised of several sub-themes highlighting the multidimensionality of refugees' thriving practices.

**10.2.1 Evolving.** This first domain outlines diverse, evolving strategies integral to the development of the camp's time-space, the community, and the individuals in it. The evolution of the camp's time-space rests on the infrastructure of social protection implemented by Shatila's residents (7.2.1 Safety and Freedom. This social infrastructure has allowed the camp to evolve into a safe haven, granting dwellers freedom and autonomy. The freedom to secure livelihoods attracted new dwellers and entrepreneurs, which, in return, precipitated rapid

environmental and economic evolution, creating the perception of the camp as a place of opportunities (7.2 Time-Space Evolution). To manage this growth, dwellers have designed several self-governing approaches for organising developmental projects, including the camp's real-estate building committee and time-share economic policies. This growth also reinvented the way dwellers interact by merging the camp's time and space into a diverse social hub, evidenced by the repurposing of roofs and the varied uses of its main streets.

The community's evolution relies on the diverse forms of solidarity in Shatila, as residents have become so bound to the camp that they think of it as a cohesive community where the thriving of individuals is directly linked to the thriving of the community (7.3 Community Evolution). This bond has allowed dwellers to implement an evolutionary process of social improvisation and innovation to secure elements of a normal life. Over time, the camp's social fabric has evolved into an independent network of thriving activities that continually helps transform the community financially, materially, and emotionally, allowing for the cohesive integration of new dwellers. The evolution of both time-space and community requires investment in individual evolution as the primary pathway out of poverty. Individual evolution, in this context, involves pursuing formal education, learning by doing, exploring new talents, and learning new skills or disciplines (7.4 Individual Evolution). It also involves a proactive and adaptive response to life's pressures centred around taking advantage of any and all opportunities.

**10.2.2 Enterprising.** The second domain showcases two kinds of practices that facilitate the thriving of the community; the first involves profit-generating practices, and the second involves innovative problem-solving approaches. The concept of enterprising originates from Rohn's (2002) approach to creativity and courage (8.1.3 Enterprising). Although Rohn's framework applies to individual processes and can speak to elements of enterprising activities in Shatila, it lacks the collective nature discussed in Chapter Eight. Refugees have provided a comprehensive support structure, building on the concept of "collective thriving" discussed in Chapter Six as a pathway for problem-solving and as a strategy for securing livelihood. Refugees used "creativity and courage" as communal resources to pull themselves and others out of desperate situations. In the following Venn diagram, I add the concept of "collectiveness" to

“creativity and courage” to examine Rohn’s enterprising framework in the context of the Shatila refugee camp (Visual Model 2).

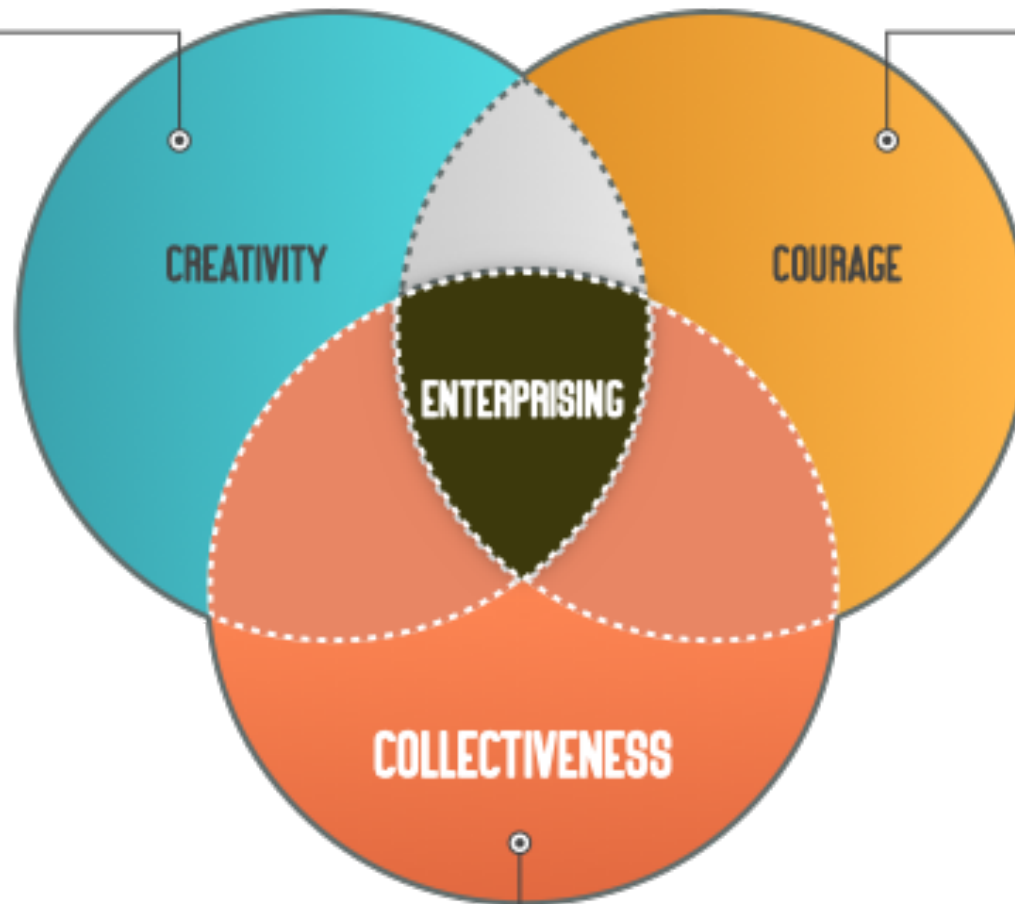


## Creativity

Creativity denotes taking a different approach and to be different.

## Courage

Courage is the ability to go against the odds and to choose activity over inactivity.



## Collectiveness

In the Shatila Refugee Camp, to be enterprising involves the loyalty and support of the camp's community where residents enterprising activities facilitate the thriving of other Shatila refugees.

Camp residents have developed and integrated innovative and profit-generating economic practices with long-lasting impacts, including the cultivation of a hybrid work environment that meets the community's emotional and social needs while optimising profits (8.2 Enterprising Economic Practices). The business environment is sustained through the strong social support of communities, solving personal problems while implementing flexible working hours. This hybrid structure has facilitated an approach centred around creative and strategic planning, as well as innovative entrepreneurial initiatives. Camp residents have applied strategic business plans utilising financial strategies, such as the *Jameah* strategy. Such methods capitalise on the camp's social assets and infrastructural deficits while building on cultural practices. These business plans enable innovations in entrepreneurial instruments and techniques, such as the *basta*, the *arabiya*, and one-stop shops. Dwellers have creatively engaged with aid, using it as capital to fund entrepreneurial initiatives that generate income and address the camp's social issues. It is important to note that meeting social and emotional needs are part of the enterprise and that is not just about generating an income for the entrepreneur.

The second form of enterprising arises through social practices; camp residents design collaborative strategies addressing existing social, cultural, economic, or political challenges by changing existing systems or by altering the structures that gave rise to such problems (8.3 Social Enterprising Activities). Refugee-led initiatives have resulted in the design of creative approaches that rely on human connections, which help on two fronts. First, they mitigate the internal conflicts among political factions, and, second, they help diminish external conflicts with surrounding communities. Refugees have used education and recreational activities to tackle issues based on racism and integration that often emerge because of conflicts, in addition to creating a social governance strategy for addressing behavioural, infrastructural, and social disparities.

**10.2.3 Expressing.** The last domain presents two overlapping expressive mediums; the first concerns creative practices, whereas the second focuses on the camp as a large-scale public medium. When it comes to creative outlets, camp residents discussed how they have explored drama, dancing, photography, writing, storytelling, and the exhibition of artefacts (9.2 Expressions Using Creative Mediums). Through creative drama, they employed heritage stories as lenses for interrogating contemporary issues facing the camp and as a strategy for battling invisibility. Acting was used to occupy residents' time in a positive way,

serving as a cathartic platform through which children could express and process the traumas they've experienced. Dancing showcased a regional cultural practice and extended an invitation of unity between multiple communities. Photography was a facilitator for processing emotions and expressing feelings of hope. The process of painting helped residents clear their thoughts and aided them in healing from traumas. Creative writing elevated their voices beyond past and present injustices, exploring and overcoming the writers' feelings of invisibility and separation from their surrounding communities. Acts that involved preserving, exhibiting, and reproducing traditional symbols were powerful vehicles for telling heritage stories while cementing the connection between their identities and the homeland.

The camp's time-space provides a more extensive canvas for expression, as it is built partially from shared memories of dispossession, collective cultural practices, and the pain of injustice (9.3 Expressions Using the Time-Space of the Camp as a Medium). Camp residents reconstruct links between identity, time, and place, allowing them to give voice to their heritage. These practices manifest in the form of graffiti and murals in public areas, as well as paintings, artefacts, and decorative symbols placed within private spaces. Posters of martyrs and the Palestinian flag are widely inscribed on the main streets' walls, sometimes complemented by other national symbols, such as a mural of Abou Ammar, the former chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) or the al-Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem. Other visuals include flags and maps of Palestine, images of Jerusalem and extinct Palestinian villages, keys displayed as symbols of the Palestinian right of return, and Handala, a popular character drawn by the Palestinian cartoonist Naji al-Ali – all of which symbolise Palestinian identity and defiance. These visuals complement and are complemented by protests, marches, and gatherings.

## “Evolving”

The Evolving domain engages refugees approaches that evolve conceptions of time-space, the camp's community, and the individuals.

- Time-space evolutionary practices include creating safety and freedom infrastructures, environmental evolution, social-spatial evolution, urban changes, and economic growth.
- Community-based evolutionary processes touch on the collective social fabric of the camp, including forms of financial, material, and emotional support.
- Individual evolutionary processes centre around learning and personal development strategies.

Visual Model 3: A visual model representing refugees thriving views and practices in the Shatila Camp.

## “Expressing”

The Expressing thriving domain presents two overlapping expressive mediums; the first via creative practices, while the second focuses on the camp as a large-scale public medium.

- Creative practices: involving drama, dancing, photography, writing, storytelling, and exhibiting artefacts.
- The camp as a canvas of expression: including graffiti, murals in public areas, paintings, artefacts, and decorative symbols placed within private spaces.



## “Enterprising”

The Enterprising domain showcases two practices; the first involves profit-generating practices, and the second encompasses innovative problem-solving approaches.

- Profit generating practices involve cultivating a hybrid work environment that helps meet the community's emotional and social needs. This hybrid structure facilitates a creative and strategic planning approach that capitalise on refugees evolutionary practices. These business plans enable the utility of innovative entrepreneurial instruments and techniques, such as the basta, the arabiya, and one-stop shops. Lastly, dwellers creatively engage with aid as capital for funding entrepreneurial initiatives that generate incomes and address the camp's social issues.
- Problem solving approaches led to the design of creative approaches that rely on human connections to mitigate the internal and external conflicts. Refugees used the instruments of education and recreational activities to tackle integration issues. They created social governance strategy to address behavioural, infrastructural, and social disparities.

### 10.2.5 Discussion of Feminist Approaches

Even though this research doesn't directly investigate gender-based thriving views, it was essential to at least provide a window into the current discourse on feminist thinkers' writings impacting refugees' lives. This window will provide a foundation for future scholarly work concerning women refugees and their thriving views and practices. In fact, one of my priorities after completing my studies is to revisit the data in greater depth, conduct a series of follow-up interviews in Shatila and generate a report that builds on the findings derived from this research.

Examining women's voices is especially important since they are considered one of the most marginal refugees demographics and their vulnerable positions are exacerbated throughout displacement (Sayigh, 2007; Haeri & Puechguirbal, 2009). This vulnerability in camps is linked to social isolation, living in a foreign environment, financial reliance on male kin, and lack of economic autonomy (Sunata & Ozsoy, 2021). With this in mind, women are excluded from oral history as they are not validated as agents capable of impacting the refugee experience by local communities, researchers, political actors, and the gender ideology that prioritizes men's accounts. They are portrayed as marginal, vulnerable, and dependant on others, with their livelihoods linked to the autonomy of male family members (Haeri & Puechguirbal, 2009; Sayigh, 2007). These issues are a reality in Shatila as the results chapters outline issues of domestic violence, gender-based power imbalance, abandonment, chronic loneliness, and fears of retribution. So much so, many females stated that they are afraid for their lives if they walk on certain streets after dark; female residents have lost their lives during crossfires among political factions. Therefore, I argue that female voices carry additional weight compared to male refugees' thriving accounts. Not only do women have to overcome systemic injustices, they also face gender-based inequalities, which add additional pressures when it comes to actualizing thriving potential.

Even though issues of vulnerability and inequalities are a reality, they are not all-encompassing or all-defining of women's role and position in protracted camps. Remarkably, female refugees thriving accounts present concepts of resistance as well as individual and collective independence while reflecting layers of resistance and revolt. Analysis derived from

Feminists' writings outline three overlapping resiliency approaches led by women to combat issues of inequalities; they are, 1) rebuilding a sense of belonging in the camp by replicating daily routines focused on home and family, 2) initiating solidarity with other women through acts of neighbouring, connecting with others, uniting, and building collective agency, 3) preserving the culture through the implementation of spiritual coping mechanisms, such as thankfulness, patience, and gratitude.

Women's thriving contexts align with and provide depth to the spiritual practices and solidarity coping and resilience strategies. While solidarity is evident with other women, thriving accounts provide degrees of solidarity linked to the camp environment and cultural roots. These experiences reflect the multi-dimensionality of solidarity, whether in the form of connection with others walking in the camp's streets, accounts of camp residents helping an elderly man example of neighbours' help, and the view of the camp as a one big family. In this context, solidarity is inextricably tied to deep connections with others, including greeting, connecting, and extending a helping hand to others. Additionally, women's accounts of happiness and thriving add another layer of definition to the documented spiritual practices. While Kanal and Rottmann (2021) discuss choices of gratitude, thankfulness, and patience as effective coping practices led by women, I argue that the choice of happiness adds another dimension to the research on refugee camps.

Women's evolutionary, enterprising, and expressing activities also provide depth to the coping and resilience strategies discussed by feminist's thinkers. Evolutionary thriving approaches show that women taking on proactive roles that facilitate the thriving of others – in fact, the majority of the financial, material, and emotional support of thriving activities occurring in Shatila – are led by women's collectives impacting the wider community. These approaches provide a view of how female resiliency practices use solidarity with other women to counter social isolation and life in a foreign environment.

None of the examples cited in Chapter Eight present any form of dependence on male family members. Rather, women enterprising activities are often shown to support the partners of other men in the camp. In some cases, the male partner is dependent on his wife to secure economic livelihood due to his medical condition. With this in mind, thriving practices present

leadership roles for women, which counter their commonly portrayed auxiliary role focusing predominately on their view as traumatized victims. In this context, women are enterprisers, successful entrepreneurs, and strategic planners contributing to the conclusion that the camp is a technology through which thriving is actualized.

Women's expressing activities attempted to replicate everyday life to achieve belonging; their efforts to rebuild a sense of belonging take the forms of cooking the same food, wearing the patriotic clothes, painting the walls familiar colours, and following the same schedules. Women expressing activities also provide a fourth resistance factor: creativity. Their efforts to resist and overcome difficult take the forms of wearing patriotic clothes, overcome loneliness through photography, art performances meant to heal traumas, and efforts to heal from domestic violence through painting.

With this in mind, even though vulnerability and inequality issues are present in Shatila, the camp is a technology through which vulnerability is resisted. This summative conclusion builds on the aforementioned concept of the camp being a facilitator to thriving. The resources available in the camp, strong relationships, and the thriving practices afforded to women all aid women in addressing multiple layers of vulnerabilities. The camp provides safety and freedom of movement, opportunities for women to evolve and learn a new skill, the freedom to start businesses, and a platform to express, heal, and overcome difficulties.

Lastly, this research emphasizes the critical role of women in colouring the refugee experience and continues to re-write the histories of the displacement, commenced by feminist's thinkers. Refugee women are active agents in securing livelihood for themselves, their families, and the wider community. They are proactive leaders that play a major role in securing economic livelihood for the wider community. Their creative resilient strategies contribute to the healing and the overcoming of difficult circumstances. Future research will zoom into these activities and include a specific thriving model highlighting refugee women's resilient approaches.

### **10.3 Discussion of Conceptual Frameworks**

### 10.3.1 Thriving

This research borrows Haight et al.'s model from "Thriving: A Life-Span" (2002) to unpack the conceptual foundation for thriving in camps; additionally, it adopts Lefebvre's model from *The Production of Space* (1991) to understand the concept of space and Henri Bergson's (1965) approach to duration and simultaneity to understand the concept of time.

According to Haight et al.'s (2002) model, there are three overlapping factors in a thriving continuum: (1) the person, (2) the human environment, and (3) the non-human environment (**Error! Reference source not found.**). Thriving is a continuum linked to past experiences and is achieved when there are congruencies between a person, their physical environment, and their relationships. These factors overlap with the thriving practices found in Shatila. Shatila residents (the person) linked thriving to their internal feelings of happiness and external aspirations for stability and freedom. The residents highlighted connection to others (the human environment), including family members and deep friendships, as an essential factor for thriving, as well as discussing physical elements of the camp (the non-human environment), including affordable housing, committees, self-generating policies, economic approaches, street decorations, and the expressions on the walls. At the same time, refugees' narratives provide additional dimensions to each of the factors.

I argue that these dimensions should be considered essential additions to the model in the context of protracted camps. Haight et al.'s (2002) discussion of the "person" outlines physiological and psychological factors that underpin individuals thriving while they interact with the non-human and human environments. Theorists argue that predispositions may influence the probability of individual thriving; growing up in a dysfunctional family while struggling with diabetes, for example, may hinder an individual's thriving as an adult. This concept is not fully supported in the context of Shatila, however, as predispositions, tragic experiences, and realities have not inhibited thriving in the camp. As discussed in Chapters Six and Seven, these tragic experiences have caused camp residents to unite and form collectives thriving agencies, helping one another actualise thriving potential. Additionally, in other cases, the crosscutting theme of "choice" discussed in Chapter Six, allows dwellers to reach states of happiness and stability, in addition to being a driver in overcoming difficulties despite any past



circumstances. This is also demonstrated in Chapter Eight, where, after experiencing the pain of divorce, one refugee created a business plan and immediately started earning an income. In this context, the term “choice” denotes the willingness to set the bad experiences aside, move forward, and secure a livelihood. While Haight et al. used past factors to underpin present thriving outcomes, in Shatila, the “person” is grounded in the present and orientated towards the future.

Haight et al. (2002) discuss the human environment by focusing on individuals with direct contact and influence with the “person,” including family members and caregivers; similarly, refugees’ relationships with friends, family members, co-workers, and NGO representatives are essential factors for thriving. These relationships involve emotional support as well as financial and material support, as demonstrated by the *Jameah*, the purchase of treats from those who are in need, and the donation of furniture to newly arriving refugees.

Additionally, the refugees’ human environment also includes those with whom they have minimally interacted or others whom they have never even met. For example, showing solidarity through different forms of expression contributes to the thriving of refugees. Many dwellers discussed the importance of those outside of the camp joining their causes and marching in commemorations, public gatherings, and protests. They expressed particular gratitude for those travelling from foreign countries to join the refugees in their fight against injustice. Original camp residents supported newly arriving Syrians throughout their transitions into Shatila, and, in return, Syrians started businesses that positively impacted Palestinians. Refugees discussed innovative digital strategies for combatting addiction, such as mutual mentorships being formed with the global community.

According to Haight et al. (2002), the non-human environment is comprised of the camp’s surrounding influences, including economic, physical, and social factors. Such factors provide an example identifying elements of the “person’s” genetic predisposition due to growing up in a low-income family – a surrounding influence – as an example of a limitation to thriving. Therefore, Haight et al. (2002) view the non-human environment as the past circumstances that impact present experiences. While surrounding influences are considered an essential part of the non-human environment, past experiences have had little-to-no effect

on refugees' thriving in Shatila. Refugees highlighted thriving factors that fall under the non-human environments, including approaches to artistic expression, physical spaces, imposed systems, freedom of movement, and connection to the culture. Shatila residents use rooftops, stairs, main streets, and thresholds to host social activities with their neighbours. When the laws of naturalisation changed for mixed-nationality families, minors were allowed to obtain legal residency and enrol in Lebanese schools. Preserving traditional artefacts connected dwellers to their cultural roots, playing an essential role in their thriving. Freedom of movement facilitated rich social structures and allowed refugees to open businesses, apply for jobs, and, therefore, secure livelihoods for their families inside Shatila.

The "congruences" feature in Haight et al.'s (2002) model is evident throughout refugees' thriving views and practices. The interplay between refugees' enterprising and evolutionary practices is perhaps the quintessential example of achieving thriving in Shatila; it demonstrates the overlap among the individual and the human and non-human environments. The *Jameah* and collective governance (elements of the human environment) allowed newly arriving refugees to create new ventures, which led to the financing of new residential buildings and additional businesses (non-human environment), while providing more affordable consumer opportunities in Shatila, allowing refugees to reach a state of stability (the individual). Similarly, expression strategies, such as protesting, medical rotations, and performing arts, have all relied on human connections to address individual and collective social issues.

**10.3.1.1 Accelerants.** However, refugees' narratives highlight specific accelerants and inhibitors within their thriving continuum, which are essential additions, resulting from this research, to Haight et al.'s (2002) model in the context of protracted camps. They discussed the camp as a technology through which thriving is facilitated, with imposed systems being the major impediment to thriving. The camp consists of people, the available resources and opportunities, and the constructed environment. These elements are inseparable in dwellers' commentaries, framing the camp not just as a place, but also as a nurturing entity akin to a friend, mother, or father. The camp provides financial stability, problem-solving opportunities, the ability to express inner voices, and material support. The camp itself, with its walls serving

as canvases, becomes the new cultural root.

The availability of resources, including safety and freedom, has created a ripple effect allowing refugees to rapidly learn skills and seek employment. Collective governance approaches have allowed refugees to open businesses and address social problems. These new ventures have led to the financing of new residential buildings and additional businesses while providing more affordable consumer opportunities in Shatila. Similarly, the learning resources available at the camp have allowed refugees to acquire leadership training that helps provide for children while also making dwellers into positive role models for other residents.

Entrepreneurial strategies – such as the *basta* and *arabiya* – have a hand in the rapid process for achieving thriving by helping refugees earn an income and pay unexpected bills promptly. In fact, one refugee was able to secure needed funds in one day.

Expression strategies have played a pivotal role in addressing social issues in the camp. Refugees' approaches to conflict and assimilation have included organising educational committees, interactive programs, and communal spaces, as well as supporting performing arts and other artistic expressions. This is demonstrated by the *Dabke* dance, dramatic plays, and the preparation of traditional Syrian food. Due to the strong social relationships, available resources, and safety found in the camp, the experience of newly arrived refugees rapidly changed, rendering the camp a place of thriving for Syrians.

These accelerants align with and provide depth to Banks et al (2019), Sanyal, (2014) and Roy's (2005) views on informality. More specifically, this research highlights complementary sectors to the discussed informal housing and economic practices. Informality is viewed as a system of norms that governs urban transformation and an organising logic for refugees' practices in protracted camps (Roy, 2005; Sanyal, 2014). It is linked to informal economic, housing, political practices.

The safety and freedom available in the camp facilitated practices of informality, resiliency, and perseverance. The exclusionary tactics discussed in Chapter Two pushed refugees to develop their own governing systems and, in return, the safety and freedom that allowed for refugees' informal practices in Shatila.

Shatila residents formed committees as a management system for addressing the lack of

available spaces in the market and housing projects, anti-social behaviour, and to celebrate special occasions. These evolutionary and expressing thriving activities provide a window into the organizing systems practices in Shatila and how refugees negotiate power. Their thriving activities outline a clear and conscious process for informal practices – a need stemming from difficult circumstances, such as poverty, and postulating a clear strategic plan. A series of actions are followed, culminating in a re-strategisation approach and ending with the end goal being met. Enterprising and expressing activities show that informality is linked to culture, recreational activities, creativity, and social structure, resting on collective thriving activities

Thus, I argue that the practices related to informality are critical components and driving factors in making the camps facilitators for thriving. As discussed earlier, Shatila sits outside of the law derived from governing bodies, and, therefore, refugees had no other choice but to resist and manage their lives, mirroring the complexity of negotiation Sanyal (2014) highlights through the geopolitics and exclusionary forces affecting protracted camps.

**10.3.1.2 Inhibitors.** Inhibitors to thriving include the systems imposed on the residents, internal conflicts, and illegal activities. Labour laws forbid refugees from entering the Lebanese economic structure, integrating into the surrounding communities, owning property, or opening bank accounts, which all prevent refugees from securing livelihoods. A lack of employment and the resulting financial pressure has pushed young men to get involved in the drug business. Conflict amongst political factions has injected fear into refugees as they arrive, at times leading to collateral deaths.

The following diagram presents Haight et al.'s (2002) original thriving model illustrated in Figure 1 and highlights the changes to the model derived in this research in the context of protracted refugee camps (**Error! Reference source not found.**). Each bubble includes the original factors and the additions made by this study. Accelerants and inhibitors are demonstrated by the added arrows (Visual Model 4).

## The Person

"The person is a complex social, physical, psychological, spiritual being in mutual process with the human and nonhuman environment."

In the Shatila Refugee Camp, predispositions, are not prerequisites to thriving; the "person's" factors are contextualised in the present and considered in goals for the future.

### Accelerants Arrow

The camp as a nurturing entity, safety, freedom of movement, Entrepreneurial and expression strategies.

## The Human Environment

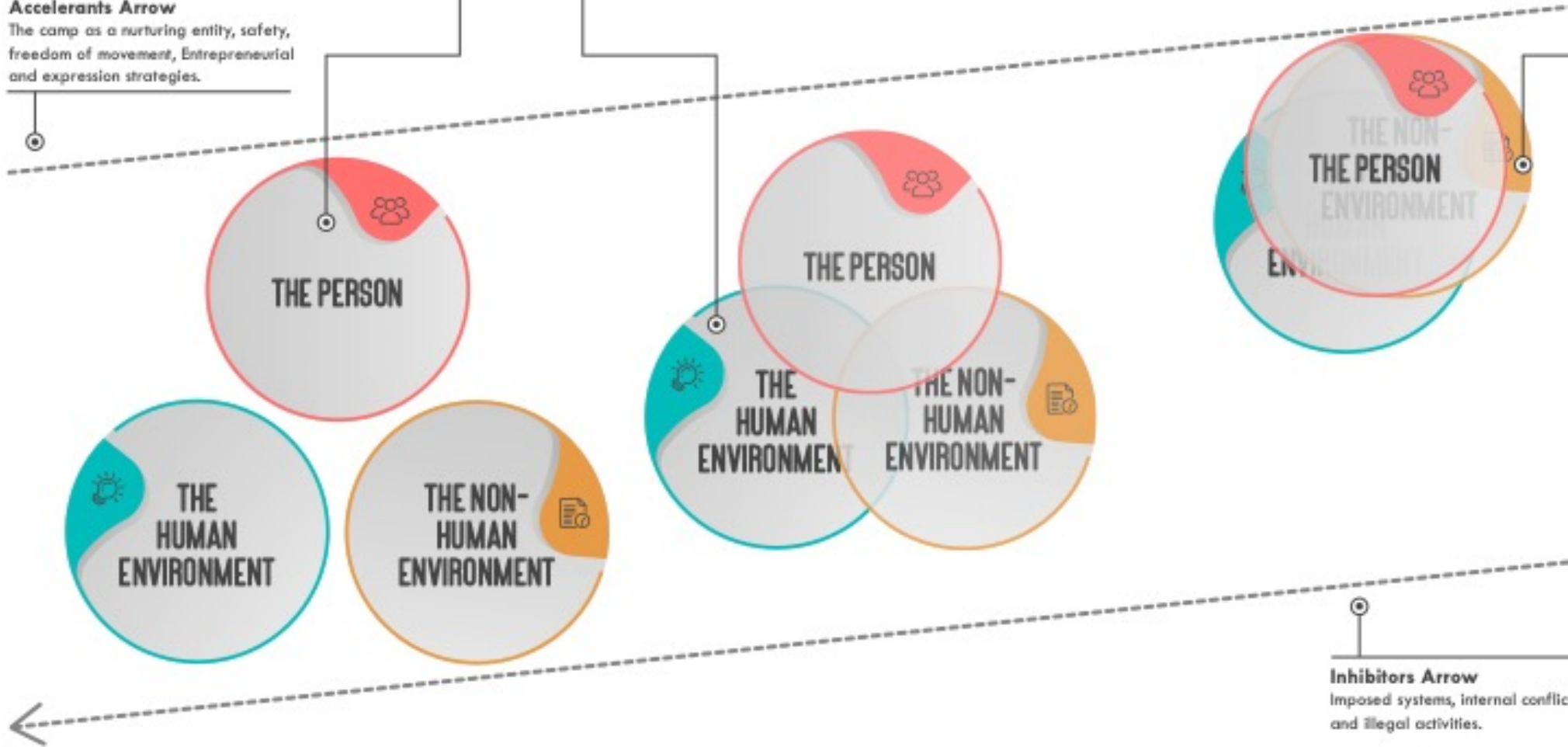
"The human environment is the internal and external human surroundings and the person's perceptions of the presence, feelings, values, and beliefs of surrounding humans."

In the Shatila Refugee Camp, the human environment includes individuals with direct contact and influence with the "person," as well as, individuals with whom refugees minimally interacted or others whom they never even met.

## The Nonhuman Environment

"The nonhuman environment is the physical and ecological surroundings of the person, including natural and built surroundings."

In the Shatila Refugee Camp, past experiences have had little-to-no influence on refugees' thriving in Shatila. The nonhuman is comprised of imposed systems, freedom of movement, and connection to the culture.



FAILURE TO THRIVE

Visual Model 4: An Illustration of "Thriving: A Life-Span" model from Haight et al. (2002) in the Shatila refugee camp.

### 10.3.2 Space

In *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre (1991) argues that understanding the foundation of any space goes beyond just the materials used and the physical definitions applied to it (**Error! Reference source not found.**). The term “production,” in Lefebvre’s view, connotes that the humans who live in a space shape the environment in a way that encapsulates their everyday lives. It is a term associated with time, which references an ongoing process, as the “product” never has a finished or fixed outcome. The concept of space is not as much physically determined as it is mentally, materially, and socially constructed. With this in mind, Lefebvre outlines three concepts to unpack his broader notion of space: conceived, perceived, and lived spaces (see Chapter Three).

These concepts, which are helpful in understanding Shatila, overlap with refugees’ discussions of spaces. Although the camp was conceived by state and humanitarian systems, dwellers have added their own layer of conception by facilitating evolutions – both environmental and urban – to actualise their thriving potential. The safety and freedom afforded by the camp has created a fertile foundation for environmental evolution over the past decade, including the building of residential hubs and new markets, as well as the repurposing of existing space. Refugees have continued to conceive the meaning behind camp spaces by marking public areas with graffiti, murals, and flags and private spaces with paintings, artefacts, and decorative symbols. Considering these outlets, I redefine Lefebvre’s (1991) approach to conceived spaces by identifying “camp residents” as co-creators of camp spaces; as a result, Lefebvre’s (1991) view on the purpose of conceived spaces as spatial technologies designed to control those who exist within them does not fully apply in the context of the Shatila camp.

Dwellers perceived Shatila as one big home where relationships were formed with other camp residents and where dwellers have self-governing strategies. Lefebvre (1991) defines perceived spaces as those which can be directly seen, heard, smelled, touched, and tasted. Refugees perceived Shatila as a place defined by its freedom to move and secure a livelihood, a hub of opportunities where jobs and education are readily available, a parent, a friend, and a new cultural root – so much so that they created terms branding themselves as children of the

camp.

The camp, as a *lived space* where everyday social relationships occur, is reflected in the strong bond among residents and the creation of unique social norms with newly arriving dwellers. Lefebvre's (1991) representation of a terrain defined by its struggles is exemplified with how the annual commemoration and protest activities invite solidarity among camp residents and with the global community. Refugees' thriving activities introduce economic and problem-solving dimensions to the discussions of everyday social interaction. The economic context is exemplified by unique social norms, such as intentionally purchasing products from those in need. Similarly, addressing antisocial behaviour by having camp elders visit the homes of the offenders to discuss camp etiquette exemplifies problem-solving. Everyday social norms include creative interactions with others, as demonstrated by performing arts and artistic expressions facilitating social cohesion and extending an olive branch to surrounding communities.

In addition to the three approaches to understanding spaces, I propose an additional context I call "utilised spaces" to complement conceived, perceived, and lived spaces (**Error! Reference source not found.** Camp residents have utilised the camp space as a form of resistance and identity, and, as mentioned above, as an accelerant to thriving. Although refugees are not allowed to own property, they have been able to build residential hubs to accommodate population growth. Due to the lack of available land and the rapid influx, the only way to build is up. These tall buildings, with visible structures (some up to nine floors) can also be considered a visible symbol of resistance and pride. Even though most residents are forbidden from taking part in the host country's economic system, they have still created shopping hubs, securing work for dwellers and members of the surrounding communities.

Residents using the camp's walls to express their voices and document different forms of resistance against unjust laws has the effect of reconstructing links between identity, time, and place. Such links serve as voices for their heritage. To this end, residents have also utilised the camp as a form of identity, with the camp itself evolving into a new cultural root. Lastly, the resources available allowed dwellers to utilise the camp as an accelerant to thriving, accessing affordable housing, securing jobs, and forming strong relationships. The following diagram

presents changes to Lefebvre's model in the context of protracted refugee camps and constitutes the Fifth Visual Model (Visual Model 5).



## Conceived Space

Conceived space is the space that state institutions conceptualize in order to practise and apply political power.

In the Shatila refugee camp, residents co-create camp spaces facilitating environmental and urban evolutions to actualise their thriving potential. This is also due to the fact that the camp as an institution operates outside of the Lebanese law, where Refugees are unable to build outside the camp's boundaries.

## Perceived Space

Perceived space is how individuals experience or perceive the environment – including its meaning and the values behind it – as users or consumers of the environment.

In the Shatila refugee camp, refugees' thriving activities add deeper meanings; they perceive the camp as a place of freedom, a hub of opportunities, a parent, a friend, and the new cultural root.



## Utilised Space

Refugees have utilised the camp space as a form of resistance, identity, and as an accelerant to thriving.

## Lived Space

Lived space is where everyday social relationships occur, which people dynamically experience in life.

In the Shatila refugee camp, refugees' thriving activities introduce economic and problem-solving layers to the discussions of everyday social interaction.

### 10.3.3 Time

Time, according to Bergson (1965), amalgamates all human experience at any juncture; starting in the past, it bleeds into the present and, thus, the future (**Error! Reference source not found.**). Bergson contextualises time as a duration and simultaneity. Duration is a progression of experiential changes that melt into and permeate one another without any particular or anticipated pattern; it is a continuous multiplicity, in that any new experience in the present finds its meaning based on many prior experiences in the past, immediately dissolving them to construct an indivisible, flexible, and ever-increasing temporal whole. In fact, real duration is considered an experience, since, as we process it, the experience cannot be measured without translating it into space. Thus, Bergson positions the concept of simultaneity at the intersection of time and space. Simultaneity underscores the coexistence of all chronological and spatial divisions of time, viewing it as a unified whole at the present intersection of all the planes of the past.

The results chapters cement the utility of Bergson's concept of time in Shatila while adding deeper layers of definitions to his approach to duration and simultaneity. The Newtonian concept of time, discussed in Chapter Three as the great passive constant and measure of mechanical movement, does not apply in this context (**Error! Reference source not found.**). Thriving views and practices show that time in Shatila cannot be divided up and is much more fluid, changeable and changing, and an active shaper of perception.

The fluidity is reflected by the many examples of refugees feeling devastated when they arrived at Shatila only to start loving life in the camp with time. This love can sometimes be coloured by fluctuating spurts of fear because of drug and weapon activities. Refugee experiences involving mourning in times of death and conflict may evolve into sombre feelings during silent marches and can suddenly switch to joy in times of celebrations. All these emotions might occur in a short period of time. Even younger generations, who never experienced the pain of the massacres their parents endured, go back to a time they never experienced and feel the pain of the lost lives. Past efforts overlap with present-day freedoms as the right to play for children today is linked to the sacrifices of the martyrs who died forty years ago. The spatial technology of the camp changes with different times, including

celebrations and protest activities. With time, the identity of the youth shifted to describing the camp as a parent; they have become the children of the camp. Syrians plant vegetation in pots to transcend the physical reality and return to the past, imagining open fields that were destroyed during the war. Similarly, the past and the present merge for Palestinians in Shatila, as stories of exile and the lives of ancestors are continuously absorbed by the children of the camp through expression activities such as storytelling, painting, and murals.

Furthermore, there is little sense of what is “long” or “short” when it comes to time; it took one refugee several years to build the afterschool program, while another resident who needed money got it in one day. Similarly, refugees’ educational and developmental activities show that what can take years to achieve outside can be accomplished within a few months in the camp. After spending months seeking employment outside of the camp, many refugees were able to acquire skills in a few days, start businesses, and provide financial security for their families and other community members. Refugees thriving practices reflect a movement with no perceivable end other than more evolution, rendering evolutionary practices as a continuum.

With this in mind, these fluctuating patterns add a layer of definition to Bergson’s approach to duration, as they function in different dimensions and paces at any one moment in any one or more spaces. Duration in Shatila is not reflected by an arrow moving in a single direction that can be reversed, but by an all-encompassing cloud, with a nature of a critical opalescence, that actively colours all actions, activities, and perceptions.

Simultaneity is demonstrated by the social-spatial evolution; time and space intersect throughout the urban fabric of the camp as well as in repurposed places that accommodate social activities. Stairwells in Shatila are used for reaching homes and holding social gatherings. Rooftops are used for cooking, playing, and hosting celebrations. Those who live in small homes built benches and social hubs outside on the streets. The camp’s main streets turn into what is essentially a large dining room during religious holidays. The intersection is also evident with how coloured flags and posters transform the camp’s streets, marking celebratory activities during religious holidays, and how patriotic symbols, including posters of martyrs and inspirational quotes, accompany protest activities.

Bergson's conception of time is a helpful tool for understanding the intersection of refugees' past lives in their home countries, present experiences in Shatila, and present aspirations for the future. Two novel concepts emerged from the application of Bergson's concept of time in camps: generational duration and cross-geographical simultaneity. The generational duration of a Palestinian resident in Shatila is based on them being linked to previous generations' experiences – many of which occurred at a time before they were born – while merging their experience of exile into present day life in the camp. This is evident in how many younger generations link their identities to past experiences and places in Palestine. Cross-geographical simultaneity involves the intersection of times and places they have never visited. This includes events that happened in the camp before they were born. This is evident in how younger generations identify with the locations of massacres, getting involved through silent commemorations and protests regardless of when they occurred.

In summary, the unique application of Rohn's (2002) enterprising approach, Haight et al.'s (2002) "Thriving: A Life-Span Theory," Lefebvre's (1991) *The Production of Space*, and Henri Bergson's (1965) definition of time in Shatila have helped unpack key research concepts for this study. Refugees' narratives and practices have deepened the context of these frameworks while providing additional layers of utility for future refugee camp research and initiatives. For example, NGOs may utilise and test the recontextualised Rohn (2002) model as a guide for implementing an enterprising project. Since the model illustrates "collectiveness" as an essential factor, the NGO may design a communal and socially-based work environment while applying creativity and courage as part of the production value. Similarly, design researchers, who may explore environmental research in protected camps, can use the concept of utilised spaces as a path of inquiry for design projects. The concept may invite further inquiry into what forms of resistance or identity the project may reflect or other utility variables the design may represent.

## Chapter Eleven – Conclusion

While the previous chapter (Chapter Ten) summarised the research results and culminated them into thriving models, this chapter aims to summarise the overall research process while outlining the mobilisation of the thriving models and their approaches. The chapter begins with a summary outlining the overall research process before focusing on research questions concerning refugees' thriving views and practices. Next, the chapter outlines the potential impact of this research in both the academic and practical worlds; this includes mobilising the thriving model in the context of other protracted camps, testing the methodological approach, creating pedagogical models, and partnering with policymakers to develop toolkits for designing and operating refugee camps.

### 11.1 Research Summary

This research recognises that spaces and experiences in refugee camps are constantly being reshaped due to their inhabitants trying to build futures for themselves rather than remaining stuck in a temporary state. Refugees' experiences shift when they start to take matters into their own hands, achieving their aspirations and implementing practices during long-term encampment, which challenges the conclusions of many scholars. The outcome of the systemic literature review (Chapter Two) shows that the current body of research discusses well-established camps through the perspective of three overlapping themes: time-space, exclusion, and control (**Error! Reference source not found.**). Although each theme is formative for camp spaces and experiences, examples of refugee activities present contradicting concepts of permanency and temporariness, destitution and functioning economies, separation and social integration, control and autonomy, and fragmentation and community cohesion. In contrast to some theorisations of camps, refugees have rebelled against their conditions, redefining the role and power of both time and space in their camps, breaking the separating walls, and pursuing their aspirations (**Error! Reference source not found.**).

Examples from the Zaatari and Dadaab camps show that refugees are shifting camp spaces to become more permanent structures, as well as creating grassroots businesses and generating informal economies that creatively link to the host community and humanitarian economic strategies. The impact of time on the Shatila camp is exemplified by cultural integration among geographical regions in Palestine. Although areas in Palestine served as the first method of spatial organisation in camps, they were gradually overlaid through informal social rallies, intervillage marriage sites, and the souks and restaurants; in combination, these events and locations produced a different form of socio-spatial organisation. Refugees practise various levels of autonomy, as demonstrated by the Sahrawi refugee camps' defiance of rules concerning the control of movement. Camp residents have often created senses of community and opportunity, such as in the Kakuma camp, where they forged bonds with the surrounding Kenyan population. Since all of these practices are based on the thriving of individuals, this research examines an overarching question: *How do refugee camps become time-spaces for contextual thriving?* To answer this overarching question, eighty-six participants documented and discussed their views on thriving, the factors that are most important to their thriving, and how they (as well as other camp dwellers) pursue thriving in the time-space of Shatila. The study deployed a qualitative descriptive design with a conventional content analysis approach. Photo elicitation interviews were used as the data collection tool. Lebanon was selected as a location, and the Shatila refugee camp was the central focus in terms of the setting.

As seen in the models in Chapter Ten, thriving, according to Shatila residents, is characterised through a *state of being*, *acts of connecting*, and the *process of progressing* **Error! Reference source not found.** A *state of being* encompasses two overarching aspects that contribute to the thriving of refugees: internal emotions and external aspirations. The *act of connecting* is based on residents' deep connections with other refugees and attachment to their ethnic roots. The *process of progressing* is an ongoing and dynamic process. It is nurtured through extensive connections to oneself, friends, family, community, and the overall camp. Observations regarding progress can be clustered into three overlapping areas: economic pursuits, learning, and transcendence. Three crosscutting concepts emerged from investigation

of the thriving themes: choice, collectiveness, and the camp as a technology through which thriving is actualised.

Three domains have emerged that highlight dwellers' pursuits of thriving: evolving, enterprising, and expressing (**Error! Reference source not found.** Each domain is comprised of several sub-themes highlighting the multidimensionality of refugees' thriving practices. This first domain, *evolving*, outlines diverse strategies integral to the development of the camp's time-space, the community, and the individuals in it. The second domain showcases two practices rooted in enterprising that facilitate the thriving of the community; the first involves profit-generating practices, and the second involves innovative problem-solving approaches. The last domain presents two overlapping expressive mediums; the first centred around creative practices, while the second focuses on the camp as a large-scale public medium.

## 11.2 Potential Impact of the Research

### 11.3 Academic Contributions

**11.3.1 Research contribution.** This study critically analyses existing theories and perspectives on refugee camps while paving the way for applying new frameworks to contextualise protracted camps. The current body of literature contextualises camps by relying heavily on narratives derived from Agamben's *Homo Sacer* (1998), Auge's "non-place" (1995), and Agier's (2011) "waiting" and "stasis" concepts. These frameworks portray camps as slums, ghettos, and dangerous sanctuaries that are void of meaning and tradition. In such works, refugees are stripped of their identities, deserted in states of exception, and excluded from the law while existing as perpetual passive victims who are reduced to living a "bare life." These approaches do not fully recognise durable adaptation mechanisms developed by residents in protracted camps. This study's research questions respond to the literature, challenging scholars to go beyond the temporal, political, and humanitarian lenses by investigating camps as places of nurturing (**Error! Reference source not found.**). This research addresses this scholarly gap by using refugees' thriving practices to understand camps. As demonstrated in the results chapters, residents' *evolving* practices turned "waiting" into an evolutionary process for

development, “stasis” into a facilitator for securing a livelihood, “exceptionality” into an opportunity for self-governance, and redefined “interruption” into an asset for personal growth (7.5 Discussion). Their *enterprising* approaches continue to defy state control by capitalising on their freedom of movement to recontextualise what is seen as a “bare life” into a liveable and qualified life (8.4 Discussion). Their rich *expressing* practices, including cultural reservations and different forms of artistic expressions, continue to break down the separating walls and challenge the perceptions of the camps as slums, ghettos, and non-places void of meaning and traditions. (9.4 Discussion)

**11.3.2 Methodological contribution.** This research acknowledges the complex historical contexts of refugee camps, the rich and unique cultural practices within camp spaces, the novelty of exploring concepts of thriving in protracted camps, and the exclusion of refugees in determining their own futures. More importantly, one of the essential pillars for this research is disseminating refugees’ thriving practices to broader communities, linking their thriving to policy concerning the camps’ designs and operations. Therefore, this research applied a qualitative descriptive (QD) design with a conventional content analysis approach (**Error! Reference source not found.**). This approach is commonly used to investigate under-researched phenomena with the goal of designing interventions that impact policy around the issue. I chose to integrate visual reference methods – like photography captured by refugees – into this framework, which will provide policymakers with a clearer view of refugees’ experiences. Data collection took place in Lebanon within the Shatila refugee camp in 2019, covering three phases of fieldwork activities (**Error! Reference source not found.**). The first phase consisted of building relationships with partners on the ground, whereas the subsequent two phases included photography and interview activities conducted while confirming preliminary analysis and results with refugees (**Error! Reference source not found.**). To unpack key concepts highlighted in this research, Rohn’s (2002) enterprising approach, Haight et al.’s (2002) thriving framework, Lefebvre’s (1991) contextualisation of space, and Henri Bergson’s (1965) definition of time were applied.

Notably, the methods originate from nursing and anthropology sciences, while the data analysis methods drew on health sciences research. These diverse scholarly activities are



applied in this research to engineering and humanitarianism research studies. More specifically, the methodological approach was overlaid with feminist's thinkers' approaches altering adding one more scholarly pillar to recontextualise QD in protracted camps. The feminist analytical lens postulates reading in between and beyond the lines to capture the total thriving views and practices in protracted refugee camps. The results of borrowing and extending scholarly activities from other disciplines mirror what Brown et al., (2010) call an innovative and transformative approach to complex and contemporary research questions, transcending the humanitarianism field since it draws upon scholarship from other disciplines. The National Centre for Research Methods (2009) brands this approach a transformative research practice and identify it as delivering a higher probability of impact.

This research also borrows and applies theoretical approaches to a new context. Refugees' narratives provide additional aspects to Haight et al.'s (2002) definition of thriving, as well as adding the context of "utilised spaces" to Lefebvre's (1991) understanding of space, collectiveness to Rhon's (2002) view on enterprising, and generational duration and geographical simultaneity to Bergson's (1965) conceptualisation of time. These additions are helpful tools for conducting future research in protracted camps and other related environments. For example, scholars may use this research's recontextualised model from Haight et al. (2002) as a lens for researching user-centred interventions that focus on the thriving of individuals. Similarly, researchers may apply the concept of generational duration as a lens to explore social-spatial development in camps. NGOs may utilise and test Rohn's (2002) recontextualised model as a guide for implementing an enterprising project. Since the model illustrates "collectiveness" as an essential factor, the NGO may design a communal and socially-based work environment while applying creativity and courage as part of the production value. Similarly, design researchers conducting environmental research in protected camps can use the concept of utilised spaces as a path of inquiry for design projects. The concept may invite further inquiry into what forms of resistance or identity the project may reflect or other utility variables the design may represent. These frameworks underpin the thriving model discussed in previous sections, which can be used as a tool for managing and operating the camp as well as a guide for applying research approaches and exploring future scholarly work.

As I reflect on the research experience, I believe that borrowing the QD approach from health sciences and applying a content analysis approach allowed for deeply subjective, profound meanings and strongly subject-led views. The flexible nature of the process allowed for adapting to the complexities of conducting research in a protracted camp, implementing photography as a data collection tool, and helping identify the three aforementioned fieldwork phases. The focus on intervention as an outcome is of particular relevance to policymakers, while gathering data in the stakeholders' primary environment established trust in the field and invited the refugees to own the process.

According to refugees' narratives cited in Chapter Seven, deprivation, poverty, and injustices create a unified community protected against outside influences (7.2.1 Safety and Freedom). The Shatila community has created peer-led safety approaches that question the presence of outsiders in the camp. In reality, discussing images that capture intimate details of everyday life with a stranger (the researcher) in a tight-knit and protective society riddled with historical massacres and conflict seemed, at first, to be intrusive and threatening to the safety of the community, according to several Shatila organizations. Therefore, the first phase of fieldwork activities was crucial, as I spent ample time trying to earn my partners' trust. I followed the proper channels by meeting with gatekeepers, factions' representatives, and the community elders.

According to the partners on the ground, some of the key approaches that helped earn their trust was balancing the researcher-participant power and role, the "positive" nature of the research, and the product-driven focus. I approached the partnership process as a humble learner while painting the residents as the experts. Many participants reflected on why they chose to participate in this research, highlighting that the process documents their talents, intelligence, and innovative approaches, while previous research projects centred on their plight without discussing the positive aspect of their lives. Gatekeepers were excited to learn about the thriving models as an outcome and a driver for future interventions in the camp. They positively reflected on this novel approach focusing on inviting residents' views and efforts to design the camp's future.

Another critical methodological reflection was elicited from participants' reflections throughout the data collection process. The process of capturing images created a sense of "control" and "ownership" for the research outcome, cementing the narratives derived from participant-led PEI literature discussed in Chapter Four **Error! Reference source not found**. Several refugees reflected on how capturing images invited in-depth reflection and shared knowledge of everyday life in the camp. Others identified the process of capturing images as a form of expression and a direct link to their thriving practices. For example, although several Syrian refugees captured images reflecting the tragic realities of the camp, listening to the narratives of attachments and identity described by Palestinian refugees created a sense of appreciation for the environment in which they live. During focus groups, a few groups of neighbours learned from their friends' photographs, making comments such as "I did not know this banner is located here" or "I did not know that this NGO provides these services." Therefore, a few participants started to organise collective fieldwork activities to teach one another about their views of the camp.

This sense of ownership of the process was cemented with the confirmability process followed by this research (**Error! Reference source not found**). While confirming preliminary results throughout the second and third phases, most participants provided further reflections adding to the analysis I conducted, filling in the gaps and sometimes disputing key conclusions. This irritative process provided deeper meaning and the foundation for a robust thriving model. In fact, the accelerators and inhibitors concepts discussed in Chapter Ten were born out of refugees' cyclical feedback (**Error! Reference source not found**).

With this in mind, I argue that the methodological approach of implementing a qualitative descriptive design while using a content analysis approach, using photography as a tool to elicit views and to document practices, and phasing fieldwork activities is an effective approach for conducting research in camps and other related environments. More specifically, this approach is suitable for bottom-up research studies that focus on the participants' livelihoods while using the outcome as a guide for future interventions.

**11.3.3 Application in the field.** Strategies are set forth to implement the thriving models and the methodological approaches in the field. I have already tested the aforementioned

methodology locally and internationally. As part of my fellowship at the Bartlett and my NGO work, I implemented the approach in the Serres refugee camp in Greece and tested a contextual process in East London. In Greece, the camp hosts Yazidi refugees awaiting the outcome of their asylum application into Europe. The study aimed to design a “good life” model as a guide for planning services in the camp and throughout the displacement process. The approach was readapted to accommodate a new context since the Yazidis and the camp are not in a protracted state, and the background, state, and cultural practices differ from Shatila’s residents. Changes to the approach included lingual adaptation (instead of “thriving,” we used the term “the good life”), the removal of Lefevbre’s (1991) model (as it did not fit the context of mobile and temporary spaces), and recontextualisation of the concept of time and, therefore, the definition of Bergson’s duration. The outcome of the research in Serres overlapped with Shatila residents’ views of thriving and differed only when it comes to practices of the good life. Yazidi’s practices centred on healing the trauma of displacement, entrepreneurship strategies, and educational approaches in preparation for resettlement.

The goal of my project in East London centred on creating a prosperity model – based on residents’ views and practices – as a guide for future regeneration projects and to mitigate the negative outcomes of the Olympic Games. That project is part of a 10-year longitudinal study that aims to bridge the poverty gap in the area. Even though the context of the project did not include a refugee camp, the outcome of the research is aligned with this thesis. Additionally, residents in East London experience similar challenges and the outcome of the project is in sync with the work I conducted in Shatila. The aligned variables include urban inequalities, systemic injustices, racism, stunted aspirations, and strong attachment to their environments. Because of the magnitude of the project and the different contexts involved, I created a research training module that educates community members on applying the methodological approach created and explained in this thesis over three months. Changes to the process include terminology changes (e.g., using the term “prosperity”) and the use of a phased approach. Because community members who grew up in the area were gathering the data, the first phase of the project included the recruitment of community members rather than earning the community’s trust. Additionally, rather than PEI interviews, I mentored

community members on how to conduct photography sessions with participants. Remarkably, many of their thriving views and practices overlapped with Shatila's residents. Some of the differences include addressing youth issues, bridging the diversity gap, and funnelling government funding directly to community members. In March of 2022, I will apply the changes that have emerged from the East London project and will be implementing the methodological approach within the London Borough of Camden. Lastly, in collaboration with multiple departments at UCL, local Councils, and community representatives, the Institute for Global Prosperity plans on implementing this approach as a platform to create a community-based learning academy in London and a digital platform for teaching communities globally.

Concurrently, I have started testing this approach by creating pedagogical modules focusing on the livelihood of individuals in extreme contexts. The goal is to create an educational template for implementation across academia and the humanitarian sectors. I created a methodological teaching module for the MSc in Global Prosperity programme at Bartlett and have taught it for the past two years. I also taught the same module to three NGOs in Greece, Lebanon, and Haiti for research projects focussing on the livelihood of individuals. Similarly, a team of students from the International Development Program in the Civil, Environmental, and Geomatic Engineering (CEGE) department is working on the Serres refugee camp project, using the Good Life Model as a guide to design services and products in the camp. The students are working collaboratively with partners on the grounds with the goal of seeking funding at the end of this year to test and possibly implement student designs in the camp.

Future plans include revising the pedagogical module based on the outcome of my teachings and collaborating with other researchers from CEGE to design a class educating future researchers, humanitarian actors, and students about this approach for implementation in both locally and globally.

Additional plans will also include mobilising, testing, and adapting the thriving models in other refugee camps in Lebanon and Africa, including other Palestinian camps and the Nkamira refugee camp in Rwanda. As stated before, the goal is to create a thriving toolkit, based on refugees thriving views and practices, for designing and delivering services in camps. This is part

of my commitment to the partners on the grounds, my fellowship responsibilities, and my funders. I plan on continuing to apply this approach, testing and retesting it to set the foundation for my long-term research strategy. Plans have been set forth to communicate the process and the results of this research with the UN's planning office. The goal is to make the case for expanding the thriving model in the context of the local camps and explore future strategies for implementations throughout UN registered camps.

Long-term plans involve collaborating with the new PEARL (Person-Environment-Activity Research Laboratory) in CEGE and which is working with the IGP to use the model as a launching pad for creating a "Thriving Initiative" across multiple geographies, with the ultimate goal of producing and designing an operational toolkit – based exclusively on dwellers' thriving views and practices – for refugee camps. To achieve this goal, I plan on mobilising and testing the model in other camps throughout the Middle East as a first step and then throughout protracted camps in top refugee-hosting countries, including Turkey, Greece, Uganda, and Kenya. This will happen through a longitudinal study research plan that will allow me to test, recontextualise, and expand the thriving model outlined in this research. The outcome of the study will be built and tested at PEARL. Throughout the longitudinal study, I plan on linking and partnering with humanitarian agencies and policymakers in these countries.

The process will give a voice for refugees' practices in camps while providing an empirical path to use their perspectives as an impetus for policy change for camp design and operation. By giving voices to refugees when it comes to potential policy changes, this research may improve the quality of life for refugees in camps and encourage the building of better encampment environments.

Revisiting how refugee camps are contextualised is especially important since one-third of the overall refugee population is housed in numerous camps across the Global South, with unknown numbers contained in holding zones and detention centres in the Global North. There are currently 22 million refugees residing in over 300 recognised camps. The current model, where the refugee regime delivers protection, is ineffective and outdated. The primary model has been the long-term provision of assistance in refugee camps and closed settlements. The designs and policies of camps have not been significantly updated for the last three decades.

Camps are systems designed only for the emergency phase, meant to offer an immediate lifeline, yet many end up becoming impromptu cities that inadequately provide long-term living conditions. While the camp's provisions of food, clothing, and shelter are needed in the immediate aftermath of escaping war or other disasters, the camp evolves into an inadequate tool for finding life-fulfilling opportunities; this is why some refugees are attempting to change their realities. It is clear that refugees' needs shift with long-term encampment, yet the mode of living continues to focus on day-to-day survival and dependency on aid.

## 12. References

- Abbas, M., Shaaban, H., Sirhan, B., & Hassan, A. (1997). The Socio-economic Conditions of Palestinians in Lebanon. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 10(3), 378–396.  
<https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/10.3.378>
- Abid, G., & Ahmed, A. (2016). Multifacetedness of thriving: Its cognitive, affective, and behavioral dimensions. *International Journal of Information, Business and Management*, 8(3), 121-130.
- Abourahme, N. (2014). Assembling and spilling-over: Towards an 'ethnography of cement' in a Palestinian refugee camp. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 39(2), 200-217. doi:10.1111/1468-2427.12155
- Abourahme, N. (2020). The camp. *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 40(1). doi 10.1215/1089201X-8186016
- Achilli, L., & Abu Samra, M. (2021). Beyond legality and illegality: Palestinian informal networks and the ethno-political facilitation of irregular migration from Syria. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 47(15).  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183x.2019.1671181>
- Adams, S.J.M. and van Eerde, W. (2010), "Time use in Spain: is polychronicity a cultural phenomenon?", *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, Vol. 25 No. 7, pp. 764-776.
- Adriaansen, R. (2015). *The rhythm of eternity: The German youth movement and the experience of the past, 1900-1933*. New York: Berghahn.
- Agamben, G. (1995). *We Refugees*. Symposium Summer 1995-Periodicals Archive Online. New York. 114.
- Agamben, G (1998). *Homo Sacer. Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, Standford: Standford University Press.
- Agamben, G. 2005, *State of Exception*. Translated by K. Attell. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Agier, M. (2011a). *From refugee the ghetto is born: Contemporary figures of heterotopias*.  
<http://www.campusincamps.ps/wp-content/uploads/2012/06/Agier-ghetto-eng.pdf>



- Agier, M. (2011b). *Managing the undesirables*. Polity Press.
- Ahmad A, Al-Shagran H, Khasawneh O and Jarrah A (2015). Post- traumatic stress disorder of Syrian refugees in Jordan, *Int'l J. Lib. Arts Soc. Sci.*, 3 (3).
- Akgündüz, Y., Van Den Berg, M., & Hassink, W. H. (2015). The impact of refugee crises on host labor markets: the case of the Syrian refugee crisis in Turkey. Institute for the study of labor. No. 8841.
- Al-Aswad, (2020). Palestinians' homes stolen once again as Assad eyes Syria's Yarmouk camp. Retrieved March 17, 2021, from <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/syria-palestinians-assad-homes-stolen-yarmouk-camp>
- Alghothani, N., Alghothani, Y., & Atassi, B. (2012). Evaluation of a short-term medical mission to Syrian refugee camps in Turkey. *Avicenna Journal of Medicine*, 02(4), 84-88.
- Al-Hout, B. N. (2004). *Sabra and Shatila: September 1982*. London: Pluto.
- Allan, D. (2014). *Refugees of the revolution: Experiences of Palestinian eGAXile*. Stanford University Press.
- Allison, P. M. (2013). *People and spaces in Roman military bases*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Alloush, M., Taylor, J. E., Gupta, A., Valdes, R. I., & Gonzalez-Estrada, E. (2017). Economic life in refugee camps. *World Development*, 95, 334-347. doi:10.1016/j.worlddev.2017.02.030
- Almoshmosh, N. (2016). The role of war trauma survivors in managing their own mental conditions, Syria civil war as an example. *Avicenna journal of medicine*, 6(2), 54.
- Armillei, R., & Maestri, G., (2018). *Camps, Civil Society Organizations, and the Reproduction of Marginalization: Italian and French "Solidarity/Inclusion" Villages for Romani People*. Rowman & Littlefield International.
- Amitai, R., & Biran, M. (2015). *Nomads as agents of cultural change: The Mongols and their Eurasian predecessors*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Al Nassir, S. (2020). Constructive exceptionality: Spontaneous urbanization and recovered agency in Zaatari refugee camp. *Research in Urbanism Series*, 6, 81-98.
- Alsaud, F. F. (2015). Children's rights: Syrian refugee camps... childhood underfire? *Journal of Politics and Law*, 8(3).

- Anderson, B., Sharma, N. and Wright, C., 2009. Editorial: Why no borders? *Refuge*, 26, 5–18.
- Arena (2020). *Refugees In Lebanon – Lebanon refugee camps*. Anera.  
<https://www.anera.org/where-we-work/lebanon/>.
- AREAN (2013). Needs Assessment - *Palestinian Refugees from Syria in Lebanon: A Needs Assessment*. Retrieved July 25, 2022, from <https://data.unhcr.org/en/needs-assessment/1143>
- Arnold, R., & Fletcher, D. (Eds.). (2021). *Stress, Well-Being, and Performance in Sport* (1st ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429295874>
- Armstrong, D., Gosling, A., Weinman, J., & Marteau, T. (1997). The place of inter-rater reliability in qualitative research: An empirical study. *Sociology*, 31(3), 597–606.  
 Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038597031003015>
- Askarov, A., Volkov, V., & Ser-Odjav, N. (1992). Pastoral and nomadic tribes at the beginning of the first millennium BC. *History of civilizations of Central Asia (Paris 1992)*, 459-472.
- Atallah, D. G. (2017). A community-based qualitative study of intergenerational resilience with Palestinian refugee families facing structural violence and historical trauma. *Transcultural Psychiatry*, 54(3), 357–383. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1363461517706287>
- Augé, M., & Howe, J. (1995). *Non-places : Introduction to an anthropology of supermodernity / Marc Augé ; translated by John Howe*. London: Verso.
- Azar, S. K., & Azar, S. S. (2016). Waste related pollutions and their potential effect on cancer incidences in Lebanon. *Journal of Environmental Protection*, 07(06), 778-783.  
[doi:10.4236/jep.2016.76070](https://doi.org/10.4236/jep.2016.76070)
- Bachelet, S. (2012). *Managing the undesirables: Refugee camps and humanitarian*. Retrieved from: [https://www.gla.ac.uk/media/Media\\_236294\\_smx.pdf](https://www.gla.ac.uk/media/Media_236294_smx.pdf).
- Bahrami, M., Mohamadirizi, S., & Mohamadirizi, S. (2018). Hardiness and Optimism in Women with Breast Cancer. *Iranian journal of nursing and midwifery research*, 23(2), 105–110.  
[https://doi.org/10.4103/ijnmr.IJNMR\\_200\\_16](https://doi.org/10.4103/ijnmr.IJNMR_200_16)
- Banks, N., Lombard, M., & Mitlin, D. (2019). Urban informality as a site of critical analysis. *The Journal of Development Studies*, 56(2), 223–238.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00220388.2019.1577384>

- Barber, P. G., & Lem, W. (2018). *Migration, temporality, and capitalism: Entangled mobilities across Global Spaces*. Springer International Publishing.
- Barnard, A. (2014). *Palestinian refuge for 6 decades, now flooded from Syria*. Retrieved March 17, 2021, from <https://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/29/world/middleeast/palestinian-haven-for-6-decades-now-flooded-from-syria-.html>
- Bas, Z. S. (2016). A Phenomenology of homelessness: Hannah Arendt in conversation with the Syrian refugee crisis. Retrieved May 11, 2021, from [https://digitalcommons.bard.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1173&context=senproj\\_s2016](https://digitalcommons.bard.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1173&context=senproj_s2016)
- Bauman, Z. (1995). *Life in fragments: Essays in postmodern morality / Zygmunt Bauman*. Oxford ; Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell.
- Bergland, A., & Kirkevold, M. (2001). Thriving - a useful theoretical perspective to capture the experience of well-being among frail elderly in nursing homes? *Journal of Advanced Nursing* ,36(3), 426-432. doi:10.1046/j.1365-2648.2001.01990.x
- Bergson, H. 1965. *Duration and simultaneity*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill.
- Bergson, H. (2002). *Time and free will: An essay on the immediate data of consciousness*. Routledge.
- Betts, A., & Collier, P. (2015). *Help refugees help themselves: Let displaced Syrians join the labor market*. Council on Foreign Relation.
- Betts, A. (2017). *Refugee economies: forced displacement and development*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Betts, A., & Collier, P. (2017). *Refuge: Transforming a broken refugee system*. Penguin UK.
- Bircan, T., & Sunata, U. (2015). Educational assessment of Syrian refugees in Turkey. *Migration Letters*, 12(3), 226.
- Boano, C. (2011). Violent spaces: Production and reproduction of security and vulnerabilities. *The Journal of Architecture*, 16(1), 37-55.
- Bakewell, O. (2021). Humanizing Refugee Research in a Turbulent World. *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees*, 37(2), 63–69. <https://doi.org/10.25071/1920-7336.40795>

- Beaven, B. (2012). Packaging pleasure: Holiday camps in Twentieth Century Britain, by Sandra Dawson. *The English Historical Review*, 128(530), 224–225.  
<https://doi.org/10.1093/ehr/ces320>
- Boehm, J. K., Peterson, C., Kivimaki, M., & Kubzansky, L. (2011). A prospective study of positive psychological well-being and coronary heart disease. *Health Psychology*, 30(3), 259–267.  
<https://doi.org/10.1037/a0023124>
- Bold, B. (2016). Mongolian nomadic society: A reconstruction of the medieval history of Mongolia. *Taylor & Francis*.
- Bradley, M., Milner, J., & Peruniak, B. (2019). *Refugees' roles in resolving displacement and building peace: Beyond beneficiaries*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Bradshaw, C., Atkinson, S., & Doody, O. (2017). Employing a Qualitative Description Approach in Health Care Research. *Global Qualitative Nursing Research*, 4, 233339361774228.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/2333393617742282>
- Branzei, O., & Fathallah, R. (2021). The end of resilience? managing vulnerability through temporal resourcing and resisting. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 104225872110538. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10422587211053809>
- Bastian, B. L., Sidani, Y. M., & El Amine, Y. (2018). Women entrepreneurship in the Middle East and North Africa. *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, 33(1), 14–29.  
<https://doi.org/10.1108/gm-07-2016-0141>
- Brodowsky, G.H., Anderson, B.B., Schuster, C.P., Meilich, O. and Venkatesan, M.V. (2008), “If time is money is it a common currency? Time in Anglo, Asian and Latin Culture”, *Journal of Global Marketing*, Vol. 21 No. 4, pp. 245-257.
- Brown, D.J., Arnold, R., Fletcher, D., & Standage, M. (2017). Human thriving: A conceptual debate and literature review. *European Psychologist*, 22, 167–179. doi:10. 1027/1016-9040/a000294
- Brown, V. A., Harris, J. A., & Russell, J. Y. (2010). *Tackling wicked problems: Through the transdisciplinary imagination*. Earthscan from Routledge.
- Bulley, D. (2017). Migration, ethics & power: Spaces of hospitality in international politics /Dan Bulley. (*Society and space series*).

- Bulley, D. (2014). Inside the tent: Community and government in refugee camps. *Security Dialogue, 45*(1), 63-80.
- Bundick, M. J., Yeager, D. S., King, P. E., & Damon, W. (2010). Thriving across the life span. In R. M. Lerner, M. E. Lamb, & A. M. Freund (Eds.), *The handbook of life-span development* (pp. 882–923). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Bunnag, A. (2017). The concept of time in philosophy: A comparative study between Theravada Buddhist and Henri Bergsons concept of time from Thai philosophers perspectives. *Kasetsart Journal of Social Sciences*. doi:10.1016/j.kjss.2017.07.007
- Burke, D., & Evans, J. (2011). Embracing the creative: The role of photo novella in qualitative nursing research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 10*(2), 164-177. doi:10.1177/160940691101000205
- Brun, C. (2015). Active waiting and changing hopes: Toward a time perspective on protracted displacement. *Social Analysis, 59*(1). <https://doi.org/10.3167/sa.2015.590102>
- Burn, C., & Fábos, A. H. (2017). Mobilizing home for long-term displacement: a critical reflection on the durable solutions. *Journal of Human Rights Practice, 9*(2), 177-183. doi:10.1093/jhuman/hux021
- Burke, E., & Ritchie, D. E. (2014). *Further Reflections on the Revolution in France*. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund.
- Burnett, A., DiTunnariello, N., & DeGreeff, B. L. (2019). “I’m on a rollercoaster”: Women’s Social Construction of Time. *Communication Studies, 71*(1), 148–166. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10510974.2019.1702073>
- Burns, R. H. (2012). *Absent Memory: A Study of the Historiography of the Lebanese Civil War of 1975-1990*. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.14418/wes01.1.825>
- Buser, M. (2012). The production of space in metropolitan regions: A Lefebvrian analysis of governance and spatial change. *Planning Theory, 11*(3), 279–298. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1473095212439693>
- Byrne, J. (2016). Contextual Identity among Liberian refugees in Ghana: Identity salience in a protracted refugee situation. *Politics & Policy, 44*(4), 751–782. <https://doi.org/10.1111/polp.12169>

- Cahir, F. (2012). *Black gold: Aboriginal people on the goldfields of Victoria, 1850-1870*. Acton, A.C.T.: ANU E Press.
- Camarena, K. (2019). *Location matters: The politics of refugee camp placement*. Harvard University. Retrieved from [https://scholar.harvard.edu/files/kara\\_ross\\_camarena/files/krc\\_camplocation.pdf?m=1527627932](https://scholar.harvard.edu/files/kara_ross_camarena/files/krc_camplocation.pdf?m=1527627932)
- Carrion, D. (2015). Syrian refugees in Jordan: Confronting difficult truths. *Middle East and North Africa Programme Research Paper*. London: Chatham House.
- Carter, N., Bryant-Lukosius, D., DiCenso, A., Blythe, J., & Neville, A. J. (2014). The use of triangulation in qualitative research. *Oncology Nursing Forum*, 41(5), 545–547. <https://doi.org/10.1188/14.onf.545-547>
- Carver, C. S. (1998). Resilience and thriving: Issues, models, and linkages. *Journal of Social Issues*, 54, 245–266. doi: 10.1111/ 0022-4537.641998064
- Centre for Disease Control (2013). Long-Term Care Services in the United States: 2013 Overview. (n.d.). Retrieved February 3, 2018, from [https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/nsitcp/long\\_term\\_care\\_services\\_2013.pdf](https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/nsitcp/long_term_care_services_2013.pdf)
- Charnock, G., & Ribera-Fumaz, R. (2011). A New Space for Knowledge and People? Henri Lefebvre, Representations of Space, and the Production of 22@Barcelona. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 29(4), 613–632. <https://doi.org/10.1068/d17009>
- Chafe, R. (2017). The value of qualitative description in health services and Policy Research. *Healthcare Policy | Politiques De Santé*, 12(3), 12–18. <https://doi.org/10.12927/hcpol.2017.25030>
- Chambers, R (1994) Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA): analysis of experience, *World Development*, 22(9), pp 1253-1268.
- Chia, R. and King, I. (1998). The organizational structuring of novelty, *Organization* 5(4), 461–78.
- Chowers, E. (2002). Gushing Time. *Time & Society*, 11(2-3), 233–249. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0961463x02011002004>

- Colorafi, K. J., & Evans, B. (2016). Qualitative descriptive methods in Health Science Research. *HERD: Health Environments Research & Design Journal*, 9(4), 16–25. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1937586715614171>
- Coope, U. (2011). *Time for aristotle: Physics Iv. 10-14*. Clarendon.
- Cornish, C. (2018, November 22). *Building lives: The charity that gives Lebanon's hidden refugees a home*. Financial Times. Retrieved July 25, 2022, from <https://www.ft.com/content/b27283ce-ed29-11e8-8180-9cf212677a57>
- Clark-Ibáñez, M. (2004). Framing the social world with photo-elicitation interviews. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 47(12), 1507–1527. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764204266236>
- Clark-Ibáñez, M. (2012). Framing the social world with photo-elicitation interviews. In Hughes, J. (Ed.), *SAGE visual methods* (pp. v4-1-v4-22). SAGE Publications Ltd, <https://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781473963719>
- Corsellis, T., Vitale, A., Oxfam GB, University of Cambridge. Shelterproject, & Oxfam UK & Ireland. (2005). *Transitional settlement: Displaced populations / executive editors and lead authors, Tom Corsellis and Antonella Vitale*. Oxford: Cambridge: Oxfam GB; In association with University of Cambridge shelterproject.
- Court, D. (2018). *Qualitative research and intercultural understanding: Conducting qualitative research in multicultural settings*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
- Crisp, J., Morris, T., & Refstie, H. (2012). Displacement in urban areas: New challenges, new partnerships. *Disasters* 36: S23–S42.
- Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2018). *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design: Choosing among Five approaches*. SAGE Publication Inc.
- Dahi, O. (2014). The refugee crisis in Lebanon and Jordan: The need for economic development spending. *Forced Migration Review*, (47), 11.
- Dalal, A., Darweesh, A., Misselwitz, P., & Steigemann, A. (2018). Planning the Ideal Refugee Camp? A Critical Interrogation of Recent Planning Innovations in Jordan
- Darling, J. (2016). Forced migration and the City. *Progress in Human Geography*, 41(2), 178–198. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132516629004>

- Darweesh, A., Misselwitz, P., & Steigemann, A. (n.d.). *Planning the ideal refugee camp? A critical interrogation of recent planning innovations in Jordan and Germany*. Urban Planning. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.17645/up.v3i4.1726>.
- Darychuk, A., & Jackson, S. (2015). Understanding community resilience through the accounts of women living in West Bank Refugee Camps. *Affilia*, 30(4), 447–460. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886109915572845>
- Degen, M. (2008). *Sensing Cities: regenerating Public Life in Barcelona and Manchester*. New York: Routledge.
- De la Chaux, M. & Haugh, H. (2020). When formal institutions impede entrepreneurship: How and why refugees establish new ventures in the Dadaab refugee camps, *Entrepreneurship & Regional Development*, 32:9-10, 827-851, DOI: 10.1080/08985626.2020.1789752
- Disalle, R. (2006). *Understanding space-time : The philosophical development of physics from Newton to Einstein / Robert DiSalle*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Diken, B. (2004). From refugee camps to gated communities: Biopolitics and the end of the city. *Citizenship Studies*, 8(1), 83–106. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1362102042000178373>
- Doody, O., & Bailey, M. E. (2016). Setting a research question, aim and objective. *Nurse Researcher*, 23(4), 19–23.
- Doumani, B. (2000). *Rediscovering palestine: Merchants and peasants in Jabal Nablus ; 1700-1900*. University of California Press.
- Dovey, K. (2010). *Becoming places: Urbanism--architecture--identity--power / Kim Dovey*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Doyle, L., McCabe, C., Keogh, B., Brady, A., & McCann, M. (2019). An overview of the qualitative descriptive design within nursing research. *Journal of Research in Nursing*, 25(5), 443–455. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1744987119880234>
- Efferink, L. V. (2013). Geopolitics. *Geography*. doi:10.1093/obo/9780199874002-0017
- Elden, S. (2007). There is a politics of space because space is political. *Radical Philosophy Review*, 10(2), 101-116. doi:10.5840/radphilrev20071022



- El Arnaout, N., Rutherford, S., Zreik, T., Nabulsi, D., Yassin, N., & Saleh, S. (2019). Assessment of the health needs of Syrian refugees in Lebanon and Syria's neighboring countries. *Conflict and Health*, 13(1). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s13031-019-0211-3>
- Elden, S. (2004). *Understanding Henri Lefebvre: Theory and the possible /Stuart Elden*. (Continuum studies in philosophy). London: Continuum.
- Elorduy, N. A. (2021). *Architecture as a way of seeing and learning. the built environment as an added educator in East African Refugee Camps*. UCL Press.
- Edensor, T. (2006). Reconsidering National Temporalities: Institutional Times, Everyday Routines, Serial Spaces and Synchronicities. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 9(4), 525–545. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1368431006071996>
- Edensor, T., & Holloway, J. (2008). Rhythmanalysing the Coach Tour: The Ring of Kerry, Ireland. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 33(4), 483–501. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30135329>
- Edvardsson, D., Sjögren, K., Lood, Q., Bergland, Å, Kirkevold, M., & Sandman, P. (2017). A person-centred and thriving-promoting intervention in nursing homes - study protocol for the U-Age nursing home multi-centre, non-equivalent controlled group before-after trial. *BMC Geriatrics*, 17(1). doi:10.1186/s12877-016-0404-1
- Ettner, S. L., & Grzywacz, J. G. (2001). Workers' perceptions of how Jobs Affect Health: A Social Ecological Perspective. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 6(2), 101–113. <https://doi.org/10.1037/1076-8998.6.2.101>
- Faten Kikano, Gabriel Fauveaud, Gonzalo Lizarralde, Policies of Exclusion: The Case of Syrian Refugees in Lebanon, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Volume 34, Issue 1, March 2021, Pages 422–4
- Fawaz, M. (2016). Planning and the refugee crisis: Informality as a framework of analysis and Reflection. *Planning Theory*, 16(1), 99–115. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1473095216647722>
- Feigenbaum, A., Frenzel, F., & McCurdy, P. (2013). *Protest camps*. London: Zed Books.
- Feldman, I. (2014). What is a camp? Legitimate refugee lives in spaces of long-term displacement. *Geoforum*, 66, 244–252. Retrieved from: <http://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2014.11.014>

- Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, E. (2016). Representations of Displacement from the Middle East and North Africa. *Public Culture*, 28 (3) pp. 457-473.
- Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, E., Loescher, G., Long, K., & Sigona, N. (2016). *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and forced Migration Studies*. Oxford University Press.
- Fischer, N. (2014). The management of anxiety. an ethnographical outlook on self-mutilations in a French immigration detention centre. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 41(4), 599-616. doi:10.1080/1369183x.2014.960820
- Foucault, M. (1997). "Space, power and knowledge," in Leach, N. (ed.) *Rethinking Architecture*, London: Routledge, pp. 367–379.
- Foucault, M. (1997). "The Birth of Biopolitics," 73-79 in *Ethics, Subjectivity, and Truth*: P. Rabinow and J.D. Faubion eds. New Press
- Foucault, M. (2004). *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975-76*. London: Penguin. *Determination Theory*. doi:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199794911.013.016
- Feeney, B. C., & Collins, N. L. (2014). A new look at Social Support. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 19(2), 113–147. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1088868314544222>
- Feller, E., (2001). The Evolution of the International Refugee Protection Regime, 5 *WASH. U. J. L. & POL'Y* 129 (2001). Retrieved from: [https://openscholarship.wustl.edu/law\\_journal\\_law\\_policy/vol5/iss1/11](https://openscholarship.wustl.edu/law_journal_law_policy/vol5/iss1/11)
- Frenzel, F., Feigenbaum, A., & McCurdy, P. (2014). Protest camps: An emerging field of Social Movement Research. *The Sociological Review*, 62(3), 457–474. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-954x.12111>
- Gagné, M. (2015). *The Oxford handbook of work engagement, motivation, and self-determination theory*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gagné, M., Spreitzer, G. M., & Porath, C. L. (2014). Self-Determination as a Nutriment for Thriving. *The Oxford Handbook of Work Engagement, Motivation, and Self-Determination Theory*. doi:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199794911.013.016
- Gasparini, Giovanni. 1995. "On Waiting." *Time & Society* 4, no. 1: 29–45.

- Gatrell, P. (2017). Refugees: what's wrong with history? *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 30(2), 170-189.
- Gatter, M. (2021). Preserving order: narrating resilience as threat in Jordan's Azraq refugee camp. *Territory, Politics, Governance*, 1–17.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/21622671.2020.1860812>
- Gerrard, J. (2017). The Refugee Crisis, Non-Citizens, Border Politics and Education. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 38(6), 880-891.
- Giri, O., Bharadwaj, R., Misra, A., & Kulhara, P. (2015). Impact of drug awareness and treatment camps on attendance at a community outreach de-addiction clinic. *Industrial Psychiatry Journal*, 24(2), 202-5.
- Gilliver, C., Goldsworthy, A. K., Whitby, M., & Saylor, S. (2005). *Rome at war*: Oxford: Osprey.
- Goldsworthy, A. (2011). *The complete Roman army*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Guy, W. (2001). *Between past and future: The Roma of Central and Eastern Europe*. Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press.
- Gooch, K., & Sheldon, D. (2019). Holiday camps, prison time and confined escapism: Understanding leisure, pleasure and harm in prisons. *Deviant Leisure*, 403–423.  
[https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-17736-2\\_18](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-17736-2_18)
- Goyal, O. P. (2005). *Nomads at the crossroads*. Delhi: Isha Books.
- Griffiths, M., Rogers, A., & Anderson, B. (2013). *Migration , Time and Temporalities : Review and Prospect*. Retrieved from: <https://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/2013/migration-time-and-temporalities-review-and-prospect/>
- Grossman, S., & Lange, J. (2006). Theories of aging as basis for assessment. *Medsurg Nursing: Official Journal of the Academy of Medical-Surgical Nurses*, 15(2), 77-83.
- Guest, G., Bunce, A., & Johnson, L. (2006). How Many Interviews Are Enough? *Field Methods*, 18(1), 59-82. doi:10.1177/1525822x05279903
- Guillaume, X., & Huysmans, J. (2013). *Citizenship and security the constitution of political being*. Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
- Gunnflo, M. (2015). Rudolf Kjellén: Nordic biopolitics before the welfare state. *Retfærd: Nordisk juridisk tidsskrift*, 35(3).

- Gustafsson, A., Högström, C., Radnor, Z., Friman, M., Heinonen, K., Jaakkola, E., & Mele, C. (2016). Developing service research – paving the way to transdisciplinary research. *Journal of Service Management*, 27(1), 9-20. doi:10.1108/josm-03-2015-0098
- Guttman, A. (2016). *World's largest Syrian refugee camp has developed its own economy*. PBS. Retrieved from: <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/show/worlds-largest-syrian-refugee-camp-has-developed-its-own-economy>
- Guzmán, E., & Woodgate, G. (2015). Transformative Agroecology: Foundations in Agricultural Practice, Agrarian Social Thought, and Sociological Theory. *Advances in Agroecology*
- Guy, W. (2001). *Between past and future: The Roma of Central and Eastern Europe*. Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press.
- Habitat for Humanity (2018). *Palestinian families: Life in Lebanon's Refugee Camps*. Habitat for Humanity GB. Retrieved from: <https://www.habitatforhumanity.org.uk/blog/2016/11/palestinian-families-life-lebanon/>
- Haight, B. K., Barba, B. E., Courts, N. F., & Tesh, A. S. (2002). Thriving: a life span theory. *Journal of Gerontological Nursing*, 28(3), 14-22.
- Hailey, C. (2009). *Camps: A guide to 21st-century space*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Hage, G. (2018) Afterword. In: Janeja, M. K. & A. Bandak (eds) *Ethnographies of Waiting: Doubt, Hope and Uncertainty*. London & New York, Bloomsbury Publishing, pp. 203–208
- Hakim, C. (2019). The French Mandate in Lebanon. *The American Historical Review*, 124(5), 1689–1693. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ahr/rhz1024>
- Hakim, C. (2013). *The origins of the Lebanese national idea, 1840-1920 Carol Hakim*. <https://doi.org/10.1525/9780520954717>
- Halabi, Z. (2022). *The Unmaking of the Arab Intellectual: Prophecy, Exile and the Nation*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781474421409>
- Halabi, Z. (2004). Exclusion and identity in Lebanon's Palestinian refugee camps: A story of sustained conflict. *Environment and Urbanization*, 16(2), 39-48. doi:10.1630/0956247042309928
- Hall, E. T. (1959). *The silent language*. Fawcett Publications.

- Hall, E.T. (1976), *Beyond Culture*, Doubleday, New York, NY.
- Hall, E. T. (1983). *The dance of life: The other dimension of time*. New York, NY: Anchor Press/  
Doubleday.
- Hazan, H. (2017). *SERENDIPITY IN ANTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH: The nomadic turn*. S.l.:  
TAYLOR & FRANCIS.
- Heltzel, P. (2012). *Resurrection City: A theology of improvisation*. Grand Rapids, MI: W.B.  
Eerdmans Pub.
- Hendry, J. (2005). *Reclaiming culture: Indigenous people and self-representation*. Gordonsville:  
Palgrave Macmillan.
- Herscher, A., Hirsch, N., & Miessen, M. (2017). *Displacements: Architecture and refugee*.  
Sternberg Press.
- Johnson-Hanks, J. (2005). When the future decides. *Current Anthropology*, 46(3), 363–385.  
<https://doi.org/10.1086/428799>
- Long, T., & Hanafi, S. (2010). Human (in)security: Palestinian perceptions of security in and  
around the refugee camps in Lebanon. *Conflict, Security & Development*, 10(5), 673–  
692. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14678802.2010.511510>
- Hanafi, S., & Long, T. (2010). Governance, Governmentalities, and the state of exception in the  
Palestinian refugee camps of Lebanon. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 23(2), 134-159.  
[doi:10.1093/jrs/feq014](https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/feq014)
- Harker, C. (2020). *Spacing debt: Obligations, violence, and endurance in Ramallah, Palestine*.  
Duke University Press.
- Harris, P. (2004). Diagramming duration: Bergsonian multiplicity and chaos  
theory. *Intermédialités: Histoire Et Théorie Des Arts, Des Lettres Et Des Techniques*, (3),  
97. [doi:10.7202/1005470ar](https://doi.org/10.7202/1005470ar)
- Harper, D. (2002). Talking about pictures: A case for photo elicitation. *Visual Studies* 17:13– 26.
- Hart, J., Paszkiewicz, N., & Albadra, D. (2018). Shelter as home: Syrian homemaking in  
Jordanian refugee camps. *Human Organization*, 77(4), 371-380.

- Hauge, B. (2016). Re-designing the everyday: The use and perception of time among cancer patients combining work and treatment. *Time & Society*, 25(2), 193–212.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0961463X15577255>
- Hazan, H. (2017). *Serendipity in anthropological research: The nomadic turn*. S.I.: Taylor & Francis.
- Haqshenas, S. (2014). The Concept of time; Henri Bergson, Sadeq Hedayat and William Faulkner. *Lap Lambert Academic Publishing*. ISBN:978-3-659-86949-5
- Hsieh, H., & Shannon, S. E. (2005). Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis. *Qualitative Health Research*, 15(9), 1277-1288.  
[doi:10.1177/1049732305276687](https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732305276687)
- Human Rights Watch. (n.d.). Treatment and Rights in Arab Host States (Right to Return - Human Rights Watch Policy Page). Retrieved on June, 6, 2020 from:  
<https://www.hrw.org/legacy/campaigns/israel/return/arab-rtr.htm>.
- Hurworth, R. (2003). Photo-interviewing for research. *Social Research Update*, 40. Retrieved 4 January 2018 from: <http://sru.soc.surrey.ac.uk/SRU40.html>
- Hutchison, R., & Haynes, B. D. (2012). *The ghetto: Contemporary global issues and controversies*. Boulder: Colo.
- International Medical Corps (2018). Child friendly spaces at Al Zaatari refugee camp. Retrieved March 10, 2018, from <https://www.internationalmedicalcorps.org.uk/child-friendly-spaces-al-zaatari-refugee-camp>
- International Organization for Migration [IOM]. (2019). *Marking a milestone: 100,000 refugees resettled from Lebanon since eruption of Syrian crisis*. International Organization for Migration. Retrieved on June 1, 2020 from: <https://www.iom.int/news/marking-milestone-100000-refugees-resettled-lebanon-eruption-syrian-crisis>.
- Jansen, B. J. (2015). Digging aid: The camp as an option in east and the horn of Africa. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 29(2), 149-165. [doi:10.1093/jrs/fev01](https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fev01)
- Jacobsen, C. M., Karlsen, M.-A., & Khosravi, S. (2021). *Waiting and the temporalities of irregular migration*. Routledge.

- Jelacic, M. (2014). From Polybius to Dadaab: Traumatic urbanization in the anthropocene. *Procedia Engineering*, 78, 188-199.
- JANMYR M. (2016) 'Precarity in Exile: The Legal Status of Syrian Refugees in Lebanon'. *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 35(4): 58
- Jones, K., & Popke, J. (2010). Re-Envisioning the City: Lefebvre, HOPE VI, and the Neoliberalization of Urban Space. *Urban Geography*, 31(1), 114-133.
- Joseph, S., & Linley, P. A. (2012). *Trauma, recovery, and growth: Positive psychological perspectives on posttraumatic stress*. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons.
- Kanal, M., & Rottmann, S. B. (2021). Everyday Agency: Rethinking Refugee Women's agency in specific cultural contexts. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 12.  
<https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2021.726729>
- Kaplan, M. S., Huguet, N., Orpana, H., Feeny, D., McFarland, B. H., & Ross, N. (2008). Prevalence and factors associated with thriving in older adulthood: A 10-year population-based study. *The Journals of Gerontology Series A: Biological Sciences and Medical Sciences*, 63(10), 1097–1104. <https://doi.org/10.1093/gerona/63.10.1097>
- Katz, I. (2015). From spaces of thanatopolitics to spaces of natality – A commentary on 'Geographies of the camp'. *Political Geography*, 49, 84-86
- Katz, I. (2015). Spreading and concentrating: the Camp as the Space of the Frontier. *City*, 19(5), 727–740. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13604813.2015.1071115>
- Katz, I., Martin, D., & Minca, C. (2018). *Camps revisited: Multifaceted spatialities of a modern political technology*. Rowman & Littlefield International.
- Kavanagh, B. P. (2009). The GRADE System for Rating Clinical Guidelines. *PLoS Medicine*, 6(9).  
[doi:10.1371/journal.pmed.1000094](https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pmed.1000094)
- Kim, H., Sefcik, J. S., & Bradway, C. (2016). Characteristics of qualitative descriptive studies: A systematic review. *Research in Nursing & Health*, 40(1), 23-42. [doi:10.1002/nur.21768](https://doi.org/10.1002/nur.21768)
- Khalidi, R. (2021). *The Hundred Years' War on Palestine a history of settler colonialism and resistance, 1917-2017*. Picador.
- Khatib, G. (2010). *Palestinian politics and the Middle East Peace process: Consensus and competition in the Palestinian negotiation team*. Routledge.

- Kleine, A. K., Rudolph, C. W., & Zacher, H. (2019). Thriving at work: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 40(9-10), 973–999. <https://doi.org/10.1002/job.2375>
- Knudsen, A. J. (2016). Camp, ghetto, zinco, slum: Lebanon's transitional zones of emplacement. *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development*, 7(3), 443–457. <https://doi.org/10.1353/hum.2016.0025>
- Knudsen, A. J., & Hanafi, S. (2011). *Palestinian refugees: Identity, space and place in the levant*. Routledge.
- Kramsch, O. (2012). "Swarming at the frontiers of France, 1870-1885", In Thomas Wilson and Hastings Donnan (eds). *The Blackwell Companion to Broder Studies*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Kreichauf, R. (2018). From forced migration to Forced ARRIVAL: The Campization of REFUGEE accommodation in European cities. *Arrival Infrastructures*, 249-279. doi:10.1007/978-3-319-91167-0\_11
- Lambert, V. A., & Lambert, C. E. (2012). Qualitative Descriptive Research: An Acceptable Design. *Pacific Rim International Journal of Nursing Research*, 16, 255-256.
- Laocharoenwong, J. (2020). *Re-imagining the refugee camp: sovereignty and time-space formation along the Thailand-Burma borderland*. printing: Gildeprint B.V.
- Latif, Nadia. "'It Was Better during the War': Narratives of Everyday Violence in a Palestinian Refugee Camp." *Feminist Review*, no. 101 (2012): 24–40. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41495231>.
- Laubin, R., & Laubin, G. (2012). *Indian tipi: Its history, construction, and use*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Leary, M. (2009). The production of space through a shrine and vendetta in Manchester: Lefebvre's spatial triad and the regeneration of a place renamed Castlefield. *Planning Theory and Practice* 10(2): 189–212.
- Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The production of space*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lehec, C. (2016). Graffiti in Palestinian Refugee Camps: from palimpsest walls to public space. *Articulo – Revue De Sciences Humaines*, (15). <https://doi.org/10.4000/articulo.3399>



- LENNER K. , SCHMELTER S. (2016) 'Syrian Refugees in Jordan and Lebanon: Between Refuge and Ongoing deprivation'. In European Institute of the Mediterranean. Yearbook 2016 (pp. 122–126), [https://www.eimediterranean.org/adjunts/anuari/med.2016/IEMed\\_MedYearBook2016\\_Refugges20Jordan20Lebanon\\_Lenner\\_Schmelter.pdf](https://www.eimediterranean.org/adjunts/anuari/med.2016/IEMed_MedYearBook2016_Refugges20Jordan20Lebanon_Lenner_Schmelter.pdf) (accessed November 2019).
- Lentini, R. (2008). *Thinking Palestine*. London: Zed Books.
- Lerner, R. M., Dowling, E. M., & Anderson, P. M. (2003). Positive youth development: Thriving as a basis of personhood and civil society. *Applied Developmental Science, 7*, 172–180. doi: 10.1207/S1532480XADS0703\_8
- Lillekroken, D. (2014). Slow Nursing—The Concept Inventing Process. *International Journal for Human Caring, 18*(4), 40-44. doi:10.20467/1091-5710-18.4.40
- Linstead, S., & Mullarkey, J. (2003). Time, creativity and culture: Introducing Bergson. *Culture and Organization, 9*(1), 3–13. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14759550302799>
- Lischer, S. (2015). *Dangerous sanctuaries: Refugee camps, civil war, and the dilemmas of humanitarian aid* (Cornell studies in security affairs). Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Lockhart, C. 2009. Commentary: Is assisted living in the United States well served by regulations requiring the reporting of detailed operational data that are then posted on the Internet? *Journal of Aging and Social Policy, 21*, 243-245.
- Loescher, G., Betts, A., & Milner, J. (2008). *The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR): The Politics and Practice of Refugee Protection into the Twenty-first Century*, Abingdon: Routledge.
- Low, S. (2016). Spatializing Culture. doi:10.4324/9781315671277
- Lucas, R. (2016). *Research methods for architecture*. London: Laurence King Publishing.
- Machiavelli, N. (2003). Lynch, C. (trans.) *The Art of War*, Chicago, IL, USA: Chicago University Press.
- Malkki, L.H. (2002). News from nowhere Mass displacement and globalized 'problems of organization'. *Ethnography, 3*51-360.

- Malkki, L. H. (1995). Refugees and exile: From refugee studies to the national order of things. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 24(1), 493-523.  
doi:10.1146/annurev.anthro.24.1.493
- Martin, D. (2015). From spaces of exception to 'campscapes': Palestinian refugee camps and informal settlements in Beirut. *Political Geography*, 44, 9-18.  
doi:10.1016/j.polgeo.2014.08.001
- Marjoleine, Z. (2021). Part VII the end of refugeehood—cessation and durable solutions, ch.59 reimagining voluntary repatriation. *The Oxford Handbook of International Refugee Law*.  
<https://doi.org/10.1093/law/9780198848639.003.0060>
- Martin, D., Minca, C., & Katz, I. (2019). Rethinking the camp: On spatial technologies of power and resistance. *Progress in Human Geography*, 44(4), 743-768.  
doi:10.1177/0309132519856702
- Massad, J. A. (2007). *The persistence of the Palestinian question: Essays on Zionism and the Palestinians*. Routledge.
- Massey, D. (2005). *For Space*. Los Angeles: SAGE.
- McConnachie, K. (2016). Camps of containment: A genealogy of the refugee camp. *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development*, 7(3), 397-412. doi:10.1353/hum.2016.0022
- Mccurdy, P., Feigenbaum, A., & Frenzel, F. (2015). Protest Camps and Repertoires of Contention. *Social Movement Studies*, 15(1), 97-104.
- McFarlane C (2012) Rethinking informality: Politics, crisis, and the city. *Planning Theory & Practice* 13(1): 89–108.
- Merriam-Webster. (n.d.). *Dictionary by Merriam-Webster: America's most-trusted online dictionary*. Merriam-Webster. Retrieved from <https://www.merriam-webster.com/>
- Merrifield, A. (2006). *Henri Lefebvre: a Critical Introduction*. New York: Routledge.
- Miles, M.B., Huberman, A.M. and Saldana, J. (2014). *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook*. Sage, London.

- Milne, J., & Oberle, K. (2005). Enhancing rigor in qualitative description. *Journal of Wound, Ostomy and Continence Nursing*, 32(6), 413–420. <https://doi.org/10.1097/00152192-200511000-00014>
- Minca, C. (2015). Counter-camps and other spatialities. *Political Geography*, 49, 90-92. doi:10.1016/j.polgeo.2015.09.003
- Minca, C. (2015). Geographies of the camp. *Political Geography*, 49, 74-83. doi:10.1016/j.polgeo.2014.12.005
- Moore, H. (2015). Global prosperity and sustainable development goals. *Journal of International Development*, 27(6), 801-815.
- Moore & Mintchev, N. (2021) *What is prosperity?*. London: Institute for Global Prosperity.
- Morris, B. (2012). *The birth of the Palestinian refugee problem revisited*. Cambridge Univ. Press.
- Munirah, A. (2010). Benefits and drawbacks of using software programs for your qualitative data analysis. Retrieved January 10, 2018, from <http://atlastimalaysia.com/benefits-and-drawbacks/>
- Mytum, H. C., & Carr, G. (2013). *Prisoners of war: Archaeology, memory, and heritage of 19th- and 20th-century mass internment*. New York: Springer.
- Mytum, H. (2012). Materiality matters: The role of things in coping strategies at Cunningham's Camp, Douglas during World War I. *Prisoners of War*, 169–187. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-4166-3\\_10](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-4166-3_10)
- Nation Center for Research Methods (2009). *Innovations in Social Science Research Methods*. Retrieved January 10, 2018 from: [http://epubs.surrey.ac.uk/2271/1/ISSRM\\_Report\\_Public.pdf](http://epubs.surrey.ac.uk/2271/1/ISSRM_Report_Public.pdf)
- Neergaard, M. A., Olesen, F., Andersen, R. S., & Sondergaard, J. (2009). Qualitative description—The poor cousin of health research? *BMC Medical Research Methodology*, 9, 52. doi: 10.1186/1471-2288-9-52
- Nowotny, H. (1994). *Time: modern and postmodern experience*. Cambridge: Polity.

- Nyers, P., & Rygiel, K. (2014). *Citizenship, migrant activism and the politics of movement*. Routledge.
- Oesch, L. (2017). The refugee camp as a space of multiple ambiguities and subjectivities. *Political Geography*, 60, 110-120. doi:10.1016/j.polgeo.2017.05.004
- Oka, R. (2011). Unlikely cities in the desert: The informal economy as causal agent for permanent 'urban' sustainability in Kakuma Refugee Camp, Kenya. *Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and World Economic Development*, 40 (3/4), 223–262.
- O'Leary, V. E., & Ickovics, J. R. (1995). Resilience and thriving in response to challenge: An opportunity for a paradigm shift in women's health. *Women's Health*, 1, 121–142.
- Olsen, V. (2005). Early millennial feminist qualitative research: Challenges and contours. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 235-278). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Oxfam. (2018). Tailor made women refugees. Retrieved from <https://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/620530/bn-jordan-tailor-made-women-refugees-070818-en.pdf>
- Oxford Univ. Press. (1992). *The concise oxford dictionary*.
- Palinkas, L. A., Horwitz, S. M., Green, C. A., Wisdom, J. P., Duan, N., & Hoagwood, K. (2013). Purposeful sampling for qualitative data collection and analysis in mixed method implementation research. *Administration and Policy in Mental Health and Mental Health Services Research*, 42(5), 533-544. doi:10.1007/s10488-013-0528-y
- Park, C. L. (1998). Stress-related growth and thriving through coping: The roles of personality and cognitive processes. *Journal of Social Issues*, 54, 267–277. doi: 10.1111/0022-4537.651998065
- Papadopoulos, D., & Tsianos, V. (2013). After citizenship: Autonomy of migration, organisational ontology and mobile commons. *Citizenship Studies*, 17(2), 178-196.
- Padgett, D. K., Smith, B. T., Derejko, K.-S., Henwood, B. F., & Tiderington, E. (2013). A picture is worth . . . ? photo elicitation interviewing with formerly homeless adults. *Qualitative Health Research*, 23(11), 1435–1444. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732313507752>

- Pasquetti, S., & Sanyal, R. (2021). *Displacement: Global conversations on refuge*. Manchester University Press.
- Patterson, B., & Morin, K. (2012) Methodological considerations for studying social processes. *Nurse Researcher, 20*, 33–38.
- Patton, M. Q. (2015). *Qualitative research & evaluation methods: Integrating theory and practice: The definitive text of qualitative inquiry frameworks and options*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications
- Paul, C., Clarke, C. P., Grill, B., & Dunigan, M. (2013). *Paths to victory detailed insurgency case studies*. RAND Corporation.
- Pearson, K. & Mullarkey, J. (2002). *Henri Bergson: Key Writings*. Ed. New York: Continuum, 2002.
- Perera, S. (2002). A line in the sea: the tampa, boat stories and the border. *Cultural Studies Review 8.1*: 11-27.
- Peteet, J. (2005). *Landscape of hope and despair: Palestinian refugee camps*. University of Pennsylvania Press. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt3fhf4>
- Peteet, J. M. (2009). *Landscape of hope and despair: Palestinian refugee camps*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Peteet, J. (1996). From refugees to minority: Palestinians in post-war Lebanon. *Middle East Report, (200)*, 27. doi:10.2307/3013265
- Pàmies, M. del, Ryan, G., & Valverde, M. (2016). Uncovering the silent language of waiting. *Journal of Services Marketing, 30(4)*, 427–436. <https://doi.org/10.1108/jsm-10-2014-0352>
- Pike, J. (n.d.). *Military*. Lebanon - History - WWII. Retrieved from <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/lebanon/history-ww2.htm>
- Polit, D., & Beck, C. (2012). *Nursing research: Generating and assessing evidence for nursing practice (9<sup>th</sup> edition)*. Philadelphia, PA: Wolters Kluwer/Lippincott Williams & Wilkins
- Puig, N. (2020). The Shatila soundscape: Sound cultures, practices, and perceptions in a refugee camp in Lebanon. *Violence: An International Journal, 1(2)*, 285-302. doi:10.1177/2633002420961399

- Ramadan, A. (2013). Spatialising the refugee camp. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 38(1), 65-77.
- Ramadan, A., & Fregonese, S. (2017). Hybrid sovereignty and the state of exception in the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon. *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, 107(4), 949–963. <https://doi.org/10.1080/24694452.2016.1270189>
- Riaño Y (2016) Minga biographic workshops with highly skilled migrant women: enhancing spaces of inclusion. *Qualitative Research* 16(3): 267–279.
- Rodriguez, K. L., Schwartz, J. L., Lahman, M. K., & Geist, M. R. (2011). Culturally responsive focus groups: Reframing the research experience to focus on participants. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 10(4), 400–417. <https://doi.org/10.1177/160940691101000407>
- Rohn, J. (2002). Creating opportunity. *E-Zine Journal*, 22, 116.
- Ross, J. I., & Ferrell, J. (2019). *Routledge handbook of graffiti and street art*. Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Rothe, D., Fröhlich, C., & Rodriguez Lopez, J. M. (2020). Digital humanitarianism and the visual politics of the refugee camp: (Un)seeing control. *International Political Sociology*, 15(1), 41–62. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ips/olaa021>
- Roy, A. (2005). Urban informality: Toward an epistemology of planning. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 71, 147–158.
- Rosen, R., & Twamley, K. (2018). *Feminism and the politics of childhood: Friends or foes?* UCL Press.
- Ryan, K. E., Gandha, T., Culbertson, M. J., & Carlson, C. (2014). Focus Group Evidence: Implications for Design and Analysis. *The American Journal of Evaluation*, 35(3), 328–345. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1098214013508300>
- Ryan, R. M., & Deci, E. L. (2000). Self-determination theory and the facilitation of intrinsic motivation, social development, and well-being. *American Psychologist*, 55, 68–78. doi: 10.1037/0003-066X.55.1.68
- Sanyal, R. (2011). Squatting in Camps. *Urban Studies*, 48(5), 877-890. doi:10.1177/0042098010363494

- Sanyal, R. (2014). How refuge creates informality: Shelter politics in refugee camps in Beirut. *The Institute for Palestine Studies*. Retrieved from: <https://www.palestine-studies.org/jq/fulltext/187210>
- Sanyal, R. (2014). Urbanizing refuge: Interrogating spaces of displacement. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 38(2), 558-572. doi:10.1111/1468-2427.12020
- Sanyal, R. (2017). A no-camp policy: Interrogating informal settlements in Lebanon. *Geoforum*, 84, 117–125. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2017.06.011>
- Sanyal, R. (2021). Architectures of Displacement: On the Aesthetics and Politics of Humanitarian Shelter. In *Inhabiting Displacement: Architecture and Authorship* (pp. 176-190). Berlin, Boston: Birkhäuser. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783035623710-013>
- Sandelowski, M. (2000). Focus on research methods-whatever happened to qualitative description?. *Research in Nursing and Health*, 23(4), 334-340.
- Sandelowski, M. (2010). What's in a name? Qualitative description revisited. *Research in Nursing & Health*, 33, 77–84. doi: 10.1002/nur.20362
- Sarkar, M., & Fletcher, D. (2014). Ordinary magic, extraordinary performance: Psychological resilience and thriving in high achievers. *Sport, Exercise, and Performance Psychology*, 3, 46–60. doi: 10.1037/spy0000003
- Sayigh, R. (1995). Palestinians in Lebanon: (dis)solution of the refugee problem. *Race & Class*, 37(2), 27–42. <https://doi.org/10.1177/030639689503700204>
- Sayigh, R. (1998). Palestinian camp women as tellers of history. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 27(2), 42–58. <https://doi.org/10.1525/jps.1998.27.2.00p0034n>
- Sayigh, R. (2007). Product and producer of Palestinian history: Stereotypes of "self" in Camp Women's Life Stories. *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*, 3(1), 86–105. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jmw.2007.0009>
- Sayigh, R. (2007). *The Palestinians: From peasants to revolutionaries*. Zed Books Ltd.
- Sayigh, R. (2015). Oral history, colonialist dispossession, and the state: The Palestinian case. *Settler Colonial Studies*, 5(3), 193–204. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2201473x.2014.955945>

- Sayigh, R. (2018). The Nakba and Oral History. *The Journal of Holy Land and Palestine Studies : a Multidisciplinary Journal*, 17(2), 151–168. <https://doi.org/10.3366/hlps.2018.0189>
- Scheipers, S. (2015). The Use of Camps in Colonial Warfare. *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 43(4), 678-698. doi:10.1080/03086534.2015.1083230
- Schiocchet, L. (2014). Palestinian refugees in Lebanon: Is the camp a space of exception? *Mashriq & Mahjar Journal of Middle East and North African Migration Studies*, 2(1). <https://doi.org/10.24847/22i2014.29>
- Scott S. (2011) Military Camps. In: Total Institutions and Reinvented Identities. Identity Studies in the Social Sciences. Palgrave Macmillan, London
- Secor, A. (2013). 2012 urban geography plenary lecture Topological City. *Urban Geography*, 34(4), 430–444. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2013.778698>
- Segal, S. P., Khoury, V. C., Salah, R., & Ghannam, J. (2020). Unattended mental health needs in Primary Care: LEBANON'S Shatila Palestinian refugee camp. *Clinical Medicine Insights: Psychiatry*, 11. doi:10.1177/1179557320962523
- Sela, A. (2014). The PLO at Fifty: A Historical Perspective. *Contemporary Review of the Middle East (Online)*, 1(3), 269–333. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2347798914542326>
- Seligman, M. E., & Csikszentmihalyi, M. (2000). Positive psychology: An introduction. *American Psychologist*, 55(1), 5–14. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066x.55.1.5>
- Seethaler-Wari, S., Chitchian, S., & Momić, M. (2022). *Inhabiting displacement: Architecture and authorship*. Birkhäuser.
- Sharif, (2018). Syrians in displacement. Retrieved March 17, 2021, from <https://www.fmreview.org/syria2018>
- Shiblak, A. (1997). Palestinians in Lebanon and the PLO. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 10 (3), 261-274. [www.oxfordjournals.org](http://www.oxfordjournals.org).
- Shields, R. (2009). *Lefebvre, Love and Struggle: Spatial Dialectics*. Routledge.
- Shipp, A. J., & Richardson, H. A. (2021). The impact of temporal schemata: Understanding when individuals entrain versus resist or create temporal structure. *Academy of Management Review*, 46(2), 1. <https://journals.aom.org/doi/pdf/10.5465/amr.2017.0384>



- Sigona, N. (2014). Campzenship: Reimagining the camp as a social and political space. *Citizenship Studies*, 19(1), 1-15. doi:10.1080/13621025.2014.937643
- Siklawi, R. (2017). The Palestinian resistance movement in Lebanon 1967–82: Survival, challenges, and opportunities. *Arab Studies Quarterly*, 39(3), 923. <https://doi.org/10.13169/arabstudquar.39.3.0923>
- Silverman, S. (2008). Redrawing the lines of control: Political interventions by refugees and the sovereign state system. Paper presented at Dead/Lines: Contemporary Issues in Legal and Political Theory, University of Edinburgh, 28 April 2008.
- Simonsen, K. 2005. Bodies, sensations, space and time: The contribution from Henri Lefebvre. *Geografiska Annaler*, 87B: 1–14.
- Simpson, J. A., & Weiner, Eva S. (1989). *The Oxford English dictionary* (2nd ed. / prepared by J.A. Simpson and E.S.C. Weiner ed.). Oxford: Clarendon.
- Sirhan, B. (1975). Palestinian Refugee Camp Life in Lebanon. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 4(2), 91–107. <https://doi.org/10.1525/jps.1975.4.2.00p0292x>
- Schänzel, H., Yeoman, I., & Backer, E. (2012). *Family tourism: Multidisciplinary perspectives*. Buffalo: Channel View Publications.
- Schmid, C. (2008). Part I: Dialectics of space and time. 2. towards a three-dimensional dialectic: the theory of the production of space. In Henri Lefebvre (ed.), *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre*. Routledge.
- Schwartz, D. (1992). *Wacoma twilight: Generations on the farm*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Press
- Schweizer, Harold. 2004. "On Waiting." *University of Toronto Quarterly* 74, no. 3: 777–792.
- Sekowski, P. (2017). Activity of the international community in Europe after the Second World War within the scope of the International Refugee Organization as a model of the aid action towards refugees. *Securitologia*, (1), 119–139.
- Seixas, B. V., Smith, N., & Mitton, C. (2017). The qualitative descriptive approach in international comparative studies: Using online qualitative surveys. *International Journal of Health Policy and Management*, 7(9), 778–781. <https://doi.org/10.15171/ijhpm.2017.142>

- Simeon, J. C. (2013). *The Unhcr and the supervision of International Refugee Law*. Cambridge University Press.
- Smith, N. (2018). *Neoliberalism*. Retrieved from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/neoliberalism>
- Sphere Association. *The Sphere Handbook: Humanitarian Charter and Minimum Standards in Humanitarian Response*, fourth edition, Geneva, Switzerland, 2018.  
[www.spherestandards.org/handbook](http://www.spherestandards.org/handbook)
- Spreitzer, G., Sutcliffe, K., Dutton, J., Sonenshein, S., & Grant, A. M. (2005). A socially embedded model of thriving at work. *Organization Science*, 16, 537–549. doi: 10.1287/orsc.1050.0153
- Steflova, K. (2017). Case study: Shatila CAMP 35 years on from the Sabra and Shatila Massacre : What are the current conditions of Palestinian refugees? *Journal of Palestinian Refugee Studies*, 7(1), 49-61. doi:10.12816/0044175
- Stone, D. (2017). *Concentration camps: A short history*. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.
- Stoneham, (2013). Why Lebanon refuses to officially welcome Syrian Refugees. Retrieved March 17, 2021, from <https://www.pri.org/stories/2013-12-30/why-lebanon-refuses-officially-welcome-syrian-refugees-video>
- Su, R., Tay, L., & Diener, E. (2014). The development and validation of the comprehensive inventory of thriving (CIT) and the brief inventory of thriving (BIT). *Applied Psychology: Health and Well-Being*, 6, 251–279. doi: 10.1111/aphw.12027
- Sunata, U., & Özsoy, S. (2021). Review for "feminization of refugee: Intersectionality, Solidarity, resistance". *International Migration* . <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12990/v1/review1>
- Szpunar, K. K. (2011). On subjective time. *Cortex*, 47(3), 409–411.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cortex.2010.07.008>
- Talhami, G. H. 2003. *Palestinian refugees: pawns to political actors*. New York: Nova Science Publishers, Inc.
- Tasdelen, D.K. (2003). *Bergson's Conception of Time: Its Effects on Possible Philosophy of Life. Dissertation*, Middle East Technical University, Ankara.

- Tavakoli, J. (2020) Cultural entrepreneurship of Sahrawi refugees, *African Identities*, 18:3,279-294, DOI: 10.1080/14725843.2020.1777086
- Tomaszewski, B., Tibbets, S., Hamad, Y., & Al-Najdawi, N. (2016). Infrastructure evolution analysis via remote sensing in an urban refugee camp – evidence from Za’atari. *Procedia Engineering*, 159, 118-123.
- Toninato, P. (2018). Romani Nomadism: From Hetero-Images to Self-Representations. *Nomadic Peoples*, 22(1), 143-161. doi:10.3197/np.2018.220109
- Turner, L. (2020). Refugees can be entrepreneurs too! Humanitarianism, race, and the marketing of Syrian refugees. *Review of International Studies*, 46(1), 137-155. doi:10.1017/S0260210519000342
- Turner, S. (2015). What is a refugee camp? Explorations of the limits and effects of the camp. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 29(2), 139-148. doi:10.1093/jrs/fev024
- Chikvaidze, D. (2020). *Inside this issue Cadmus - Cadmus Journal*. (n.d.). Retrieved July 23, 2022, from [http://cadmusjournal.org/files/journalpdf/Vol4Issue2/Vol4\\_Issue2.pdf](http://cadmusjournal.org/files/journalpdf/Vol4Issue2/Vol4_Issue2.pdf)
- United Nations. (n.d.). *About Us*. UN. Retrieved from <https://www.un.org/en/about-us>.
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (2020). *Fact sheet Lebanon*. UNHCR. Retrieved on June 1, 2020 from: <https://reporting.unhcr.org/sites/default/files/UNHCR%20Lebanon%20-%20Operational%20Fact%20Sheet%20-%20January%202021.pdf>
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (2017). *Diagnostic tool for alternatives to camps*. UNHCR. Retrieved from <http://www.unhcr.org/uk/1951-refugee-convention.html>
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (2018). *The 1951 Refugee Convention*. UNHCR. Retrieved from <http://www.unhcr.org/uk/1951-refugee-convention.html>
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (2018). *Europe situation*. UNHCR. Retrieved from <http://www.unhcr.org/uk/1951-refugee-convention.html>
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (2013). *Stretched to the limit by the rising number of refugees*. UNHCR. Retrieved from

- <https://www.unhcr.org/uk/news/latest/2013/10/524ae6179/unhcr-says-stretched-limit-rising-number-refugees.html>
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (2004). *Protracted refugee situations, Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Programme, Standing Committee, 30th Meeting*, UN Doc. EC/54/SC/CRP.14, p. 2.
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (2005). *Protracted refugee situations: the search for practical solutions*. UNHCR. Retrieved from <https://www.unhcr.org/4444afcb0.pdf>
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (2021). *What is a refugee?* UNHCR. Retrieved from: <https://www.unhcr.org/uk/what-is-a-refugee.html>
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (2016). *The Situation of Palestinian Refugees in Lebanon*. UNHCR. Retrieved March 17, 2021, from: <https://www.refworld.org/pdfid/56cc95484.pdf>
- United Nations Relief and Works Agency. (2021). *Where we work*. UNRWA. <https://www.unrwa.org/where-we-work/lebanon>.
- United Nations Relief and Works Agency. (2019). *Yarmouk (unofficial CAMP)*. UNRWA. Retrieved March 17, 2021, from <https://www.unrwa.org/where-we-work/syria/yarmouk-unofficial-camp>
- United Nations Relief and Works Agency. (n.d.). *The Cairo agreement*. What we do. Retrieved from <https://www.unrwa.org/content/cairo-agreement>
- Vaismoradi, M., Turunen, H., & Bondas, T. (2013). Content analysis and thematic analysis: Implications for conducting a qualitative descriptive study. *Nursing & Health Sciences*, 15(3), 398–405. <https://doi.org/10.1111/nhs.12048>
- Vatikiotis, P. J. (1984). The Crisis in Lebanon: A Local Historical Perspective. *The World Today*, 40(3), 85–92. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40395589>
- Vidal, M (2018). *Painting walls and sculpting barbed wire: Art in Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon* [Masters dissertation, Leiden University]. ProQuest Dissertations Publishing.
- Volk, S. D. (2017.). Refugee encampments in Calais: Between jungle and city. Retrieved May 13, 2021, from <https://revistadefilosofia.org/77-14.pdf>

- Walker, L. O., & Grobe, S. J. (1999). The construct of thriving in pregnancy and postpartum. *Nursing Science Quarterly*, 12, 151–157. doi: 10.1177/08943189922106585
- Walker, L. O., & Avant, K. C. (2011). *Strategies for theory construction in nursing*. Boston: Prentice Hall.
- Walters, R. (2020). Relinquishing control in focus groups: The use of activities in feminist research with young people to improve moderator performance. *Qualitative Research*, 20(4), 361–377. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468794119847633>
- Walters, W. (2008). Acts of demonstration: mapping the territory of (non-)citizenship. In: E.F. Isin and G.M. Nielsen, eds. *Acts of citizenship*. London: Zed Books, 182–206.
- Weighill, M. L. (1997). Palestinians in Lebanon: the politics of assistance. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 10 (3):294–313.
- Weinert, F. (2013). *The march of time evolving conceptions of time in the light of scientific discoveries*. SpringerLink, & LINK
- Wendt, S., Tuckey, M., & Prosser, B. (2011). Thriving, not just surviving, in emotionally demanding fields of practice. *Health & Social Care in the Community*, 19(3), 317-25.
- Whittemore, R., Chase, S. K., & Mandle, C. L. (2001). Validity in qualitative research. *Qualitative Health Research*, 11(4), 522–537. <https://doi.org/10.1177/104973201129119299>
- Wolfe, P. (2012). Purchase by other means: The Palestine *nakba* and zionism’s conquest of economics, *Settler Colonial Studies*, 2 (1), 133 171,  
DOI: 10.1080/2201473X.2012.10648830
- Wofford, D., Shraiky, J. & Schneider, T. (2016). A Conversation with calamity: Shedding light on the plight of Syrian refugees. *Journal of Health and the Human Experience*, 2 (1).
- Woroneicka-Krzyzanowska, D. (2017). The right to the camp: Spatial politics of protracted encampment in the West Bank. *Political Geography*, 61, 160-169.  
doi:10.1016/j.polgeo.2017.08.007
- Zerubavel, E. (1976). *Timetables and Scheduling: On the Social Organization of Time*. *Sociological Inquiry*, 46(2), 87–94. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-682X.1976.tb00753.x>

Zeveleva, O. (2017). Biopolitics, borders, and refugee camps: Exercising sovereign power over nonmembers of the state. *Nationalities Papers*, 45(1), 41-60.

doi:10.1080/00905992.2016.1238885

Zhang, Y., & Wildemuth, B. M. (2009). Qualitative analysis of content. In B. Wildemuth (Ed.), *Applications of Social Research Methods to Questions in Information and Library Science* (pp.308-319). Westport, CT: Libraries Unlimited